

# Urban layers and living spaces: The evolution of housing in Kayseri

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## Abstract

This study examines the transformation of housing in Kayseri as a case through which to understand broader processes of urbanization, modernization, and socio-spatial change in Turkey. Once defined by inward-oriented courtyard houses constructed from local materials—reflecting values of privacy and communal life—Kayseri’s domestic architecture has undergone significant transformation across four historical periods: the pre-Republican era, the early Republican period, the post-1950 expansion, and the post-1980 neoliberal era. Each phase reflects a distinct interplay between national policy directives, global urban trends, and local adaptations. Early Republican reforms introduced Western-oriented architectural ideals by promoting detached houses and low-rise apartments. This trajectory accelerated in the post-1980 period when neoliberal policies prioritized high-rise residential development driven by private capital and speculative investment, often at the expense of cultural continuity and human-scale urban design. Employing an interdisciplinary methodology, this research integrates archival analysis, oral histories, spatial observations, and visual documentation. Drawing on architecture, sociology, and history, it investigates how built forms mediate tensions between tradition and modernity, memory and transformation, and local identity and state ideology. With its long-standing strategic and cultural significance, Kayseri provides a compelling case for examining how urban development is shaped by structural forces and lived experience. The study argues that the housing transformation in Kayseri is not a linear progression, but a contested and layered process shaped by evolving economic structures, governance models, and cultural logic. By combining textual, visual, and experiential knowledge, the research offers a deeper understanding of how domestic space reflects and constructs shifting urban realities.

**Keywords:** city, housing culture, Kayseri, modernization, urban transformation

## 1. Introduction

The housing transformation in Kayseri functions as a microcosm of Turkey’s broader urban modernization, shaped by evolving cultural norms, technological innovations, and changing spatial practices. Traditionally, housing in Kayseri was characterized by inward-oriented courtyard houses constructed from local materials, reflecting privacy values, familial hierarchy, and environmental adaptability. These houses facilitated multifunctional living and fostered strong neighborhood relations within a compact urban morphology.

Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic, a new phase of urban development emerged in Anatolian cities. Industrialization, state-led infrastructure investments, and early planning initiatives introduced detached modern houses and low-rise apartment buildings by the mid-20th century (typically limited to three or four stories rather than the high-rise blocks familiar today). These new housing forms embodied a national orientation toward Western ideals articulated by modernist discourse, particularly hygiene and rational planning, the latter referring to the systematic organization of residential space through functional and standardized layouts. The apartment, in particular, emerged as a marker of modern urban life and middle-class identity.

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The post-1980 period witnessed an intensified urban landscape transformation under neoliberal economic policies and the growing influence of private capital. High-rise apartment complexes, frequently driven by speculative development, replaced traditional neighborhoods and reconfigured the urban fabric. While these developments responded to housing demand and introduced modern amenities, they also brought gradual shifts that disrupted established cultural practices, weakened neighborhood-based social ties, and compromised the city's traditional human-scale morphology.

This article traces the evolution of housing in Kayseri across distinct historical periods—from the pre-Republican era to the present—demonstrating how national policies, economic transformations, and global urban trends have continually reshaped domestic architecture. By positioning Kayseri within both historical and contemporary contexts, the study explores how the built environment mediates tensions between tradition and modernity, local identity and state ideology, and memory and urban transformation.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Methodology

This study offers a historical reading and analysis of housing transformation in Kayseri, examining how architectural forms, spatial practices, and social meanings have evolved. It adopts a multi-layered approach that mirrors the one used in Bozdoğan's work (2001)—rooted in urban studies and drawing from architecture, sociology, and history—through an approach that refrains from privileging a single discipline while actively engaging others (Repko & Szostak, 2017). Archival research, spatial analysis, literature review, and interviews are integrated to explore the city's socio-spatial changes.

Historical materials—urban plans, drawings, maps—form the foundation of the analysis (Çabuk, 2012; Sönmez & Alper, 2012; Yücel et al., 2020), complemented by academic studies highlighting the spatial impact of political and economic shifts (Kasap, 2017; Kocatürk & Yücel, 2012). The methodology blends documents, photographs, oral histories, and field observations to uncover the layered meanings of housing, especially since the mid-20th century (İmamoğlu, 2006; Çelik, 2017b).

Key to the analysis is the shift from inward-facing courtyard houses to modern apartment blocks (Bektaş, 2013; Bozdoğan, 2001), examined through visual materials that reflect changing domestic organization and socio-cultural values. The study is structured around four transformation phases: pre-Republican period, the early Republic, post-1950 expansion, and post-1980 neoliberalism (Kocatürk & Yücel, 2012; Yücel et al., 2020).

Photographs—archival and fieldwork-based—document changes in style, technique, and domestic life. To understand intergenerational transmission, semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants from different generations, through which oral history captures diverse experiences and cultural meanings of house, spatial belonging, and lifestyle shifts. The study incorporates an embodied perspective informed by local familiarity, contributing to its engagement with the local context. In addition to interviews, participants drew floor plans of their past homes, producing memory-based spatial representations and revealing emotional attachments. These drawings contributed user-centered insights to the spatial analysis, illustrating typological change and lived experience.

Rather than presenting a linear transformation, the study frames morphological changes in the houses as a contested process shaped by tradition, governance, economic restructuring, and global trends. Through interdisciplinary tools—visuals, narratives, and field experience—it highlights how the built environment reflects and shapes social change. This approach underscores the value of

<sup>1</sup> Despite their long presence in Kayseri, detached garden houses had limited impact on urban form during the key transformation periods. The analysis focuses on apartment buildings, which shaped the built environment and spatial practices during the Republican and post-1980 neoliberal phases. Although garden houses gained prominence after COVID-19 and the 2023 earthquake as socio-economic markers, they remained marginal to earlier urban restructuring.

combining visual, textual, and lived knowledge in urban research, offering a historically grounded account of Kayseri's housing transformation.

### 3. Urban Development of Kayseri

Tuna (2017) examines the historical evolution of urbanization by contrasting modern and traditional cities. Modern cities, shaped by the Industrial Revolution, emerged as industrial and commercial hubs, whereas traditional cities—particularly in Islamic contexts—developed around religious institutions and trade networks. Thinkers like Marx, Lefebvre, and Pirenne offer divergent interpretations of this transformation, emphasizing class conflict, spatial production, and the rise of the merchant class, respectively. Urbanization restructured cities socially and economically, deepening class divides and weakening rural ties. As cities gained autonomy and civic participation expanded, urban life became increasingly organized around economic and administrative functions (Tuna, 2017). Complementing this structural perspective, Louis Wirth (1938) conceptualizes urbanization as a distinct mode of life characterized by heterogeneity, anonymity, and impersonality—conditions that foster social fragmentation and erode traditional forms of solidarity.

As Özmen (2021) argues, modern urban identity emerged through the rise of the bourgeoisie, who challenged feudal authority and reconfigured urban space. In contrast, traditional cities were shaped by local elites embedded in established religious and economic networks. However, as cities across the globe—including those in Turkey—became integrated into the capitalist system, the distinction between traditional and modern urban forms began to blur. This dynamic is particularly evident in cities such as Kayseri, where modern economic structures coexist with deeply rooted cultural traditions.

One of the earliest architectural manifestations of this shift in urban identity was the apartment building, which first emerged in late 19th-century Istanbul, particularly in the Galata-Beyoğlu district. Driven by expanding trade and the residential demands of embassy staff, foreign merchants, and Levantines, these structures—often designed by Greek and Armenian architects—reflected the city's increasing multiculturalism (Pulat Gökmen, 2011; Tanyeli, 2004; Öncel, 2010). While initially inhabited by foreigners, Muslim residents gradually adopted apartments as symbols of modern comfort and progress, mirroring broader transformations in social life and domestic spatial practices.

During the Republican era, apartment buildings symbolized modernization. Influenced by European ideals, housing reforms promoted concrete construction over wood and prioritized hygiene over tradition (Bozdoğan, 2001; Bertram, 2008). The state supported this ideological transformation by training architects abroad and hosting European experts like Egli, Wagner, and Taut (Tekeli, 2010). Cubic-style houses and modern apartments emerged, with the latter proving more adaptable to Turkish domestic life (Bozdoğan, 2001). Subsequent reforms—particularly those introduced by the Democratic Party in the 1950s and the enactment of the 1965 Condominium Law—enabled mass apartment construction (Balamir, 1994), reshaping urban housing norms. Apartments redefined spatial practices, introducing shared maintenance systems and transforming prevailing notions of privacy and identity, though cultural adaptation remained uneven (Pulat Gökmen, 2011). Rooted in late Ottoman Westernization, this trajectory continued under the Republic and was reinforced by post-1980 neoliberal policies that turned high-rise apartments into speculative assets. Cities like Kayseri followed this path, reflecting broader tensions between tradition, modernity, and the evolving conditions of urban life.

This study takes Kayseri as a case to examine broader urban and architectural transformations. With a history extending back to before the Common Era, Kayseri has long served as a strategic hub along military and trade routes. Since Roman times, it has hosted several civilizations and emerged as a key urban center during the Seljuk period. At that time, the city was spatially organized into three zones: the castle, the urban core, and the surrounding outskirts, forming a tripartite structure (Cömert, 2006).

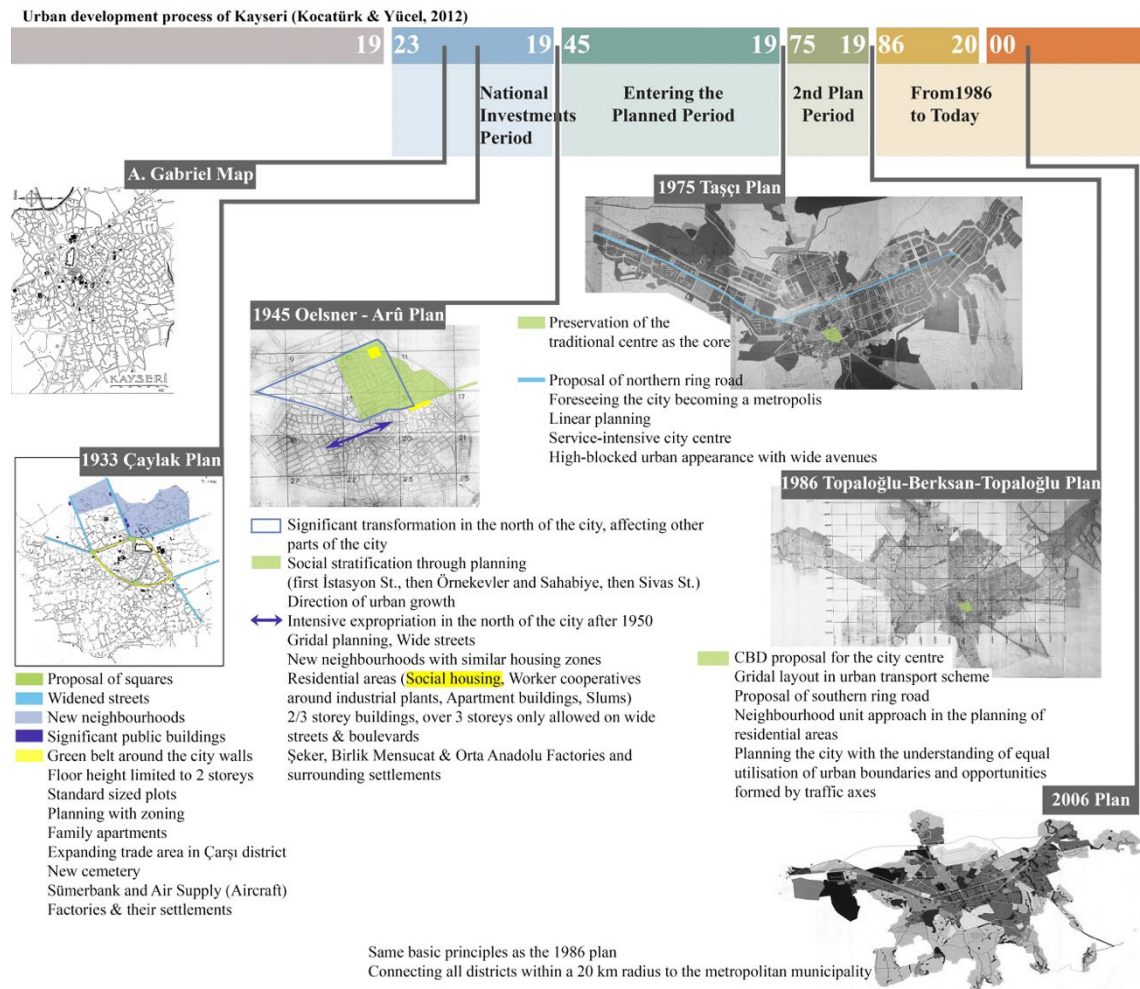
While the Ottoman period was marked by limited state investment, the early Republican era represented a turning point characterized by rapid development driven by state-led industrialization. Factories such as Tayyare [Airplane] (1926) and Sümerbank Textile (1935) played a pivotal role in this transformation, while the arrival of the railway facilitated urban expansion, particularly toward the city's northern periphery. Kayseri's urban evolution, therefore, resists linear narratives of either uninterrupted tradition or abrupt modernization. Instead, it reflects a complex and layered process in which spatial form, social structure, and cultural memory are in continuous interplay.

Between 1882 and 1945, Kayseri underwent significant processes of modernization. Sönmez and Alper (2012) contrast the organic urban fabric of the Ottoman period with the more structured and formalized layout of the Republican era. Although early planning initiatives in the Ottoman Empire can be traced back to the Tanzimat reforms, their spatial impact remained limited in interior trade cities such as Kayseri, where transformation occurred gradually and with greater restraint (Çabuk, 2012). The 1933 Çaylak Plan marked the first urban planning attempt, followed by the 1945 Oelsner-Aru Plan, which introduced zoning principles and laid the foundation for a modern urban structure.

Until the mid-20th century, Kayseri maintained a compact urban form. Subsequently, changes in transportation infrastructure and planning policies encouraged linear expansion (Yücel et al., 2020). Industrialization played a central role in reshaping the city's morphology and housing practices. Onsekiz (2016) identifies three key phases—1923–1960, 1960–1980, and post-1980 period—each marking distinct shifts in urban function and morphology. Sönmez (2012) further highlights how industrialization altered everyday life, especially housing patterns.

Between 1930 and 1970, houses in Kayseri began integrating traditional and modern elements. Oral (2006) identifies the period from 1950 to 1970 as particularly significant for housing design, during which neighborhoods such as Sahabiye emerged as early examples of modernist planning (Güler, 2019). These developments illustrate the continuity between past and present, reflecting broader social and spatial transformations.

Drawing on Tekeli's framework, Kocatürk and Yücel (2012) identify four distinct phases in Kayseri's spatial development over the 20th century. This periodization is based on the city's master plans and their influence on spatial organization. The **National Investment Period** (1923–1945) lacked formal planning but was marked by major state-led development projects. The **Planned Period** (1945–1975) introduced urban renovations and grid-based layouts. During the **Second Planning Period** (1975–1986), the city experienced increased density, the rise of mass housing, and the emergence of a linear urban structure. **From 1986 onward**, Kayseri underwent its most significant spatial transformation (Figure 1).

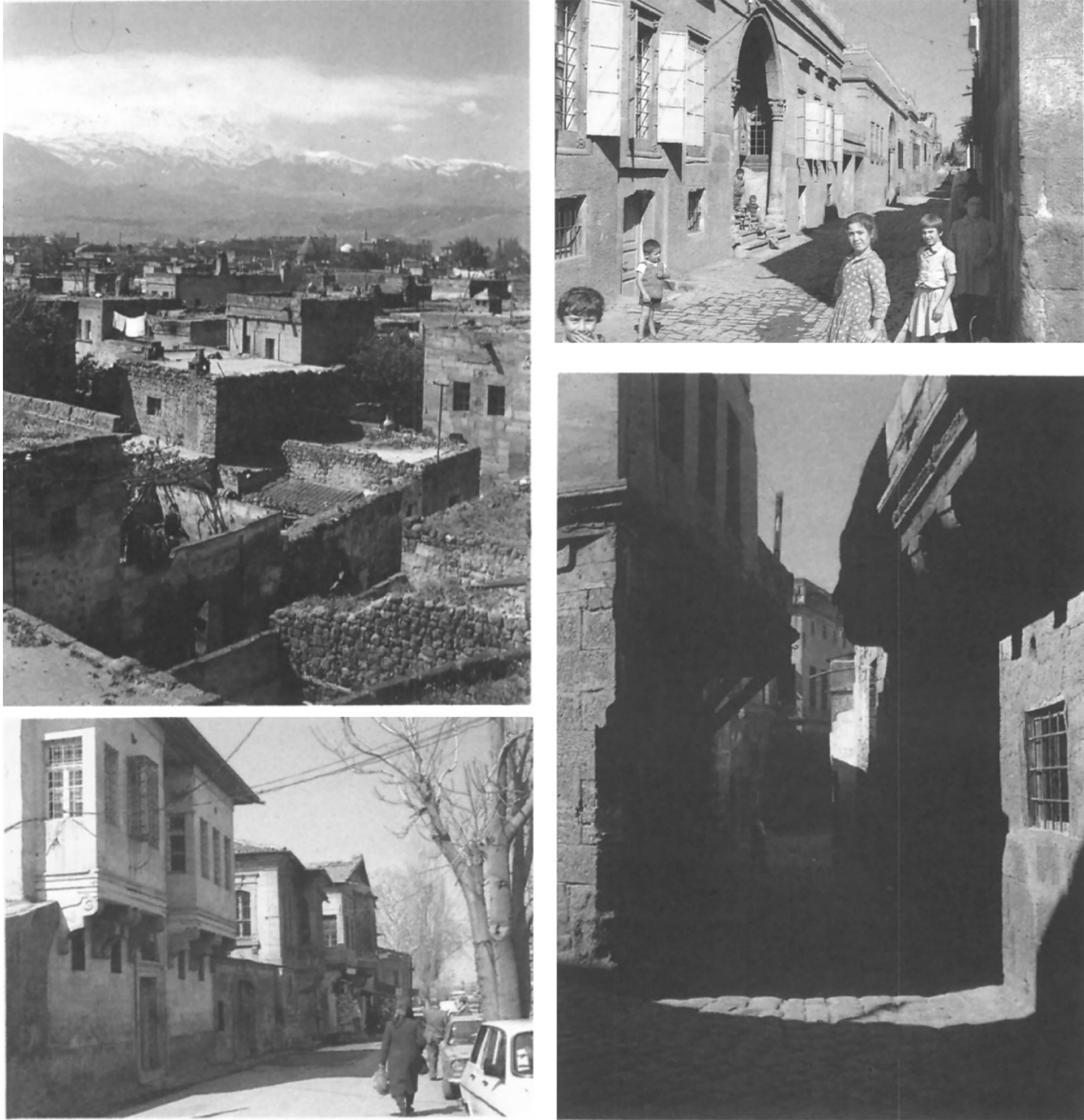


**Figure 1** Summary of Kayseri development plan applications (Sources: Demir & Çabuk (2012), Asiliskender (2008)) (Other sources: Tekinsoy, 2011; Çabuk, 2012; Sönmez & Arslan Selçuk, 2021; Yücel et al., 2020; Yılmaz Bakır et al., 2017)

Gabriel's 1927–1929 map documents Kayseri's organic urban fabric, while the 1945 Oelsner-Aru Plan—considered the city's first comprehensive urban planning initiative—significantly departed from traditional spatial forms. The 1975 Taşçı Plan reinforced a centralized business district and relocated industrial activity to the urban periphery. By the 1980s, Kayseri had transitioned mainly from low-rise neighborhoods to block-style apartment developments. The 1986 Topaloğlu-Berksan-Topaloğlu Plan further encouraged high-density residential expansion and centralized commercial zoning. These dynamics were reinforced by the 2006 plan, which supported the east-west urban expansion and consolidated the city center, structuring much of the contemporary urban landscape despite subsequent revisions (Yücel et al., 2020).

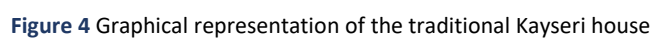
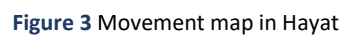
#### 4. Housing in Kayseri

In Kayseri, as in many Anatolian cities, the neighborhood has historically functioned as both a spatial and social unit, fostering solidarity, mutual respect, and close-knit neighborly relations (İmamoğlu, 2006) (Figure 2). These communities facilitated coexistence among individuals of different religions and cultures, who often lived in similar ways and comparable housing typologies (Ateş, 1997).



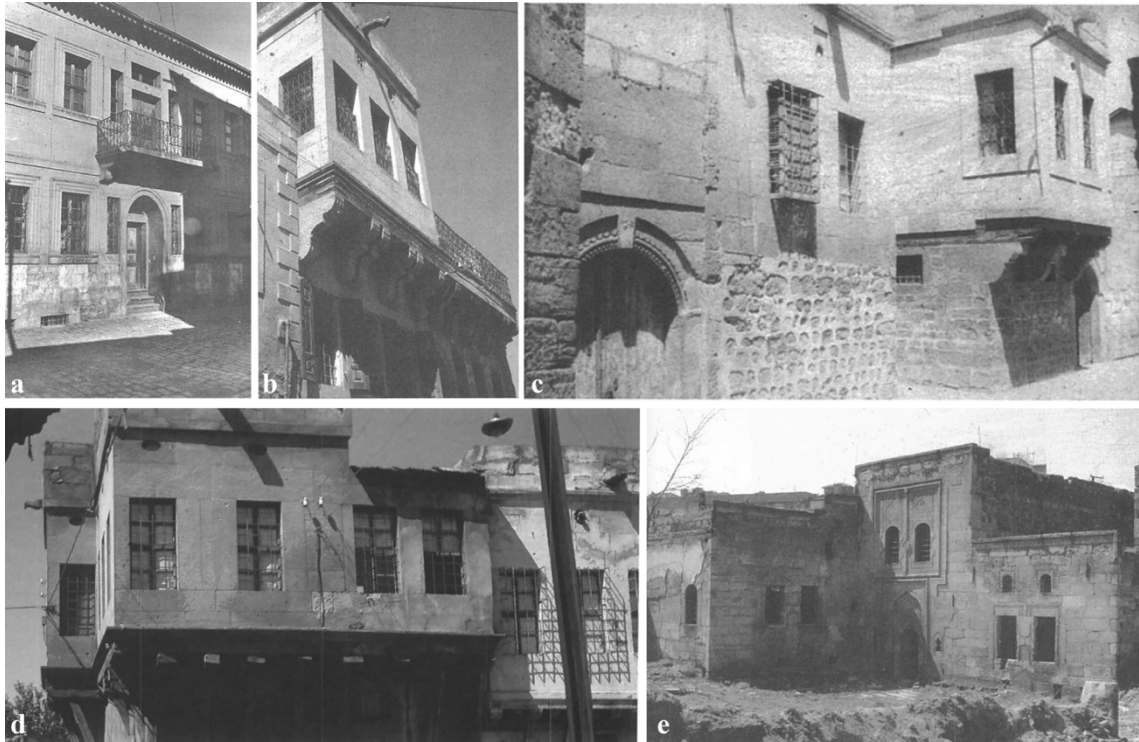
**Figure 2** Traditional streets of Kayseri in the 1950s, 1970, 1989 (Source: İmamoğlu, 2006)

Traditional Turkish houses reflect a harmony with nature and cultural values, a quality emphasized by Bektaş (2013). In the case of Kayseri, this harmony was shaped by the region's cold winters, the presence of Mount Erciyes, and the need for sunlight. These climatic and environmental factors, along with cultural notions of privacy, influenced the form of the house. The inward-facing houses were organized around a central courtyard (*hayat*), used year-round by extended families and enclosed to ensure privacy (*mahram*) (Figure 3). Rooms (*harem*) opened onto the courtyard. At the same time, the *sofa* functioned as a multi-purpose space for daily life and hospitality—tiered levels (*seki* and *seki altı*) marked transitions between clean and unclean zones. Also, it differentiated between areas of use and circulation (Figure 4).

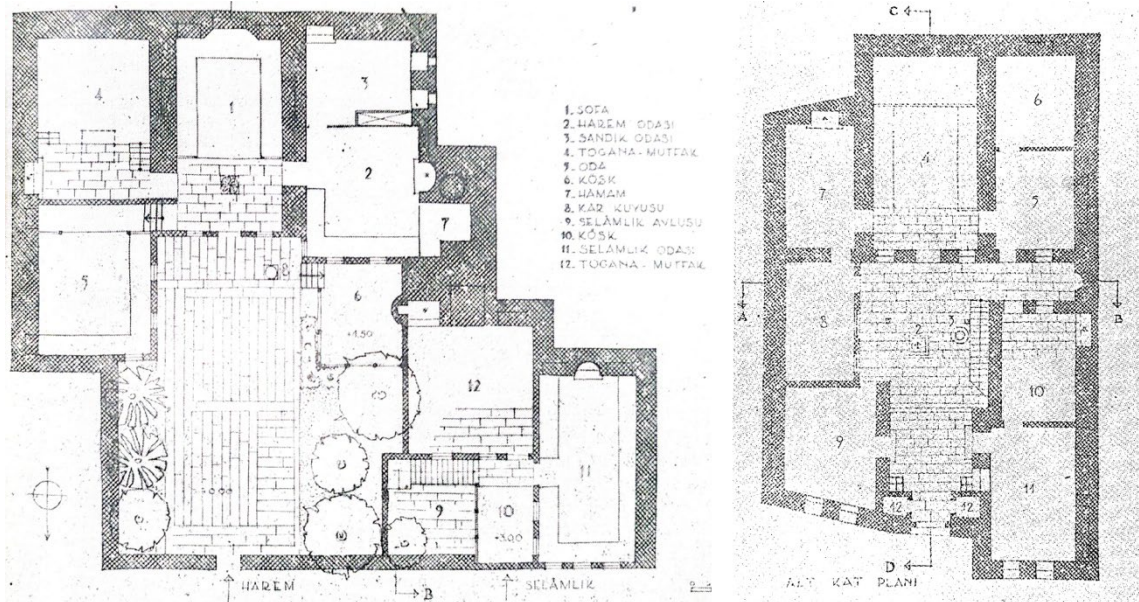


As families expanded, additional spaces were incorporated into the household, and rooms served multiple functions—including eating, sleeping, and prayer—facilitated by built-in storage units and portable belongings (İmamoğlu, 2006). In the absence of plumbing infrastructure, bathing was conducted in designated *gusûlhane* spaces, while toilets were typically located in the corners of the courtyard (Figure 5, Figure 6). Houses were modest, prism-shaped, flat-roofed, and

constructed from locally sourced materials— architectural characteristics common to both the Middle East and Mediterranean region (İmamoğlu, 2006). Thick stone walls and wooden linings provided thermal insulation and building orientation often prioritized climatic conditions over street alignment (Çakıroğlu, 1952; Özkeçeci, 2004).



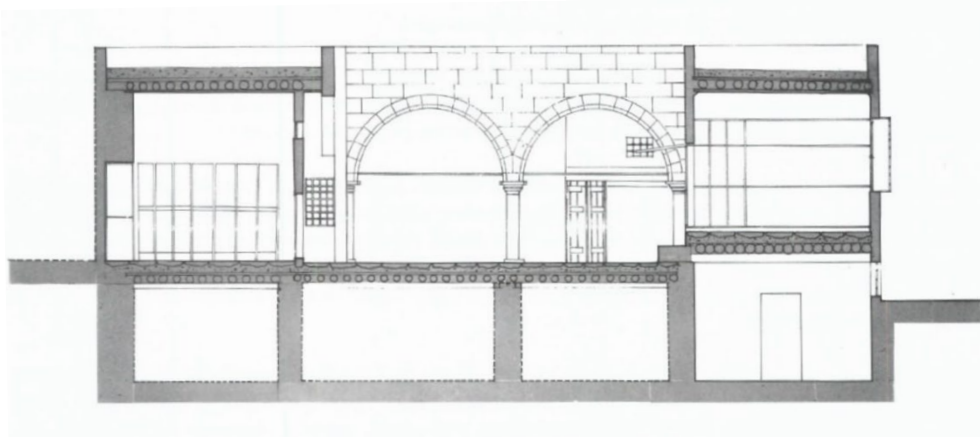
**Figure 5** Traditional Kayseri house (a.Nedim Bey house, b.Kadir Bey house, c.No-name, d.Hacı Ahmet Ağa house, e.Mollaoğulları house, Sources: İmamoğlu, 2006; 2014)



**Figure 6** Plan examples of traditional Kayseri houses (Left: Aslandağ evi, Right: No name, Source: Çakıroğlu, 1952)

Interior spaces such as the *sofa*, *tokana* (kitchen), and *harem* reflected prevailing norms of privacy and social organization. Courtyards often included kiosks (*köşk*) and designated service areas (İmamoğlu, 2006). In larger houses, separate *selamlık* (guest) sections and gardens were incorporated and evolved in response to changing family needs (Ateş, 1997). Basements (*zerzambi*) were typically used for storage, livestock, or servant quarters, while lofts (*tahtalı*) accommodated coachmen (Çakıroğlu, 1952; Çetin, 2021; İmamoğlu, 2006; Şahin, 2010) (Figure 7). Furnishings were

minimalist and flexible: bedding (*yüklük*), floor tables (*yer sofrası*), and prayer rugs were brought out as needed. Western-style furniture appeared in wealthier households by the late 19th century (İmamoğlu, 2006).



**Figure 7** Section example of traditional Kayseri house, Çayırağası house (Source: İmamoğlu, 2006)

With the modernization that accompanied the establishment of the Republic, the lifestyle associated with traditional Kayseri houses—shaped by long-standing cultural norms—underwent a significant transformation. Following the War of Independence—marked by significant population movements such as deportations and the population exchange, which deeply altered the city’s social composition—urban growth entered a period of stagnation. It was not until the 1930s, with the establishment of a new socio-political order and the onset of industrialization, that this growth was reactivated. Rapid development intensified after World War II. From the 1950s onward, traditional neighborhoods—particularly those located south of the Inner Castle—were systematically demolished and replaced with grid-planned business districts and apartment blocks, in line with the modernization objectives set out in the 1945 Oelsner-Aru Plan, turning Kayseri into a large-scale construction site (İmamoğlu, 2006).

Beginning in the 1930s, state investments began to reshape urban life by promoting modern lifestyles by constructing housing near factories, cinemas, schools, and other public amenities (Çelik, 2017a). The Sümerbank Textile Factory housing project significantly departed from traditional residential forms. New developments emerged along key axes such as Sivas Avenue and Atatürk Boulevard, characterized by geometric site plans and the use of modern construction materials. Neighborhoods such as Sahabiye and Örnekevler came to embody this emerging urban identity, replacing stone courtyard houses with outward-facing brick and concrete apartment buildings (Kocatürk & Yücel, 2012).

Under the 1945 Oelsner-Aru Plan, the Sahabiye neighborhood was organized according to grid planning and garden city principles, featuring two- to three-story residential buildings (Alemdar, 2010; Asiliskender & Özsoy, 2010). Influenced by Westernization, the period from the late 19th to the mid-20th century functioned as a transitional phase, preparing the ground for apartment-style living. Traditional courtyard houses gradually led to symmetrical, outward-oriented buildings with smaller gardens, central halls, and increased verticality. Beginning in the 1950s, the use of reinforced concrete replaced stone masonry, facilitating the widespread construction of three- to four-story apartment buildings mainly in the traditional center of Kayseri (Oral, 2006; Kocatürk, 2009; Kocatürk & Yücel, 2012; Yücel et al., 2020).

In the 1970s, although traditional houses remained prevalent, increasing migration and the rise of informal settlements prompted the introduction of the 1975 Taşçı Plan, which promoted wider streets and high-rise construction (Tekinsoy, 2011; Yücel et al., 2020). Cooperative housing models, municipal support, and the pursuit of economic efficiency drove the growth of high-rise buildings

along major boulevards. Shared construction costs and higher-density development made apartment living more accessible to residents and profitable for developers.

From the 1970s onward, municipal planning prioritized wide roads and vibrant boulevards as desirable residential corridors, attracting middle- and upper-income groups. While detached houses—particularly in neighborhoods like Hürriyet—continued to exist, apartment blocks expanded significantly in both size and number. Following the 1986 development plan, architectural unity began to decline, and high-rise buildings increasingly occupied large parcels with minimal garden space. By the 1990s, residential buildings had reached up to 15 stories (Kocatürk & Yücel, 2012; Yücel et al., 2020).

During the 1990s, high-rise development extended beyond major boulevards, gradually altering the city's spatial character. The cooperative housing model declined, giving way to profit-oriented build-and-sell practices. As landowners acquired greater bargaining power, housing production increasingly reflected short-term, user-unfriendly strategies. Construction, supported by political and economic interests, emerged as a central driver of urban growth.

Rapid urbanization has resulted in significant cultural and architectural losses. While modern apartments replaced older, difficult-to-maintain houses, destroying historic neighborhoods led to the erasure of urban memory (Çelik, 2017c). Today, wide boulevards and luxury buildings coexist with 12th-century structures, creating spatial juxtapositions that disrupt historical continuity (Korat, 2009). Like many ancient cities in Turkey, Kayseri has experienced a substantial loss of cultural heritage.

Older generations often perceived modern apartments as symbols of progress, a view that contributed to the abandonment of historic neighborhoods (Figure 8). Formerly prestigious areas were left to newcomers, leading to the neglect of buildings and the gradual erosion of long-standing traditions (Özkeçeci, 2004).



**Figure 8** Change in street scale (Sources: İmamoglu, 2006; Oral, 2006; Erciyes 38; Kaya, 2011)

The morphology of housing in Kayseri has undergone significant transformation over time. As the traditional house evolved into modern housing forms, substantial changes occurred in both floor plans and structural organization. As previously noted, traditional houses were organized around the *hayat* (courtyard), which functioned as the central hub linking all domestic activities. Shaped by local living practices, the traditional house was highly responsive to user needs, exemplified by the flexible addition of new rooms when necessary. With the onset of modernization, residents encountered new construction materials, technologies, and apartment-based housing models. The municipality supported this transition by promoting the use of contemporary building technologies in newly planned areas of the city. Residents rapidly embraced these developments. Following the 1945 urban plan, the Sahabiye neighborhood became a central site for family-oriented apartment living. While some residents were allocated plots in exchange for expropriated properties, others relocated to Sahabiye in response to emerging housing trends (Figure 9).



**Figure 9** Examples of traditional Kayseri houses, family apartments, row houses, and apartment blocks (Sources: Özdin, 2009; Oral, 2006)

These family apartments were primarily initiated and financed by affluent families. Although many were initially unfamiliar with the construction processes associated with these new building types, they actively participated in their development. According to interviewees, the planning and design of these apartments often drew inspiration from examples in Istanbul. Engineers—either family members or professionals based in Kayseri—were familiar with such precedents and frequently led the planning and coordination of the projects.

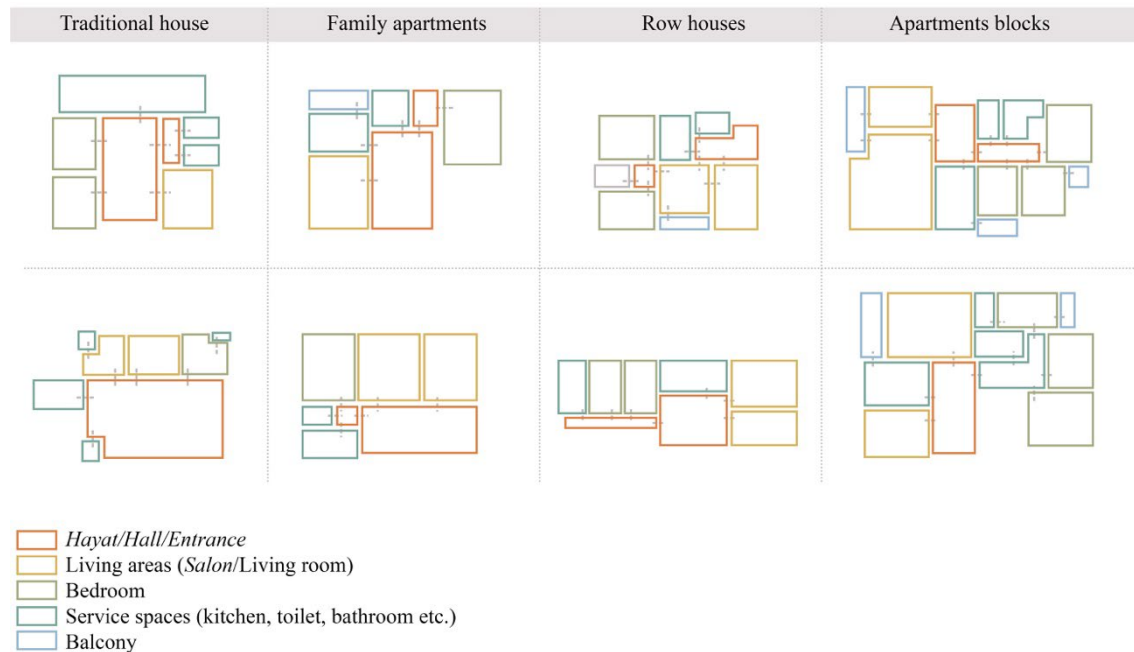
Although the apartment building typology introduced by modernization was initially unfamiliar, residents adapted it to align with their established ways of living. Unlike traditional houses, which evolved through spatial additions, modern apartments have fixed plans. Nevertheless, residents actively intervened during the construction process to create centrally planned layouts that echoed the courtyard-centered (*hayat*) organization of traditional houses. In this adaptation, the central hall replaced the *hayat* as the core space of domestic life, linking all rooms and accommodating a range of everyday activities. Like the *hayat*, the hall also served multiple functions—occasionally used as a sleeping area, much like the harem rooms, as noted by interviewees.

A comparison between the traditional house and the family apartment reveals several key spatial and material differences. Traditional houses were constructed using stone and followed an organic layout that allowed for spatial expansion over time. In contrast, family apartments are built with reinforced concrete and adhere to fixed floor plans. The central space in traditional houses—the open-air *hayat*—is replaced in family apartments by an enclosed central hall that serves a similar connective function. In the traditional house, the largest space was the *sofa*, typically elevated above adjacent rooms and used for both everyday life and receiving guests. In the family apartment, this role is assumed by the *salon* (guest room), though its scale is more restrained due to standardized ceiling heights. One notable shift is the relocation of the toilet from exterior areas, such as the courtyard, to the interior of the house. Likewise, while traditional houses featured private *gusülhane* units within individual rooms, family apartments introduced a shared bathroom. The addition of the balcony—absent in traditional housing—represents another architectural innovation that distinguishes the apartment typology.

The family apartment aligns closely with modern housing typologies when considering its general characteristics. For example, some floor plans include a small anteroom adjoining the parents' bedroom to enhance privacy. However, this architectural model—originally adopted from Western design conventions—has been shaped by traditional housing culture. Consequently, features such as a central hall, overhead storage areas above bathrooms or kitchens, and built-in cupboards (*yüklük*) in certain units distinguish the family apartment from standard modern housing prototypes.

The spatial organization of cooperative houses—also referred to as row houses in some sources—particularly those located along Sivas Street, reflects a closer alignment with contemporary housing concepts compared to family apartments. In these houses, the central hallway characteristic of family apartments is replaced by a small entry vestibule, which serves solely as a greeting space. A key distinction in these houses is the introduction of a bedroom hall:

similar to layouts in Western modern housing, a more private corridor branches off from the main living area, providing access to the bedrooms. Incorporating this bedroom hall and the more precise articulation of spatial boundaries contributes to a layout more consistent with standardized modern housing models (Figure 10).



**Figure 10** Morphological differentiation from traditional houses to apartment blocks

Traditional lifestyles and housing designs in Kayseri were inherently conducive to collective living. Extended families commonly gathered in the central space—the *hayat*—to socialize and reinforce intergenerational bonds. Interviewees who had lived in traditional houses frequently recalled, with affection, evenings spent around the *iskembi* (a type of hearth), sharing warmth and conversation. In stove-heated houses, particularly in early family apartment buildings, the central hall functioned as the main heated area, with adjacent rooms warmed indirectly. This spatial and thermal configuration encouraged co-presence in shared areas. In contrast, several middle-aged interviewees described the contemporary trend—where family members spend time in separate rooms—as “unfortunate” or “negative.” While such individualization was seldom mentioned in relation to stove-heated houses, it was more commonly associated with radiator-heated houses, where each room is independently heated.

Another notable aspect of life in family apartment buildings was the tendency toward collective living not only among family members but also among neighbors. Many individuals accustomed to the “inward-facing” spatial and social logic of traditional houses continued similar patterns of interaction after relocating to family apartments, often sharing space with extended family or familiar neighbors. As a result, a sense of shared domesticity and communal life persisted despite the shift in architectural form. Several interviewees recalled that doors were frequently left open in these buildings, and residents moved freely between one another’s houses.

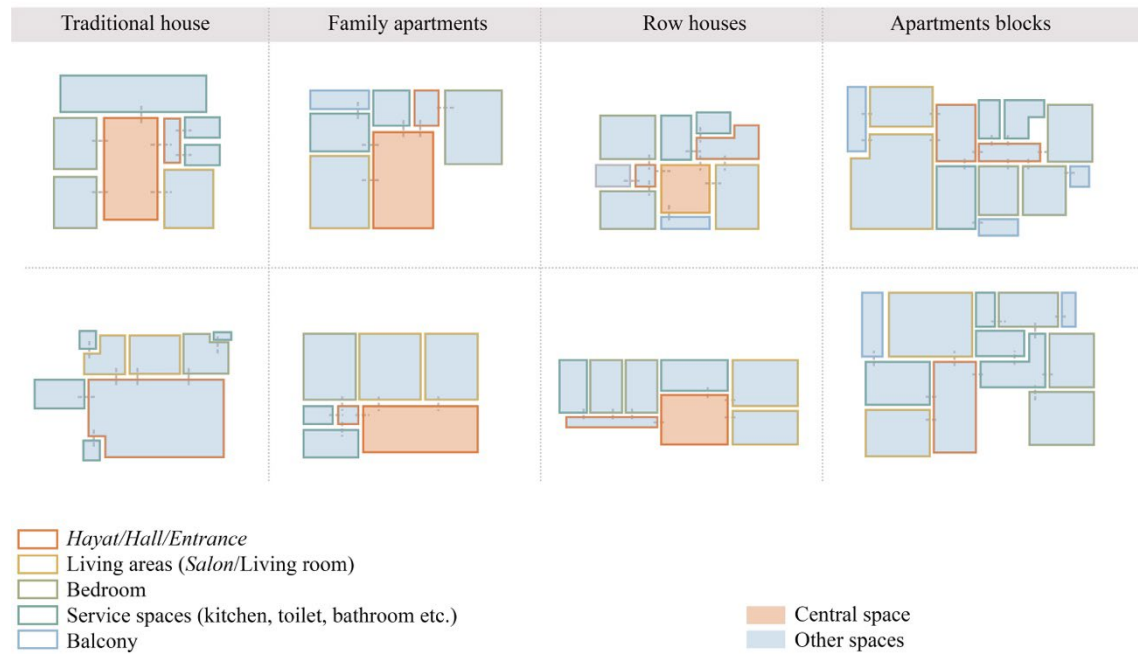
However, this sense of collective living gradually diminished with the advent of cooperative housing, which fostered more formalized and individual-oriented lifestyles. Many former residents of family apartments, who had previously lived alongside relatives and acquaintances, now found themselves sharing buildings with unfamiliar neighbors, particularly in the new cooperative housing developments along Sivas Street. These modern houses, more closely aligned with contemporary housing standards, encouraged inward-oriented, nuclear-family-based domestic life. Several interviewees described this transition as being marked by greater social distance, symbolically and spatially, as front doors remained closed and inter-household interaction declined.

In cooperative houses, where domestic life tends to be more inward-oriented than family apartments, the house layout typically features a dual living area between the entrance hall and the bedroom corridor. The larger of these spaces is situated closer to the main entrance, while the smaller one is accessed via the bedroom hall and connects directly to the private areas of the house. This spatial configuration reflects and reinforces a more segmented and privacy-oriented mode of domestic life. The main living area, which links to the kitchen and toilet through the entrance hall and to the bedrooms and bathroom via the bedroom corridor, also opens onto the street through a front balcony, functioning as the central node of household activity. A door separating the two living spaces further enhances this segmentation, assigning the larger room the role of a formal *salon* used primarily for receiving guests.

Compared to the layout of a family apartment, where the front door opens directly into a central hall, the living space in cooperative housing is positioned deeper within the interior of the house. This configuration results in a more secluded living area, which may be described as an inner-*hayat*: a contemporary reinterpretation of the traditional *hayat*, offering increased spatial privacy in settings where buildings are shared with non-kin. Furthermore, this space is separated from the *salon*—typically used to receive male guests—by an interior door, thereby situating it in alignment with cultural norms surrounding *mahram* and gendered spatial practices.

The cooperative housing predominantly constructed along Sivas Street strongly aligns with contemporary housing typologies. In the contemporary context, the inward-facing structure characteristic of traditional domestic life has evolved into a spatial organization that accommodates a more open daytime life and a more private nighttime routine (Ateş, 1997). This transformation has produced two distinct functional zones, separated by transitional spaces such as the entrance hall and the bedroom corridor—a layout reflects the spatial segmentation typical of modern housing design. Technological advancements, including the introduction of plumbing and household appliances such as refrigerators, have brought new conveniences and contributed to the reorganization of domestic interiors around specific functions, reinforcing a more individualized and compartmentalized mode of living.

These houses—particularly in their spatial organization around what is described in this study as the inner-*hayat*—exemplify a hybrid typology. While the overall apartment structure was shaped by Western models of modernization, cooperative housing units differ from family apartments in that residents had little direct influence over the layout. Nevertheless, it appears that the architects or engineers responsible for their design, sharing common cultural codes, incorporated spatial configurations that remained compatible with local living practices. Alternatively, the space originally conceived as a *salon-salomanje* (En. dining room, Fr. *salle à manger*), characteristic of Western housing and frequently depicted in Yeşilçam cinema, did not align with a formal dining culture in Kayseri. Instead, residents reinterpreted this space and gradually transformed it into an inner-*hayat*. Although these modern houses were initially designed according to Western standards, they became hybridized through everyday practices and localized reinterpretations, in this way (Figure 11).



**Figure 11** The disappearance of the central space

The apartment blocks constructed along Sivas Street represent a residential typology consistent with the modern housing model, in which each space is defined by a specific function. These units, ranging from 200 to 300 square meters, feature floor plans that distinctly separate daytime and nighttime zones. The daytime zone comprises the entrance hall, which provides access to the kitchen, living room, *salon*, and a restroom. From the same entrance hall, a bedroom corridor leads to the private areas of the house, including bedrooms, a bathroom, and, in some cases, additional spaces such as a laundry room. All functional areas are organized around two transitional spaces: the entrance hall and the bedroom corridor, which together structure the spatial hierarchy of the unit.

In family apartment buildings, the central hall functioned as both a living space and a reception area. In contrast, cooperative housing introduced a specialized entrance hall, designed exclusively for reception. Although the entrance hall remains a feature in contemporary apartment blocks, its scale has expanded to approximate a living area. As part of the daytime zone, it now serves as the primary spatial node for daytime circulation. However, despite its increased size, it continues to function predominantly as a transitional space and point of entry, rather than as a site of everyday activity and social interaction, as the central hall once did.

The use of corridors in apartment buildings first appeared in the early 1930s in housing structures constructed in neighborhoods such as Şişli, Taksim, and Nişantaşı. In these early examples, the front section of the house typically consisted of one or more *salon* units. In contrast, the rear section accommodated the bedrooms and a bathroom, arranged along a corridor. The kitchen was positioned between these two zones. The front part of the house was designed as a semi-public space accessible to guests, whereas the rear part was reserved as a private, inward-facing area, disconnected from external visibility (Pulat Gökmen, 2011). Within this spatial hierarchy, the bedroom hall—or “night hall”—plays a key role in maintaining privacy and reinforcing the functional segmentation of domestic space (Figure 12).



**Figure 12** Changes in domestic privacy

In contemporary housing—particularly in many urban settings—floor plans are typically organized into two primary zones. The first comprises the entrance hall and the connected spaces, such as the living room, *salon*, kitchen, and a toilet. The second zone, accessible through the entrance hall, includes the bedroom hall and the private spaces it connects to, primarily the bedrooms and a shared bathroom. This clear functional segregation and increased house sizes have contributed to the prevalence of 4+1 layouts (three bedrooms, one living room, and one *salon*) or larger. In such configurations, it is common for each household member to occupy a separate, individualized room.

In the houses along Sivas Street, the bedroom hall is typically small and serves primarily as a transitional space, separated from the daily living area by a door to ensure privacy. In contrast, in larger houses that emerged in later periods, the bedroom hall constitutes part of a more distinct, separate spatial domain. In some examples, the corridor extends and changes direction within itself, creating deeper layers of privacy and further reinforcing spatial segmentation and hierarchy. These elongated and reoriented corridors function as buffers between rooms, enhancing acoustic and visual separation and thereby contributing to the individualization of intra-household relationships (Kurt, 2021).

As individuals move through these spaces—from public to private through a series of thresholds—the communal relationships once fostered in the *hayat* of traditional houses, or the central hall of family apartments have increasingly given way to individualized living patterns. This transformation becomes more pronounced as children grow up and leave the house, often resulting in the remaining spouses spending time in separate rooms of their preference (Figure 13).



**Figure 13** Changes in space usage across daytime and nighttime

From traditional to modern houses, the spatial section of the house has undergone a significant transformation. While the overall structural form has shifted from horizontal layouts to vertical constructions, the internal spatial organization has moved in the opposite direction—from vertical to horizontal. Traditional houses were typically one- or two-story structures with basements, where spatial relationships were articulated vertically. Architectural elements such as *seki* (raised platforms) and *seki altı* (spaces beneath these platforms) created vertical stratifications within individual rooms, reinforcing a layered sense of spatial hierarchy. However, with the introduction of family apartments, residences became confined to single-floor units within multi-story buildings, resulting in the loss of these internal vertical relationships and the flattening of domestic space (Figure 14).

One of the most notable features of family apartments is their ability to accommodate the traditional extended family lifestyle within a new architectural form. In traditional houses, spatial expansion typically occurred horizontally by adding new rooms to meet the evolving needs of a growing family. In family apartments, this logic was reinterpreted vertically by adding extra floors. As one interviewee recounted, in the family apartment his father had built in Sahabiye, his grandfather lived on one floor, his nuclear family resided on another, and the top floor had been pre-constructed for him to occupy after marriage. In this way, the spatial logic of the traditional house—characterized by incremental horizontal expansion—was reimagined through vertically stacked units. This transformation illustrates how modern housing forms were adapted to retain the multi-generational living arrangements embedded in local cultural practices.

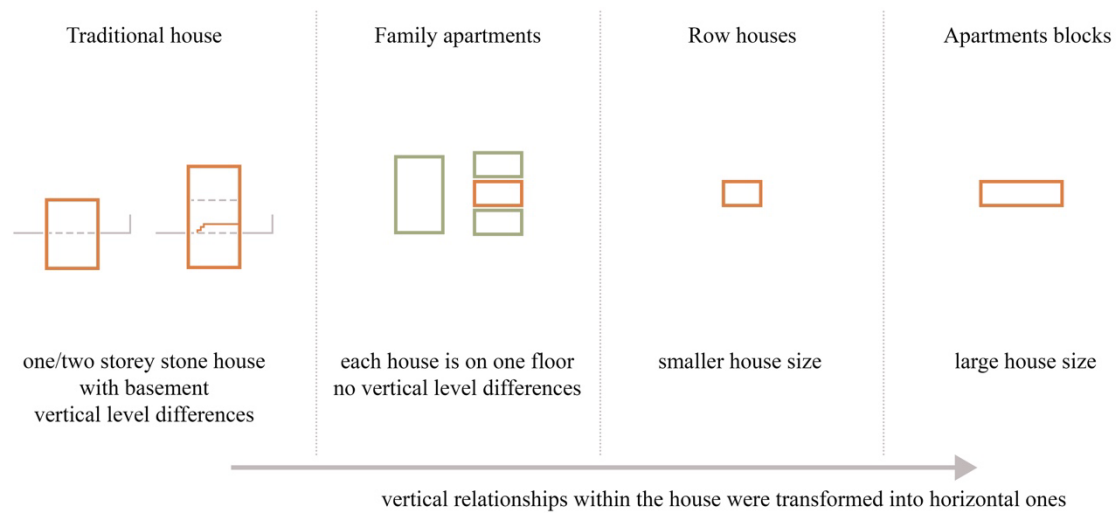
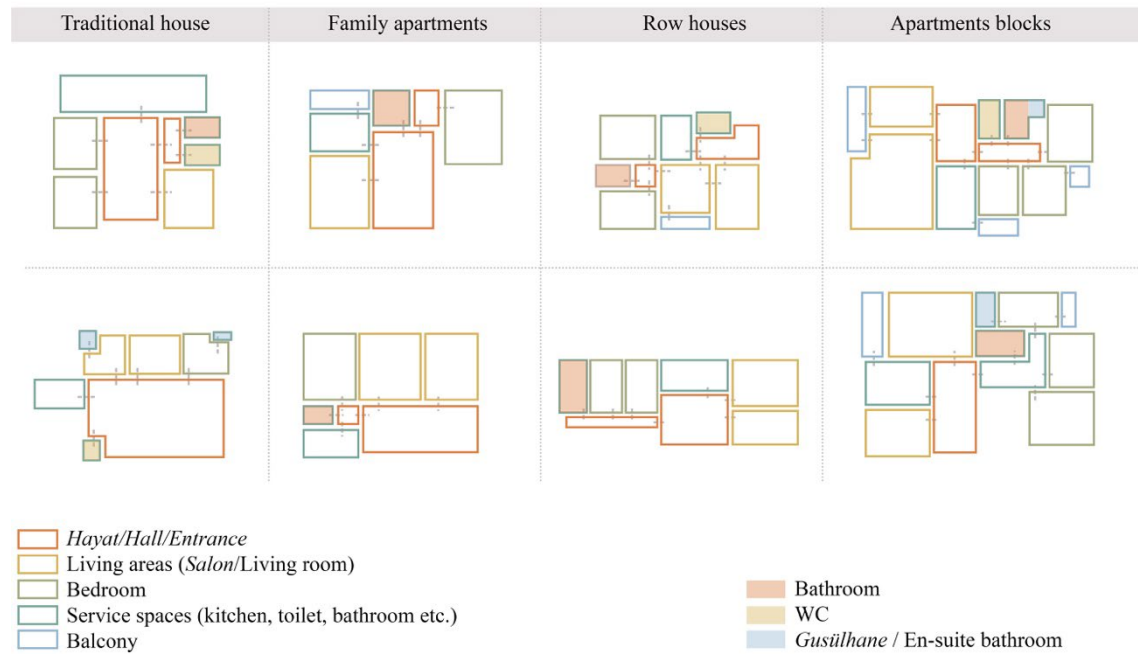


Figure 14 Change of house section

In the traditional house, people were accustomed to immediate access to a private open space or gardens outside their doors. Despite this, the transition to apartment living occurred relatively smoothly. A key factor in this adaptation was the rationalizing logic introduced by modernization. Although the new housing typology did not entirely correspond to existing cultural practices and spatial habits, it was readily embraced due to its comfort, convenience, and modern amenities (Figure 15, Figure 16).



Figure 15 The transformation of the sofa into the salon in apartment layouts



**Figure 16** The relocation of the bathroom: the WC was moved inside the house; the gusülhane was first lost, then reinterpreted as an en-suite bathroom

Although the people of Kayseri quickly adapted to apartment living due to its comfort and convenience, they have not fully adjusted to the social dynamics of the modern housing system despite having lived in such settings for over fifty years. In contemporary apartment life, interpersonal relationships tend to be more distant, and people adopting a more individualistic lifestyle are often less engaged in neighborly interactions than in the past. While each new housing typology was initially embraced as a symbol of modernity and social mobility, everyday life within apartments has increasingly become more introverted. Nonetheless, once interpersonal connections are established, residents often revive modes of solidarity reminiscent of the extended family structure. Under favorable conditions, these habitual social practices resurface, illustrating the persistence and adaptability of traditional forms of sociality within modern residential environments.

Human behavior often operates through habituated patterns that facilitate quick decision-making. The mind can be likened to a mechanism that triggers context-dependent responses, shaped by prior experiences. For instance, individuals accustomed to an individualistic lifestyle may initially retreat into personal space when confronted with unfamiliar social settings. However, as trust and familiarity develop, ingrained social habits—rooted in earlier communal modes of interaction—may reemerge.

The shift from individualism to communal interaction often unfolds gradually in apartment living. Initially marked by social distance, neighborly relations tend to evolve, echoing older forms of neighborhood solidarity. Residents begin to reoccupy shared spaces informally, placing items on balconies, entrusting children to neighbors, or storing belongings in communal areas such as rooftops. These seemingly minor practices signal a return to collective habits embedded in earlier modes of living. As spatial boundaries become more porous, prior social codes resurface. In this process, individualization—fueled by the forgetting of communal life—is countered by acts of remembering that reinstate routines of solidarity and shared domesticity.

Some individuals approach the apartment setting as if it were a private home with a garden, overlooking the collective nature of shared spaces and the norms of equal participation they entail. This attitude reflects spatial perceptions and embodied habits inherited from earlier housing typologies. How residents engage with their neighbors in apartment buildings often illustrates this

continuity. Though seemingly minor, practices such as placing chairs in stairwells or corridors reveal how shared spaces are reimagined as semi-private extensions of the domestic sphere.

During a visit to one of the interviewees, two other residents of the same building were observed sitting in front of their doors, cracking sunflower seeds around a small table and chairs placed in the shared corridor. Although they explained their behavior as a response to the heat inside their house, this use of communal space as an extension of the private domestic sphere illustrates how prior spatial habits continue to inform practices in modern housing environments.

Such practices transform apartment living into a configuration reminiscent of family apartment arrangements. In these settings, where doors are often left open and shared spaces are used collectively, residents recreate, at the apartment scale, the neighborhood culture they once inhabited. It reflects a continuation of earlier social habits, manifesting as a form of communal living within modern housing structures.

Subtle expressions of this spatial perception frequently surface in everyday practices. For instance, placing a trash bin at the apartment entrance or leaving shoes outside the door reflects habits grounded in a traditional mindset. The implicit logic is: “The shoes remain outside because this is not the house proper—it is an extension of the garden.” However, the apartment corridor is meant to be a shared space. Yet, the individual does not fully internalize this and continues to act based on past habits. These behaviors indicate that the person’s perception of space has not fully adapted. They still view the corridor as a separate living area, struggling to accept it as a space for communal use.

This mindset offers valuable insights into how an individual’s perception of space is shaped and how they instinctively interact with shared areas. In traditional rural life, the boundaries of the house were clearly defined, whereas gardens and outdoor spaces were perceived as more flexible and communal. These spatial habits have endured through the transition to urban living, reemerging in modified forms within apartment settings.

For instance, practices such as perceiving the corridor beyond the doorstep as a garden, leaving trash outside the door, or hanging laundry on the building’s façade reflect the persistence of traditional spatial logics. These behaviors are not simply individual habits but represent inherited spatial practices transmitted across generations. People subconsciously organize and use shared apartment spaces in accordance with prior dwelling experiences, treating them as extensions of their private domain.

While the balcony is formally part of the house, it is often perceived not as an interior space but as an extension of the garden. However, this perception has shifted among individuals who have adopted more Westernized lifestyles, as evidenced by practices such as drying laundry on the balcony or using indoor drying racks.

## **5. Conclusion**

The transformation of housing in Kayseri reflects the city’s unique position at the intersection of enduring cultural traditions and successive waves of modernization. This study has demonstrated that national policies and ideological shifts, local dynamics, spatial practices, and socio-economic structures have continually redefined domestic architecture in Kayseri. Rather than serving as a passive recipient of top-down planning decisions, Kayseri has actively negotiated the terms of its urban development, producing a distinct trajectory of housing transformation, locally rooted and shaped by broader structural forces.

While many typological shifts identified in this study—such as the transition from courtyard houses to apartment blocks or the rise of nuclear family-oriented layouts—mirror national patterns observed across Turkey, Kayseri’s experience offers a particularly nuanced interpretive frame. Its transformation has been shaped not only by national planning regimes but also by the city’s

embedded cultural codes, historical layering, and the persistent influence of local memory on spatial adaptation.

The traditional Kayseri house—with its courtyard-centered organization, multifunctional spaces, and environmentally responsive design—embodied a mode of living rooted in kinship networks, religious norms, and neighborhood solidarity. These houses functioned as shelters and material expressions of social relations and everyday practices. The Republican era, however, marked the onset of spatial standardization and architectural modernization. The increasing adoption of apartment buildings—particularly the post-1980 high-rise typologies—signaled a broader shift toward compartmentalized spatial arrangements and nuclear family-oriented lifestyles.

Drawing on oral histories, archival materials, spatial analysis, and field observations, this study has traced how transformations in housing have reshaped not only the morphology of the houses but also daily routines, interpersonal dynamics, and notions of privacy and belonging. Crucially, this transition was neither linear nor uniform. Instead, it unfolded through ongoing negotiations as residents adapted modern housing forms to traditional spatial and social logics—transforming, for instance, central halls into symbolic “inner hayat” spaces or repurposing corridors and balconies as semi-private communal zones. This hybridity underscores the resilience of cultural memory and the persistence of traditional spatial practices within contemporary housing frameworks.

Kayseri’s housing transformation illustrates that modernization is neither simply imported nor uniformly applied, but rather reinterpreted and reconfigured through local agency. It highlights the importance of place-based and culturally sensitive perspectives in urban research and planning. Effective future strategies must account for economic and spatial considerations and the enduring influence of social norms, historical memory, and everyday spatial practices that shape domestic life.

Ultimately, Kayseri’s housing culture provides a critical perspective for understanding the entanglements of identity, memory, and urban form. It demonstrates that cities like Kayseri—where tradition and modernity are deeply interwoven—invite us to reconsider urban transformation not as a binary rupture but as a layered and negotiated process that continues to unfold over time.

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## CRedit Authorship Contribution Statement

Nihan Muş Özmen: Writing – Original draft, Methodology, Analysis, Writing – review & editing. Burak Asiliskender: Writing – review & editing

## Declaration of Competing Interest

*The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interest or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.*

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## Data Availability

*Data will be made available on request.*

## Ethics Committee Decision Number

*E-23934413-050.02.04-56026*

## Resume

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