

T.C.
YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF HEALTH SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF NUTRITION AND DIETETICS

**MEAT EATING CULTURE AND SEXISM
IN DİYARBAKIR**

MASTER THESIS

ROTİNDA ÇAĞDAŞ

İSTANBUL-2021

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APPROVAL

This thesis has been deemed by the jury in accordance with the relevant articles of Yeditepe University Graduate Education and Examinations Regulation and has been approved by Administrative Board of Institute with decision dated 01.03.2021 and numbered 2021/02-08

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.

Rotinda AĞDAŞ

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ABSTRACT

Çağdaş, Rotinda. (2021). Meat Eating Culture and Sexism in Diyarbakır, Yeditepe University Institute of Health Sciences, Department of Nutrition and Dietetics, Msc Thesis, İstanbul

In this study, it has been tried to examine the relationship between meat consumption and sexism of people living in Diyarbakır. Geography and climate factors that affect people's food choices, what social rituals mean for individuals, how the table culture is, what are the perspectives of food selection and especially meat in the context of gender are tried to be understood. The researcher made interviews with the participants using the method of in-depth interviews, apart from these interviews, researcher went to Diyarbakır between 2018-2019 and used these observations in the study. In this study, 17 participants between the ages of 25-60 were interviewed and discussed about table cultures, eating habits, domestic division of labor and social meanings of meat consumption. As a result of the study, it has been observed that the effect of climate, geography, social and religious rituals are fundamental in the formation of Diyarbakır's culinary culture, meat consumption is the main part of the cuisine culture, power and meat consumption are intertwined, so meat consumption is linked to gender relations. After trying to understand the relationship between meat consumption and sexism through in-depth interviews, it has been observed that there are two main reasons why people reduce meat consumption. The first is that high meat consumption is thought to negatively affect their health. The second is whether or not men are at home affects meat consumption. These results show that a relationship can be established between meat consumption and sexism.

Key Words: Diyarbakır, Culinary Culture, Meat Commodification, Eat Consumption

ÖZET

Çağdaş, Rotinda. (2021). Diyarbakır'da Et Yeme Kültürü ve Cinsiyetçilik, Yeditepe Üniversitesi Sağlık Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Beslenme ve Diyetetik Ana Bilim Dalı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul

Bu çalışmada Diyarbakır'da yaşayan insanların et tüketimi ve et tüketiminin cinsiyetçilikle olan ilişkisi incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. İnsanların besin seçimini etkileyen coğrafya ve iklim faktörleri, toplumsal ritüellerin bireyler için ne ifade ettiği, sofranın kültürünün nasıl olduğu, besin seçimine ve özellikle ete toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında bakış açılarının ne olduğu anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır. Araştırmacı, katılımcılarla derinlemesine mülakat yöntemiyle görüşmeler yapmış, bu görüşmeler dışında 2018-2019 yılları arasında Diyarbakır'a gitmiş ve bu gözlemleri de çalışmada kullanmıştır. Bu çalışmada 25-60 yaş aralığında 17 katılımcı ile görüşmeler yapılmış ve sofranın kültürleri, beslenme alışkanlıkları, ev içi iş bölümü ve et tüketiminin toplumsal anlamları üzerine konuşulmuştur. Çalışmanın sonucunda Diyarbakır'ın mutfak kültürünün oluşmasında iklimin, coğrafyanın, toplumsal ve dini ritüellerin etkisinin temel olduğu, et tüketiminin mutfak kültürünün temel parçası olduğu, erkin ve et tüketiminin iç içe geçtiği, dolayısıyla et tüketiminin toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri ile bağlantılı olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Et tüketiminin cinsiyetçilikle ilişkisi derinlemesine mülakatlarla anlaşılmasına çalışıldıktan sonra insanların et tüketimini azaltmasının iki temel gerekçesi olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Birincisi, yüksek et tüketiminin sağlıklarını olumsuz yönde etkilediğinin düşünülmesidir. İkincisi ise erkeklerin evde olup olmamasının et tüketimini etkilemesidir. Bu sonuçlar da et tüketimi ve cinsiyetçiliğin arasında bir ilişki kurulabileceğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Diyarbakır, Mutfak Kültürü, Etin Metalaştırılması, Et Tüketimi

1. INTRODUCTION

Nutrition, which is a basic requirement in the continuity of living life, has undergone changes and transformations depending on the historical developments throughout human history. Which food group is consumed and how often has changed according to what people do in order to sustain their lives and find food. Meat consumption was achieved by hunting in hunting and gathering, then by domesticating animals after they passed to the agricultural society. After the Industrial Revolution, the number of large industrial farms increased. The importance of meat in people's diets for thousands of years has caused the meaning of meat to change in the regional cuisine culture.

In the first part of the thesis, historical processes of Anatolian Cuisine and eating habits in different periods are explained. The transition of humanity from hunter-gatherer to agricultural society and the nutritional behaviors in the settled life in Anatolia are explained, and the foods consumed and the ways of keeping them in the nomadic lifestyle and settled life are stated. It is necessary to understand the nutritional culture in Anatolia in order to understand today's eating habits and the reasons for preferring the foods consumed and to explain the relationship between lifestyle and nutrition. Access to information such as the foods and cooking methods consumed by the Seljuks is written in *Divan-ı Lügatit Türk*, thus it offers a wide range of nutritional habits of the period. After the *Divan-ı Lügatit Türk*, information about food manners, table culture and rituals were also learned in Yusuf Has Hacı's book called *Kutadgu Bilig*. After the Seljuk culinary culture, the culinary culture of the Ottoman Empire was explained, the differences between the palace and the culinary culture and how the nutrition, which was the basic need in the palace kitchen, meant a cultural meaning, was explained. Geographically, as Anatolia is home to many empires and civilizations, it is important to explain that Ottoman culinary culture was influenced by all these civilizations and that culinary cultures were blended, to understand the cuisine culture of a city like Diyarbakır where many civilizations and cultures live together. While explaining how the Anatolian culinary culture was affected by civilizations and lifestyles, the direct and indirect effects of the Industrial Revolution, which changed the production system of the whole world, meant the transition from the agricultural society to the industrial society and thus directed the consumption habits, on the Anatolian Culinary Culture. With the proliferation of tools, women's participation in business life, the acceleration of food production and the

ease of transportation, nutrition cultures have left their own geographies and have increased the interaction between kitchens. In addition, the change and transformation of the consumed foods with industrialization, for example the start of margarine production, has also affected the cuisine cultures of the countries.

In the second part of the thesis, after giving information about the history, geographical and climatic characteristics of Diyarbakır, local foods and rituals after the Anatolian cuisine culture, the effects of meat consumption on health, the effects of animal farms on nature and climate are explained.

In the third chapter, the institution of the family and the division of labor within the family have been theoretically explained, and the division of labor based on gender in anarchic societies, hunter-gatherer societies and sedentary life is discussed.

In the last section, in order to explain the relationship between meat eating culture and sexism, the commodification of the female body, the commodification of meat and the concept of "absent referent" are examined. The perspective of women on meat consumption, their place at the table and their food consumption habits were tried to be compared with the food consumption habits of men, and 17 participants living in Diyarbakır were interviewed with in-depth interviews to explain their regional perspective on cuisine culture and meat consumption.

The reason for the researcher to study the subject is that he was born and raised in Diyarbakır, has the chance to observe the dominant meat eating culture and the meaning of meat, which is the cornerstone of the cuisine culture with gender-based division of labor. After the researcher started to eat vegetarian diet, he had the opportunity to observe what meat meant at the table and socially in Diyarbakır.

In the thesis writing process, some basic texts were used to explain the relationship between nutrition culture and sexism. These; "Middle Eastern Culinary Cultures" edited by Sami Zubaida and Richard Tapper, "Anthropology of Women" by Rayna R. Reiter, "The Sexual Policy of Meat" by Carol J. Adams and "Animal Theory" by Derek Ryan.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.TURKISH CULINARY CULTURE

Factors affecting the eating and drinking habits of societies can be categorized under 4 headings. These; geographical location, agricultural activities, socio-cultural characteristics and their relations with other societies. Resources related to Turkish culinary culture, starts from the 10th and 11th century. Since Turks are a nomadic society, meat and fermented dairy products form the basis of their nutrition after settling, they started to consume cereals and vegetables (Güler, 2010).

Although Turkish cuisine is mostly meat, it also makes a reference to vegetarian cuisine as it contains unique foods such as molasses, bulgur, yogurt and tarhana (Solmaz & Altner, 2018).

2.1.2.The First Settlers in Anatolia to the 16th Century

The transition of humanity from hunting and gathering to agricultural society, producing and processing food, technological developments have largely occurred in Anatolia (Baysal, 2002).

Since Turks who settled in Anatolia from Central Asia are neighbors with many civilizations, nutrition and cuisine culture is quite diverse (Sürücüoğlu & Özçelik, 2007).

The use of cereals and vegetables has begun with the transition to the settled order. In the absence of nutrients, they had produced solutions to keep them intact (Akin, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015). For example, pastrami and sausage were spiced up and moved to the migrated areas and became one of the important food sources when going to wars (Özgür Kızıldemir, 2014). They used yogurt instead of milk when making butter. They made yogurt during summer and kept them all winter, it is called 'kurut'. The oils they used were suet and tallow. The reason for this is adaptation to cold climatic conditions and nomadic way of life (Akin, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

The increase in nutritional diversity has been increased with the domestication of animals in the regions where they live and the cultivation of plants. In this way, the culinary culture specific to the region started to develop. With the introduction of settled life, clay pottery constructions began and they learned to store food. The use of iron, bronze and copper after clay pottery making was another factor that enhances the culinary culture (Akin, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

Many civilizations reigned in Anatolia during the transition to settled order and until the next 10th century. For example; Hittites, Persians, Phrygians, Urartians, Lydians, Romans and Byzantines. However, among these, the most common knowledge of culinary culture is the Hittites. Therefore, examining the culinary culture of the Hittites will shed light on Anatolian culinary culture (Akın, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

2.1.2.1.Nutrition in the Hittities

Until the beginning of the 19th century, knowledge of the Hittites was scarce. The most important work that provides access to today's information is 'Yozgat Tablets'. Since it is called Hatti Country in these tablets, it is called as Hittites today. When the language structure of Hittite was examined, it was determined that it belonged to the Indian European language family and it was determined that it was a tribe migrating from the Caucasus to Anatolia. It is estimated that its borders extend to the Aegean Region in the west and to Aleppo in the south. However, considering the region of artifacts found, it is seen that the main settlements are Central Anatolia (Soğandereli, 2020).

Furnaces and ovens were common in the Hittite houses. It was determined that the Hittites had a rich food variety, especially in pastries. We can understand that flour has an important place in culinary culture because it has nearly 180 flour products. Like bread, pies, and buns flour products were quite high. Animals like cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs were raised. Wild animals; deer, roe deer, wild sheep, wild goats, wild boars, and rabbits were hunted. However, the remarkable point about the Hittites is that they consume less meat in culinary cultures than their predecessors. They made cheese, curd, and butter from the milk of the animals. In addition, they consume; wheat, barley, beans, pea varieties, lentils, chickpeas, vetch, onions, cucumbers, leeks, cabbage, garlic, cumin, sesame, grapes, apples, apricots, hawthorn, pistachios, dates, cherries, and pomegranates. Oil and honey have a special place in Hittite cuisine. In addition, it was stated that Mesopotamia was the pioneer in honey and beekeeping in Anatolia as well as in winemaking (Akın, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

2.1.3.Anatolian Seljuks(1077-1308) and Principalities Period (1227-1521)

The oldest and detailed information about culinary culture of Anatolian Seljuk State; It is included in the Divan-u Lügati-t Turkish work of Kaşgarlı Mahmut. In this work, basic foods and drinks of Anatolian Seljuks are encountered. In the 11th century Kutadgu Bilig by Yusuf Has Hacip on the same date, it is possible to come across

information about the ceremony, feast and table order. In addition, Mevlana's works and Dede Korkut Stories provide a source for understanding the nutrition culture in Anatolia. The conclusion reached in the light of all these sources; It is in the direction that the culture brought from Central Asia during the Seljuk period and the culinary culture of the societies living in Anatolia are fused (Güler, 2010).

In Seljuks, sheep were the leading animal then goat and cattle. The liver, heart, kidney, head, tripe, and intestines of these animals were consumed by cooking with tandoor. The remaining meat was roasted over the fire, filled into clay pots, and the mouth of the pots covered with animal fat and kept for winter. It can be said that this culture of preservation was due to the habit of being a nomadic society and keeping up with the climatic conditions. Another method of preservation was to use the bony meat of the animal by hanging on the trees to dry and using it for stewing. Yogurt, kefir, buttermilk, cream, and cheese were made from the milk of the animals. With yarma (a kind of wheat), toyga soup, yoghurt soup, keskek and ashura were made. Bulgur obtained by cleaning and boiling the wheat (Özgür Kızıldemir, 2014).

It is stated that foods such as ragout, rice, borani, kebab were made in the ceremonies during this period and soup, sherbet, tirit, slurry, halva and kadayif were also given (Akin, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

Fruits; It is stated that fruits such as apples, plums, grapes, quince, which can be consumed in fresh. They also consumed as molasses or as jams in winter (Özgür Kızıldemir, 2014).

Vegetables such as eggplant, spinach, carrots, and radishes consumed in the previous principalities, but broad beans and lentils were used in Central Asia as well as chickpeas and beans in the Seljuk Period. It is thought that the use of spices is also taken from Arab Cuisine. It is stated that the consumption of meat and offal is high and the consumption of vegetables is low in Seljuks. It is stated that the feeding patterns are in the form of mid-morning (breakfast and lunch) and dinner (Akin, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

In addition, the biggest difference between the Seljuks from the Central Asian Turks is that they consume bread alongside each meal. In addition, the fact that adults begin to eat first helps us to understand that they have a hierarchical system according to age (Özgür Kızıldemir, 2014).

2.1.4.Period of the Ottoman Empire (1299-1922)

To understand Ottoman Cuisine, it is necessary to examine it as folk cuisine and palace cuisine. The palace cuisine was quite rich, but the folk cuisine was more simple and based on bread and legumes. The fact that the Ottoman Empire was multinational and accommodated the food culture of different continents; It has made it the third largest cuisine in the world after Chinese and French Cuisine (Güler, 2010).

In general, there are four factors affecting the Ottoman Cuisine.

1. Culinary culture based on meat and dairy products in Central Asia
2. The influence of Arab and Iranian culture
3. Products grown in Anatolia and Roman, Byzantine influence
4. Impact of Islamic Culture

However, in the 18th century, Arab influence, excluding the influence of Ancient, Iranian and Islamic, began to diminish in Ottoman Cuisine (Akin, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

In the Ottoman Palace Cuisine and in the feasts celebrated with the public, meat, rice, various vegetable dishes, desserts, and sherbets were served. Frequently preferred drinks were; water, lemonade, boza, coffee, and sorbet. From the 17th century onwards, the use of oranges, bananas, pineapples, and tomatoes, which had not previously been seen in Ottoman Cuisine, was used. After the conquest of Istanbul, the consumption of seafood in the Ottoman Empire increased and European influence began to be seen. Apart from Istanbul and Saray Cuisine, the consumption of cereals and pastries is quite high in Central Anatolia. In rural and cold climates, the consumption of foods with long shelf life such as bacon (pastirma) is high (Demirgöl, 2018).

2.1.5.The Effect of the Industrial Revolution on Cuisines in the World

2.1.5.1.Direct Impact

The direct effects of the Industrial Revolution on kitchens are classified under 4 main headings. These; technological developments, developments in storage and packaging, standardization and industrial food production as seen in Figure - 1.

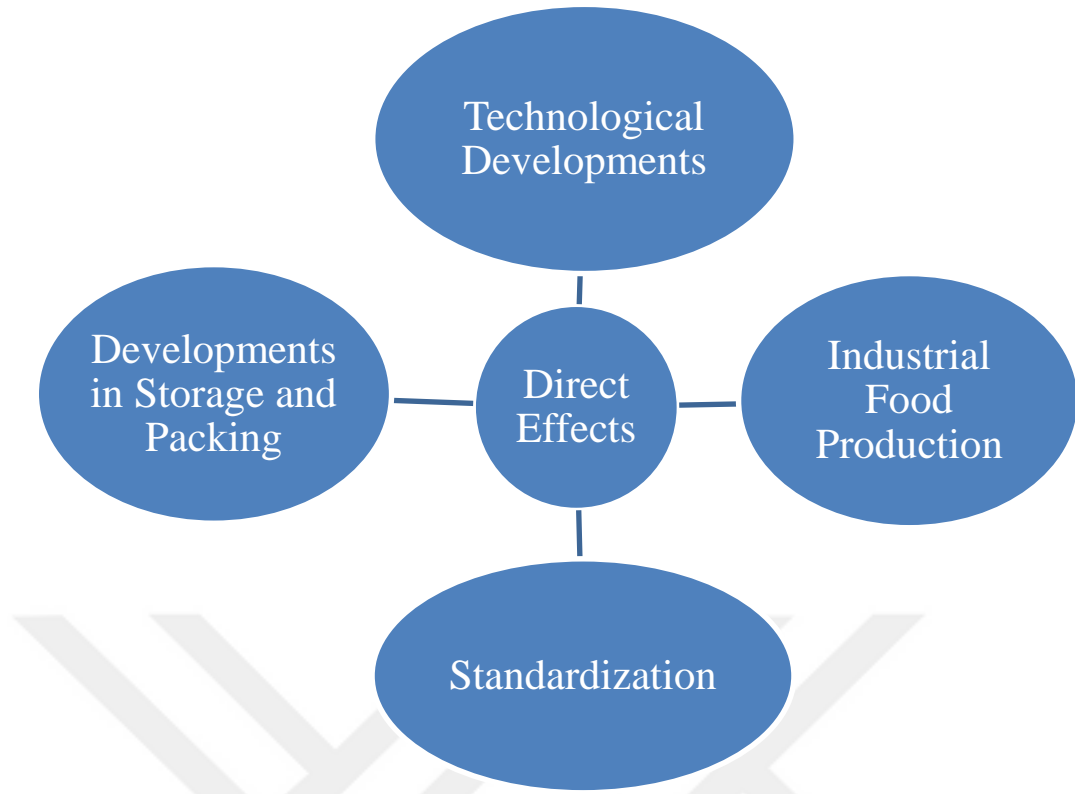


Figure – 1: The Direct Effects of the Industrial Revolution on Culinary Culture
(prepared by Rotinda Çağdaş)

Technological developments after the Industrial Revolution affected kitchens. Easier processing of iron and steel, and similar products has enriched the kitchen equipment and cooking methods. In addition, chemical and technological discoveries and inventions have changed the culture of the kitchen. Some of these are;

- Invention and use of milk powder
- Use of margarine
- Production of heat resistant glass
- Production of bread toaster, mixer, refrigerator, microwave oven and blender
- Thermos production (Zencir, 2016).

Until the Industrial Revolution, food preservation was done by traditional methods. In Anatolia, for example, methods such as burying in soil were used to preserve food. However, after the Industrial Revolution, the production of canned food and metal cans began to store food for longer periods. Depending on the storage and packaging, more ready-made products are being used in the kitchen. For example, margarine is used instead of butter in kitchens (Akman & Erbil, 2018).

With the industrialization, collective meals were started to be provided to the workers. When more people were cooking, the transition from boutique kitchens to industrial kitchens started, which required recipes and food storage conditions to be determined. In addition, the concept of food fast food has emerged as it is aimed at the rapid eaten of the food in the workplaces that produce food to the workers and the workers to work longer (Zencir, 2016).

It has emerged to meet collective nutrition. After the factories increased; The need for bulk nutrition has increased. In Turkey; the food was first supplied from outside, then small kitchens were created in the factories, and then food production started in the cafeterias. In the 1960s, the catering sector emerged and all these developments strengthened the industrial kitchenware production sector (Akman & Erbil, 2018).

2.1.5.2. Indirect Effects

The indirect effects of the Industrial Revolution on kitchens are grouped under four main headings. These are the birth of the working class, class changes, developments in transport, and women's entry into working life, as shown in Figure - 2.

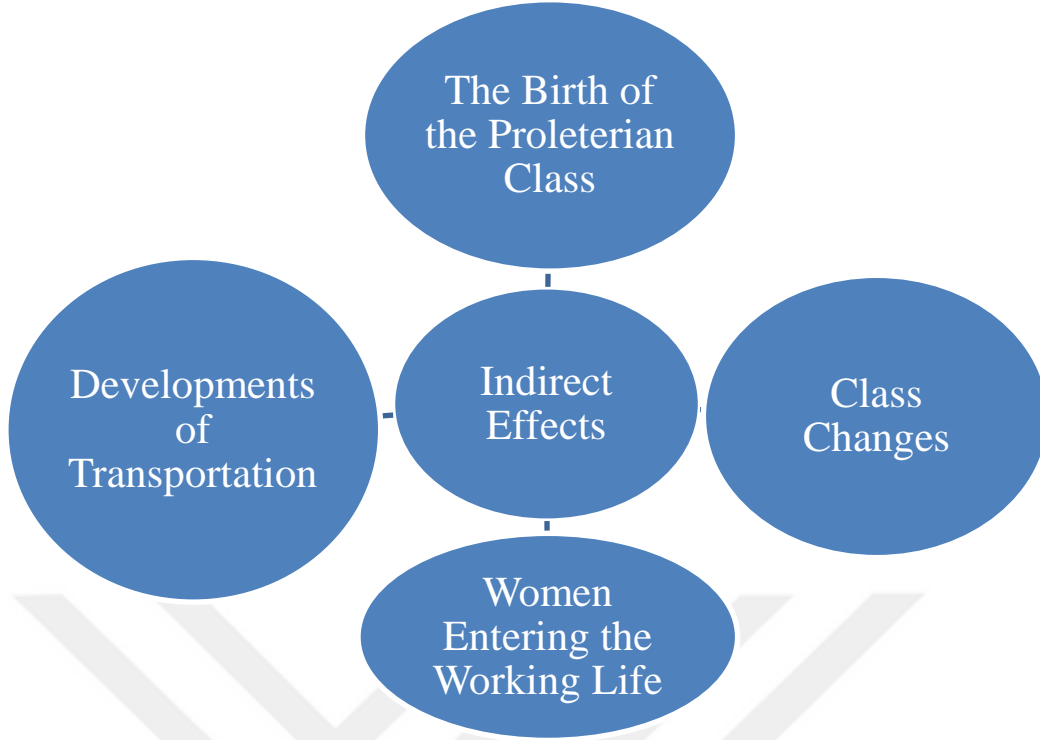


Figure – 2: The Indirect Effects of the Industrial Revolution on Culinary Culture
(Prepared by Rotinda Çağdaş)

Because of the transition to agriculture, the master-apprentice relationship in the guild system was transformed into the boss-worker relationship. The preference of high-calorie, low-paid, fast-serviceable foods and preference of workers close to factories effected the working class. Due to the increasing working hours after the Industrial Revolution, workers began to consume fast and practical foods. In spite of the unionization, the time allocated for eating has increased, but the food that is to be consumed in a practical and fast manner has continued to be consumed (Zencir, 2016).

After the Industrial Revolution, society evolved from agricultural society to industrial society. The existence of industrial society has also revealed the working class and the middle class. The empowerment of the middle class also influenced the culture of eating at home, and people turned to eating more to socialize and to maintain their existing status. However, since people think it's a shame to eat outside, restaurants are used in inns and in the form of rooms. The effect of the formation of the upper and middle class families in Turkey has been the opening of restaurants and especially Pide restaurants. The bourgeois usually dine in hotels. One of the reasons why these hotel

restaurants are successful is that upper class women pave the way for eating in the community. With the formation of this food culture, the status of women in society started to change. In this period, hotel cuisine was called 'houte cousine', which means society style (Akman & Erbil, 2018).

With the use of steam ships, locomotives and automobiles, areas where people could eat during transportation have started to be built. This was one of the reasons that develops the culture of eating out. With the opening of the British Railway in 1825, coal was transported and restaurants were opened around the railway so that workers could eat while working on these constructions. This tourism movement occurred in 1870 in Turkey and opening of the train the 'orient express' and made impact on the introduction of hotels. In 1892 Pera Palace Hotel was opened in Istanbul. With the invention of the car, businesses such as hotels and restaurants established around the railway on different routes. The rail service experienced stagnation after the introduction of the car, and abolished the bed-and-dinner service and continued the bar service (Zencir, 2016).

As a result of all these developments, new practices were required for women and the first 'tea house' was started. Women who could not go to the restaurant preferred these places. When the demand for tea houses increased, a separate market emerged. Even if women are dominant in the kitchen in the house, society is male dominated. For this reason, until the 17th century, when the woman was only at home and could not work outdoors, she had no influence on the kitchen opened out (Akman & Erbil, 2018).

The most important effect of transportation to the kitchen was the ability to deliver food to different destinations. As this allows different culinary cultures to reach different geographies, it has developed the culinary culture of each geography (Zencir, 2016).

After the French Revolution, the chefs who served the bourgeoisie and the aristocrats began to work in restaurants, but there was no information on whether or not women were among them. The fact that women started to work after the industrial revolution had three main effects on culinary culture (Akman & Erbil, 2018). These were;

- Emptying the kitchen in the house
- With the start of working life of the woman with the time to cook in the home to reduce the time to eat ready foods
- Strengthening the domestic economy (Zencir, 2016)

The first important effect of the emptying of the kitchen does not mean not to cook at home. However, the main difference was that lunch was not cooked at home and eaten in the workplace. These developments led to the development of industrial cuisine, and the fact that women turned to ready-made foods while cooking at home improved the culture of canned consumption. With the strengthening of the domestic economy, eating out began to normalize and the working woman demanded to eat outside to socialize (Akman & Erbil, 2018)

The underestimation of cooking and the presence of feminine was a strong paradox. Nutrition, which is the most basic step of life, is the action of the woman in the kitchen where she establishes authority in the family and uses it as a domain of domination. However, it is seen that women did not work in professional kitchens even after the Industrial Revolution and that men worked in these kitchens (Akarçay, 2016).

2.1.6. Republic Period

The cuisine of the Republican Period should be divided into two main topics;

1. Istanbul Cuisine
2. Anatolian Cuisine
 - a) City Cuisine
 - b) Rural Cuisine

In the Ottoman period, the nutritional culture consisted of 2 meals, while during the Cuhuriyet period it increased to 3 meals and animal fat consumption decreased. Olive oil was included in the folk cuisine (Akın, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

General culinary culture characteristics of the Republican Period can be listed as follows;

- Based on agriculture and animal products
- Different according to geographical regions
- Although kebab is abundant, stew and watery food consumption is high.
- Very limited use of sauce
- Molasses was used as a sweetener in desserts (Akın, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015).

2.2.DİYARBAKIR

2.2.1.Culinary Culture of Southeastern Anatolia Region

Anatolian lands are at the intersection of the continents. The nomadic nutrition culture of the Turks from Central Asia, the nutrition culture of the granary Mesopotamia, the consumption culture of fruits and vegetables in the Mediterranean and the surrounding areas, and the spice culture from Asia, affected the nutritional culture of Anatolia. Nutrition culture expands and diversifies but it has been paid attention that the culinary culture is original, which is the basic element for making a decisive identity (Demirgöl, 2018).

As Maslow states in the Hierarchy of Needs, the primary step for individuals to survive is 'nutrition'. Nutrition is culture besides being seen as a basic necessity. When talking about the culinary culture of the Southeastern Anatolia Region, it is necessary to examine human eating habits at early times. Ergani-Çayönü and Şanlıurfa-Göbeklitepe, are the oldest known settlements in Southeastern Anatolia. Göbeklitepe, the first place of worship in history, shows that Mesopotamia was one of the first settlements of humanity. Then people started to consume different foods together and create table culture (Düzgün & Özkaya, 2015).

The transition to the settled life, after the discovery of fire, food, cooking and flavor-enhancing spices and plants began to be used. Since the use of spices began with the collection and drying of the plants, people began to cultivate to grow plants. This led them to move from hunter gathering to settled life. Davis and McBride (2008) interpret kitchen preparations as 'one of the ways in which culture is expressed, such as sculpture or dance ken, while describing all of the processes in which human culture is influenced by the way of life. Culinary art; it is shaped according to the taste of human beings and has a wide impact from the first age to the present (Akarçay, 2016).

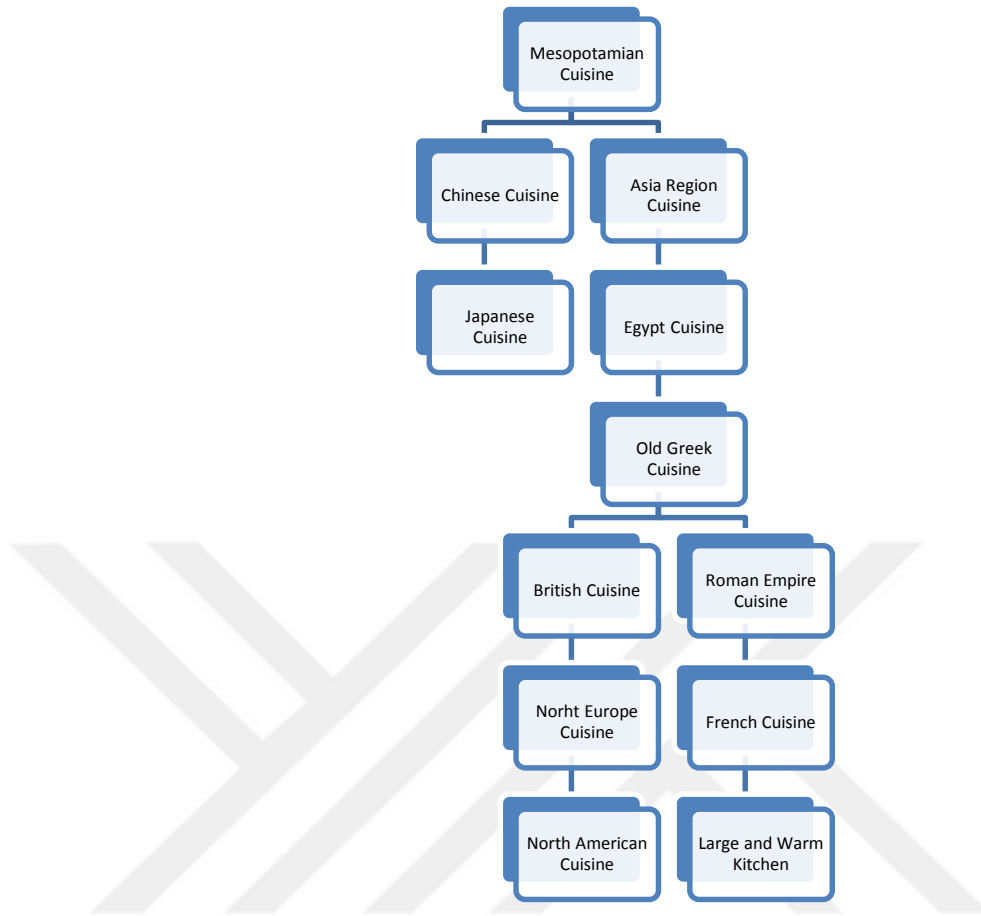


Figure - 3 : Kitchens Influenced by Mesopotamian Cuisine by Rotinda Çağdaş

2.2.2. Historical Structure of Diyarbakır

Diyarbakır, in southeastern Anatolia, is a walled city with traditional courtyard homes, not only in Turkey one of the most important cities in the World (Diyarbakır İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2019).

Between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers of today's Diyarbakır BC. It is stated that it was a residential area in 7000 BC, but the exact foundation date of the city is unknown. The history of Diyarbakır shows that the city changed hands with very few agreements, most of them war, while the city changed its domination. Every nation that dominated Diyarbakır was reconstructed and restored, and information about the history of the walls can be reached with 63 inscriptions that can reach today (Parla, 2005).

Diyarbakır and its environs are building bridges between Asia and Europe, where the firsts of human history took place, have increased its importance with the excavations made in the last century. The excavations carried out in and around Çayönü is an important point for being a historical bridge. It was the first settlement established near the Tigris River. This situation is similar to the Egyptians who preferred the Nile River to meet the basic needs of life. The borders created by Tigris constitute the Eastern border of the Roman Empire. Many civilizations have built buildings in this city to show their power and rule and these buildings still exist today. Different languages, religions, and cultures lived and so Diyarbakır has become a cosmopolitan and rich city. Diyarbakır has taken different names in each civilization period and throughout the history it has been named as Amida, Amid, Kara Amid, Diyar-Bekr, Diyarbekir and finally Diyarbakır. Hilar caves near Eğıl-Silvan prove that mankind lived an inhabited life. Apart from being the oldest settlement area and agricultural society in Anatolia, Çayönü hill in Ergani sheds light on the World History about the history of 10,000 years ago. The transition of mankind from nomadic and hunter gathering society to settled life and agricultural society has been in this geography (Diyarbakır İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2019).

In the vicinity of Bismil District of Diyarbakır, the excavations at Üçtepe Höyük yielded important remains from the 2nd millennium, Neo-Assyrian, Hellenistic and Roman periods and it was found to be used as a center. Birkleyn Caves in Lice and Eğıl Castle in Eğıl are examples of the remains of the Assyrians. Although the exact date is unknown, the first settlement in the city. It was found that the steep region called Fis Rock in the city center of Diyarbakır is located in the mound called Amida or Virankale. Fiskaya, the capital city of many civilizations, has provided ease of defense due to its topographical features and therefore the population has intensified over time. After the Hurrians, Diyarbakır came under the sovereignty of Assyrians, Urartians, Alexander the Great, Seleucids and Parthians - Romans - Sasanians, alone or together. He lived under the Byzantine rule from Roman rule until the first half of the 7th century and after 639 he became an Islamic city. Until the Ottoman period, in every stage of the city's history, it had direnç resistance to meet the vital defense needs "and" a continuous functional integrity. Among these civilizations, Romans, Byzantines, Abbasids, Marwans, Seljuks, Artuqids, and Ottomans made the most historical monuments in Diyarbakır. Diyarbakır has an important place in history with the blending of the riches of not only Roman-

Byzantine but also Muslim, Persian, Arab and Turkish states and hosting many different cultures. doors or bushings (Diyarbakır İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2019).

2.2.3.The Impact of Geography and Climate on Culinary Culture

Foods used for cooking and cooking methods of these foods vary according to geographical location and climate conditions. The reason of this; agriculture and animal husbandry in the region is done according to climate and geographical conditions and it is easy to access food grown in the region. To give an example from Turkey while the consumption of fish and rice is high in the coastal region of the Aegean Region, the consumption of fish and rice is limited in the Southeastern Anatolia Region due to the limited wetlands and lack of sea. Due to the geographical conditions that made small ruminants in southeast Turkey, unlike other regions of Turkey sheep and lamb not beef consumption is high. The consumption of bulgur, which is high in production, is high. With the construction of dams in the Southeastern Anatolia Region, rice production has increased and consequently an increase has been observed in its consumption. However, the use of bulgur in most of the local dishes also shows that the change of the culinary culture cannot be done in a short time. In the Southeastern Anatolia Region, people generally preferred to live by the riverside. One of the advantages of living on the riverside is the high diversity of herbs and vegetables grown and easy animal care here. This enabled the consumption of milk and yoghurt in the region to be high (Zubaida & Tapper, Ortadoğu Yemek Kültürlerinin Ulusal, Yerel ve Küresel Boyutları, 2000).

The relationship of any culinary tradition with the variety of plants and animals in that region is clear. However, contrary to what is known, the interaction in the culture of the culinary culture has followed the east to west path of culinary tendencies and traditions, whether they originated from China or India, not from west to east. The effect of Silk and Spice Road on this is great (Franger, 2000). Due to its geographical location, Anatolia has acted as a transition between east and west, as it has hosted many civilizations. It also hosted trade routes such as King's Road and Roman Roads. The trade route used to transport the silk and spices of the East to Europe was called the 'Silk Road'. İpekyolu is not only a trade route, it also plays the role of a cultural bridge between east and west. The Silk Road in the Middle Ages started from China and passed through the important centers of Central Asia and extended from Anatolia to Thrace and from there to Europe (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2020).

Growing of food in the climate and geography of certain borders did not prevent it from spreading to other geographies due to migrations and wars. However, although olive and olive oil were consumed in Ottoman palace cuisine and Aegean Region, they were not recognized in the eastern borders of Anatolia. High consumption of dairy products in Turkey's eastern and southeastern Anatolia and cheese of food consumed due to the nomadic life and adapt to the cold climate indicator is still continuing traditional consumption. Likewise, the consumption of bulgur, not rice, in these regions is related to the lack of suitable conditions for the cultivation of rice since there is no wetland (Franger, 2000).

We can also give the effect of geography and climate on the culinary culture through baklava, which causes controversy between Turks and Greeks. There is evidence that the Turks had been making multi-storey pastries since the 11th century. The reason why Turks make bread and desserts by opening the dough thinly is that they lead a nomadic life and cooking on the sheet metal cooker was the most suitable method for their lifestyle. Baklava can be said to have emerged in this way, and this claim shows how the Turkish way of life affects the way the bread they cook is cooked (Perry, 2000).

Another example for the effect of geography on kitchens is Iran. It is observed that the Elburz mountain ranges in northern Iran are limited in terms of climate, geography, culture, eating habits and lifestyle. Gilan, which is the northern part of the mountain, has a humid and atropical climate, so rice, citrus and tea production and therefore consumption is high. However, since the continental climate is experienced in Azerbaijan and Tehran in the south of this region, barley and wheat are produced, sheep are cared for ovine breeding and barley, wheat and meat consumption is quite high (Bromberger, 2000).

2.2.4. Geographical and Climatic Structure of Diyarbakır

Diyarbakır is one of the oldest settlements in Anatolia. Located on the coasts of the Tigris River, Diyarbakır has become a commercial and cultural center. It is also effective in its integration into different races, religions and cultural structures. It is in the middle of Southeastern Anatolia and north of Mesopotamia. East of Diyarbakır; Siirt and Muş; west of Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman and Malatya; south of Mardin; and Elazığ and Bingöl. Its surface area is 15.355 square kilometers, between the north latitudes of 37,905199 and 40,231934 and between the longitude of 40.37 and 41.20 east. It is mountainous, with a

pit and plains in the middle. City; 37% is covered with mountains and 31% is covered with plains. Since the plains are on the banks of the Tigris River, they are suitable for agriculture. Its altitude varies between 640-660 meters but it is 650 meters on average. In addition, Diyarbakir; It is located on the eastern edge of the basalt plateau between Karacadağ and Tigris and is located in the Tigris Valley (Diyarbakir İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2019).

Although the climate of Diyarbakir is defined as continental climate, summers are hot and dry, but winters are not as cold and snowy as the Eastern Anatolia Region (Diyarbakir İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2019). Although Diyarbakir is shown among the geographies with a continental climate, it is beside the deteriorated Terrestrial climate and the softened and changed Mediterranean Climate characteristics (Arserim & Mete, 2012). The reason for this is that the Southeast Taurus Mountains cut the cold winds coming from the north. The highest temperature ever measured is 46.2 degrees Celsius on 21 July 1937; the lowest temperature was measured at -24.2 degrees Celsius on January 11, 1933. Only 2% of the average annual rainfall falls in the summer, which is an example of hot and dry summers. As the Lice and Kulp are elevated in Diyarbakir; The average annual rainfall is 496 millimeters and reaches 1200-1300 millimeters. Increased relative humidity and artificial dams made in recent years softened the climate. These dams; Atatürk, Karakaya, Batman and Silvan dams (Diyarbakir İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2019).

The steppe which is the natural vegetation of terrestrial climate is the most important vegetation of Diyarbakir. Plants that bloom at the beginning of spring and dry as of summer with the decrease of rainfall. Although there are oak in places in the city, the number of forests is quite low. Its forests cover less than one-tenth of the city's surface area (Diyarbakir İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2019).

2.2.5. Collective Nutrition Rituals in Diyarbakir

Nutrition in anthropology; The cultural concept, geographical and climatic conditions, socio-economic situation in the region and related production and consumption relationship, social and nutritional rituals and health status are addressed with a holistic evaluation (Aksu, Gıda ve Beslenme Kültürü, 2020).

Rituals are important due to the socio-cultural impact they create in a social sense. Rituals, while previously primary in understanding social effects, began to be studied as

a sub-branch of anthropology over time. Rituals are made up of individuals or sums to symbolically repeat certain behavioral patterns at successive times. In addition to the ability of individuals to continue rituals, rituals have existed with the approach of capturing common emotions with social unity and symbolic situations, and since its main purpose is to connect from the past to the future, it occupies an important area in social sciences. Although rituals are generally religious, secular rituals also exist in different societies. For example Durkheim; He named the rhythms separating the religious area and the profane area as negative rhythms and the rhythms that interact with each other as positive rhythms (Karaman, 2010).

Rituals are social situations that are repeated. As they are repeated, they reduce the possibility of individuals to make mistakes and ensure social order. The emphasis on unity and solidarity in national ceremonies and its being one of the most important social rituals shows that rituals nurture power and hold society together. The Cambridge Classicists School, which stated that religious rituals are among the most frequently repeated and accepted by the general public; Anthropologist James Frazer believes that the first rituals existed in a religious context, that is, religion created its rituals (Wulf, Ritüellerin Yeniden Keşfi, 2015).

Judith Butler has stated in many of her studies that rituals are one of the most effective methods to consolidate and secure power structures. The relationship between gender and family members is also influenced by daily rituals and social rituals are nurtured. For example, which family member sits where at the table gives an idea about the balance of power in the family (Wulf, Ritüellerin Yeniden Keşfi, 2015).

The products collected in the grape harvest are turned into molasses, wine or fruit pulp for the winter. This is an example of nomadic societies storing seasonal products for use in winter with different storage or transformation methods. With the start of these preparations, the vintage festivities begin. Meanwhile, the cattle are slaughtered and food delivery begins. They are the young men of the region who keep watch under the moonlight at night while making must and molasses. During this period, folk songs are sung and halay is performed, gifts are bought for young girls and brides working in the vintage, and grape shopping begins between the houses. Then, the meat festival called 'kencer', which means celebrating the feast of sugar and sacrifice together, is celebrated. (Cangi, 2018)

After the grape harvest is over, the period called "capping", which means that the grapes remaining in the vineyards are collected by those who wish, begins. "Virgo" is one of the examples of co-existence in Anatolian culture. Allowing those in need to collect the crops after harvesting hazelnuts and wheat is referred to by the public as the right of eye. (Cangi, 2018).

The meals that are made in daily households, special occasions such as weddings, holidays and funerals and the way they are made, the way they are presented and the table culture are the most important indicators of the social structures of the cities. In this sense, Diyarbakir is the first settlement where people began to process copper and settled down, and it is rich in food and nutrition culture (Öztürk, 2009).

In order to understand the nutritional rituals in Diyarbakır, it is necessary to examine the architectural structure of the old Diyarbakır houses, the place where the kitchen is located and the places to eat. The kitchen, which is defined as the place to cook, is known by many different names. There are definitions such as Aş house, tandoor house and work house. The term tandoor house emphasizes the importance of bread and baking in the kitchen for the region. The cooking action and the habit of consuming food around the place where the fire is found has led to the formation of today's table culture (Özyılmaz, Aluclu, & Akın, 2014).

In the traditional Diyarbakır Houses, the kitchens are located in the courtyard and close to the entrance. Due to the large family structure, the need for meals was high, which led to the need for large spaces for the kitchen. The location of the kitchen at the entrance of the garden made the service easier. One reason why kitchens are made outside the house is to ensure that male chefs working in the household of wealthy families work in a place away from women. Another feature that gives clues about the culture of Diyarbakır houses is that there is no dining room, and sini and table cloth are spread all over the house and ready to eat (Özyılmaz, Aluclu, & Akın, 2014).

2.2.6.Effect of Meat Eating Culture on Health Status

It is stated that the impact of carnivorous life in human history goes back 2 to 2.6 million years ago. In addition to the fact that the consumption of meat dates back to 15,000 years ago, after the 19th century, access to meat and milk has increased globally with the spread of farms. The main reason for the increase in meat consumption is to feed people with the increasing need and population in the western world due to

industrialization. However, today, it is stated by scientists that a vegetarian or even vegan diet meets all macro and micronutrient needs when applied healthy. In addition to the fact that herbal nutrition is healthy, it is stated that in many parts of the world, herbal nutrition is applied not because of choice, but because of the necessity of not reaching enough food. Not being able to reach animal food and nourishing plant foods causes protein energy malnutrition and vitamin mineral deficiencies (Salter, 2018).

In the research on meat consumption per kg conducted by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations between 2014 and 2016, it was concluded that red meat consumption is higher in developed countries between developed countries and underdeveloped or underdeveloped countries. This shows that meat consumption is related to the welfare of countries and their availability to meat. In addition to this economic inequality, the change in production efficiency also changes meat consumption regionally. Developments in nutrition and animal husbandry in industrialized countries have facilitated the production of animals and increased their productivity (Salter, 2018).

High meat intake was described as a healthy eating habit until epidemiological studies accumulated due to the restriction of access to meat during World War II. However, in subsequent studies, it was stated that high red meat consumption was directly related to the presence of some types of cancer such as cardiovascular diseases, type 2 diabetes, colorectal cancer. According to the WHO International Agency for Research on Cancer studies in 2015, it was stated that consumption of processed meat, especially red meat, was carcinogenic for humans (Boutron-Rault, Mesrine, & Pierre, 2017).

Meat contains very low amounts of carbohydrates, high amounts of protein and fat. However, red meat also contains iron, zinc, selenium potassium and high amounts of B group vitamins, especially with a high vitamin B¹² content. The most important factor that red meat should be consumed is that it contains all of the essential amino acids. The vitamin B¹² deficiency in meat constitutes a risk for the individual. In addition, the iron content is very important in terms of absorption. Dietary iron is divided into heme and nonheme iron. Heme iron found in animal foods is found in hemoglobin and myoglobin and is absorbed at a much higher rate than non-heme iron found in plants due to its strong oxidative properties. (Boutron-Rault, Mesrine, & Pierre, 2017).

When the relationship between red meat consumption and processed meat consumption with obesity was examined, it was stated that high consumption of these

foods was directly related to high body mass index and high waist circumference. Although red meat is an important nutritional content, especially in the Western Diet, there is no clear study since it is thought that the effect of high obesity is related to low fruit and vegetable consumption, high sugar intake and high processed food consumption. There is no international consensus that high meat consumption causes obesity, as the energy value of meat can vary according to the fat content. However, since lean red meat is filling due to its protein content, it is seen as an important component of weight loss diets and is recommended by nutritionists (Boutron-Rault, Mesrine, & Pierre, 2017).

The recommendation to reduce red meat consumption to prevent obesity, type 2 diabetes, cardiovascular diseases and cancer was originally aimed at reducing saturated fat intake and reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Diets that recommend low-animal food and high-rate plant nutrition, such as the Mediterranean diet, have not found a substitute for this animal food. Because the proposed low red meat consumption by planning to reduce the intake of saturated fat has brought along high alcohol intake and sugar consumption, especially in the Western Diet, low vegetable and fruit consumption and insufficient movement. One of the clearest data about reducing saturated fat intake is that sodium intake is reduced (Boutron-Rault, Mesrine, & Pierre, 2017).

Although the harms of processed meat to human health are clearly known, the effects of unprocessed red meat on colorectal cancer, diabetes and stroke have been proven by the World Cancer Research Fund and the American Institute for Cancer Research, which is recommended by the World Cancer Research Fund and the American Institute for Cancer Research to consume less than 500 grams of red meat per week. Although there is no comprehensive study on white meat, it has been stated that red meat is not the only cause of these diseases due to high alcohol and refined sugar consumption accompanied by consumption of red meat, low fiber intake and insufficient exercise (Boutron-Rault, Mesrine, & Pierre, 2017).

Considering the environmental impact of animal use and meat consumption, the increase in the number of industrial farms in the world not only increases the number of animals, but also agricultural land is used for the production of legumes and grains for the feed of animals and the lands of these farms. This increases the consumption of nature's water resources. In addition, the waste water created by the livestock sector pollutes the fresh water resources. Livestock increases greenhouse gas emissions directly and indirectly. Its direct effect is the production of methane gas by ruminant animals, the

indirect effect is deforestation created by agricultural lands for pasture and forage crops, which increases greenhouse gas emissions by 18%. In addition, the need for farms continues to arise as the increase in the population and human life increases the demand for meat with economic development (Salter, 2018).

Although the nutritional value of meat varies according to the place where it is grown, the foods it is fed and the cooking method, it is known that meats contain much higher amounts of protein compared to plant foods and carbohydrates. For example, there is an average of 8 grams of protein in 100 grams of bread, while 100 grams of meat contain around 20 grams of protein. In addition, in terms of the amino acids it contains, it contains all the essential amino acids that human needs. However, apart from the amount of protein and amino acid variety in foods, the digestibility of protein is also very important. For example, dairy products have high protein digestibility. Apart from that, soy is a good choice as a vegetable protein source. However, in the absence of a plant nutrition system planned without considering protein digestibility and content, or lack of access to balanced and rich plant foods, the absence of animal food consumption negatively affects health status (Salter, 2018).

Although the reasons for the trends in meat consumption demand vary regionally, they are very important. The need for high protein in low-calorie diets may be a reason for meat consumption, it may be an important food source for low-income people, but it has been stated that high meat consumption is directly related to some chronic diseases. Apart from the threat posed to the health of the individual, the environmental damage caused by meat consumption is also very important. The negative effects on the environment such as cutting down forests to create pasture for livestock and meeting the demand for animal feed, high greenhouse gas production, being an important area where water resources are spent, decreasing water resources and causing soil erosion are also discussed in figures. However, animal husbandry is also a field of employment for humans and the effects of trade of animal products on the economy of the countries are also important reasons for the continuation of animal husbandry. (Godfray, Aveyard, Garnett, & Hall, 2018).

2.2.7. Meat Dishes and Meat Eating Culture in Diyarbakır

Traditional food culture is a set of dishes that reflect the culture of the region and belong only to that region. From the ancient times to the present, all societies have cooked

their own food using the agricultural and animal resources of the region and developed them over time (Baran & Batman, 2013).

Due to the fact that many civilizations live in this geography, Diyarbakır has a wide food culture. Since the region is mountainous, animal husbandry is the main source of income, meat and meat dishes are common in food culture (Şengül, Çakır, & Çakır, 2015). Since cattle breeding is not possible in climatic and geographic terms, not beef meat, but sheep and lamb, rarely goat meat is consumed (Belediyesi & Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2015).

Due to the prevalence of livestock breeding, consumption of not only meat and meat dishes but also milk and dairy products is high in Diyarbakır. "Torak" can be given as an example of a dairy product belonging to the region. It is obtained after the remaining buttermilk is boiled by adding salt and filtered after the oil is made from milk and is consumed like cheese in breakfast and pastries (Özkanlı & İşler, 2018).

In addition to the prevalence of meat in Diyarbakır dishes, the use of spices is quite intense. Besides hot spices such as chili pepper and black pepper, sumac is used in almost every local dish. When cooking meals, fats of animal origin such as solid fat and tail fat are used rather than vegetable oils. Although vegetable dishes are often made, they are generally cooked together with vegetables and meat added. The most consumed vegetables are tomatoes, peppers and eggplant. Generally dried vegetables are used instead of fresh vegetables in meals (Belediyesi & Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2015).

One of the main plant food sources is wheat. Bulgur is used in different ways in most of the local dishes. Apart from this, rice is one of the most commonly consumed plant-based foods in the region due to the cultivation of rice in Karacadağ. Apart from wheat and bulgur, lentils are also one of the basic food sources and the building blocks of the local cuisine. Chicken meat has also been consumed frequently recently. Sumac and spicy chicken dishes suitable for the food culture of the region are frequently cooked. However, fish consumption is low as the fish consumption is only met by the fish caught in the Tigris River (Özkanlı & İşler, 2018).

In addition, winter preparation is very important in Diyarbakır Food Folklore. Pastrami, roasting, cheese, tomato paste, molasses, pickles, dried eggplant and peppers,

curd, noodle cut and bulgur and lentil are among the basic winter preparation rituals. It has a ceremonial meaning as it is made with neighbors (Özkanlı & İşler, 2018).

2.3.THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEAT EATING CULTURE and SEXISM

2.3.1.Family Instution and Domestic Division of Labor

Although the family is generally defined as the smallest building block of society, different sociologists and anthropologists have more comprehensive definitions of the family. For example, Rayna R. Reiter family; It defines it as "A married couple or a group of adult relatives who cooperate economically and in the upbringing of children, where everyone or the majority live in a common area." Individuals in a family are also in a collaborative division of labor, male or female. In this division of labor, the woman is the caretaker of the child and the housework, the man is the hunter and the warrior. (Gough, 2012).

With the start of hunting, hominids had previously lived in an area of several hundred square meters, this area expanded and the hunters had to move away from their habitat. However, as the babies were in need of care, while the nursing mothers continued to hunt near their living areas and in the restricted environment, the males could go hunting further. This situation created the basis of the human family and revealed the division of labor based on gender (Işın, 2019).

From ancient societies until today, it is seen that men have a higher status than women at home. There are patriarchal societies with male authority as well as matrilineal and matriarchal societies. Societies such as Hopi in Arizona, Ashanti in Ghana, Nayars in India can be cited as examples of these matrilineal communities. In these communities, men can live in another house and visit the family. However, even in these instances where women do not live with their husbands and live in homes with a majority of women, women are dominated by their uncles or boys. In other words, male domination is also present in matrilineal communities. These communities or tribes are generally communities without state authority, and although they establish a matriarchal order, the head of the tribes is still a man. (Gough, 2012).

Later, with the presence of fire, fire began to be used for protection against wild animals, for warming and for cooking. Especially when the food began to be cooked, the stove became the center of the house, and mostly women and rarely old men began to

cook. This extended the time spent in the kitchen and at home and shortened the time for chewing. The infrequent and long eating sessions of people who switched to a carnivorous diet with hunting turned into regular and short eating routines (Işın, 2019).

The first evidence that the food began to be cooked with the presence of fire is shown as evidence that it was cooked with regular use of the fire in the stoves before and after the third Ice Age, one hundred and fifty thousand to one hundred thousand years ago. (Işın, 2019).

2.3.2.Matriarchal Societies, Hunting-Gathering and Gender-Based Labor Division in Sedentary Life

Within the framework of the Harvard Kung Bushmen Project, researchers agree that the Kung society is the least sexist society known. In studies conducted especially after the 70's, some researchers have come to the conclusion that men and women engage in overlapping activities in societies (Gale, 1986).

The majority of Kung people are hunter and gatherer people living in the western part of the Kalahari desert system, in South Angola, Botswana, and Southwest Africa, but most of the Kung-speaking people abandoned hunter-gatherer life and gradually moved to settled and semi-settled life. Due to the changes in their lifestyles, they have the characteristics of a community where the gender roles discussed separately in hunter-gatherer and agricultural society can be compared clearly (Draper, 2016).

Looking at the materials used by the Kungs, it is seen that men have poisonous arrows, bows, metal-tipped spears and women have items such as pickaxes, mallets, leather saddlebags. However, as a result of the observations of the researchers about kung women, the importance of their interest in gardening for the community they live in and their families is explained with the following data; It has been stated that the duty of supplying vegetables belongs to women and that the vegetables that women supply daily meet 60% to 80% of the food need of the community. Even though meat is the most delicious and nutritious food for Kungs, they know that they will not always find meat, so they meet their daily food needs with vegetables and fruits brought by women (Draper, 2016).

When asked to individuals in kung communities, they say there is a gender-based division of labor, but these restrictions, such as the work of men or women, are not in their behavior. They display a behavior pattern that is willing to do a job belonging to men and women are willing to do a job belonging to men (Draper, 2016).

Another form of behavior observed in Kung society is that, as the sources show, both genders are moderate and men do not display a more aggressive attitude than women (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961).

Considering that the sharp boundaries between the genders affect the use of space by communities, it is observed that this distinction does not exist in Kung society and almost all areas are shared. However, there is no information about whether the stove and cooking area are used only by women (Draper, 2016).

Patricia Drapper stated as a result of her research that there is a serious difference in gender equality between nomadic or semi-nomadic communities living in the bushes and people living in Mahopa. It has been stated that division of labor according to gender is evident in sedentary communities, and men do not do 'women's' jobs, but see them as women's jobs (Draper, 2016).

In Kungs living in bushes where access to meat is limited, the importance of fruits and vegetables collected by women increases. This led to a decrease in the combative attitude of men when they were deprived of meat (Draper, 2016).

As a result of all these researches, female ethnographers state that life is shared fairly equally, and that the criticism that the leaders in matriarchal societies are men only makes men have power in intergroup relations, but this is insignificant because such political relations are not developed and that an equal life is lived as a contribution to economic life (Rohrlich-Leavit, Skyes, & Weatherford, 2016).

2.4.THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMODIFICATION of MEAT and COMMODIFICATION of WOMEN

2.4.1.Commodification of Women

While describing the commodification of women, it is necessary to talk about the definition of gender and its equivalent in society. Joan Scott (1986) gender; He explained

the differences between the sexes and the power relationship necessary for the continuation of social relations, and it was defined as the existence of the dominant gender in the initiation, execution and sustainability of social relations. Male and female genders are universal in that they mean the same meaning all over the world. However, 'femininity' and 'masculinity' are not universal as they mean different meanings according to the social, economic and cultural structures of societies and they are concepts that can change from society to society as well as within the same society over time. They are not the same in matriarchal or patriarchal societies, and can have different meanings in different cultures (Scott, 2007).

Beaviour; She states that the feature that distinguishes a woman from being a slave is her fertility, and she stated that female fertility is protected by taboos. Thus, he added that the woman is not a slave, but a servant of the man, because the return on slave labor is higher than that of women's labor. He also stated that he could not act like a man because he gave birth to a child, but this was due to the division of labor, not biological (Direk, Cinsel Farkın İnşası, 2018).

Judith Butler also supports Scott's definition of gender; She says that gender categories are later constructed by the power. Here, it is the party that manages the communication process and relationship, which he defines as power. Defines femininity as a class in this context (Gough, 2012).

Gender inequality, on the other hand, is a situation where individuals in the society are not equal in social life despite being legally equal, establishing a hierarchical structure over the other and producing a power relationship, and one is seen as superior to the other. Discrimination in general by sociologists; It is defined as a negative action applied to a social group or group members because they are a part of the group, and the situation of keeping the other group more in the foreground (Zanden, 1993).

Looking at the fundamentals of women's exposure to gender inequality, for example, in mythology, women were thought to be hermaphrodites because of their fertility. This makes him both mother and father and causes him to be thought to be at the center of humanity. While carrying this meaning in mythology, the following conclusion was reached about how he became a secondary human afterwards; The emergence of the division of labor with the birth of private property and the fertility of the woman, who are

at home during pregnancy, and the man working outside, have led to today's social inequality (Gough, 2012).

Simone de Beauvoir says on this subject that the whole of human history and the process of existence and socialization are artificial and later created by human hands. She said that "femininity", which is outside of our biological sex and called gender, and related sexuality is a condition created by civilization later. She stated that cultural teaching recreates and surrounds all roles of femininity and masculinity within her own set of boundaries (Kalin, 2016).

Simone de Beauvoir, the Absolute definition of Hegel; 'Male is Subject; Absolute. Woman is Different / Other. He defined it as '. The idea that women can change the world by acting in the world in 1936 in Mounier's L'Esprit magazine, which Simone de Beauvoir discussed in her book 'The Second Sex' and accused Hegel of sexism, is also important in the history of philosophy as it changed the concept of absolute and otherness of the period (Direk, Cinsel Farkın İnşası, 2018).

Contrary to Simone de Beauvoir's view, there are also views that argue that these roles are innate. However, as a result of the studies carried out by anthropologists, it has been stated that these roles change with the life styles of societies (Gough, 2012).

Early boys and girls take their mothers and fathers as examples they see in the family. For example, if girls see that their mothers assume the roles of 'woman' accepted in society, they play and cook with babies. The boy watches games and plays with cars like his father. The fact that boys see meat consumption by taking the father's meat consumption as an example is defined as 'manhood' and that eating vegetable food will make him look like a girl is one of the examples that can be given to the sexual policy of meat (Aksoy & Baran, 2017).

Marvin Harris says there are two reasons why male domination emerged and continues. The first is the society that already creates discrimination and the second is physical differences. What Harris meant by physical difference is that the woman's inability to leave the living space during pregnancy and the aftermath of the baby has made the man hunt outside the house in the compulsory labor department, and the woman who does housework and caregivers children (Demirbilek, 2007).

Engels says that capitalism nurtures male domination. According to him, capitalism creates a power relationship with the concentration of the means of production

in one hand. In addition to producing and earning wages, capitalism supports male domination with its side that strengthens the concept of ownership and nurtures inheritance. He states that the capitalist economy positions women as consumers and men as producers, as a result of this, it gives men the duty to work outside and women the duty of being at home. While capitalism employs men for low wages, it still supports male domination by employing women for free (Engels, 2019).

Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the feminist writers of the Enlightenment age, stated that the 'important' works of life were done by men, the 'trivial pleasures' were done by women, and that the woman could not go to a public space to fight this situation, but she was also not satisfied with this situation (Ersöz, 2015).

Compared to agricultural societies, the number of divorced or unmarried women is very low in hunter societies. This is because the division of labor in hunting societies makes it difficult for individuals to live without a partner of the opposite sex. Even in hunting societies, it was expected to prove that the woman cooked well before marriage and the man was a good hunter. After the hunters lived in smaller communities, with the transition to the agricultural society, plants and animals began to be domesticated, the economy became more efficient and more people were allowed to live together (Draper, 2016).

The reason for the low number of single individuals in hunter-gatherer societies is basically the fact that the unity of men and women is sufficient in meeting childcare and vital needs and makes life easier. It is also stated that women are less dependent in hunting societies than in capitalist societies. For example, situations such as punishing women for adultery, protecting the honor or virginity of women with jealousy or not having the right to divorce, ownership and jealousy situations that lead to institutional arrangements do not exist in hunter-gatherer societies (Gough, 2012).

One of the examples to be given to the commodification of women in hunter and gatherer societies is the man's family giving weapons or equipment to the girl's side of the man's family in return for the services that the woman will give to the man and the children to give birth. It is similar to today's bride price, and she is a female servant and the bearer, even the object (Draper, 2016).

Although all this sexual division of labor that families rely on is the work that bases women's childcare on the basis of men's defense, the main reason for all this sexual

division of labor is to find food. Against the argument that this division of sexual labor creates gender roles and is therefore instinctive, Anthropologist Kathleen Gough said; It states that there is no reason why this division of labor, which is said to be universal, should remain valid in the industrial society. She states that the reason why children need care will no longer be the reason why women are dependent in society, and that birth control, intermittent births and kindergartens open the way for sharing these duties equally (Gough, 2012).

Considering the relationship of consumption culture with the female body, it is seen that the mass media offer alternatives to individuals for consumption, but one of the alternatives it offers is the female body. The most frequently used place when writing ad text for products and shooting these advertisements is the female body in the name of the capitalist system, both supporting traditional gender roles and presenting the female body to the taste of men. Especially in advertisements where the female body is presented as a sexual object, whether the product advertised is related to the female body or not, the female body is highlighted and the consumption of the desired product is also consumed (Bakkal, 2016).

It has been stated that gender studies are no longer transformed as a problem of women and men, but also as an interpretation of gender roles with their cultural representations and an examination of how they intensify on the basis of biological phenomena. According to Judith Butler, gender identity is not biological or assigned gender but something created by performative actions (Wulf, Edimsel Olanın Teori ve Pratikleri , 2015).

2.4.1.1.The Commodification of Meat with the Effect of Advertisements and Popular Culture on the Commodification of Women

Her perspective on women and her body is still explained in the media with a sexist language and perspective. The fact that the female body is the subject of art caused controversy when the French painter Édouard Manet's painting "Lunch on the Field" was made in 1863. In France, since mythological names or heroes were given to women's paintings until this date, drawing a nude painting and depicting women was socially referred to as immorality. When the reasons for this are discussed, the painting of a woman in daily life in the work of the painter is defined as a 'reflex' shown by the society

regarding the opening of the woman seen in the house to the outside World (Paklacı, 2016).

Alemdar states that the female body and workforce are exploited and this exploitation is legitimized by the media, and this effect of the media causes both women and men to adopt and exploit women as second class people. For example, broadcasting programs such as food, sewing and magazine for women in daytime programs, in addition to accepting women as individuals who live at home and do not work during the day; He explains that vital things such as food that are the subject of these programs are the duty of women. In daytime programs, women are told how to be a better wife, how to cook better, and how they can reach the "ideal body". Because the female body has to please men with all its existence, and these programs also support this (Alemdar, 1994).

With the increasing voice of mass media, gender roles have also been affected. While the woman who cooks and sets the table in commercials, the person watching the game or waiting for the meal to be prepared is a man. This is proof that gender stereotypes are copied (Bakkal, 2016).

The purpose of media content and advertisements in reinforcing this social inequality is to prevent women from leaving the existing traditional roles by ensuring the continuity of gender roles. Media; it affects the position of women in society and the media. While the media objectifies and passivates women on the one hand, they also commodify their body (Fidan, 2000).

Individuals learn about their gender-appropriate role and behavior patterns from commercials and television. For example, in advertisements, foods such as barbecues, pastries and donuts are consumed at women's meetings or days, while men are shown while barbecuing or consuming meat, and in this subtext, it means that women consume meatless and plenty of vegetable carbohydrates, and men consume meat. This leads to a learned eating behavior and to learn men and women in different roles (Gander & Gardiner, 1998).

Women were presented as nurses, secretaries and typists until the 1950s. A dialogue took place between Jülide Gülizar, who hired TRT as a news presenter in the 1970s, and TRT General Manager İsmail Cem:

‘İsmail Cem tells Jülide Gülizar," When you read the news on TV, I feel like watching a beautiful picture. " Gülizar is surprised by these words, but Cem said, "I am not interested

in your appearance. I see a very successful Turkish woman on TV. You may look ugly; but your success removes all negativity ”and encourages him not to worry. Later on, İsmail Cem and his advisor Mehmet Barlas put an end to Gülizar's spindle on the grounds that the news announcers are men all over the world and the viewers focus on the bodies of female speakers. Republic ideology affirmed women's participation in business life on condition that they put their entry into the background " (Paklacı, 2016) .

In the light of all these, examples of advertisements examined over the commodification and matching of the female body and animal body are as follows.

1. On the advertisement of Arby's brand, there is a woman who has covered the hamburger with her hands and it gives the impression that she is covering her breasts with her hands. 'We are about to declare something that will make your mouth water' (**Adams, 2013**).



2. 'Eat Beef, The West Wasn't Won on Salad' is another advertisement that emphasizes that the war can be won by eating meat (**Adams, 2013**).

EAT BEEF.
**THE WEST WASN'T
WON ON SALAD.**

3.'Eat Me! The use of a female body in a bikini along with the slogan We Deliver All Night Long 'also explains meat eating and female body-sexual intercourse (Adams, 2013).



Iraqi men stated that they chose their Syrian wives because they managed the house expenses well and they cook more with less food, because the woman who cooks the meals and prepares the table. This shows that the family economy and the influence of the meals cooked in the outdoor kitchen and the ones who can manage it are preferred (Zubaida, Ortadoğu Yemek Kültürlerinin Ulusal, Yerel ve Küresel Boyutları, 2000).

If we return to the example of Iran; Iraqis (Tehran and Isfahan people) appear to classify food as hot and cold. The classification of foods is shown in the table below (Bromberger, 2000).

Table – 1: Iraq food classification (Bromberger, 2000).

HOT MEALS	COLD MEALS
Walnuts, hazelnuts, almonds, pistachios, dates, raisins, coconuts, bananas, figs, apples, pears, quince, melons, grapes, black mulberry, apricots, chestnuts, olives.	Pomegranate, peach, nectarine, plum, cherry, orange, lemon, watermelon, grape, black mulberry, apricot, grove.
Garlic, onion, eggplant, leek, radish, parsley, fenugreek, coriander, yellow squash, chickpeas, broad beans, pepper, saffron, turmeric.	Potatoes, dried beans, carrots, lettuce, tomatoes, cucumber, marrows, lentils
Barley, akdari, wheat, corn	Rice
Camel, sheep, lamb, goat, pigeon, rooster, chicken, turkey, duck, game meat.	Beef, veal, chicken, fish (except Sturgeon and Caviar)
Egg Yolk	Egg Flux
Honey, sugar, Horasan juice, Well water.	Milk, cream, yogurt, buttermilk, cheese, cheese extract
	Isfahan Water, Spring Water

The most important point in this classification about food is that they classify the female and male of a species in separate classes. Another observation about this painting is that meat is eaten hot and those with olive oil are eaten cold. The separation of foods as hot and cold shows that societies affect as much as they eat and drink as much as climate. It provides anthropological data to understand the relationship between people and tribes. According to these data; It is stated that people who are fed with hot foods show extroverted, strong and 'male' attitudes and mean wealth and abundance. People who feed on cold foods, on the other hand, represent a cold-blooded character, introverted personality structure, weakness and sexual impotence, a poor kitchen (Bromberger, 2000).

2.4.1.2. Absent Referent and Women

The concept of missing sentence in the book 'Sexual Policy of Meat'; the idea that meat consumed as food was once a living animal has been described as translation and forgetting. If the meat on the table was once forgotten that it was a living animal, and lost its first meaning, the concept of lost sentence is used (Adams, 2013).

According to Isaac Bashevis Singer, when it comes to discourses on meat eating and breeding, "all people are nazi when it comes to their attitude towards other creatures." Hannah Arendth; While defining violence, he cites Engels and states that violence needs tools apart from power and force (Arendth, 2018).

Violence itself is a concept based on 'means and purpose'. Therefore, it is stated that the tools used to kill and smash animals establish a hierarchy against the living creature. Since a human cannot disassemble an animal by using its teeth and nails, the animals are killed by using tools such as arrows, spears, knives and weapons after humanity starts hunting. (Adams, 2013)

The concept of the absent referent at the center of the sexual policy of meat theory, which is based on the association and explaining that women and animals are under a common domination, is a phenomenon that describes the pressure exerted by patriarchal practices on women and animals. When the concept of absent referent is considered in terms of meat, it is seen that the animal does not really exist. The process of turning the animal's body into food is about teaching meat-eaters that what is on their plate is not actually an animal, and preventing them from confronting the fact that it is an animal. Changing the names of meats when they become a consumer product, naming steaks and hamburgers is also done to strengthen the absent referent concept (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).

In addition, consuming meat is a glorified situation and symbolizes power, while the more passive and weak naming of vegetables is associated with the definition of the roles of femininity and masculinity. For example, the male being as strong as a subject, predatory and disruptive as an animal, and the female being compared to a low protein, non-hunted and weak plant. In addition, in the *Leather*, he states that the dominant scheme of subjectivity implies carnivorous masculinity (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).

Feminist vegetarian theorist Cathryn Baily points out that western studies on meat or refusal to eat meat are outdated. Because she states that the eating habits of non-western people and its effect on sexual politics is lagging. In different cultures, what it means to eat meat as a man or a woman may change, for example, the perspective of a white American vegetarian and an African or Iranian vegetarian to eat meat and the society's perspective on these individuals not eating meat may vary (Baily, 2007).

Marjorie Spiegel, in his book 'The Dreaded Comparison', mentioned the importance of the joint exploitation of animals and human slaves in the racial policy of eating meat. He states that in geographies where slaves are treated like animals, both human and animal conform to Carol J. Adams' absent referent definition. He adds that the voices made on the horror of a man's slavery are not made when animals are exploited and used as slaves (Spiegel, 1996).

Although Adams and Derida seem to evaluate and discuss the culture of meat eating and masculinity from the same perspective, there is an important difference between them. Adams argues that animal exploitation is not just cause and supports the definition of ethical vegetarianism and states that ethical vegetarianism creates a worldview that contains an objection to the patriarchal status quo (Ryan, Hayvan Kurami, 2019).

2.4.1.3. Sexual Policy of War

Women are victims of all wars. The roles of men and women in wars have often been different from each other. Throughout history, men have generally owned land, and wars have taken place between men. During these wars, women were sexually abused, sold or forced to migrate (As, 1982).

Olive Schreiner, one of the authors who tells about the relationship of women with war, argues that fertility is the reason why women are against war and the killing of animals for sports in the "Women and War" section of the *Woman and Labor* book he wrote in 1911. Another article supporting this argument is available in Virginia Woolf's anti-war essay 'Three Guineas'. In an article throughout history, no human being stated that their son was not killed by the bullet from the woman's rifle, that the vast majority of birds and other animals were killed by men, not women (Schreiner, 1911).

Another example that supports the peacefulness and vegetarianism relationship that emerged after the First World War is that *Woman's Journal* editors Agnes Ryan and her husband Henry Beiley Stevens stated that they were vegetarian during the war and that the guilty of fighting and eating meat was masculinity. In a 1943 article by Agnes Ryan, wars never end when people kill other animals to eat (Adams, 2013).

In the story of Walter De La Mare in the 'Dry August Burn' story, he tells the moment when a girl sees the rabbit lying on the kitchen table, facing the lost maiden. However, with the sounds of artillery troops coming from the outside, the reality of the

war is confronted and the dead rabbit turns into an accepted element. This is a change in attitude towards an animal killed for food, and the reason for this change is the recall of war. Since killing people in war is used to justify eating meat, questioning the culture of eating meat means questioning a fighting world order (Adams, 2013).

2.4.1.4. World War I-II and Meat Consumption

Due to the economic decline of the countries during World War I, meat began to be rationed. When meat is scarce, books such as 'Meatless and Wheatless Menus' and 'The Golden Rule Cookbook' have been published to push the public into herbal nutrition. The distribution of food by rationing gave Dr. Mikkel Hindhede an opportunity to conduct a 3000-person research. As a result of this low protein diet research, it was stated that people's consumption of milk and dairy products, vegetables, fruit, whole wheat bread, barley and oats reduced mortality rates. Due to the distribution of meat on the scorecard, the process between World War I and World War II was called the 'Golden Age of Vegetarianism' (Crooks, 1973).

Carol J. Adams explains that women and animals are on the same front. According to her, women and animals are objects that are used and property. Subtitles similar to this can be seen in the novels of women writers of the First World War. For example, Isabel Colegate's novel "The Shooting Party" is criticized for hunting and used hunting criticism to judge a fighting world. In the hunting party in this novel, it is explained that women want to confront this violent world created by men (Adams, 2013).

Bernard Shaw suggests that seeing the animal as a food and continuing the animal killing action, besides being the missing reference in the meat eating action of the animal, could be the basis for the continuation of the war and adds that it is a step between killing a calf and killing a person (Adams, 2013).

4.1.5. Feminist Vegetarian Theory

Lucinda Chandler's 'I don't think it's worth a compliment to stop eating meat. When I was born, I didn't crave to eat meat.' The sentence refers to a cultural doctrine. It is often the environment and family that teach which food to eat, which animals are edible or non-edible (Adams, 2013).

It has been supported by research that the omnivorous diet in the West causes heart disease, cholesterol, high blood pressure and diabetes. On the other hand, it has been

stated that a healthy plant-based diet has a protective contribution to phytochemicals, fibers and antioxidants and does not contain cholesterol. In addition to the benefits of plant-based nutrition in terms of health, anthropological sources show that the ancestors of humanity were vegetarian in terms of bone size, tooth size and the tools they used. Meat has existed in the life of humanity for the last 40,000 years. However, meat has only been accessible enough to be consumed every day for the last 200 years. Also, fecal evidence of fossilized people proves vegetarian diets. Starting from this point, vegetarian nutrition advocates stated that we are meat eaters whose body is not equipped to digest meat. Also found in human saliva, fermented pythaline is used to digest starch and is unique to herbivorous animals (Cleave, Campbell, & Painter, 1969).

Jane Brody discussed the difference between human canine teeth and carnivorous canines and came to the following conclusion; Human teeth resemble the teeth of herbivorous animals more than the teeth of carnivorous animals. The front teeth are wide and sharp, ideal for biting, but small canines. Molars are straight and jaw movements are wide enough to chew small bites (Brody, 1981).

Compared to carnivores, the amount of hydrochloric acid in the stomach is also very low, and our gut length is 12 times that of carnivorous animals. In addition to the fact that all this anatomical structure resembles herbivorous animals, it is seen that humanity has adapted to survive and can digest meat. However, in the United States, for example, it is known that an average of one hundred people die from heart disease in an hour. It is known that a diet based on meat and dairy products increases the risk of heart disease and cancer. 'According to the calculations and research results made by the National Cancer Institute, one of the three cancer deaths is related to diet and plant nutrition is recommended (Messina, 1996).

The fact that animals do not need to cook meat in order to eat meat and that they do not attempt to separate meat from bones open up the naturalness of eating meat for humanity (Adams, 2013).

When the relationship between war and eating meat is examined, an argument has been made with Hitler's example of the direct relation of violence and killing to war and eating meat, which the vegetarian theory defends. However, different opinions have been expressed regarding Hitler's being vegetarian. Some authorities claim that Hitler did not

only consume red meat, while others stated that this was part of the Nazis' public relations campaign (Spencer, 1995).

In addition, vegetarian theory supports vegetarianism not with choosing because it is healthy, but with a moral attitude towards eating animals. For example, he criticizes consuming meat only when it is organic for not questioning the existence of the missing referent concept. In the attempt of meat eaters to legitimize Hitler's vegetarianism and the state of eating meat, there is the same point of view on consuming organic meat by deferring the concept of absent referent (Adams, 2013).

When we look at the relationship between eating meat and feudalism, oppressor and oppressed identities emerge. If whites in the world determine what is the rule and deny the cultures and experiences of non-whites, there is a centralism and normality when people who eat meat of all races or genders do (Adams, 2013).

Vegetarianism, which became popular in the 19th century, also facilitated women's lives. Vegetarianism found more resonance among women, as it saved women from cooking heavy fatty meals and spending long hours at the stove. It is a salvation for the woman who is crushed under the kitchen effort (Lerner, 1971).

It has been suggested that the vegetarian diet of women during World War I facilitated birth, as well as healthier, shortened cooking times and liberation characteristics that popularized vegetarianism. This has made vegetarianism attractive for many women of childbearing age (Stockham, 1911).

Apart from the above reasons that make vegetarianism attractive to women, many discussions have also been made between the control of male sexuality and vegetarianism. Against the controversy that meat oppresses the male genitalia and functions as a sexual stimulant, women also supported vegetarianism in order to have a say in sexual intercourse. Along with the idea that women are in control of sexuality, vegetarian women advocated that women have the right to enjoy sex as well as supporting contraception and abortion. The bond established by women who do not prefer to eat meat with sexual liberation is an example of the sexual politics of meat (Cayleff, 1987).

In *The Female Malady*, Elaine Showalter argues; Meat was not only the food of warriors and aggressors, but something that fueled anger and lust. Disgust for meat was also common among Victorian girls. A carnivorous diet was believed to induce early sexual maturation, especially increased menstrual bleeding (Showalter, 1985).

Women are the preparers of food in all cultures, while meat is defined as men's food. Accordingly, vegetarianism may mean that women want to escape their silence. Women may be expressing their criticism against the male-dominated world order by consuming foods defined as women. The incomprehensibility of women can be coded to their food preferences, it means that the criticism of stigmatizing a young woman who does not eat meat as a phobic has no response and is not understood (Bernard, 1981).

Inez Irwin; supports the idea that women reject man's power while rejecting meat and gives examples from his own life. When he was young, he described the presence of a bloody roast on the table at Sunday meals and the man cutting it, and the men standing aside and clearing the table after the meal was finished as "women cleanse all traces of terror". He explained that all this prompted him to write, and that what prompted an adolescent to write was quite similar to a young girl's rejection of meat. She points out that it is difficult to explain what it means to eat meat for women and the feminine connotations of menstruation and bleeding. Women asks the question: do they become vegetarians because they know blood better?_(Irwin, 1978).

In feminist vegetarian theory; vegetarianism can be defined as an integral part of free female identity. It is obvious that there is a rebellion against the dominant culture, whether or not he has raised the flag of rebellion against the systems established by men. It also means resistance to the concept of the absent referent, which reduces women and animals to objects (Adams, 2013).

The emergence of the feminist vegetarian critical theory begins with the positioning of women and animals as objects in the patriarchal world. Since the expulsion from heaven was tired of woman and animal, the brotherhood of men excludes woman and animal. Vegetarian and feminist Brigid Brophy also compared women to women in modern zoos. He explained that although there are no concrete cages, women are kept under many disciplines (Brophy, 1966).

Another example of how women's rights and animal rights are intertwined and oppressed under the same domination is a man who reacted to women's suffrage in the nineteenth century 'What's next? Is cattle the right to education? The sentence is shown that (Adams, 2013).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, it is seen that patriarchal power was paired with meat eating and matriarchal power with vegetarianism, and those who

formulate the matriarchal period today define this period as vegetarian. In addition, one of the situations that strengthens this argument is described as the emergence of feminism and vegetarianism after the French revolution (Adams, 2013).

As the steps of vegetarianism; awakening that discovers the nothingness of meat, naming connections with animals, and the meat-eating patriarchal world system. While perceiving the nothingness of meat, the most basic situation is to understand that the plate is not the food but the corpse. George Sand did not eat red meat for two weeks as human corpses piled up in front of his window after the horrific war began to rot (Cate & Sand, 1975).

Agnes Ryan, 'The belief that taking life, killing (when it comes to our job) is justifiable has emphasized over and over the idea that wars will never end unless they are erased from memory. " The last step in the search for vegetarians is my reproach towards the meat-eating world. But vegetarian life goes beyond my system and the male-dominated culture opposes vegetarianism. Because he believes that vegetarianism is a prejudice against male domination rather than being a different diet (Adams, 2013).

About Cloris Leachman's vegetarianism; In an interview, he was asked the following question; 'I read that you discovered something while washing chicken on tap. It suddenly occurred to you that what you are doing is no different than washing a baby. 'Leachman replies; 'I have a newborn baby yes and exactly the same experience' (Colette, 1983).

One way to feed the meat of animals is to create a symbolic order and worldview that materializes the meat eating culture. Patriarchal values image animal death and attribute it to the system. Joseph Campbell explains this as follows; 'The object of this experience is the animal. After he is killed, he presents the flesh to power, female jewelery, hide to clothing and tent, muscle to rope, and bone to a tool. Through crafts such as cooking, tanning, and sewing made possible by death and slaughter, the life of the animal is coded from top to bottom into human life. " (Campbell, 1960).

Gayle Rubin asked the question of what causes a woman to be an oppressed person in society and added the collaborative work of Claude Levi-Strauss and Sigmund Freud. These studies also constitute the starting point of the situation regarding women becoming the prey of men. The sexism of language discussed in the sexual politics of meat and the fact that women and animals have the same missing referent bodies can also be discussed

in terms of Levi-Strauss and Sigmund Freud's view of women as the prey of men. The word prey for animals is also used for women when describing gender inequality. In the following, while talking about the domestication of women, the partnership between the female body and the animal body is seen (Rubin, 2012).

In his book "The Foundation of Family and Private Property," Engels emphasized that life is reproduction and reproduction to explain the materialist conception. This production is of 2 types to meet basic needs. The first includes the production of basic needs such as nutrition and shelter, and ultimately consumption, while the second is the need for reproduction, that is, the production and ultimately the use of sexuality as an object of consumption. Anthropology has a discipline that melts and links this need for eating and reproduction in a crucible. In the anthropological theory, it is said that the need for sexuality and reproduction should be met as well as the need for food, but both needs will not reach full satisfaction and satisfaction. According to this, hunger is a physical result, but the rules of the society we live in decide what the food we will consume after this hunger. In sexuality, sex is sex, but the cultural structure of society also determines how this happens. In this context, the need for food is realized by dominating the animal's body and sexuality by dominating the female body (Engels, 2019).

2.4.2. Commodification of Meat

The fact that the animal in the concept of absent referent mentioned by Carol J. Adams in his book "The Sexual Policy of Meat" supports the inferences of Derek Ryan in his book "Animal Theory". Human beings are used to consuming and using a number of animals in their daily life. For example, it is unlikely that a human being has ever met a cow in twenty-four hours. Even if he does not encounter the living state of the cow in urban life, he actually encounters the body of the cow and consumes it with the foods such as meat, milk, cheese and yogurt. Here, not seeing the cow itself, consuming what is obtained from its body is one example of the cow being the absent referent (Veltern, 2007).

Besides being the absent reference of the animal, there are cultural reasons for making the animal an object of consumption or not, and animals are generally divided into "edible" and "non-edible" animals, although they vary from culture to culture. For example, considering cats and dogs, it is not clear why humans domesticated these animals and the reasons for their use, but the reason for the domestication of cows, sheep

and chickens is more obvious. Their milk, eggs and meat are used as food (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).

Thinkers have written many essays and articles about the relationship between domesticated and 'inedible' animals and humans. This categorization, in the 16th century; It is defined as "The adoption of animals that have no utilitarian function in terms of its legal definition and the removal of animals such as cows and pigs from the house." (Fudge, 2003).

Animal theorists stated that it is not surprising that cats and dogs are cared for at home in terms of the relationship people have with their pets, that people spend time with animals kept at home, feed them, and never think of eating these animals. The fact that the idea of harming pets is not felt by pet owners shows that edible animals are less valuable than pets. This situation is similar to the fact that people living in a house with an animal claiming to be an animal rights defender consume animals such as cows, sheep, pigs or chickens or their products as food (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).

It has been stated that the current numbers and conditions of animals kept at home have not been before and do not constitute a natural aspect of life. However, despite the opinion that the animals kept at home are less connected to nature and they cannot be considered fully animals because they are outside their natural habitats, Erica Fudge states that this idea is the result that the animal that rests on human cultural practices for its welfare cannot be fully animal. In addition, it is possible to explain the claim that the animals kept at home are deprived of all other animals by the hierarchical relationship established by humans with other animals and by not seeing themselves as animals. Because, according to Erica Fudge; 'Pets kept at home especially have contact with another animal: Homo sapiens species is at the center of all lives (Fudge, 2003) .

The French philosopher Jean Christophe Bailly's book 'The Animal Side' states that the possibility of encountering animals is quite different when comparing the countryside and the city. While it is stated that the concept of absent referent is getting stronger in the city, it is stated that the domination established on the animal decreases as the animal is contacted in the countryside. But when animals are removed from human eyes with capitalism, the absent referent becomes stronger (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019)

İnsan ve doğa ilişkisi çağlar arasında değişimlere uğramıştır. Örneğin Antik Çağ'da insanın doğanın bir parçası olduğu kabul edilmiş, Orta Çağ'da insanın da doğanın

da Tanrı'nın yarattığı canlılar olduğu kabul edilmiş, Endüstri Devrimi ile birlikte ise Modern Çağ'a geçilmiş ve insan doğanın efendisi haline gelmiştir. Bu durum da türçülük ve insan ve hayvanın eşit gözetilmesi ilkesi gibi etik tartışmaları beraberinde getirmiştir (Dilek & Küçükaltan, 2018).

Animal ethics also comes into play at this point, and ethical affirms the prevalence of the notion that it is unethical to make animals an object of consumption when animals are not consumed as food or when they are being dominated in zoos (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).

The fact that animals suffer is frequently mentioned in Peter Singer's book "Animal Liberation". Singer objects to the tyranny of humans over nonhuman animals and discusses this theoretically. One of the most important situations that separates animals from humans; that the necessity of being the subject of the field people struggle against does not apply to animal rights. This is what distinguishes the liberation struggles of women, blacks or homosexuals from animal rights activism (Singer, 2018).

As Singer also states in the introduction of *In Defense of Animals: The Second Wave*, the struggle against speciesism does not require the advocacy that all animals are equal and have equal rights, but states that in cases where humans and animals have similar interests, these interests must be considered equally. It states that the interests of non-human animals should not be sacrificed for not being human. To illustrate this, hitting a small baby is wrong and if it is thought to be in pain, the same amount of violence to a horse can be painful and should be viewed from this perspective. Just as the reflex shown against a baby's suffering can be shown in the case of animals, looking from a broad perspective is one example of thought that supports speciesism (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).

Analytical Philosopher Cora Diamond argues that the utilitarian and rights-based attitude of refusing to eat meat is problematic and discusses the situation of vegetarians who kill animals and refuse to eat meat that will cause animals to suffer. He states that the quantity of pain alone will not prevent people from eating animals, because the act of eating meat will also be refused to eat an animal that dies of its own accord, and similarly, the refusal to eat the meat of a person who died of natural causes is also due to the fact that human meat is not eaten culturally. Diamond stated that the main argument of vegetarians is that the reason why vegetarians do not eat animals is equalized and not

preferred because they do not eat animals because they do not take actions that may cause the suffering of animals and ultimately do not eat people more than the basis of not eating meat. In addition, not eating animals because a life is shared with animals and not eating people because a common life is shared with people is evaluated on the same basis and vegetarianism is explained in this way (Diamond, 1978).

Although it is said that eating animals is an act of thousands of people, the history of vegetarianism is also very rooted. Greek philosopher Plutarhos, one of the earliest advocates of meat-free nutrition, argued that people should be asked why they started eating meat rather than asking why they avoided meat. He states that eating meat is not a natural diet for human beings; if it were, body structure, tooth structure, stomach and digestive movements would have to be similar to carnivorous animals, and if you claim that it is natural for humans to eat meat, ask a person to kill the animal himself. However, he says, you should kill it with your own hands, nails and teeth without using any tools. However, he states that no one will do this and that meat is consumed by grilling and spicing, making it forget that it is an animal (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).

This discourse seems to coincide with Hannah Arendt's statement that violence needs a tool. The act of killing an animal can only be carried out with a tool such as an arrow, a gun or a spear, which means that human nature is not enough for violence to occur (Arendt, 2018).

As Plutarhos points out, methods such as cooking and seasoning meat coincide with the case of making meat the absent referent in Carol J. Adams' book "The Sexual Politics of Meat", where what was eaten was once a living animal. Although these saucing and cooking processes vary culturally, they naturalize the death of their animals (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).

As an example, the food choices of babies are given as an example that humans do not eat meat and our bodies are not suitable for hunting and digesting meat. The fact that the tendency of children to milk, vegetables, fruits and pastries is much higher than meat is also important in order to evaluate children's choices without cultural nutrition teachings (Rousseau, 2011).

The meat of the cut and packaged animals decorated with pictures of cows or pigs in the shops is close to old people or children, and this is one of the strangest situations in the world. Forgetting that animals were once alive and normalizing this way is

explained in this way, in the simplest terms. From this point of view, animal theorists consider this situation with its ethical dimension (Otter, 2008).

J.J. While Rousseau's criticism of eating meat was directed towards the moral system of the 18th century, later theorists discussed and discussed the meat eating situation together with the patriarchal violence culture. As mentioned in the commodification of the female body, one of the pioneers of this theory is Carol J. Adams. Adams states in the preface to the 20th century edition that the sexual politics of meat is a policy that animalizes women and sexualises women (Ryan, Hayvan Kuramı, 2019).



3.MATERIAL AND METHODS

In this qualitative study; a total of 17 participants, 6 male and 11 female, who are from or living in Diyarbakır, were interviewed through in-depth interview method. 13 of the participants are between the ages of 25-35, 2 of them are between the ages of 35-45 and 2 of them are between the ages of 45-60. In addition, 6 of the participants in the study were engineers, 3 teachers, 2 architects, 1 'city district planner, 1 operator, 1 financial sector employee, 1 retired police officer, 1 doctor, 1 is a housewife.

Study data include in-depth interview interviews with participants in audio / video calls. In-depth interview method is the work done to observe the attitudes, value judgments and feelings of people who are knowledgeable about a subject. Although the study was completed with audio and video interviews and without observation in the living spaces of the participants due to pandemic conditions, there are observations other than the participants interviewed in the study because the research area is Diyarbakır and the researcher is from Diyarbakır. Between 2018-2019, what was hosted at the families' tables and cooked at home, which food types were definitely available when guests came, which food group they consumed the most, their religious, cultural and health perspectives on meat consumption, who set the table, who cooked the meal and who set the table It has been observed that the meals were cooked during birth, hedik, inter-woman days, wedding and condolence times. Spoken with the participants in the in-depth interviews, the food and table culture, meat eating culture, the relationship of women with the kitchen and the perspective of the participants in Diyarbakır, which are mentioned in the "Literature Review" section, have progressed within the framework of the nutrition culture in social rituals. At the beginning of these interviews, it was stated to the participants that these interviews would be used in a master's thesis study, that their personal information would not be used and the thesis would proceed with pseudonyms, that they could withdraw from the study whenever they wanted, and the interview would be recorded with their permission. However, after the interview was over and the audio recording was closed, it was observed that people were willing to provide more information about their food culture and family structures. All of the participants are people who have a great part or all of their childhoods in Diyarbakır and know Diyarbakır cuisine culture and eating habits.

4.RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Nutrition is getting the nutrients that people need (Akın, Özkoçak, & Gültekin, 2015). The use of copper pots with the transition from hunting gathering to agricultural life; it ensured that nutrition went beyond being the basic step in Maslow's "hierarchy of needs" (Güler, 2010). The sedentary life order and agricultural life brought new forms of organization and association in human life. Nutrition, which is a physiological need, has become a part of the culture that expresses everything that has been created by human hands, going beyond the fulfillment of only physical needs with this new form of organization. Geography and climate, which are the elements that determine the cultural structure of societies, are the main factors affecting the nutritional structure, practices, relations of the relevant society and ultimately the nutritional culture as a whole. Therefore, regional conditions and social relations have a significant effect on the eating habits of the people living in that geography.

Nutrition Anthropology is a holistic evaluation of the concept of culture, geographical and climatic conditions, the socio-economic situation in the region and the related production and consumption relationship, nutrition rituals and health status (Aksu, Gıda ve Beslenme Kültürü, 2020).

As Açık and Çakıroğlu stated, while the hunger for the realization of the basic need of people and meeting this hunger is a biochemical and necessary for the continuation of humanity, how, when, where, how and what they will meet their nutritional needs is an anthropological event (Talas, 2005).

While examining the culinary cultures of people, which have become cultural in time as well as geographical and climatic effects, which food group is more on the table, which foods are not preferred to be on the table, and the reasons for this are also examined in the study. It is known that it goes beyond meeting the nutritional needs of people and creates their own culinary cultures in communities, villages, towns, districts and provinces and regions. When the culinary cultures of societies are examined, why they choose the food they choose and what the food they choose means to individuals individually and socially are within the scope of nutrition anthropology.

In this thesis study, especially meat consumption in food consumption of people living in Diyarbakır and its relationship with sexism have been examined. Considering the above-mentioned geographical and climatic conditions constituting the nutritional

culture of the society, the high consumption of red meat was one of the reasons for choosing Diyarbakır as a research area. It has been taken into consideration that sheep and cattle breeding and agriculture are important sources of income in the region and that the foods obtained from these business lines constitute the nutritional habits.

While discussing the meat eating culture and which food group is cooked more in Diyarbakır, its social effects and its relation with sexism, one of the questions asked to the participants was whether they found meat consumption healthy and how often they thought it was correct. Among the participants, person C (woman, architect, 26), person D (woman, engineer, 28), person E (woman, housewife, 30); They stated that they think that meat consumption is necessary for human health, but its place in Diyarbakır Culinary Culture and the frequency of cooking at home is high, and that red meat consumption is sufficient 2-3 days a week. Person F (male, doctor, 26) cited his family as an example, and reiterated that his father absolutely consumed red meat for two meals a day, and that this was more than necessary in terms of health and that 2-3 days a week would be sufficient. Participants other than the sample participants did not make a clear statement about the health impact of meat consumption. However, it can be said that people find meat, especially red meat, healthy considering their consumption frequency.

It has been stated that meat consumption has decreased in the last 5-10 years for the participants over the age of 35 and the midwives of the participants between the ages of 25-35. The reason was defined as "having to reduce meat consumption" after consulting a nutritionist and with the doctor's recommendation due to high cholesterol levels. Only one participant (person D (female, 28, engineer)) stated that meat consumption is necessary, considering the impact of human health indirectly on human health, since they think that choosing not to eat animal meat will reduce the climate and environmental problems in the world, but the frequency of consumption should decrease. This participant is associated with the harmful effects of meat consumption on the environment; Under the title of 'Effect of Meat Eating Culture and Health Status', the increase in the number of animal farms in the world, which is stated by Salter, not only increases the number of animals, but also supports the increase in the number of agricultural lands used to provide the necessary food to those animals and have a significant percentage of water resources consumption in the world (Salter, 2018).

In in-depth interview interviews; It has been stated that the meat is cooked as a watery meal as stated in the Southeastern Anatolia Culinary Culture and in particular

Diyarbakır Dishes and Culinary Culture. Eggplant, winter squash, tomato and pepper, which are highly produced and consumed frequently in the region, form the basis of juicy dishes. When asked about the most consumed local foods; meftune, tırşık (a succulent dish similar to a variety of meat), juicy potatoes, ‘kaburga dolması’, dried beans with meat, xlorik (kneading bulgur and minced meat into small balls with spices and cooking with water with tomato paste), boiled meat, ‘duvaklı pilav’, liver kebab, stuffed meatballs. It is explained that dishes such as ‘kibe mumbar’ and ‘kelle paça’ and roasting are frequently cooked. All of the local dishes listed above are common dishes in every home, it is stated that only liver kebab is not cooked at home and consumed from outside. It is noteworthy that the first example that the participants gave to local dishes in the interviews was "meftune", which is actually a dish that is not well known outside Diyarbakır. Meftune meal; It is a sour, red meat dish cooked with winter squash vegetable and plenty of sumac, and it is noteworthy that the first sample of the participants was meftune. It has been stated that besides the use of vegetables grown in the region, the consumption of rice, bulgur and legumes, which are among the most produced cereals in the region, are common.

Zubaida stated; The use of bulgur in many local dishes is also an indication that the change in cuisine culture cannot occur in a short time (Zubaida, Ortadoğu Yemek Kültürlerinin Ulusal, Yerel ve Küresel Boyutları, 2000). This proves that geography and climatic conditions are the main factors that make up the food culture. In addition, since the city does not have high-rise lands for cattle breeding, the most important source of income in the region after agriculture is sheep and goat breeding, which is why the meat dishes consumed are made from lamb or sheep meat, not veal. Interviews also confirmed that juicy dishes are predominant in Diyarbakır food culture and consumption of foods such as dry meat and meatballs is very low. When asked about the most frequently cooked food at home, person B (female, teacher / 26) He also stated that sometimes cızbız meatballs or grilled meatballs were cooked, except that kebab or barbecue meat was not cooked at home, eaten outside or ordered home.

In the in-depth interviews held, first of all, table culture in Diyarbakır, the most cooked dishes and the most common food groups on the table were discussed. Although the meals cooked on the table are similar regionally, it has been observed that the socio-economic status of the family affects the meals cooked at home. For example, person A (female, teacher, 57) participating in the interview; she mentions that since his economic

conditions were not good in his childhood, foods such as bulgur and lentil were cooked at home. However, she continues by saying that there is always meat on the table, mostly red meat when guests come to the house or when they visit a family home, and now she says that meatless food is not cooked much in his own home and even when he opens the refrigerator and looks at it and does not see it, she says that there is no material to cook at home today. This is a perspective that other participants often repeat. They state that in Diyarbakır cuisine culture, especially the table set up for guests, there must be meat, and a meal containing only vegetables is not considered a meal. When asked which meat was consumed frequently, she stated that, like all the participants, not much meat was consumed in Diyarbakır except red meat, and even that chicken consumption was very little until high school.

When asked about vegetable dishes cooked without meat in Diyarbakır Food Culture and the place of vegetables on the table, 15 of the 17 participants cite kenger as an example and stated that it is one of the 2 meals cooked without meat among local dishes. Kenger is also called as şevket-i bostan in different regions. An example is given that the kenger grass grown in the region can be cooked and served as the main dish, and there is also a dish called "zucchini çirtma", where the zucchini is chopped small and cooked with onions. It is stated that meals cooked other than these dishes were cooked with red meat / minced meat or chicken. The participants who stated that vegetable meals were cooked less at home in their childhood and that they include meatless vegetable meals in their own homes today, also stated that they think these nutritional behavior changes are "healthier" and therefore they prefer. It is stated that vegetables such as spinach, leek, cauliflower and okra are also included in the meals, but minced meat or pieces of meat are added to them.

All 17 participants, 11 women and 6 men, who were interviewed in the study, stated that when the vegetable meals were cooked and / or the meat meals were not cooked, there were times when the men were not at home. Female participants stated that when there is no father, brother or partner at home, the meal is 'passed over' or meatless vegetable dishes that men do not prefer to eat and women do not consume much are cooked on days when men are absent. Male participants, on the other hand, stated that women do not engage in cooking for comfort when the men are not at home and 'pass it over'. This will make it easier to deduce that culturally, the food is made for men and the table is set for men.

Due to the fact that most of the men were at war during the First World War and the meat produced in the country was sent to the military men, the majority of women who did not go to war had to restrict the consumption of meat in many countries and the consumption of vegetables and pulses increased. In addition to the fact that this is a compulsory food consumption change, women like the fact that when there are no men at home, they spend less time cooking in the kitchen, the cooking time of vegetables is short and meat is longer (Stockham, 1911). This can be given as an example of not that women prefer to spend hours in the kitchen, but that they feel obliged to do this when men are present. For similar reasons, male participants support the women stating that they cook vegetables for comfort while they are away.

Considering that the table is set for men and women often do not set a table when men are absent, especially when asked whether men and women sit at the table together in crowded family or friend meetings, all participants are asked to eat together in their nuclear families or at dinner parties with close relatives such as uncle and aunt. They stated that they were eaten, sometimes children were set separate from adults, but rarely men and women ate separately. When crowded tables are set except for 1st degree relatives, the participants stated that men and women eat separately, usually the same food is consumed, but women often check the men's table and take on the task of refreshing the meals that have been reduced or finished.

In addition, it was asked whether meat or meat-containing foods were consumed on the day of the women gathering or on the days such as dental breaks. They stated that foods that contain high carbohydrates and do not contain meat such as 'hedik' , ' kısır' and 'börek' were consumed. On the days when the women gathered, all the participants, except two, stated that meat and / or meat products were not on the menu. In the light of these data, it can be concluded that in a society where meat dishes are seen as the main meal, women do not prefer to eat the main meal when they come together, but 'snack or pass it off'.

In order to come to a conclusion about the food and table culture, the meals cooked at home are as important as the meals cooked when the guests come and the food served when the guests go to the meal are also very important. Participants were asked what foods are served to the guests and what is a must for the table. All of the participants stated that offering meat to the guest means the value given to the guest, and even families without socio-economic power try to offer meat to the guest at dinner. 4 of the 17

participants stated that the soup may not be on the menu prepared when the guests come, and 13 of them stated that the soup is definitely made. He stated that the main dish is a juicy and meaty main dish, bulgur pilaf, yoghurt or tzatziki or ayran and salad. Person H (female, retired police officer, 55), person G (female, teacher, 39), person A (female, teacher, 57) and person I (female, manager, 41) next to a stewed red meat meal at the guest table He also stated that they made rice with chicken. When the participants were asked what the lack of meat on the table would mean for them when they went home to dinner, they would not be a problem if it is a family with a low socio-economic status or a meal where only women gathered, but if they have the power to buy meat economically and men and women are invited together they stated that they would define it as worthless. In the light of this information, it can be concluded that meat is not consumed only for nutrition or protein intake, that the presence of meat at the table is an indicator of the value people give to each other and that women do not demand this value and do not try to meet this value in the absence of men.

Rituals are made up of individuals or societies that symbolically repeat certain behavioral patterns in successive times (Karaman, 2010). While the meals served to the guests and their meaning were mentioned, the rituals that keep communities together and the treats and foods consumed in these rituals were also discussed with the participants. Among these rituals, birth, hedik , 'noodle' cutting, wedding, condolence and sacrifice rituals were discussed.

The common statement of the participants in the birth and dental rituals is that there are no men and that foods such as cake, pie, cake are served. Person J (male, engineer, 27) stated that he put foods such as baked cake, pie, and cookies in his freezer before giving birth and that they were offered to guests after birth. Apart from birth and hedik, they were asked what was consumed during 'bağ bozumu' times and how this ritual took place, but participants other than one participant stated that they did not participate in the 'bağ bozumu'. L person participating in the grape harvest (female, city regional planner, 26); she stated that after the grapes were picked in his father's village, every house in the village was picked one day, and enough grapes for that house were turned into fruit pulp or molasses, and fatty meals such as 'kelle paça' and mumbar were made during these ritual times. He stated that the reason for this is to do a physically tiring job and therefore these meals are preferred because of high protein and fat content.

This example supports the information Cangi stated that cattle were cooked and distributed during the grape harvest (Cangi, 2018).

In condolences, which is one of the most important rituals of societies, people visit the house of the condolence owner or the places rented as "condolence house" and pay a "condolence" visit. For these visits, most of the participants stated that condolence houses were rented or that women were hosted in the condolence owner's house and men in the places of detention. Although condolence culture varies according to different ethnic groups and religious beliefs, it shows similar characteristics in Diyarbakır and its surroundings. When asked about the dishes served in Diyarbakır, the condolences stated that they offered a treat such as lahmacun, döner, pita or a succulent dish with meat and a table d'hote menu such as rice and cacik. It is stated that halva is not included in Diyarbakır Culture.

In condolences, meals are distributed to guests during lunch and dinner. These meals can be cooked at home or distributed by ordering from catering companies. However, the funeral owners and their relatives meet the meals (Ertan, 2012). However, in the interviews, the participants stated that the owner of the deceased did not distribute food, especially in the first 3 days, that relatives and neighbors took over the food and organized a meal for a relative at each meal. This situation shows that although Batman and Diyarbakır have geographical proximity and cultural similarity to each other, there is also a difference between cities. All of the participants stated that it is not right to distribute food in condolence, and that it is a shame for people who come to condolence visit while people are suffering. At this point, although the number of people interviewed was small, the reason for repeating a ritual criticized by people was questioned and the answer was "eating at the condolence house is considered a reward". This point of view is an indication that religious rituals in societies or stereotyped rituals with religious justifications are seen as immutable rituals, despite the criticism of today's perspective.

Regarding weddings, another ritual that brings societies together, the participants stated that weddings with dinner are now considerably reduced, raw meatballs and nuts are served, and in weddings with meals, if the socio-economic status of the family is not low, red meat is definitely served.

Male and female genders are universal in that they mean the same meaning all over the world. However, 'femininity' and 'masculinity' are not universal as they mean

different meanings according to the social, economic and cultural structures of societies and they are concepts that can change from society to society as well as within the same society over time. They are not the same in matriarchal or patriarchal societies, and can have different meanings in different cultures (Scott, 2007). The change in the concepts of 'womanhood' and 'masculinity' according to the societies and the culture they created has also affected the cuisine culture and table culture. These roles have begun to play a role in interpersonal relations in some patterns since humanity began to live together and the structure defined as the smallest building block of society was formed.

Rayna R. Reiter family; It defines it as "A married couple or a group of adult relatives who cooperate economically and in the upbringing of children, where everyone or the majority live in a common area." Individuals in a family are also in a collaborative division of labor, male or female. In this division of labor, the woman is the caretaker of the child and the housework, the man is the hunter and the warrior. From ancient societies until today, it is seen that men have a higher status than women at home (Gough, 2012). Although it is observed that these roles vary in today's societies, it was observed that they continue in the domestic work section in in-depth interviews.

When the participants were asked who cooks the meal and who prepares the table, all of them mentioned that the kitchen work is in the mother / wife and woman. Person J (female, engineer, 27) stated that his father did not enter the kitchen, cook or prepare a table, but they shared these tasks with his wife. She stated that as the reason was that his husband knew how to cook better than she had since she had only one life experience, and that she also thought that dividing household chores was more egalitarian. Person F (male, doctor, 26) stated that his father set up the table and made food, but did not do this division of work when the guest arrived, and that his mother did it all, his father took a duty to sit with the guests and it would be a shame for him to do business. This shows that although the man does the routine work at home, he believes that when the guest comes, it will be a shame for the man to take care of the guest and to do the housework. 7 of the participants stated that the task of preparing breakfast is under the responsibility of the father, but they do not participate in the cooking of lunch and dinner and the setting of the table.

Among the participants, H person (female, retired police, 55), P person (male, architect, 26) and R person (male, engineer, 25), after the age of the woman / mother in the house and the growing up of the children, even if the cooking task is female and that

the gathering tasks were done by the young population in the house and that such a variation in division of labor was made. These examples; If the woman does not set the table or not, it makes it possible to deduce that she is the person who cooks it, and that men of the same age / position, such as husband or father, do not undertake this task. There are examples of periods when men in the house enter the kitchen and cook, but it is stated that all men who cook only enter the kitchen to cook meat.

In addition to the fact that the woman is the cook and preparer in the kitchen as a result of the gender stereotypes, the participants were asked who does the food shopping at home and why this is preferred. All of the participants stated that grocery shopping does not differ between men and women, both genders do grocery shopping, but butcher shopping is always with men. When asked about the reasons, it was said that men understand meat and women do not know or prefer to buy meat. This situation supports the relationship between flesh and masculinity, which will be described in the following paragraphs.

Participant D (female, engineer, 28) stated that her father had been in the kitchen more often in recent years, but generally cooked meat, and added that he used to cook meat for himself, especially if there was a meatless vegetable meal at home. Similarly, person C (female, architect, 26) stated that her father made raw meatballs or barbecue, but the necessary steps (washing the vegetables, chopping, marinating the meat) before cooking these dishes were also done by the women. This situation again showed that the kitchen is the domain of women, cooking and setting the table is adopted as the "woman's duty" but if the man does not like the food or wants to eat meat, he enters the kitchen. Participants stated that when men cook, they do not cook vegetables and do not see them as the main meal. Person K (male, engineer, 30), on the other hand, stated that vegetable dishes, dolma and 'kısır' as day meals are socially regarded as "women's meals", men's meals are considered to be meat dishes, he does not agree with this idea, however, He stated that he also does not like to consume.

Supporting this, Ryan stated that meat represents power, vegetables are low protein, fragile and non-predatory, and since power represents men in society, meat represents male food, vegetables and low protein represent women (Ryan, Hayvan Kullanımı ve İstismarı, 2019).

When we look at the relationship between meat eating culture and sexism of people living in Diyarbakır, the point of view of the feasts of the sacrifice and animal slaughter and who / which gender undertake these situations were asked. What is interesting in the interviews is that all participants, except for one participant, stated that they do not want to see the slaughter and that they cannot consume the animal that they see being slaughtered as food. 11 of the participants stated that they experienced "trauma" because they witnessed animal slaughter in various periods of their lives and could not eat meat for a while, and then they started to consume meat again due to the force of their families. It is noteworthy that 10 of these 11 participants were women. When asked whether the sacrifice was sacrificed during the feasts of the sacrifice, all of them stated that the sacrificial slaughter was continued by their families, but "they did not have to see this as before, the town was given a power of attorney, they cut and pack them, and therefore they did not dislike meat consumption". The statement that meat consumption is easier when they do not see it being cut supports Carol J. Adams's concept of the absent referent.

The concept of missing sentence in the book 'Sexual Policy of Meat'; the idea that meat consumed as food was once a living animal has been described as translation and forgetting. If the meat on the table was once forgotten that it was a living animal, and lost its first meaning, the concept of lost sentence is used (Adams, *Etin Cinsel Politikası*, 2013). When you did not see the animal slaughter, it was forgotten that the meat consumed as food was once a live animal, making it easier to consume it in this way. D (female, 28, engineer) stated that when he was little, when she saw that the animal was slaughtered in the village during the feast of sacrifice, she got scared and ran away and still did not eat sacrificial meat. The fact that the animal refuses to eat the meat because it sees that it has been slaughtered, that every time the sacrificial meat comes before her, she thinks of the slaughtered animal means that the meat consumed in the feasts of the sacrifice is not meat for her, but the dead of an animal, that is, it is not a 'absent referent'. Person C (female, architect, 26) stated that she saw the sheep being slaughtered during the feast of sacrifice when she was a child, and that she still could not eat the sacrificial meat, and when she saw that it was slaughtered, she stated that he thought it was a brutality. She supported the concept of absent referent with the sentence "It does not bother me to consume meat other than sacrificial meat because I do not see the background." Person E (female, housewife, 30) also stated that she had witnessed the

interception many times but would not prefer to see it. Another participant, K person (male, engineer, 30) stated that he could not consume meat for a while after seeing an animal slaughtered in his mother's garden when he was 3-4 years old, and now he could not eat meat with meat and bones.

When the concept of absent referent is considered in terms of meat, it is seen that the animal does not really exist. The process of turning the animal's body into food is about teaching meat-eaters that what is on their plate is not actually an animal, and preventing them from confronting the fact that it is an animal. Changing the names of meats when they become a consumer product, naming steaks and hamburgers is also done to strengthen the absent referent concept (Ryan, Hayvan Hayati, 2019). The fact that the participants in the in-depth interviews were startled after seeing that animals were slaughtered as a child and refused to consume meat reveals that normalization of meat consumption is related to the culture. Because for the child, the animal becomes the absent referent, later on, with the culture. Person G (female, teacher, 39), who described the moment of her childhood as 'trauma', told that her father brought a turkey home with her siblings in his childhood and that they loved turkey with his siblings, and that his father took the turkey and was killed in the evening and cried a lot and refused to eat the turkey. has told. It has been observed that people who live with and bond with animals, especially children, refuse to slaughter that animal and consume it as food. Supporting the claim that one of the situations that makes the animal not a absent referent is the connection with the animal, the person P (male, architect, 26) said that he grew up in a crowded family and that eating meat is a constant part of the culture, while his sister refused to eat meat for many years. He stated that he owned and lived with him and conveyed the words of his sister as follows; "When the cat is on the lap, I cannot eat the lamb on the plate". This discourse means that it does not only see the animal as food and when it lives with an animal, it also means that other animals refuse to be consumed as food.

Cultures are the reasons why which animal is or is not an object of consumption and the division of animals into 'edible' and 'inedible' animals in society is also related to cultural teachings (Ryan, Hayvan Hayati, 2019). Making the distinction between the pet owned and cared for and the animal on the plate is also about having the perspective that makes the animal a absent referent. For this reason, I cannot eat the lamb on the plate while the cat given by the participant is on the lap. The sentence reinforces this.

11 of the interviewees were uncomfortable seeing the animal was slaughtered and in order to understand what it meant by the fact that 10 of these 11 people were women, the participants were asked whether the animals were always slaughtered by men, and if so, what could be the reason. All 17 participants stated that when sheep or bovine animals are slaughtered, men always slaughter, and women cannot because they want power and strength. However, 8 participants stated that they witnessed women cutting chickens and plucking their feathers. Person H (female, retired police officer, 55) stated that, when she was a child, the chicken was only a food bought from the animal market and consumed less and that if her father was not at home, her mother asked one of the men who had passed the street to slaughter the chicken. These 9 people, who said that they did not see women slaughter animals, were asked why women did not, and whether this had a religious or cultural justification. Only one participant stated that this is forbidden in religion, while other participants thought that there was no reason. However, when looking at the Quran, it is about sacrifice, votive or animal slaughter; 'It does not matter whether the person who slaughtered the animal is male or female, there is no difference between whether it is clean, junub, or menstruation; It is eaten by all of them (Zeylaî, Tebyîn, V, 287). ' In other words, there is nothing in Islam that a woman cannot slaughter animals.

During the interviews, it was asked whether there was a distinction between men and women when dividing the meals at home in their families or close circles, and 15 of the 17 participants stated that more meat was put on the plate of the man in their family or parents' family. One of the participants, E (female, housewife, 30) stated that they were 4 women and 1 brother, and that since childhood, excess meat was distributed on the plate of her brother and most of the broth was on the plate of the sisters and they were uncomfortable with this and stated that they did not make this distinction in their own children. It will not be difficult to repeat that meat represents masculinity, and vegetables and vegetables represent femininity.

While associating the commodification of women and meat, it has been stated that both are objectified and that women are on the meat, that is, on the animal, the human hierarchy is fed by violence (Adams, *Etin Cinsel Politikası*, 2013). In the gender roles of women in the role of serving men, cooking, setting the table and setting the table, the hierarchy established by the man on the woman continues, the presence of the animal as meat on the plate as a absent referent, and the hierarchy established by humans on the

animal body (mostly the hierarchy established by men) It will not be difficult to say that it continues.



5.CONCLUSION

In-depth interviews also supported that culinary cultures and nutritional behaviors of societies have changed with the transition from hunter-gatherer to agricultural society and from it to industrial society, but cooking, table setting and consumption choices vary according to gender patterns.

It is striking that in a city like Diyarbakır where meat consumption is high, the place of meat on the table changes only when there are "health risks" and "there is no man at home". Considering that it takes many years to change social rituals and food culture and it is not easy to change, in a society where meat is seen as the main dish and represents the value given to the guest, it is important for the development of healthy nutrition awareness that people tend to reduce meat at the table or consume it less frequently for health concerns. However, the restriction of meat consumption when there are no men at home and the fact that women regard preparing the table for themselves as cruel show that meat is defined as male food and represents power. In addition, although some of the participants stated that they were uncomfortable with a gender pattern in which the woman was interested in kitchen work, it was observed that this order continued in their families. When men and women eat separate meals at crowded tables, the fact that men are interested in the deficiencies of the table creates the impression that the priority is to feed the man.

It is clear that the geography and climate affect the meat consumption and this has a great effect on the formation of the cuisine culture of the region. It has been observed that interpersonal relationships and gender stereotypes affect the place of meat on the table, the duty of cooking, and the duty of going to town. However, it has been observed that gender stereotypes change over time in the kitchen and at the table, and participants between the ages of 25-35 are not as dependent on their parents' gender stereotypes and the regional meaning of meat consumption and criticize it. Undoubtedly, with the discussion of gender stereotypes, division of labor within the family, and the impact of the frequency of food consumed on health, the cuisine and table culture will also change over time.

6.RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of the literature review on meat eating culture and sexism for this study, it can be stated that the resources on this subject are limited. Written in the context of feminist-vegetarian theory, Carol J. Adams' *The Sexual Policy of Meat* is a reference book for all other sources as in this research. The limited number of studies on meat eating culture and sexism has been one of the most challenging parts for the researcher in the thesis study.

When starting this thesis study, it is aimed to have interviews with the participants in their own living spaces. However, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, in-depth interviews were conducted with audio / video calls. Inferences include not only in-depth interviews, but also the observations made by the researcher in Diyarbakır in 2018-2019, but it was observed that face-to-face meeting with the participants may be more beneficial while conducting this study.

It has been observed in the literature section that researchers who want to study this subject may have a shortage of resources, that it can be difficult to study the nutrition culture of a region with in-depth interviews under pandemic conditions, but that more accurate inferences can be obtained in face-to-face conditions both in Diyarbakır and in the context of meat eating culture and sexism.

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8. CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Informations

Name	Rotinda	Surname	Çağdaş
Place of Birth		Date of Birth	
Nationality		TR ID Number	
E-mail		Phone number	

Education

Degree	Department	The name of the Institution Graduated From	Graduation year
Doctorate			
Master			
University	Nutrition and Dietetic	Yeditepe University	2017
High school	-	Diyarbakır Özel Final Anadolu Lisesi	2012

All the grades must be listed if there is more than one (KPDS, ÜDS, TOEFL; EELTS vs),

Languages	Grades (#)
English	

Work Experience (Sort from present to past)

Position	Institute	Duration (Year - Year)
Dietician	Mediform	2018-
		-

Computer Skills

Program	Level
Microsoft Office Programs	good

*Excellent , good, average or basic

Scientific works

The articles published in the journals indexed by SCI, SSCI, AHCI

Articles published in other journals

Proceedings presented in international scientific meetings and published in proceedings book.

Journals in the proceedings book of the refereed conference / symposium

Others (Projects / Certificates / Rewards)

