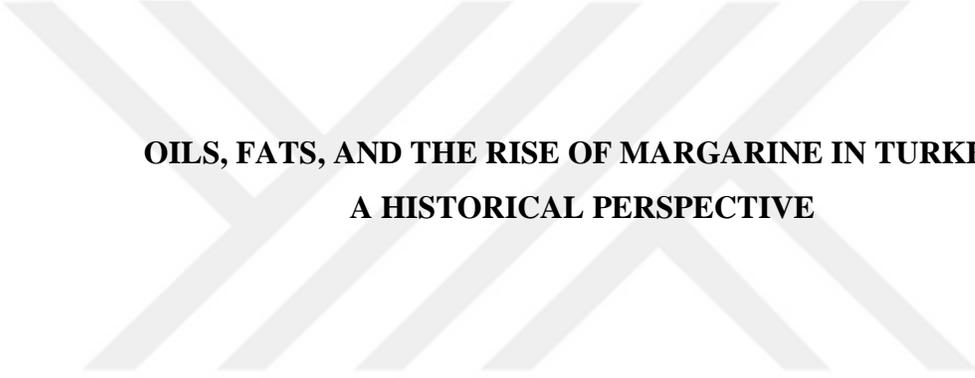


**ISTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
CULTURAL STUDIES MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM**



**OILS, FATS, AND THE RISE OF MARGARINE IN TURKEY:  
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

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Oils, Fats, and the Rise of Margarine: A Historical Perspective

Yağ ve Türkiye'de Margarinin Yükselişi: Tarihsel Bir Değerlendirme

Fevzican Abacıođlu

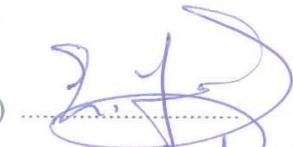
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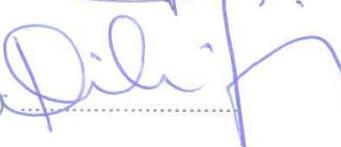
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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ADD</b>	: Advertisement
<b>FDA</b>	: Food and Drug Administration
<b>IMF</b>	: International Monetary Fund
<b>LPG</b>	: Liquefied Petroleum Gas
<b>OECD</b>	: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>OEEC</b>	: Organization for European Economic Co-operation
<b>P.L. 480</b>	: Public Law 480
<b>SEE</b>	: State Economic Enterprise
<b>SEK</b>	: Milk Institution Organization
<b>TARİŞ</b>	: Agriculture Sales Cooperative Association
<b>TARKO</b>	: Agriculture Cooperative Association
<b>TNC</b>	: Trans-National Corporation
<b>TV</b>	: Television
<b>U.K.</b>	: United Kingdom
<b>U.S.</b>	: United States

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**OILS, FATS AND THE RISE OF MARGARINE IN TURKEY:  
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

**ABSTRACT**

This dissertation study follows a transnational company into its penetration into a market in a new country. The study examines how an existing production and distribution network could be transformed and how an ordinary consumer is convinced to accept a new product. Fats and oils, especially margarine are taken as the sample within the scope of this study.

Fats and oils give a fertile topic that allows many different approaches as a subject. Their critical role in human evolution, being a fundamental necessity for the body, yet them being a privilege for the deserving since hunter-gathering communities, their ability to trigger the reward center of the brain and make us perceive food more deliciously, the sacredness it carries in many beliefs -from ancient mythologies to monotheistic religions- and many more meanings attributed to them make it an enjoyable subject to study.

The dissertation starts with the deep-rooted history of the production and consumption habits in the hinterland of Turkey and Ottoman Empire. After that, it focuses on the entrance of a food company with one of the world's largest marketing budgets to Turkish market. The story of margarine which was newly heard in 1950's, became a staple from the 1960's and it's eradication from the market since the 1990's will be examined in this study in a historical context by examining the advertisements as well.

*Key words: fat, oil, margarine, olive oil, butter, transnational companies, Turkey, food advertisements, food history*

# YAĞ VE TÜRKİYE’DE MARGARİNİN YÜKSELİŞİ: TARİHSEL BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

## ÖZET

Bu çalışmada, ulus aşırı bir gıda firmasının yeni bir ülke pazarına girdikten sonra izlediği yol ele alınıyor. Mevcut üretim ve dağıtım ağlarının nasıl değiştirildiği ve sıradan bir tüketicinin yeni ürünü kabul etmesinin nasıl mümkün kılındığı inceleniyor. Çalışmanın kapsamında örneklem olarak yağlar ve bilhassa margarin odağa alınmıştır.

Yağ, bir inceleme konusu olarak pek çok farklı yaklaşıma imkân tanıyan bereketli bir konu. İnsanın evrimindeki kritik rolü, vücut için temel bir ihtiyaç maddesi olması, buna rağmen avcı toplayıcı topluluklardan itibaren ayrıcalıklı olana hak görülmesi, beynin ödül merkezini tetikleme ve yemekleri daha lezzetli algılamamızı sağlama becerisi, antik mitolojilerden tek tanrılı dinlere kadar pek çok inanışta kendisine atfedilen kutsallık ve taşıdığı daha nice anlam yağı incelemek için keyifli bir konu haline getirmektedir.

Bu tezde, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu havzasındaki köklü üretim ve tüketim alışkanlıklarının tarihi anlatıldıktan sonra dünyanın en büyük pazarlama bütçelerinden birine sahip firmanın Türkiye pazarına girişi anlatılıyor. 1950’li yıllarda Türkiye’de adı yeni duyulan margarinin 1960’lı yıllardan itibaren temel gıda maddesi haline gelişi ve 1990’lı yıllardan itibaren piyasadan silinişi, bu tarihsel düzlemde reklamlar da incelenerek anlatılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: *yağ, margarin, zeytinyağı, tereyağı, ulus aşırı firmalar, Türkiye, yemek reklamları, yemek tarihi*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Fats and oils are essential for the human body in all culinary cultures around the globe. They are the main source of energy of the human body and also one of the three main nutrients that the human body requires vitally along with carbohydrates and protein. (Kummerow, 1974, p. 255) The vital need of human body for fats and oils makes them essential and irreplaceable in any cuisine around the globe. Any type of fats and oils are easily replaceable between each other but on the other hand, they are vital and irreplaceable needs for the human body. (Kummerow, 1974). The importance of oil and fats in human nutrition as well as in the culinary culture allowed me to think and develop a research project about fat and its derivatives in Turkey. In order to understand the cultural preference of different fats or oils in Turkey in this study, we will first survey the history of edible fats and oils in Modern Turkey since the Ottoman era and then will focus on the impact of introduction of a new type of fat namely “the margarine” in Republic of Turkey through a transnational food company, the first example of international capital penetrating into Turkey is Unilever, which is a fat producing company. Unilever entered Turkish Market in 1953 causing irrevocable changes in the food market of Turkey as well as in the culinary habits of the whole society. This dissertation thus aims to understand how an international food company can penetrate into an existing economy by promoting a new food item, the margarine and how it can change the existing network around food consumption habits and ensconce themselves in these networks from 1950’s to today.

In order to underline the importance of fat and oil in human diet, the first chapter of the thesis will underline the importance of oils and fats in nutrition. The role of fat and its derivatives in human body evolution and the results of its absence in human diet will be explained briefly. To explore the requirement of oils and fats by human body in detail as well as, a short historical review of the consumption of fats and oils in history

will be outlined. The anthropological and biological studies on the consumption of fat will also be present in the study. Several ethnographic studies show how different societies from different places around the world react against consuming non-fat foods. To conclude, the first part of this chapter will question the perception of “good taste” of fat.

Considering the exigency and deliciousness of oils and fats, it is not surprising to see how different societies attribute positive symbolic meanings to oils and fats. Throughout history, fats and oils have been the proprietary of the powerful ones and it has been a symbol of good and desired in different societies. The second part of the first chapter will study several examples from ancient history and will explain how Sumerians, Ancient Greeks and Egyptians symbolized oil or fat as a desired object and also as a symbol of distinction based on the type of oils and fats consumed. This chapter will also study the holy books of Abrahamic religions and analyze how each religion refers to fats and oils and what kind of holiness and prohibitions are attributed to specific types of oils and fats. Finally, the chapter will study other usage areas of oils and fats such as producing medicine, soap, cosmetics, and fuel for lighting.

The second chapter of the dissertation is constituted of two parts. The first part will briefly outline a general food consumption study in the Ottoman Empire. It is important to mention that it is not possible to give a complete portrait of the “Ottoman Cuisine” for an empire that existed for more than 600 years situated in three continents. Thus the chapter will give a general outline of the Ottoman culinary culture focusing on the inherited food consumption habits, the cuisines of religious communities, the cultural transaction with the neighbors of the Empire and the impact of these transactions on culinary culture, and finally the cultural transaction in the ports of towns in order to develop an insight about a general food consumption habits in Ottoman Empire.

The second part of this chapter will focus on the consumption habits of fat and oil in the Ottoman Empire in order to understand today's consumption habits in Turkey. The chapter will attribute a deeper focus on the consumption habits of the Ottoman elites because the information about the consumption habits of ordinary people is limited. Since the palace consumption depends on the most favored foods of the empire, the chapter will give an opinion about the most favored fats and oils in the Ottoman culture. The second part will question also two issues about the Ottoman consumption habits of fat and oil: First, why Ottoman Muslim elites did not show an ample interest in olive oil; and how the missing interest in olive oil has risen up -but never as favored as butter- starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. There are different studies trying to clarify these issues with economical, political, cultural and geographical explanations and the chapter will summarize these studies. Finally, the chapter will question if the Europeanization movement in the Ottoman Empire will change the consumption habits of oil and fat in the Ottoman palace as well as among the Ottoman elites or not. The consumption habits of the olive oil and animal fat in the Ottoman society during the 19<sup>th</sup> century will be outlined based on the information taken from sources like newspapers and industrial surveys of the era.

The third chapter of the dissertation will study the food system and food market of Turkish Republic in three periods. The first part will be about the early Republican years between 1923 and 1945. In this period, the dissertation will study the state food policies enabling to ensure the food security in Turkey. The second part will analyze the postwar period between 1945 and 1980. This part will analyze the steps taken by the Turkish Republic in creating food security as food aids received from the United States. Finally, the third part will focus on the liberalization of food market starting from 1980 to today.

The most important impact on fat and oil market in Turkey is the establishment of a margarine factory in İstanbul by Unilever and İş Bankası in 1953. Undoubtedly, this

margarine factory has a tremendous impact on the consumption habits of fat and oil in Turkey. At the same time, the entry of one of the biggest transnational food companies into the Turkish food market has various impacts as well. The production model of the company, the wide distribution network, the marketing, and the publicity of know-how were newly introduced notions in Turkey in 1950's. The chapter will study the impact of these novelties caused by the mainstream food production models in Turkey since 1950's. The chapter does not only aim to analyze the economic success of Unilever in Turkish food market, but in wider sense wishes to analyze how the new Fordist consumption patterns have succeeded to change a set of rooted economical, social, cultural and technologic networks and to convince people to accept new food products instead of the ones that were accustomed to by consumers.

The final part of the third chapter will focus on the years after 1980, which come into prominence with liberalization policies of the state. Also, by the opportunities created by the new developed communication technologies, the consumers are much adapted to global fashions, which include the ecologic and organic food diets rising within 1990's. With the new trends of food consumption, the success that margarine has reached turns into a fall down after the 1990's. So, the final chapter will study how the new diet trends impact the oil and fat consumption in Turkey especially around the fall of margarine.

Finally, the fourth chapter of the dissertation will be based on a comparative analysis of Unilever's margarine advertisements broadcasted on television. The chapter aims to develop an understanding about the economic success of Unilever in Turkey through the marketing and advertising strategies. The comparative analysis will start from the first TV advertisement of Unilever broadcasted in 1972 and it will analyze one exemplary advertisement per each decade. The chapter aims to follow the marketing strategies of Unilever from TV advertisements and examine the changes in the marketing strategies through the decades. From 1970's to 2010's the food consumption

habits in Turkey had lots of changes according to politic, economic, and technologic reasons. The chapter aims to analyze how Unilever's marketing strategies takes position against these changes and how the new strategies are reflected on TV advertisements. By this analyze, the dissertation aims to develop an understanding of the marketing strategies of Unilever and clarify the reasons for the economic success of the company in Turkey through the advertisement and marketing strategies in a wider sense.

Considering the multidisciplinary structure of food studies, based on cultural, historical, and anthropological studies; this dissertation is also based on a multidisciplinary methodology. In order to develop an understanding about the taste, nutrition, and symbolic values of oils and fats, the study has benefited from various resources. In the first chapter is structured on biological, anthropological and historical studies in order to understand the importance of oils and fats from hunter-gatherer societies to ancient civilizations. The second and third chapters are based on literature surveys which focuses on the studies about culinary history of Ottoman Empire, economical, cultural and food production policies of Turkish Republic, business history studies of Unilever Global and Unilever Turkey, and the news concerning fats and oils in newspapers. The fourth chapter surveys various theories about advertisement -especially focuses on food advertisements and advertising to women- and makes a comparative analysis on the Unilever's margarine advertisements in Turkey under the light of the surveyed theories.

## **1. IMPORTANCE OF OIL AND FAT IN HUMAN DIET**

As widely known, what we call human is an omnivore primate mammal under the genus of homo and species of sapiens. Unlike most of the species around the world, it is not possible to talk about a standard diet of Homo sapiens. For example, an Inuit living in the South Pole ensures the nutrition s/he requires mostly from fish, red meat and tallow. On the other hand, a Buddhist living in Central Asia constitutes his or her culinary habits only from vegetables and may not consume any meat or animal fat for their entire life. These two exemplified societies have no intersection set in their culinary habits but they are both member of the same species: Homo sapiens.

The example mentioned above is one of the most important reasons for Homo sapiens to be able to live and breed any place on earth, unlike other species. Homo sapiens have been able to change their essential nourishment habits according to climate, flora, and fauna they are living in and also, they have been able to interfere with the ecosystem and turn any place into a habitable environment for themselves. These two habits let Homo sapiens to spread all around the world and make them able to live and breed in any place on earth. Homo sapiens' ability to adapt themselves into different living conditions and different environments is highly connected to their non-stable nourishment habits and therefore their omnivore nature. For example, for a panda the only edible things on the earth are bamboo leaves and stems. Or for a thrush bird the only edible thing is the weed of juniper. For these two animals, nothing else in the world can be considered as food. Just like how carnivore animals cannot consider any type of plant as food. Also, these animals provide all the nutrition their body requires from one food they eat. On the other hand, Homo sapiens' ability to stay fed in any place on earth comes with another deficiency. Homo sapiens' shorter digestive tracts and larger brains make them much more dependent on high-energy dense nutrients. Whether it is liquid or solid, plant or animal oriented all fats are more than two times

richer with its nine calories per gram than carbohydrates and proteins which comprise four calories per gram. (Regulations, 2016) On the other hand, all types of oils and fats have different substances and contain different amounts of saturated and unsaturated fatty acids. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 230) Studies in gastro-history, gastro-anthropology and gastro-archeology on hunter-gatherers' diets show the importance of fats in daily nutrition requirements. According to Cordain and friends (2000, p. 681), “worldwide hunter-gatherers, the most plausible percentages of total energy intake would be 19-35% for protein, 22-40% for carbohydrate and 28-58% for fats.”

### **1.1. Dependence of Human Body to Oils and Fats**

As mentioned above, fats play a crucial role in evolution of Homo sapiens since the hunter-gatherer period in history. The human brain is a huge and energy demanding organ. Energy-dense foods and the size of the brain are directly proportionate to each other. The more energy dense food is eaten the larger brain is carried. At the same, time a larger brain requires more energy than the guts. It is compared with guts because the evolutionary trade-off to evolve a large brain at the expense of having a reduction of our gut size. (Cordain, 2011) As it is named by a hypothesis invented by Leslie Aiello and Peter Wheeler “Expensive Tissue”. (Aiello & Wheeler, 1995)

Fats are a class of chemical compounds called “triglycerides”, which are formed by the union of glycerol and three fatty acids. (Phillipov, 2016, p. 1) Fats consist of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen atoms and both fats and oils are categorized according to the combinations based on the quantity and aligning type of the bonds that carbon, hydrogen and oxygen atoms constitute. (Pond, 2003, pp. 8-9) They appear in several different forms; saturated, unsaturated, monounsaturated, polyunsaturated and trans-fat terms are identifying a type of aliphatic chains and the positions of the atoms in the bond. Fats and oils are derived from different sources such as nuts, fruits, seeds, and

animals. The main difference between oils and fats is that fats are composed of high amounts of saturated fatty acids, which means that every carbon atom has one single bond between each other. Which causes the saturated fats to be solid at room temperature where unsaturated fats are liquid which are called oils. (Pond, 2003, p. 79) The other primary differences are: fats mainly originate from animal sources and oils usually occur in fruits or seeds of plants; fats cause a higher level of cholesterol in the blood and oils to cause a lower level of cholesterol. Finally, the oxidative rancidity of fats is higher than the oils. Fats and oils are both terminal necessities for the human body not only because of their energy supply but also the vitamins A, D, E and K can only solubilize in fats and oils, which means they can only be digested, absorbed and transported in conjunction with fats. They also play a vital role in maintaining the health of skin and hair, maintain body temperature, protect the organs against an exterior impact, and promote healthy cell function. If a human gets all the energy required from proteins and carbohydrates and follows a non-fat diet s/he would die from lack of A, D, E and K vitamins. Following a non-fat diet causes a fatal disease called rabbit starvation colloquially. (Noli & Avery, 1988) The disease also known as “protein poisoning” or “mal de caribou” or “fat starvation” and gets it’s public name from the hunters who get nourished only by fully muscular, non-fat, lean meat animals like rabbit, horse, deer, etc. and lets the sufferers experience insatiable hunger and dense pain in their stomachs. (Phillipov, 2016, p. 4) As referred in Phillipov’s book, Canadian explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson, tells us the Inuits’ experiences with lean meat:

“Rabbit eater, if they have no fat from another source –beaver, moose, fish- will develop a diarrhea in about a week, with headache, lassitude and vague discomfort. If there are enough rabbits, the people eat until their stomachs are distended; but no matter how much they eat they feel unsatisfied. Some think a man die sooner if he eats continually of fat-free meat than if he eats nothing.” (Stefansson, 1961, p. 31)

Also, John D. Speth had collected several examples from ethnographic works around the world and shows several examples of how natives are aware of rabbit starvation and how they avoid lean meat (Speth, 2010, p. 71). For example:

“If people had only rabbits at such times they would probably starve to death, because these animals are too lean. The same might be true if they could get only thin moose. People cannot live on lean meat alone, but if they have enough fat they can survive indefinitely.”

Kutchin, Alaska; (Nelson, 1974, p. 142)

“The pitjandjara consider the best meats to be Kangaroo and Euro, making little distinction between them. They are selective with such animals. When killed they immediately feel the body for evidence of the presence of caul fat. If the animal is njuke, fatless, it is usually left, unless they are themselves starving.

Australian Aborigines, (Tindale, 1972, p. 248)

Rabbit starvation disease clearly shows that consuming fat is not only a gastronomic need but also a terminal necessity for the human body. Although fats and oils are terminal necessities for the human body, they are not only usually mentioned with bodily needs but also with their ability to make any food tastier. The next chapter will study the reasons for fats and oils making any food tastier and the biologic explanations along with the food industry using this benefit for increasing their sales and profit.

## **1.2. The Deliciousness of Oils and Fats:**

Oils and fats have been playing a crucial role in the modern processed food industry by serving several different benefits. First and foremost, their ability to prolong the shelf life of packaged foods keeps them as an inalienable content for the whole

packaged food industry. (Moss, 2013, p. 147) Beyond the protract of the shelf life, they have two important abilities to make the foods tastier. First, they work as flavor carriers by coating the tongue and hold the flavor on eaters' taste buds, which bring richness and desirable textures and a sense of satiety. (Phillipov, 2016, p. 2) Secondly, when they are combined with sugar or salt in specific amounts, they trigger nucleus accumbens also known as *the reward center* of the brain. "Different neurons respond to different combinations, providing a rich representation of the sensory properties of food." (Rolls, 2006, p. 1123) In these different combinations, fat acts well with all the compounds that they are combined with by the ability to coat the tongue and keeping the taste buds from getting too strong hits of acids. Fat acts not only as a shield but also absorbs the aromatic flavors of any food cooked with, stimulates and prolongs the taste and conveys the taste buds to the brain. (Rolls, 2005, p. 76)

The deliciousness of fats and their ability to disable the self-preservation of eating by triggering nucleus accumbens also known as the reward center of the brain keep fats as an important tool for selling more products of the food industry. Especially the companies, which can afford high technology brain imaging research and development laboratories, invest millions of dollars to lighten up the neurological tools and use the neurological data to produce irresistible foods for the human body. Salt and sugar are the key ingredients of triggering the nucleus accumbens along with fat. Unlike the other hook-up ingredients salt and sugar, fat doesn't have a breaking point for the craving of consumers. In their research, Drewnowski and Greenwood (1990) have realized that there is a limit of increasing the deliciousness of foods by adding sugar or salt into the foods. After a threshold, adding more sugar or salt lessens the appeal received by the food. However, they have not reached a peak by adding more and more fat during their experiment. Drewnowski and Greenwood realized that the ordinary subjects of the experiment are insatiable to fat. "The fat, no matter how rich the food, was so pleasing to their brains that they never gave the signal to stop eating. Their bodies wanted more and more fat." (Drewnowski & Schwartz, 1990)

Another research conducted about the ability of fats to increase the mouthful effects of the foods. There is a long list of the words describing the mouthfulness of fats accumulated by Alina Szczesniak from the General Foods Research Center in Tarrytown: smooth, firm, bouncy, wiggly, disappearing, slippery, gummy, melting, moist, wet, warm, etc. (Moss, 2013, p. 154) The mouthful effect of fats in food can be classified as a sense of touch but not a taste. The ability of fats to trigger the reward center of the human brain turned the fats into a very important input for their products in order to increase the consumption rates. As Moss (2013, p. 150) mentions in his book: “Unilever alone invested \$30 million on a twenty-person team that used brain imaging and other advanced neurological tools to study the sensory power of food, including fat.” The high calories that fats consist and the ability to make foods tastier let fats and oils to be the carrier of good symbols in the whole history for different societies.

### **1.3. The Symbolism of Oils and Fats**

As mentioned in previous chapters, oils and fats are vital needs for the human body; they play a crucial role in the evolution of Homo sapiens and they have also the ability to make any food tastier and trigger the reward center of the human brain. For all these reasons, oils and fats have carried strong –and usually good oriented- symbols since the hunter-gatherer societies. For the whole history, fats and oils have been a staple but at the same time an important symbol of luxury and distinction.

Bone marrow was one of the essential fat and protein intakes in the hunter-gatherer diet. According to some researchers, the very first original invention of our species was a special stone tool for cracking bones to receive the marrow. (Chatters, 1987) Also,

the alpha member of the communities was the ones who have the privilege to consume the fattiest part of the animals. About this topic Phillipov states:

“A common practice in many parts of the world has been to give (male) hunters priority access to the fatties, and hence most nutritionally valuable, portions of the animal, such as the bone marrow, the brain and the fat surrounding the kidneys and internal organs.” (Phillipov, 2016, p. 8)

In the settled life and relatively more civilized societies, people were divided into three culinary classes. “The rich was eating meat and other delicious food, the middle class usually cooked with milk and clarified butter, the poor were eating the food cooked with vegetable oils.” (Prakash, 1961, pp. 130-131)

One of the oldest records, which mention the use of fats and oils as a symbol of wealth and grace is from a Sumerian writer. Ludingirra the Sumerian, the first memoir writer in the world have also few poems from Sumerian age inherited to today. (Çiğ, 2008, p. 8) Ludingirra was a famous poet in his age so that his poetry was copied and translated into different languages and spread to different civilizations. (Çiğ, 2008, p. 10) Ludingirra’s poetries’ translations were found in Hittite ruins in Anatolia and Ugarite ruins in Syria. Both civilizations were settled at least five hundred years later than the period Ludingirra was alive. One of the famous poetries of Ludingirra, which was written after the death of his mother, describes the love for his mother. He describes the kindness of his mother as “Lamb, good cream, honey, butter flowing out from her heart!”. (Çiğ, 2008, p. 96) Like butter, Ludingirra describes also her mother as “date palm from Dilmun, a morning star, and a piece of jewelry that belongs to a prince”. (Çiğ, 2008, pp. 96, 97) The other metaphors can give an idea as equivalents of butter. Besides the metaphors, Ludingirra also uses fat and oil prices to exemplify the retrograding economy and ramping inflation in his memoirs. He compares the prices

of a sheep, half sila<sup>1</sup> of barley, half sila of oil<sup>2</sup> and one mana<sup>3</sup> of wool through time and shows the ramping inflation by comparing these essential needs, which shows us the essentialness of oil for Sumerian cuisine. (Çiğ, 2008, p. 63)

The earliest reference that defines the taste and feel of fats and oils in ancient world, is from “De Anima”, written by Greek philosopher Aristotle (384 – 322 B.C.) in 350 B.C. (Aristotle, 2016) In the book, he is clarifying his ideas and observations of human nature and soul (*psyche*). The second book of *De Anima* is based on five senses of human and therefore the sense of taste. He describes the object of sight, the distinction of sound and hearing, the smell, touch and taste in varied chapters. Aristotle claims that unlike seeing, smelling and hearing “An object of taste is a form of the tangible; and this is the reason why it is not perceptible through the medium of any foreign body; for no more is it so with touch.” (Aristotle, 2016, p. 36) He explains that tasting is different from touching. He illustrates the difference between tasting and touching as:

“Hence, if we lived in water we should perceive a sweet object thrown into it; but the perception would not have come to us through a medium but because of the mixture of the object with the moisture, just as in a drink.” (Aristotle, 2016, p. 37)

Later, Aristotle divides the tastes into subgroups as primal tastes<sup>4</sup> like sweet and bitter, and secondary tastes as succulent and saline. Between these two groups of tastes, there are harsh, astringent and acidic tastes. The succulent taste mentioned by Aristotle is described as a fleshy, mouthful taste of any meat, vegetable or fruit. Considering the

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<sup>1</sup> 1 sila is approximately 0,85 lt.

<sup>2</sup> It is not mentioned which type of oil or fat it was.

<sup>3</sup> 1 mana is approximately 500 gr.

<sup>4</sup> In these subgroups, Aristotle divides the tastes according to the strength of tastes. With the anatomy knowledge of today, we know that the primal tastes counted by Aristotle are the ones that have special receptors on the tongue to be detected.

ability of oils and fats to generate the pleasure of dishes in other saying being the pillar ingredient of dishes and make them more succulent, Aristotle is describing the fats and oils as succulent in these texts. (Aristotle, 2016, p. 38)

Ancient Greek culture attributes a special symbolic meaning to olive oil. Olive oil was one of the most essential foods in Ancient Greek world along with bread and wine. They constitute the fundamental trinity of Mediterranean cuisine and they are the “symbol of the simple life, of dignified poverty characterized by hard work and humble satisfaction.” (Montanari, 2013, p. 73). All three foodstuffs were also aligned with the most beloved gods of Greek Mythology; Demeter with bread, Dionysus with wine and Athena with olive. (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 184) As described by Plutarch, Greeks while swearing their loyalty to their country they were defining their country as “where wheat, vines, and olives grow.” This swears carries the message and also shows us that whenever a Greek is settled, they would plant wheat, vines, and olives. (Montanari, 2013, p. 73) In the Mediterranean region, children have been named as “Olivia”, “Olive”, “Olivier” or “Olivares” since the ancient times. Also, the names like “Olivier”, “Oliver” or “Olivia” are still popular names in western cultures. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 48)

A mythological story tells of a contest between Athena and Poseidon for bringing the most useful invention for the city of Athens today and its surrounding territory. Being assigned as the protector god of the city by Zeus would honor the winner. Poseidon brought rivers into the city. The rivers were filled with salty water and it brought destruction instead of good. Another story claims that Poseidon turned a rock into a horse by using his trident. In response to this, Athena stuck her spear into the ground in front of Acropolis and turned her spear into an olive tree. Citizens ate the olives, produced olive oils, and benefited from the woods. Consequently, Athena won the contest and became the protector god of Athens. Also, she names the city from that day to today. It is not a coincidence that citizens of Athena prefer olive trees instead of

horses which evokes nomadic life and wars which both are the opposite of the symbolism of olive trees, peace and settling life. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 22)

Bread, olive oil, and wine all symbolize settlement and urbanization. Because none of these foods can be found in nature. For making bread, people need to grind the wheat, knead it with salt and water, and bake it; to produce wine, grapes should be collected from vine, be crushed and stored in barrels; and to make olive oil, olive should be pressed. All three elements of the fundamental trinity in Ancient Mediterranean world, needs human intervention and technology to be produced so it is possible to claim that they were also the symbols of human's manufacture capability and therefore civilization. (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, pp. 183-184)

Not only Ancient Greeks but Ancient Egyptians as well were considering the olives as offerings from the gods. It is considered that Egyptians are growing olive trees in the delta of Nile since 1600 B.C. Egypt mythology says that Goddess Isis with cow-head, mother, sister, and wife of Osiris taught how to grow olive trees, caring and also how to benefit from those trees. Yet, it is not a coincidence that olive pressing device along with the hieroglyphs showing the techniques of pressing olive oil have been found in the oldest pyramid, Pyramid of Sakkarah. Again, from the hieroglyphs, we can see that Tutankhamun wears the "crow of justice" made from olive branches. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 20)

Animal fats were also an important resource of offerings to the gods in Ancient Greece. When an animal was sacrificed, such as cows, goats and, pigs; "The edible parts were eaten at the banquet that was considered an integral part of the sacrifice, while the inedible parts, once they were burned and transformed into smoke, provided the gods with the extra nourishment they needed." (Longo, 2013, p. 153) Burning in the altars was the method of serving the foods to gods as offerings. It was believed that Prometheus had stolen fire from Zeus and put at the disposal of human beings. So,

human beings were using fire to burn bones, fats, and entrails to make their offerings to gods at the same time asking for their mercy for using this tool. (Longo, 2013, p. 154) While burning the offerings in the altar; burning fats crackles and regenerates the flames, which was considered as acceptance of the offerings. (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 113)

The aforementioned commitment of Ancient Greeks to bread, wine and, oil was also a determinant of civilized and non-civilized people by the foodstuff that they consume. Farming the land means staying in a place for a long time and therefore it symbolizes a settled life and civilization. “Those people that did not farm, eat bread, nor drink wine were therefore savages or barbarians. The meat was their staple, and milk their main beverage.” (Montanari, 2013, pp. 71, 72) The fundamental trinity of Ancient Greek and Roman cuisines is contrasted with another culinary trinity attributed to nomadic “savage” tribes. Bread, wine and olive oil are opposed to meat, milk (for central Asian nomads) or beer (for barbaric tribes in Northern Europe) and butter or tallow fat. It was a distinction between hunter-gatherer (savage, natural) opposed to shepherd-farmer (domestic, artificial). (Montanari, 2013, p. 72)

It shouldn't be a coincidence that the most frightening character in *Odyssey*, Cyclops, who ate many fellow fighters of Odysseus, has a big dairy farm. The land of Cyclops is portrayed as a symbol of savagery. It is described as the opposite of the values that Ancient Greeks have as mentioned by Homer:

“[L]awless brutes, who trust so to the everlasting gods they never plant with their own hands or plow the soil. Unsown, unplowed, the earth teems with all they need (...) They have no meeting place for council, no laws either, no, up on the mountain peaks they live in arching caverns –each a law to himself, ruling his wives and children, not a care in the world of a neighbor. No flocks browse, no plow lands roll with wheat; unplowed, unsown forever –empty of

humankind- the island just feeds droves of bleating goats.” (Homer, 1996, p. 215)

In the land of no rules, no organizations, no domestication, in short, no civilization, a Cyclop have withheld Odysseus and his fellow fighters and ate them alive. He mentioned that he is a heretic, neither he is afraid of Zeus nor has esteem for him. After attributing every “non-civilized” features, noteworthy, Homer describes Cyclop’s well organized dietary farm in details and mentions that he drinks raw milk several times between and after he eats Odysseus’s fellows. (Homer, 1996, p. 220)

“So we explored his den, gazing wide-eyed at it all, the large flat racks loaded with drying cheeses, the fold crowded with young lambs and kids, split into three groups –here the spring-born, here mid-yearlings, here the fresh sucklings of to the side- each sort was penned apart. And all his vessels, pails and hammered buckets he used for milking, were brimming full with whey.” (Homer, 1996, p. 218)

Not only Homer but also different poets indicate the Ancient Greek’s and Roman’s point of view against dietary edibles. (Işın Priscilla, 2018, p. 90) (Dalby, 2003, p. 65) Athenian Middle Comic poet Anaxandrides writes about “fuzzy haired, trouser wearer, butter eater (*boutyrophagoi*) Thracian people” in 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.. Also, in 79 A.C. Roman writer Pliny states that “From milk one obtains butter, the most refined food of barbarian peoples, which distinguishes the rich from the poor.” (Montanari, 2015, p. 91) In addition to all, olives also carry the honor of having a symbol in the Greek alphabet. The letter *zai* symbolizes the olive branch and the letter derives from as olive (*zêt*). (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 185) The word *zêt* turned to *zait* in Hebrew, *zaitun* in Arabic and *zertum* in Akkadian language. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 14)

The olive branch has not only been an important symbol in Ancient Greek but it is still the international symbol of peace when a white dove carries it. By the end of the Flood, Noah was sending a pigeon to the air to understand if the water had abated from the earth. (Torah Genesis 8:11) Dove returning to Noah's Ark carrying a branch of the olive tree was the symbol of God's mercy and forgiveness to humankind. Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat thinks that the dove must be carrying a kind of wild olive tree branch *olea chrysophylla* considering the area that the ark grounded. (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 185) Branches of olive trees symbolizing the peace is not only originated from the legend of Noah's Ark but also symbolize the peace with a more rational reason. Olive trees are slow-growing trees that require regular tending which can only happen in peacetime. (Mueller, 2013, p. 31)

Butter has also symbolic meanings in some societies. Bretons living in the region of Brittany in France place a pat of butter near a person suffering from cancer. It is considered that butter absorbs the cancer cells from the sufferer and it is buried after the death of a sick person. (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 113) In India, a sacred symbolism attributed to butter coming from the sacredness of the cows. When the butter is thrown into the fire, "it crackles as it nourishes and regenerates the flames. It is regenerating life itself." (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 113) Also in Tibet, sacred sculptures are made of butter which they have no trouble of melting and misshaping in such altitudes and low temperatures. (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 113)

Oils and fats also have significant importance and symbolic meanings in all Abrahamic religions too. This significant importance can show up whether attributing a holiness or sin to specific fat or oil types. The holiness attributed to olive tree in Abrahamic religions was a continuation of Greek Mythology. Adam whom expelled from paradise realizes that he will die at the age of 930, he sends his son Seth to paradise to ask the mercy of God for the forgiveness of himself and humanity. Seth returns with three seeds from paradise and puts them in the mouth of his father. Those three seeds that

sprout in the mouth of Adam are olive, cypress and cedar trees. Which are all endemic trees in the Mediterranean area. (Doğan F. , 2008, p. 231)

Besides the narratives telling how Noah uses olive branch and how olive seeds have been given to Seth as a gift from God, all Abrahamic religions have direct or indirect rules<sup>5</sup> about the consumption of specific fats or oils. To give them in a chronological order; we may start with the Holy Torah: The rules about eating are exemplified clearly in detail in a series of rules called *Kashrut*. The proper foods according to kashrut rules are called *kosher* foods and they are permitted for the Jewish community. The Book of Leviticus (third book of Torah) gives the ordinary rules about eating animals. Leviticus states that between the land mammals, only ruminant animals with biungulate are in kosher classification and can be eaten by Jews. According to Kashrut, the consumption of dairy and meat products at the same time is definitely forbidden. According to Judaism, milk was created for the continuity of life, unlike the meat that symbolized the end of life. Therefore, they shouldn't be mixed. Secondly, the muscly fats of the animals are forbidden too. In the Book of Leviticus (third book of Torah), it is clearly ordained that “(7:23) Speak unto the children of Israel, saying: Ye shall eat no fat of ox, or sheep, or goat. (7:24) And the fat of that which dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn of beasts, may be used for any other service; but ye shall in no wise eat of it.”

Kidney fats, abdominal fats, digestive system fats, and tail fats are called *chelev* and they are forbidden to believers of Torah. On the other hand, unlike the prohibition of animal fats, sacred symbols are accredited with vegetable oils in Torah. Also, the Book of Numbers (the fourth book of Torah), orders a series of things to maintain to a person who wants to utter a vow. Keeping themselves away from several food and beverages

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<sup>5</sup> As an example of indirect rules, a forbidden animal to believers of a religion includes the fats of that animal.

is a part of these rules<sup>6</sup> and also those who want to utter a vow have to present some food offerings to Lord. For every offering, the bread must be unleavened and mixed with oil. (6:14) “A basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers spread with oil, and their meal-offering”. This section shows that in order to complete an utter, vegetable oils are necessary.

There are no straight rules for Christians indicating a restriction from any animal. However, it suggests to “abstain from food sacrificed to idols, from blood, from meat of strangled animals”. (Geisler, 2010, p. 212) Even though there are no direct rules about fasting in Bible (Geisler, 2010, p. 211), many Christian societies obey the Lenten rituals for fasting for forty days for commemorating Jesus’ temptation in desert. (Baggley, 2000, p. 73) According to this ritual, Christians avoid eating butter and other animal fats and also the other animal products (excluding fish) during the lent. (Benedict, 2002, p. 506)

Catholics, also apply a permission rule of penance in case of eating butter or animal fats during the fasting periods. A parishioner who wants to eat some butter or animal fats was paying a fee to the church. Tour de Beurre (Tower of Butter) which belongs to Rouen Cathedral in Paris was begun to be constructed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and completed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The donation of the construction of the tower was collected from wealthy citizens for the privilege of eating butter during Lent. Therefore the tower was named after butter. (Carcopino, 1944, p. 92) Also, in French, the fasting days are called “jours maigre” (lean days) and the other days are called “jours gras” (fat days). (Ocelli, 2015, s. 322)

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<sup>6</sup> Chelev foods are not mentioned there because with or without a vow, they are already prohibited anyway.

In the Quran, there isn't any prohibition for eating animal oils or fats unless it is not coming from a pork. On the other hand, there are some holistic symbols attributed to olive oil. Allah and Allah's power is usually symbolized with a divine light (*Nur*). One of 99 names of Allah's are "The light of earth and sky". Since the light is a symbol of enlightenment and the final destination of the path of truth. Olive oil itself is also associated with light because it is a shiny liquid and also it was commonly used as fuel of gaslight chandeliers. Quran, transmits the divine peculiarities to olive and olive oil, not through their nutrition features but olive oils shining texture and ability to burn. Also, olive trees are counted blessed because they are able to grow both in the east and west.

Nur (Light) surah (24:36) goes as follows:

"Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is a lustrous niche, wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a glittering star. It is lit from a blessed tree –an olive- neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil would well night glow forth even though fire touched it not."

In the Arabic language, the word *zeyyad* means enhance, and *zeyyat* means the person who produces or sells oil. Allah is put in the same place with the person who presses the olives and produces oils by the ability create and enhance the beautiful and beneficial things. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 34)

#### **1.4. Usage Areas of Olive Oil Beyond Nutrition**

The aforementioned meanings and values that attributed to oils and fats do not only come from their tastes and edible values but also, from their use in non-culinary areas

since ages. The extensive usage areas of oils and fats was another reason for associating good values with them. In the ancient times, olive oil was used as skin lotion, the fuel of lamps, soap, detergent, preservative, contraceptive, pesticide, perfume, anointment for the dead and medicine. (Mueller, 2013, p. 66) (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 186)

#### **2.4.1 Medicine**

Starting from the health issue; according to Hippocrates olive oil was not only a strong healing and protective medicine (Doğan F. , 2008, p. 231) but also an important component of a healthy diet. “[T]he ancient Greek word for “diet” (*Diaita*) meant not only choices of what to eat but also a way of life that included proper attention to exercise, sexual activity, hygiene, and sleep.” (Donahue, 2016, p. 610) Olive oil was one of the main components of medicines along with the mastic tree, the oak and bitter almonds. As a healer of skin diseases, digestive disorders, gynecological complaints, heart ailments, stomach aches, hair loss, and excessive perspiration. Also taken internally as a cure for many ailments such as intestinal worms, snakebites, and even insanity. (Mueller, 2013, pp. 66, 119) Hippocrates suggests to use olive oil for plastering any kinds of afflictions, including surgical cuts, treatment of lesions and burns. Also, for soothing the hemorrhoids and headaches. Celsus uses it for ointments for the eyes and enemas for bowel disturbances. (Donahue, 2016, p. 614) At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. Roman Emperor Augustus had asked for his secret *Polia Romilius* who had reached the age of one hundred and Romilius’s answer was “Oenomel for my inside, olive oil for my outside.” (Ünsal, 2016, p. 237)

Luqman al-Hakeem, is a legendary sage who is the main character of several stories in Persian, Arabic and Turkish literature including the surah of Luqman in the Quran. He is believed to be the master of all healers in Islam culture. Also it is believed that lots of nostrums and herbal medicines are found by him. According to Arif Pamuk, who is collecting nostrums from different regions of Anatolia, that imputed to Luqman in a

book “Luqman in Herbal Medicines” and quoted by Artun Ünsal, olive oil is an ingredient of the medicines for wounds with abscess and malignant wounds which are difficult to recover, muscle aches, eczema, scabies, loss of appetite, burns and scalds, throat aches, earaches, coughs, and preventing the deafness. Also, for decreasing pain while pulling out a tooth, strengthening the eyes, stomach, the gingiva and gall and finally, protecting newborn babies from cold. (Ünsal, 2016, pp. 74 - 77)

#### **2.4.2 Cosmetics**

Olive oil’s primary usage are for cosmetic field were perfumes, skin lotions, and soaps. In Ancient Greek, olive oil was used as the base of the perfumes included aromatic substances of rosemary, anise, coriander, bitter almonds, bergamot, terebinth, pine resin, laurel, myrtle, marjoram, sage, lavender, chamomile, and parsley. (Mueller, 2013, p. 70)

The most known example of skin lotion consumers in Ancient Greek was, athletes were oiling up their bodies in gymnasiums before competitions which makes their skin more supple and disambiguates their beauty as their bodies are compared to statues of gods by the classical poems. (Mueller, 2013) Oiling up and exercising in gymnasiums were so closely associated that even the words about them were combined. “[G]ymnasium user formed themselves into associations under the rubric, *hoi aleihomenoi*, “the anointed ones,” and the middle voice of the verb *aleiphein*, “to anoint with oil,” meant simply “to exercise in the gymnasium.” (Kennell, 2001, p. 120) There were special attendants for the oil distribution of athletes called *gumnasiarchia*, “gymnasiarch” and sometimes, generous benefactors were financing the supply the oil demand of gymnasiums during festivals. As an extreme example, the orator Heraclides installed a fountain of oil in the gymnasium at Smyrna (Kennell, 2001, p. 122) Donahue thinks that applying olive oil on the skins of athletes was not only an aesthetic concern but also considered as a protective medicine to the athletes. Applying olive oil on their skin

makes them stronger, protects them from the sun and prevents from losing bodily fluids during the exercise. (Donahue, 2016, p. 615) Also both in the Ancient Greek and Roman Empire, the winners of Panathenaic Games,<sup>7</sup> received up to five tons of olive oil as their prize (Mueller, 2013, p. 67) and a crown made from olive branches. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 25)



*Figure 1 Skull of a Roman athlete from Crete. The athlete wore a crown of golden olive leaves that had been set on the deceased's brow, which over the centuries became laminated to the skull. Archeological Museum of Agios Nikolaos. (Mueller, 2013, pp. 358 - 359)*

Athletes oiling up the body is still a current tradition in Turkey. By 2019, the 658<sup>th</sup> traditional “yağlı güreş” (*oil wrestling*) tournament will be staged in Edirne's Kırkpınar<sup>8</sup> region. The contestants called “pehlivan” are covered with sesame oil (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 587) or olive oil<sup>9</sup> before the competition. It is regarded as the ancestor sport in Turkey and the oil factor is a complicating factor for wrestlers because to grip or grasp the opponent requires much more muscle strength for both

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<sup>7</sup> Athletic festival held every four years in Athens in honor of Athena.

<sup>8</sup> Oil wrestling tournaments are held in many regions of Turkey and the main championship is organized in Kırkpınar.

<sup>9</sup> Even though olive oil is the traditional and ordinary oil for wrestling, nowadays seed or corn oils are more common due to economic reasons.

sides when they are covered with oil. The champion of the tournament is awarded a golden belt and monetary award.

### **2.4.3. Soaps**

Soap is another usage area of using both vegetable oils and animal fats. It is known that Phoenicians were producing soap in 600 B.C. from the tallow of goat and ash of wood coal. In further years, they would develop soap technology by adding caustic limes into the soap. Later on, Arabs would produce purer soaps with mixing ash, limy water, and olive oil. (Ünsal, 2016, pp. 234- 235) About the olive oil soaps, Evliya Çelebi tells a story of how the olive oil was discovered as an ingredient of manufacturing soap.

“Cemşid is the founder of soap makers. Yet he lived for a thousand years, he had found 366 individual crafts. He worked so hard on producing soap from olive oil but he couldn't. Finally, he felt incapable and started to cry for his sorrow. Then, a tear from his eye dropped into the soap poultry, and harden the soap like a stone. He was aware that the tear was salty water. Then he put salty water into the soap and became able to produce soaps as hard as stone.”  
(Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, pp. 555, 556)

He also mentions about Silistre<sup>10</sup>, Niğbolu<sup>11</sup> and Vidin<sup>12</sup> soaps and their bad scents because they are produced with the tallow of the sheep. (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 556)

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<sup>10</sup> Silistra with today's name. A city on Danube river shore in Bulgaria.

<sup>11</sup> Nikopol with today's name. A city on Danube river shore in Bulgaria.

<sup>12</sup> A city on Danube river shore in Bulgaria.

#### **2.4.4. Lighting**

Finally, the most used area of oils beyond edibles was the lighting of indoor spaces. According to Kennell, a town in Ancient Greek with 10.000 inhabitants was consuming as much as 27.000 liters of oil every year only for lighting the lamps. (Kennell, 2001, p. 120) Also, we know that the Vatican used to purchase pure olive oil from Burhaniye because it is the shiniest olive oil and creating the minimum soot. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 58) In the Ottoman, olive oil was also used by divers for illuminating the deep underwater. Again, Evliya Çelebi tells the story of how divers use olive oil:

“These people [divers] put some olive oil into their mouths, dive into 70 overarm deep then leave the olive oil from their mouth. The olive oil rises on to water surface and disperses on the surface. When the sun shines on the oily surface, it shines underwater like the Pleiades. With the help of this light, the divers can even find a needle under the water.” (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 503)

## 2. CONSUMPTION OF OILS AND FATS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE:

### 2.1. About the Ottoman Food Culture

Speaking of one homogenous culinary culture of the entire Ottoman Empire would not be judicious for an empire which has reigned for more than 600 years. The empire was spread to wide lands, -by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the borders reached more than 24 million kilometer square- under different climate conditions, flora and fauna, and a huge population speaking different languages, believing in different religions and following different traditions, and all this diversity allows to grow a diverse cultural life in the empire population including the culinary culture. The major discourse about Ottoman culinary culture defines the cuisine inherited from Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate, Central Asian Turks, Medieval Arab and Persian cultures, Byzantine and Roman Empires. This divert heritage was combined with the culinary culture of local residents of Anatolia, like Armenian, Rum<sup>13</sup>, Arab, Circassian and Persian citizens of the empire. (Samancı, 2014, p. 202) (Yerasimos M. , 2005, p. 12) (Işın Priscilla, 2018, p. 211)

The most relevant studies about the food culture in the Ottoman Empire are based on sources including the food expenditure lists of *vakıfs* and *imarets* (donation associations) and of the Ottoman palace kitchens. Therefore, this chapter of the dissertation, will focus mainly on the culinary consumption patterns of the palace inhabitants as well as the Ottoman elites who reside in Istanbul. Based on the studies performed on Ottoman food culture we should note that the capital city of the Empire, Istanbul has the privilege of access to all the ingredients grew and raised in the large territories of the empire. Istanbul hosts also the busiest ports receiving the exotic and luxurious foods provided from far distances around the world: for example spices and

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<sup>13</sup> Orthodox Christians who live in Istanbul.

some exotic fruits from India, musk from Tibet<sup>14</sup>, sugar from Egypt, coffee from Yemen, lemon and citrus fruits from Greek islands, honey from Varna or currants from Peloponnese. (Işın Priscilla, 2018, pp. 218, 219)

As mentioned above, the culinary culture of the Ottoman Empire was a combination of the deep-seated cultures in the Anatolian hinterland, habits of nomadic Turks from Central Asia and the local residents of Anatolia. The culinary culture of Central Asian Turkic tribes meets in Anatolia with a sedentarized culture embedding the previous culinary heritages since early civilizations as Hittites. The fertile lands of Anatolia offering a wide variety of vegetables and fruits enriched the animal product based food culture of nomadic Turkic tribes. The culinary heritages of medieval Arab-Persian world along with Byzantine one constitute the basis of Ottoman culinary world.

The main ingredients in the Ottoman palace cuisine during the classical era (15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries) were meat, wheat, rice, and clarified butter. (Bilgin, 2008, p. 82) Both for the elites and ordinary people the primary dishes were meat stews, rice pilaf, and soup. (Bilgin, 2008, p. 86) According Stefanos Yerasimos the fundamental trinity of Greco-Roman culinary culture based on bread, wine and olive oil, can be interpreted as a new trilogy based on rice, sugar, and fats in the Ottoman Empire. (Yerasimos S. , 2002, p. 13) The importance attached to meat and butter in the Ottoman cuisine can be interpreted as a cultural preference inherited from Central Asian Turks. Eating or offering meat to the guests was a sign of social supremacy. (Bilgin, 2008, p. 71) (Yerasimos M. , 2005, p. 79) Butter, especially clarified butter was the major type of fat used in cooking both in Central Asian Turkic cuisine and also in Seljuk one. In ancient Turkish tradition in order to mention the good taste of a food, the fatty taste of the dish is praised. Besides its good taste, butter was a much more available type of

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<sup>14</sup> The beautiful smell of musk was highly held important. Even today “Smelling like musk” is a commonly used idiom to refer to something smells fresh and nice.

oil/fat kind in large territories of the Ottoman Empire compared to olive oil. The clarified butter was also a useful foodstuff in the absence of refrigeration because it can stay without spoiling for months. It can be prepared by melting ordinary butter and by removing the whitish foam from the surface. After the addition of some salt, the yellow translucent fat underneath the foam was suitable for keeping for a long time and transportation over long distances. (Faroqhi, 2018, p. 36)

According to food historians studying on Ottoman cuisine, different religious communities in the empire were sharing the same culinary legacy. Samancı indicates that the religious prohibitions on food, especially during the fasting period in Christianity, the food rituals in Islam, kashrut rules in Judaism constituted the cultural barriers between different religious communities. During the Lent, Christians don't consume animal products, and they substitute meat, butter or cheese with other food products. Jewish communities obeying the Kashrut, don't consume meat and dairy products at the same time, therefore they cook meat with vegetable oil. (Samancı, 2014, p. 202) The fasting period in Christianity enabled the creation of some vegetable based dishes cooked in olive or sesame oil like stuffed vegetables with rice (*dolma*)<sup>15</sup> and *topik*<sup>16</sup>. Dishes prepared with fish and shellfish may substitute also meat dishes during Lent. Braised fish in olive oil (*pilaki*) or priest stew (*papaz yahnisi*) are examples from Rum cuisine in the Ottoman Empire. These dishes became today a part of traditional Turkish cuisine. (Samancı, 2014, p. 214)

Considering that the main subject of this dissertation is fats and oils, the deeper focus will be attributed on the types of fats and oils consumed in the Ottoman Empire. The change in consumption patterns of oil and fats in time due to the political, technological, cultural and economic reasons will be outlined also in this chapter.

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<sup>15</sup> General name of the stuffed dish. It can be cooked with stuffed green peppers, eggplants, tomatoes, wine laves, cabbage leaves, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Dish made of chickpeas, onions, currants, cinnamon and tahini.

## 2.2. Fat and Oil Consumption in the Ottoman Empire

Animal fat like butter or tailfat, constitute the staple foods in Ottoman cuisine. As mentioned by Stefanos Yerasmios, butter was one of the fundamental elements in the trinity in the culinary culture of the Ottoman Empire along with rice and sugar. (Yerasimos S. , 2002, p. 13) Vegetable oils like olive or sesame oils were also present in the diet of the Ottoman population. Evliya Çelebi, the famous Ottoman traveler mentions twelve types of fats or oils in his ten volumes of book called *Seyahatname*. Five of those are vegetable oils and seven of them are animal based fats: for oils he lists saffron oil, linseed oil, sesame oil, walnut oil and olive oil and for the animal fats he enumerated suet, bone marrow fat, tallow, clarified butter, butter and *teleme* fat<sup>17</sup> (Yerasimos M. , 2011, p. 61)

### 2.2.1. Yağ, Revgân

“Fat” and “oil” both two words signify *yağ* in Turkish language. The Turks have been using the word “yağ” since Central Asia as witnessed by the dictionary *Divan-ı Lugati't Türk* written in 10<sup>th</sup> century (Nişanyan, Yağ, 2015) However, during the Ottoman era, a second word started to be used in the Ottoman empire: *revgân*, a Persian word . Just like *yağ*, the word *revgân* indicate both fat and oil. (Develioğlu, 1988, p. 1067) The word *revgân* is derived from *rugân* which means leather in Persian. It is thought that the words are coming from the same root because the shiny textures of fats and oils look like the shiny texture of processed leather. (Nişanyan, Rugan, 2015)

The types of oils and fats have been called according to their sources, to their appearance or to their place of origin. An adjective was used after *revgân* in order to

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<sup>17</sup> Actually “teleme” is a cheese made with raw milk. But, Evliya Çelebi mentions a fat called “teleme fat” in addition to the well-known cheese “teleme”. (Kahraman, 2010, p. 332)

define the type of oil or fat. The first word can indicate the type of oil or fat like *revgân-ı zeyd*, which means olive oil or *revgân-ı asfûr* as saffron oil, *revgan-ı penbe*. which is cotton<sup>18</sup> oil. The appearance of the oil or fat may denote also the name of the product as in *revgân-ı şir*. *Revgan-ı şir* is used both to designate butter and sesame oil. Sesame oil called as *şir-i revgan* or *şirlugan* means literally “milk oil” because of its shiny and milky texture. (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 403) (Yerasimos M. , 2008, p. 226) . The place of origin of the product can be mentioned also in its name like in *revgân-ı zeyd-i Girid* meaning olive oil from Crete, or *revgan-ı Sibir* and *zibiriş* designating butter from Siberia. (Yerasimos M. , 2008, p. 226) (Artan, 2000, p. 176) (Yerasimos M. , 2011, p. 62) In addition to the name of the fat or oil, the quality was also indicated with a second word as an adjective used before the word *revgân*. The words “halis” which means pure; “mahlût” which means mixed, are used with the word *revgan* as mentioned by Evliya Çelebi. (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 555) The most preferred kind of fat in the Ottoman cuisine, clarified butter was called as “*revgan-ı sade*” which means literally “pure fat”. (Artan, 2000, p. 176). *Revgân-ı dünbe*, *revgan-ı çerviş* or *revgan-ı kuyruk* designate the fat obtained from the tail of sheep or the suet of the animal. (Yerasimos M. , 2005, p. 13) (Artan, 2000, p. 177)

Evliya Çelebi also mentions the special market of fat called *yağ pazarı* (yağ kapanı) located in Galata district in İstanbul. (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 392) This bazaar received all different types of fat and oil from different parts of the Empire such as from Mayak, Perezen, Kerş, Taman, Kefe, Kili and Akkirman towns. (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 554)

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<sup>18</sup> Penbe means cotton in Persian.

### **2.3. Fat and Oil Consumption Habits in the Ottoman Empire**

Taking the risk of outlining roughly, it is possible to claim that animal fats such as tail fat and clarified butter were mostly consumed by Muslim population, while vegetable oils such as olive oil and sesame oil are preferred more by Jewish and Christian population due to their religious restrictions. On the other hand we should note that the use of animal fat or vegetable oil in cooking in different regions of the Ottoman Empire was dictated also by the geography.

It is easy to assume that two neighbor villages' consumption patterns should be more or less the same according to their accessibility to food. On the other hand, the main difference between the consumption patterns of these villages would be according to the prohibitions of their religions. A Muslim, an Orthodox and a Jewish village would consume more or less the same foods, however, the Muslim village would avoid consuming pork fat, the Orthodox village would avoid consuming butter during Lent, and Jewish village would avoid consuming butter with meat. Food related prohibitions in different religions and the solutions created by the believers can be one of the important reasons for a high variety of the types of dishes in the Ottoman Empire. (Bilgin, n.d.)

Torah prohibits consuming meat and dairy products together. We can assume that the majority of the Jewish population of the Empire was obeying this rule and they were organizing their culinary habits according to it. The most accessible and common oil sources were olive oil and sesame seed oil, therefore it is possible to assume that these two vegetable oils were the main source of oil for Jewish population in the Ottoman Empire. According to Marianna Yerasimos, Jews were sometimes belittled because of the specific smell of sesame seed oil. (Yerasimos M. , 2011, pp. 62, 63) Also, Evliya Çelebi –a bit disapprovingly- gives information about how the Jew communities attribute importance to the oil they consume:

“In each gözleme<sup>19</sup> and lokma<sup>20</sup> shop one Jew watchman is occupied for controlling the cooking process. Jews eat sesame seed oil and Muslims eat clarified butter. Jew watchmen wait in these stores and keep an eye on the chefs so that they don’t cook the dish with clarified butter. If there is no watchman in a shop, Jews don’t eat from that shop. Strange conservative people they are”. (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 493)

Evliya Çelebi mentions also the quality and taste of sesame seed oil sold in Istanbul: “it is fresh and soft oil, strengthens the body and softens the skin like cotton. That’s why Jew kids’ skins are soft like earlobes.” (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 555)

The Christian population of the Empire was mostly consisted of Rums, Armenians and Assyrians who were not allowed to consume animal products such as meat, cheese, milk, egg and animal fats during their fasting periods. The fasting period of the Orthodox community consisted of Easter, Christmas, and Dormition of the Theotokos<sup>21</sup> during which the fasting periods last 48, 40 and 15 days, and also almost every Wednesday and Friday. (Yerasimos M. , 2008, p. 220) The total days of fasting was 180 days in one year. During these days either they cooked without butter or they cook their dishes with vegetable oil with olive or sesame. (Yerasimos M. , 2008, p. 226) Unlike the Jews, Christians consume the dishes cooked with animal-based fats during regular days.

On Aegean and Mediterranean seashores where it is easier to reach olive trees, it is possible to claim that olive oil was the main type of vegetable oil preferred during Lent by Christians. Away from the seashore, producing oil from oily seeds like sesame was prevalent. Sesame seed oil was the most prevalent and common one. It is lighter, more

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<sup>19</sup> A type of börek, cooked with wafer and cheese.

<sup>20</sup> Fried dough desert.

<sup>21</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> of August. The Assumption of Mary in Catholicism.

delicious and less acidic than linseed oil, which is preferred where there is no access to olive and sesame seed oils. (Yerasimos M. , 2008, p. 227)

As Evliya Çelebi states, the Muslim population was more familiar with animal-based fats like tail fat, suet and mostly with clarified butter. (Kahraman & Dağlı, 2008, p. 493) The dependence on butter especially on clarified butter in the food culture of Ottoman population can be testified by analyzing the kitchen expenditure accounts of the Ottoman palace kitchens as well as of the pious foundations (vakıf). (Bilgin, 2004) (Samancı, 2015) The preference of animal fat was also an inherited cultural consumption pattern from nomadic Turkic tribes who were present in Anatolia since 11<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, there is a lack of evidence in order to explain how butter consumption became common in geographies where olive trees have been existed since ancient times. (Faroqhi, 2018, pp. 34, 46) As mentioned by Bilgin, the kitchens of the Ottoman Palace were procuring olive oil since the 15<sup>th</sup> century; but in moderate amounts compared to clarified butter. (Bilgin, 2004, p. 203) Olive oil was not used only for culinary purpose; it was used as a fuel in lighting, in cosmetics, in making soaps and even in medicinal preparations. (Doğan F. , 2008, pp. 232, 240) (Faroqhi, 2018, p. 41) Consumption of olive oil can be seen also as a symbol of poverty by the Ottoman Muslim elites. For example, the bureaucrat, Mustafa Naima from Aleppo who was also the first official historian of Ottoman Empire, tells a story of despair in using olive oil as the symbol of poverty in his story: “Because of the winter, there was a famine and price of single loaf bread was fifty akçe<sup>22</sup> but it is even difficult to call that bread as edible. The soldiers on dispatch and pasha were not able to find something to eat except rice cooked in olive oil.” (İpşirli, 2007, p. 913)

Suraiya Faroqhi argue that the main reason of preference of animal fat instead of olive oil in Muslim community, can be explained with the cultural meaning of olive oil. We

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<sup>22</sup> Small silver coin

already mentioned the high prestige attributed to olive oil in Ancient Greek culture, which was inherited by Roman and Byzantine Empires. Rum population in the Ottoman Empire inherited directly Byzantine food culture. Faroqhi suggest to find the reason of disinterest of Ottoman Muslims in olive oil in this perspective:

“It is also worth remembering the preference of Greeks –and Orthodox people in general- for olive oil, as the Orthodox Church forbids the consumption of animal-based fats on numerous fast days. As Marianna Yerasimos has noted, identification with a non-Muslim community probably did not raise the prestige of olive oil among Muslims.” (Faroqhi, 2018, p. 46)

Clarified butter was the main cooking fat in the imperial kitchens. Any food item can fall short a fair amount from time to time in the kitchen of the palace and it can be tolerated. But definitely, wheat and clarified butter were not listed in the tolerable items. Both wheat and clarified butter was titled as “important goods (ehem-i umûrdan)” which means it is obligatory to supply the demand for this food item no matter how much is demanded. (Bilgin, 2004, p. 204)

From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the most favored type of clarified butter in the Empire was produced in Caffa<sup>23</sup>. As mentioned in the previously, nomadic tribes are experienced in producing fermented and non-fermented milk products. The clarified butter from Caffa was produced by Crimean Tatar peasants, who have nomadic roots for long years living in Crimea. The famous clarified butter was sent to the palace by the merchants in Caffa. (Öztürk, 2014, p. 506) Clarified butter of Caffa was in demand in palace cuisine. When Muvahhid Mustafa Efendi became the governor of Caffa region in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, he committed to supply 2000 kantars (almost 113 tons) of

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<sup>23</sup> Located in the northern coast of the Black Sea and the southern coast of Crimea. Today, the territory is called Feodosia and it is a part of Ukraine.

clarified butter to the Ottoman palace every year. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, all the governors of Caffa were able to keep the collected tax for themselves in return they have to supply the clarified butter to the palace. (Öztürk, 2014, pp. 192, 193) Another example which imply the importance attached to the supply of clarified butter of Caffa to Istanbul is an incident occurred in 1565: the Ottoman officials in Istanbul have been informed that the ships carrying the clarified butter from Caffa, were selling some part of the clarified butter in the port. Therefore, they had asked the governor and *kadi*<sup>24</sup> to organize the transportation of butter in huge pots, in order to avoid discharging small amounts in different ports. (Bilgin, 2004, p. 204) (Öztürk, 2014, p. 501)

Especially during the Ramadan, the consumption of clarified butter increased in the capital. In 1565 during the month of Ramadan a ship carrying clarified butter from Caffa to Istanbul sunk. Istanbul inhabitants collected the empty skins of sheep floating on the water and they sewed them to make sacks. (Faroqhi, 2018, p. 37) It is mentioned that some of the floating packets of clarified butter arrived to seashore in Şile<sup>25</sup> and, the local people plundered them. Later on, the government sent a direction to Kadi ordering the collection of the clarified butter from plunderers. Three years later the same situation had even caused a bandit riot in the Black Sea coast of Istanbul. (Öztürk, 2014, p. 506)

According to the studies conducted on Ottoman palace kitchen registers, the consumption of olive oil was less compared to clarified butter. (Bilgin, 2008) (Bilgin, 2004) (Samancı, 2015) (Artan, 2000) As mentioned previously, olive oil was also in demand for illumination, for making soaps. Dishes cooked in olive oil are very few in Ottoman cookbooks until the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Samancı, 2016) Starting from the

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<sup>24</sup> Ottoman judges in charge of Muslim vassals.

<sup>25</sup> A village in the Black Sea coast of Istanbul.

17<sup>th</sup> century some of the most preferred kind of olive oil was brought from Methoni<sup>26</sup>, Koroni<sup>27</sup> and Crete<sup>28</sup> to the palace. (Doğan F. , 2008, p. 240) Yet, clarified butter was still the major cooking fat. According to the recipes in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries Ottoman cookbooks, olive oil was used mainly in the preparation of fish, shellfish and salads.

Stefanos Yerasimos argued that during the 17<sup>th</sup> century the consumption of meat decreased following the loss of fertile breeding territories in the Empire as a result of wars. The war between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy as well as the following rebellion of Wallachia and Moldova had cut the lines between Istanbul and the side of the Danube River, which was the bovine and ovine supplier of the capital. Falling short of the animals in the capital the prices of meat had increased. Consequently, the consumption meat dishes might be decreased and vegetable-based dishes –probably cooked in olive oil- might be increased. In addition to that, rebels going on in Anatolia and Rumelia have caused migration waves into Istanbul including the Rum and Armenian population, which would cause in time a change of taste in the culinary culture of Istanbul because the demand in vegetable oil would then increase. (Yerasimos S. , 2002, pp. 48 - 49) (Doğan F. , 2007, pp. 240 - 241)

In order to understand the supplying chain of olive oil to Istanbul, Tülay Artan suggests to analyze the conquest of the Greek island Crete by Ottoman armies at the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century. Crete Island was an important supplier of wheat, olive oil and wine in Mediterranean region. The conquest of Crete by Ottomans was important economically. Olive oil would be then supplied in large amounts. Artan asked if the increase of olive oil supply would influence the culinary preferences of fat of the Ottoman elites. (Artan, 2000, p. 146): “The way Istanbul took stock of this resurgence

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<sup>26</sup> Located in Peloponnese Peninsula. Today the village is called Methoni and it is a part of Greece today.

<sup>27</sup> Again, a village in Peloponnese Peninsula, Greece. Today it is called Koroni or Corone.

<sup>28</sup> Crete Island, today belongs to Greece.

in the olive oil trade may have triggered a complex chain of event culminating in a shift of culinary tastes in the imperial capital.” (Artan, 2000, p. 147) Even in time, Cretan olive oil started to be referred by its own name “*revgân-ı zeyt-i Girid*”. But as mentioned by Artan, the consumption of olive oil in palace cuisine continued to be very less compared to butter in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. (Artan, 2000, p. 149)

Faruk Doğan argues that the impact of westernization and the Europeanization movement encouraged since the reign of Sultan Mahmud II might cause an increase in the consumption of olive oil in Ottoman elite cuisine during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to him, the impact of westernization movement, let new chefs from Europe, especially France to be employed in the palace as well as in the mansions of pashas and cook European dishes for them and this fact may have an impact in the increase of consumption of olive oil. (Doğan F. , 2008) But we should note that this argument is not valid because most of the *allafranca* dishes cooked in European style during the official banquets served to foreign dignitaries in the Ottoman palace in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was inspired from classical French cuisine, which was based on butter. (Samancı, 2015) According to Samancı, the ratio of consumption of olive oil compared to butter was still very less in the Ottoman palace during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Samancı, 2006) For example, according to the kitchen records of the palace, during one month in 1832, 799 kıyye (1024 kg) of clarified butter had been supplied to the imperial kitchens whereas only 178 kıyye (228 kg) of olive oil was supplied. Also, during a Ramadan month in 1853, the palace consumed had 2887 kıyye (3701 kg) of clarified butter and only 200 kıyye (256 kg) of olive oil. (Doğan F. , 2008, p. 241)

Tanzimat Era caused an open trade market and broke down the state monopoly on olive oil. By the breakdown of the monopoly, olives and olive oil produced in Anatolian and Balkan regions became common merchandisable products in the international market. After the construction of West Anatolian Railroads, Ottoman Empire became the low-quality olive oil supplier of European countries. Since early the 18<sup>th</sup> century, French

merchants were often complaining about the poor quality of Cretan olive oil as the cultivators allowed impurities to enter presses such as leaves, branches, grass, dust, earth, mud, tiny stones, and dirt. (Faroqhi, 2018, p. 40) (Ünsal, 2016, p. 163) By the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, olive oil had always ranked in the first five export commodities of the Empire. (Doğan F. , 2008, p. 235)

Newspaper advertisements, which became available since the Tanzimat Era constitute major sources that will enable us to understand the production, and consumption food habits of urban citizens, mainly in Istanbul. The analysis of these advertisements will give us an insight about the types of food items available in Istanbul market. Kemallettin Kuzucu who studied newspaper advertisements – starting with the first newspaper *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* published firstly in 1831- with in this perspective (2010), provides us valuable information: he indicates the prominence of clarified butter supplied from Aleppo, Trabzon, Erzurum, Bursa, Aksaray, Adapazarı, Bitlis and Diyarbakır from Anatolia as well as from Balkan regions, as Bosnia, Komotini and Shkodër. İzmir and Balıkesir regions were the major sources of olive oil. (Kuzucu, 2010, p. 435). According to the advertisements published in the newspapers, we understand that margarine imported from Europe was in sale in Istanbul since 1896's. An advertisement published in Sabah Newspaper on 17<sup>l</sup> February in 1896 mentions “Hungariye breakfast fat” that might be a kind of margarine.. According to the advertisement, Hungariye breakfast fat is sold in Arthur Hounter Shop in Millet Passage in Galata, by Economic Societe Corporaish, Stinson Shops, Mösyö Apapy in Beyoğlu and in shops of R. Wenel, Dimitracopulo Brothers and Papadopoulos. (Kuzucu, 2010, p. 440)

About the olive oil advertisements, most of the advertisers draw attention to their technological and scientific (*usul ve kaide-i fenniyyeye mutabık*) production abilities in producing olive oil. Unlike the past, olive oils for culinary uses and olive oil for lighting were sold separately. Companies emphasize the technological improvement made in

olive oil press machine and about the qualities of the distillation machines they use in producing olive oil. They mention also that consumers can either buy bottled olive oil or they may bring their own olives to be pressed and distilled in their shops. Also, the sellers who have references from European countries are repeatedly mentioning these references in the advertisements. (Kuzucu, 2010)

The consumption of olive oil might have been increased since late 19<sup>th</sup> century because of Italian immigration to Istanbul as mentioned by Suraiya Faroqhi. Olive and olive oil were important consumption items for the newcomers and they might have an effect on the consumption of olive oil in the capital. (Faroqhi, 2018, pp. 46, 47) The contribution of Levantine merchants on the production and promotion of olive oil in Ottoman urban centers should be mentioned. As for example, the first packed and branded olive oil brand in Turkey, Kristal is incorporated in 1938 by Antoine Micaléff and his brother Mario Micaléff who was from a Maltese Levanter family migrated to İzmir from Malta in the 1860's (Kristal, n.d.) (Ünsal, 2016, p. 178)

During the month of Ramadan, the advertisements of butter increased in the newspapers, whereas olive oil advertisement did not. As known, Ramadan month is the fasting period of the Muslim community and Muslims tend to give more feasts and consume more luxurious food in Ramadan month compare to the rest of the year. The increase of clarified butter advertisements in Ramadan signify still the importance given to butter as a food item in Ottoman cuisine. Indeed, we should mention that Ottoman cookbooks published during the 19<sup>th</sup> century consist lots of recipes in which clarified butter was used. Olive oil is present in recipes of fish, shellfish, and salads. Since 1880's, vegetable cooked in olive oil as well as stuffed vine leaves called "counterfeit dolma" prepared with olive oil are discernable in Istanbul's cookbooks. (Samancı, 2015)

The industrial census taken in 1913 and 1915 may give us also an idea about the fat and oil production during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. The census was executed only in Western Anatolian and Marmara regions, which were the most developed regions of the empire. (Boratav, 2016, pp. 20-21) According to the report, only the industrial enterprises using engine power or at least ten employees are included in the census. The report shows that there are four active -one producing edible oil producing- enterprises in 1915. (Ökçün, 1970, p. 13) It is not mentioned if the companies produce edible oils, candle fuel oils or raw material of soap. All four companies are located in İzmir, which was the largest city in the Aegean coast of Ottoman Empire and also one of the most fertile areas of olive agriculture. Two of four plants were producing the cotton oil and the other two of them were working with the olive oil companies' residues. None of the olive oil companies are directly using olive as a raw material according to this census report probably because none of these olive oil companies have a motor engine or have more than 10 employees, so they were not counted in the census. The companies' names that are present in the survey are:

- “1. Ottoman Oil Company Limited, İzmir, Karşıyaka (1913)<sup>29</sup>
  2. Atnasyadis J. A. and Sons Pirene Factory, İzmir, Darağaç (1906)
  3. Samolada İbrişimci Cotton Oil Factory, İzmir, Darağaç (1910)
  4. Vurea Manganyoti and Associates Pirene Factory, İzmir, Station Area (1907)”
- (Ökçün, 1970, p. 166)

From the names of the companies or names of the owners (mentioned in the company names) it is possible to see that except one company, the other three of them are owned by non-Muslim Ottoman residents probably of Greek origin. According to Ökçün, the writer of the census report mentioned that there is also a secondary halva and tahini factory in İzmir also owned by Samolada İbrişimci. The company has the capacity to

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<sup>29</sup> The first company's name is not translated by me. It is already in English. Probably an out state company.

produce sesame oil for their own halva and tahini products. These five enterprises' capacity can supply only 3,1% of all Empire's oil consumption. The rest of the demands is supplied by imported oils or produced by small producers. (Ökçün, 1970, p. 29) Also, 20% of the oils and fats -which the types of oils and fats are not indicated- produced from residues in Atnasyadis J. A. and Sons Pirene Factory and Samolada İbrişimci Cotton Oil Factory is exported to Egypt and United Kingdom. (Ökçün, 1970, pp. 167-168) Finally, the report gives some information about the import and export of vegetable oils. In 1913, the Ottoman Empire had exported 6.975.966 kg olive oil valuing 34.695.739 kuruş and imported 3.054.925 kg olive oil valuing 14.492.027 kuruş. The export had majorly made to France, Italy, and Romania. The import countries had not mentioned individually in the report and indicated as "miscellaneous countries". (Ökçün, 1970, pp. 161-162)

#### **2.4. Conclusion:**

This chapter provides a brief portrayal of the oil and fat consumption habits of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the information comes from the studies made about the consumption patterns of the residents in the palace and in the capital. Butter, especially clarified butter constituted the major type of fat used in Ottoman elite cuisine. We should note that the primary determinant of culinary habits in Ottoman territories, should be shaped by geography and climate. Available crops in a region will dictate culinary preferences including the taste of fat. The main items of fat in the Ottoman Empire were butter, clarified butter, olive oil, tail fat, suet, and sesame seed oil. Besides these, we can also observe the consumption of saffron oil, linseed oil, walnut oil or even cotton oil. Besides the accessibility of different fats or oils, the religious restrictions as well as inherited culinary cultures may dictate the consumption patterns of oil and fat in the Ottoman Empire. The culinary heritage descended from Central Asian Turkic tribes and Seljuk Sultanate endure the consumption of animal fat, namely clarified butter; whereas, medieval Arab and Persian food heritage praises the use of

tail fat. Byzantine culinary heritage sustains the use of olive or sesame oils, where Christians have to fast long days of a year. Jewish communities enabled also the increased consumption of vegetable oils because they can't consume meat and dairy products together.

The consumption of olive oil or the presence of dishes cooked with olive oil in Ottoman elite cuisine increased during the 19<sup>th</sup> century compared to the past. But butter continued to be the most preferred kind of fat in both Ottoman palace and Istanbul cuisines. Would it be possible to explain the reason of this small increase in consumption of olive oil with the westernization movement in the Empire? Possibly not, but the beginning of open trade activities since 1839 in the Ottoman Empire promoting the available type of edible olive oil in Istanbul market, both locally produced or imported may constitute an answer.

### **3. CONSUMPTION OF OIL AND FATS DURING TURKISH REPUBLIC ERA**

This chapter studies the food consumption patterns in the Republic of Turkey, particularly focusing on the consumption habits of oils and fats. During the study, the historical timeline will be divided into three sub-chapters. The early republican era from 1923 to 1945, the postwar era from 1945 to 1980, and the liberalization era from 1980 to today. The divisions of the timeline are sampled from Zafer Yenil (2000), whose studies constitute the basis in food consumption practices in modern Turkey.

The first part, early republican era will study the effects of modernism movement on kitchen and household practices, the impact of state's regulation of food market, regulation of the family with a modernist point of view through establishing the Girls' Institutes and finally, early trials of transnational companies to penetrate into Turkish market. Finally, the transactions of existing small and medium enterprises in the market will be discussed.

The second part will be focused on the post war era, from 1945 to 1980. The significant incidents of this time period are the overproduction and accumulation policies and entering of Unilever, one of the biggest transnational food companies in the world to the Turkish market. On the other hand, uprising of urbanization, meeting new technologies of storage and transportation in Turkey and therefore the growth of the retails sector are important incidents. Also, the fact of women entering into business life as a result of the consequences from the early republican period is another important incident impacting the food consumption patterns in the postwar period. The developing media technologies and the marketing know-how inherited from penetrating transnational companies has important impact on shaping the consumption habits of the market.

Finally, from the 1980's to present, the impacts of the liberalization period will be studied. In these forty years, the penetration of international capital had increased, and big domestic manufacturers became important competitors to transnational companies as well. The number of transnational food companies raised from thirteen to hundreds, (Yenal, 2000) the retail sector had relayed from small grocery stores to supermarkets, and on the other hand, by the 2000's the diet and ecologic food industries became much more important factors on the consumption habits. New diet approaches like "Mediterranean Diet" of Ancel Keys from the 1940's or "Paleo Diet" of Robert C. Atkins' from the 1970's and also the ecologic food sector became new trendsetters in the whole world and also Turkey. These new prominent diets suggest more consumption of natural foods like olive oil and butter and this fact caused the destroy of margarine, which was at the top of the market in the 1990's and turned people into consuming olive oil and butter more.

### **3.1. Early Republican Era 1923-1945:**

This chapter studies the results of the economic policies of the young Turkish Republic and the impacts of developmentalist policies and industrialization actions on the food market and culinary habits. Also, the accelerated modernist actions will be another important subject of this chapter in order to follow the impacts on daily life, table manners and consumption habits while taking the oils and fats into the center. Finally, it follows the impacts of modernist and developmentalist attempts on cultural life and follows how these policies gave ground to the incidents shaped after the Second World War. The early years of the Republic have not witnessed important incidents affecting the consumption patterns of oil and fats. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the economic regulations around the food market and the processes, which cause important impacts in the next chapters' periods.

For a deeper understanding of economic policies of the young Turkish Republic, we need to start the discussion from earlier than 1923. According to Boratav, (2016) the economic actions executed by the early Republic, show wide similarities with the economic actions developed by the Young Turks after the revolution in 1908. Also, it is a commonly known fact that the theoretical and ideological background of the republic was originated from Young Turks group, who both share the idea of the necessity of modernist and developmentalist actions, to create a Turkish bourgeoisie class, and develop a capitalist economy ruled by Turkish citizens. (Boratav, 2016, p. 23)

Even though the regime changed and the bureaucratic aristocracy has been dismissed within 1923, it is not possible to talk about a structural change in economic policies. As discussed above, the main motivations of Young Turks between 1908-1922 years were creating a regulated national economy, protecting the local potential bourgeoisie from international competition, and industrializing the economy. Early years of the Republic had followed the same economic doctrine but the protectionist custom policies in the first six years because of the articles on the Lausanne Treaty protecting the foreign investors in Turkey until 1929. (Boratav, 2016, pp. 39, 40) (İbar, 2015, p. 65) After the proclamation of the national policies in İzmir Economic Congress in 1923, the Republic started to renationalize the transportation and agriculture institutions. In 1924, Haydarpaşa Port, Haydarpaşa-Ankara railroad tracks and Eskişehir-Konya railroad tracks had been nationalized, in 1925 tobacco stage management had been nationalized, and in 1928 Mersin-Tarsus-Adana railroad tracks had been nationalized. (Boratav, 2016, pp. 46, 47) The first attempts of renationalization beginning with railroad transportation can be seen as an attempt to strengthen the weak economical bonds between Anatolian cities. These weak bonds have been creating an important inability for the business connections in the final days of the Ottoman Empire. For example, right before the First World War, transporting corps from Anatolia to Istanbul was 75% more expensive than importing the same

corps from New York. (Boratav, 2016, p. 28) The unavailable trade routes under war conditions have obliged the empire to strengthen the connections, and the Republican government has worked to improve the connections.

1929 is an important year for the Turkish economy in many cases. First of all, as an article of Lausanne Treaty, the period allowing the foreign investors to protect their privilege from the Ottoman days is completed. So, Turkish Republic can run the protectionist custom policies as aimed. Secondly, according to Lausanne Treaty, the first installment of the debt from the Ottoman Empire starts in 1929 with a high down payment of 15 million Turkish Liras<sup>30</sup>. Finally, 1929 was the year of the great depression for the all world, which brings a standstill for transnational export and import network for the whole world economy.

As mentioned by Ataturk in İzmir Economic Congress in 1923, the state had gone on following a doctrine of industrialization by state, renationalization of the foreign companies from the Ottoman Empire years, enclosed economy and protecting the local producers and traders. This economic policy did not only protect the Turkish economy from the great depression but also helped to raise up local accumulation and created own pre-bourgeoisie class. By the end of the 1930's the state had succeeded to be self-sufficient in light industry complexes<sup>31</sup> and started to build facilities of heavy industry such as metallurgy, iron and steel, paper, chemicals, construction materials, and cement. (Boratav, 2016, p. 77) This raising up had the first stumble in the Second World War. Even though Turkey did not participate in the war, it felt all the impacts of the war on the national economy. Conscripting a huge amount of the population caused

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<sup>30</sup> According to Lausanne Treaty Turkish Republic is responsible for 2/3 of the total debt costs 85 million Turkish Liras. The installments were 6 million Turkish Liras for each year with a down payment of 15 million Turkish Liras in 1929. Which caused serious liquidity and exchange depression for the economy of the young republic.

<sup>31</sup> One of the aims was to complete self-sufficiency on three whites which are flour, sugar and weave industries.

an important fall on production and the increasing the defense expenditures blocked the ongoing state investments.

Just like the rest of the world, the Second World War caused a stagnation period on the economic growth of the Turkish Republic and several legal amendments had been put into action designed for economic protectionism and covering the loss of reduced production on the income of the state. Those amendments can be counted as National Security Law (*Milli Koruma Kanunu*), Capital Tax Law (*Varlık Vergisi Kanunu*), Provision of Land to Farmers Law (*Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu*) and Agricultural Products Tax Law (*Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi Kanunu*). On the other hand, the same period can be seen as the establishment of the modernism period through education institutions. Especially two institutions come into prominence by centering the precarious subjects who haven't played an active role in politics so far. Village Institutes (*Köye Enstitüleri*) and Girls' Institutes (*Kız Enstitüleri*).

Village Institutes was one of the prominent institutions of symbolizing the modernization policies through education. The institutes were constituted in 1940 and aimed to educate the children of villagers both on regional crafts, and national primary school program. The urban version of the institutes for precarious subjects were Girls' Institutes. Unlike the Village Institutes, these institutes were established in the Ottoman Empire, 1860's under the name of Industrial School of Girls' (*Kız Sanayi Mektepleri*). In this dissertation Girls' Institutes will be studied in order to see the effects of the state regulations on the kitchen, domestic market, consumption habits and even women's role in daily life.

### **3.1.1. Girls' Institutes and Establishment of Women's Identity by State:**

The first Industrial School of Girls' in the Ottoman Empire was established in 1865 by Mithat Pasha in Ruse formerly named Rusçuk, a city of Bulgaria on the Romanian

border today. The first registrars of the institute were orphan girls who trained and worked in the workhouse and produced uniforms, underwear, and sandbags for the army. (Akşit, 2005, pp. 76, 77) Besides the handicrafts, the girls were taking the classes of mathematics, geography, history, calligraphy, diction, Arabic, Persian, music and painting. (Akşit, 2005, p. 95) With the revolution and the rise of the new Republic, the institutes have been renamed and their curriculum was revised. The “Industrial” word had been removed from the name of the schools, also from the focus of the institutes. The new focus of the institutes was raising the modern housewives of the Republic who were capable of handling all of the duties of a housewife and also to raise modern, educated and loyal citizens for the state.

During the early republican era and Second World War period these institutes have been promoted by the state and their numbers were increased both in the quantity of schools and of students. In 1924 there were 1375 students who enrolled in Girls’ Institutes in Turkey and it had risen up to 8379 in 1944. (Yenal, 2000, p. 157) New institutes were the symbols of creating the Republican women’s identity under the values of national development, westernization, and modernity. So that the schools were aiming to teach the girls how to be the perfect housewives and raise the new generations with the modernist and nationalist doctrines of the republic.

For this aim, the Girls’ Institutes were training young girls for the necessary skills to be a good housewife. Like how to properly cook, shop, sew and schedule the domestic economy, but also the values of the nation and the women’s important role in this ideology. The ideology of the Republic was mostly shaped by Ziya Gökalp (1876 – 1924), combining modern national identity and western civilization on young girls. (Akşit, 2005, p. 143) The father of Turkish modernization ideology, Ziya Gökalp was highly impressed by Emile Durkheim, considering the family as the nucleus of a healthy nation, and the mothers as the heart of this nucleus. Cooking, sewing, domestic economy lectures in these institutes were aiming to have proper families raised by

mothers who carries the national consciousness, and raise loyal children apart from their socio-economic class. As it is described thoroughly by Charles and Kerr, (1988) a proper meal is fundamental for the proper family's identity and its well-being. (Yenal, 2000, p. 28)

In these schools, all the girls were attending the classic lectures of primary schools like physics and mathematics, special lectures for Girls' Institutes like domestic economy and cooking. Institutes in rural area also teach flower gardening or millinery in order to let girls to create a side income for their families. (Akşit, 2005, p. 149) Not only the lectures but also the magazines published by Girls' Institutes were aiming to teach Turkish girls how to be like modern and western ladies with a national identity, but at the same time remembering their duties as housewives and mothers. As a symbol of the support given by the state to these institutes, the banquets of foreign dignitaries visits, institution teachers and students catered the food. Also, the wives of diplomats and statesmen including the wife of the second president of the republic, İsmet İnönü were wearing the hats made by Girls' Institute graduated millineries. (Yenal, 2000, p. 118) The use of Girls' Institutes for teaching the ideology went on until the Second World War, then the emphasis on motherhood in the curriculum became indistinct within 1945. In time the institutes started to be recognized by their functional benefits rather than ideological education. By the 1960's, Girls' Institutes turned into advanced technical high schools and regular high schools for girls. (Akşit, 2005, p. 172)

The importance of Girls' Institutes and their impact on daily culinary habits can be followed in two paths. First of all, the cooking lectures given in the institutes are an indicator showing the aims of the decision makers of these institutes. The writers of several cooking books like Fahriye Nedim, Ekrem Muhiddin Yeğen, Leman Eryılmaz Cılızoğlu, Gönül Candaş were the fundamentals of combining Turkish and European dishes and cooking styles their book. (Samancı, 2014, p. 25) Today, those books are still the most sold, read and reprinted cookbooks in the history of Turkey. (Birer &

Nahya, 1990) Secondly, and more importantly, as mentioned previously, the Girls' Institutes were the crystallization of the ideology that the young republic provides on women. Women's role in this ideology is to carry the national developmentalist and modernization values into the house and raise the new generation under the new values of the Republic. Reconstruction of women's role by education and implementing the Western values into domestic life had "contributed to the consolidation of a bourgeois domestic sphere, which had important implications for the emergence of class, status, and gender codes in consumption relations." and also "[H]as paved the way for the emergence of a market-dominated consumerism after the 1980's through promoting and grounding certain cultural practices, values and ways of thinking." as it is mentioned by Yenal (2000, p. 105). Even though the market dominated consumerism practices scale up after the 1980's, we can trace the first implementations from the 1950's by entering of Unilever into the Turkish market, which will be discussed in the next chapters.

### **3.2. Postwar Era 1945 – 1980:**

This chapter studies the technologic developments on the production and conservation of food technologies, the food policies of the state including several state economic enterprises (SEE), which were built up in this period. Most importantly early penetration of transnational food companies including the biggest margarine producer Unilever. Also, American expertise, Marshall aids and concessional import of grains, fats, and oils from United States by Public Law 480 (P.L. 480) will be the secondary topics.

As mentioned in previous chapter, the first attempts of renationalization were fulfilled in the agriculture and transportation sectors. In this period, the state ranged up the food security goal and to reach this goal, established several food production SEE's. Growing and processing of sugar beets, meat and milk production, tea and tobacco

pressing, and some alcoholic beverage production was the completed SEE's in the postwar period. (Yenal, 2000, p. 57) At the beginning of the postwar era, food production was still dependent on small-scale businesses and the state was aiming to establish big enterprises that can supply the demand and gain food security nationwide. Even though the famine has been faced in some cases during the Second World War era, it is possible to claim that SEE's were able to supply every staple in the state for affordable prices to the citizens. Nevertheless, the production of oils and fats was still dependent on small producers and the era of the Second World War have highlighted the lack of oils and fats problem. In the short future, the requirement will be fulfilled by a transnational company, Unilever. It will be one of the very first transnational companies penetrating in Turkish food market. The dissertation focuses on the history of Unilever in Turkey and it's game-changing system for the next 50 years after their factory was established in 1953 in Istanbul.

By the 1940's and 1950's, the agriculture and the food production sectors were still dependent on a high quantity of small-scale local producers. The state's attempt to improve the production was ended up successfully through their goals and improved the production by decreasing the food production professionals in time. In 1950, almost 80% of the population was working on agriculture or the duties related to agriculture. By 1990, this ratio had dropped to 55% (Yenal, 2000, p. 55) and by 2001 to 6,25%. (DİE, 2001) The development and the increased productivity process on food production and agriculture sectors have started in the 1940's. The mechanization of food and agriculture production had started primitively in the 1940's by the imported tractors as a result of the Marshall Aid. Secondly, with the help of irrigation projects and imported tractors, previously uncultivated lands accommodated for cultivation. Finally, by the 1970's high yielding seeds started to be used in Turkey just like the other several developing countries under the name of a transnational aid and food-cheapening project called "Green Revolution". (Moore, 2015) By 1970's high yielding seeds, technologic irrigation systems, increased fertilizer, and pesticide usage had led

to intensive farming practices in Turkey and let Turkey to reach self-sufficiency level on most of the agricultural products unlike the developing –or peripheral- countries aided by United States like Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Egypt and Mexico (Yenal, 2000, p. 57). The reason of this success can be found in the afterward penetration of food companies in Turkey, unlike the other peripheral developing countries. But also, it is important to keep in mind the favorable climate of Mediterranean, fertile soil of Anatolia, and also low consumption rates of non-grain crops like meat.

Until SEE's was established, the food production sector was based on high quantity but small-scale producers. Local dairies and slaughterhouses, small farms, primitive small and medium sized enterprises were the main actors of food production in Turkey. As mentioned above, SEE's on agriculture and food production in addition to transport lines in order to strengthen the distribution was the first enterprises that state took action. SEE's were usually established in the fields that ordinary entrepreneurs cannot afford to invest and therefore SEE's were monopolies in their business fields. Those enterprises were established in order to support farmers by subsidized purchases of their products and also deliver goods to consumers at affordable prices. (Yenal, 2000, p. 57)

The establishment of sugar beet cultivation and processing factories were starting from mid-1920's and within mid-1930's four factories had functionally producing sugar in four cities. For developing a meat and fish production enterprise, the government had invited experts from United States for technical advice for reorganizing the meat and fish industry by the growing meat shortages in the country especially in urban centers. (Yenal, 2000, p. 58) By the help of the advices, the state had established Meat and Fish Organization (*Et ve Balık Kurumu*) in today's name Meat and Milk Organization (*Et ve Süt Kurumu*) in 1952 (Yenal, 2000, p. 58) in order to organize the operations of meat and fish distribution. Hence, the market was still dependent on small-scale producers. According to Yenal (2000, p. 59) by 1974, a substantial ratio of the customers of Meat

and Fish Organization was big governmental and private institutions such as hospitals, army, hotels, schools, and factories. Only 25% of the production was able to be bought in the consumer markets in Istanbul and Ankara. (Yenal, 2000, p. 59) On the dairy industry by 1987, Milk Institution Organization (*Süt Endüstrisi Kurumu* also known as *SEK*) and Atatürk Forest Farm (*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*) was controlling 30% of the market while large-scale private companies were controlling 20% and 2400 independent dairies including 112 cooperatives were controlling the 50%. (Yenal, 2000, p. 59)

In short, the postwar period was the establishment period of several SEE's for supplying the demand of the state and have tighter control on the food market by state. Even though the attempt was systematic and structural, the small-scale producers have never left the biggest portion of the market. While the state was investing in food sectors, secondary food sectors like tomato paste, biscuit and cracker, pasta, fruit juice, vegetable, and fruit canning sectors were invested by private companies in the market. (Yenal, 2000, p. 60) However, fats or oils were the only staples that the state did not - maybe could not- establish a SEE to produce and supply to the citizens. Instead, the demand was supplied by a margarine factory in Istanbul owned by a Turkish bank and a transnational food company partnership. Türkiye İş Bankası and Unilever. The entrance of Unilever into the Turkish market in 1953 was not only an important incident about the fats and oils market but also the entrance of Fordist consumption patterns to Turkey.

### **3.2.1. The Invention of Margarine and Early Consumption in Turkey:**

Margarine was invented by a French chemist and pharmacist Hippolyte Mege-Mouries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as an inexpensive and easily conserved replacement of butter as a response to the competition announcement made by Louis Napoleon III (1808 - 1873). Napoleon was concerned by the pending war with Prussia and the existing butter

shortage of the country. Finally, he announced a competition for inventing a replacement of butter, which can be consumed by working classes and the army, especially navy forces. Chemist Mege-Mouries, has invented margarine in 1869 by mixing the beef tallow and skimmed milk of cattle and sheep and boiling them at a constant temperature. Finally, he came across to a food, which can be consumed as a butter replacement, conserved easily without getting spoiled. He called his invention “Oleo Margarine” and secured his invention with a patent. Mege-Mouries, received the competition prize from Louis Napoleon III in 1870. Also, the name of the margarine is derived from pearl, coming from the margarine’s shiny texture and white color. *Margaron* in Ancient Greek and *margarita* in French. (McGee, 2004, p. 37)

However, Mege-Mouries’ invention was away from what we know today as margarine. In 1901, German chemist Wilhelm Norman introducing the hydrogenation of fats (a.k.a. trans fats) to let the invention of fat hardening, which has a profound influence on the production of margarine, as we know it is today. In time, the addition of lecithin emulsion, egg yolk, carotene, and citric acid had finalized the evolution of margarine and turned it into what we know today. (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 200)

Margarine was invented in France, but the worldwide popularization of margarine realized in the hands of a Dutch trader Antoon Jurgens, founder of Margarine Unie, which will turn into Unilever after the merger with Lever Brothers. A year after the invention of oleo-margarine, Mege-Mouries sold the information of how to produce margarine to Jurgens. Industrial production of margarine sprawled in Netherlands much quicker than France. By 1880, there were at least 80 margarine producing shops all over the country.

By the chance of newly developed technologies of hydrogenation and oil refining in 1930’s, the production of margarine became free of animal fats and let produce margarine only with vegetable sourced oils. These developments is not only important

for the margarine producers to sell their products to a vegetarian market like Indians or kosher markets like Jews but also, let margarine producers keep their production costs much lower than before. The cheapest vegetable sourced oils on the market like coconut oil, cottonseed oil, and palm oil have become at the service of the margarine sector. (Chen & Kritchevsky, 2003, p. 452) The flexibility of raw materials gained by the hydrogenation technology also gives the margarine companies to act flexible against the fluctuations on the raw material markets. If they face an increase of prices on any type oils, they can change the raw material they use easily, and supply their finished products on cheap prices at any time.

All the flexibility on production of margarine made food administrations to put in order what should be called as *margarine*. According to Food and Drug Administration (FDA) a standard margarine, “must contain not less than 80% edible fat of animal or vegetable origin; water, milk, or milk products; suitable edible protein, and vitamin A”. Optionally can include “vitamin D, salt or potassium chloride, nutritive carbohydrate sweeteners, emulsifiers, preservatives, colorants, flavorants, acidulants, and alkalizers.” (Chen & Kritchevsky, 2003, p. 452)

It didn't take very long for margarine to arrive at the Ottoman ports as a luxury edible good. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1896 “Hungariye breakfast fat” was sold in 250 gr. and 500 gr. packages in Istanbul shops even advertised in newspapers as a piece of good news of the arrival of the fat. (Kuzucu, 2010, p. 440) In 1900, General Dickinson from United States mentions in consular reports of arrival of a set of mechanic goods, army materials, garments, and edible goods arrived from the United States. The goods arrived at Smyrna and Constantinople and Salonica ports also carry lard and oleo margarine but doesn't mention the amounts of the goods. (Turgay, 1982, p. 238)

Revue Commerciale du Levant (Levant Commercial Magazine) a monthly bulletin published by the French Chamber of Commerce shows the early curiosity and interest of French investors for a potential margarine market in the Ottoman Empire. The bulletin has published at least two researches about the existing fat and oil consumption habits in Ottoman hinterland and the existing import and export networks in 1896 and 1905. 1896 report shows us that oléo-margarine was introduced to the market in 1874. It was imported along with Switzerland and Breton butters however it was only consumed by Europeans and didn't attract enough attention from locals. Finally, it wiped out of the market. The report of 1905 shows us that margarine made from sesame seed oil was sold in retails of Istanbul and it was called Swiss butter. Also, it gives a comparison between prices. The price of imported butter was sold between 20 to 28 kuruş, local butter was 15 kuruş and margarine was 7,5 kuruş.

The first production of margarine had been succeeded by an oil rendering plant in İzmir after it was bought by a British company Eastova Ltd. (Eastern and Overseas Product) in 1929. Eastova Ltd. made some investments including an oil mill, refinery and hardening shop to produce 3500 tons per year and started serial production in 1932. (Avcan, 2017) Turyağ's retail product was named Ufa Yağı (Ufa Fat) and the slogan was "Ufa kitchen margarine. You won't search for Urfa fat anymore<sup>32</sup>". Even though there is a big foreign investment behind this brand, Turyağ did not spend big budgets for marketing and it has been known as a local brand of İzmir. In the next years, the company would take Yapı Kredi Bankası (Owned by Koç Holding) as a partner in 1957 and Henkel in 1965. In 2007 Çallı Gıda bought this company and sold it to Cargill in 2014.

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<sup>32</sup> In 1930's butter of Urfa was one of the most admirable butters in Turkey.



*Figure 2 Ufa Margarine Advertisement.*

Another small margarine plant was established in Istanbul on the shores of Golden Horn in 1949. The company was owned by Yağcılık Kontuarı Ltd. Ortaklığı and the name of the brand was Nefis Yemek Yağı (Delicious Cooking Fat). However, the production capacity of the company was very limited. It was producing only 3 tons per day. (İbar, 2015, p. 135)



*Figure 3 Nefis Edible Fat Advertisement.*

Small enterprises and local margarine brands did not create a systemized awareness about margarine in consumers' perspective for some time. The benchmark can be marked in 1948 for the acceptability of margarine as a regular foodstuff. Because Turkish Statistical Institute started to follow the prices of margarine for Statistical Indicators report since 1948. (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2010, pp. 491, 495) Not to mention, the awareness about margarine would raise up after the entrance of Unilever into the Turkish market and their nationwide marketing campaigns.

### **3.2.2. Unilever In Turkey:**

Unilever was formed in 1929 by merging of Dutch Foodstuff Company, Margarine Unie and British cleaning products company Lever Brothers, with the name of the resulting company a portmanteau of the name of two companies. Margarine Unie was formed in 1927 in Rotterdam by the merger of four margarine companies. And Lever Brothers was founded in 1885 by two brothers, William Hesketh Lever and James Darcy Lever for producing soaps in London. As mentioned in the previous chapter, new developments on margarine production technology allowed margarine producers to use cheap oils as raw materials, which were only the raw materials soap before. Usage of cheap oils for margarine production put soap business in short of raw materials and led several bankruptcies, acquisitions, and mergers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century between food and cleaning products businesses. Consequently, Unilever is the biggest result of this merger period of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Anglo-Dutch company is one of the biggest food, cleaning and personal care companies in the world along with Procter & Gamble, Colgate, and Henkel. Today, Unilever has investments in 120 countries, in trading relations with 180 countries, employing 163.000 people and the products are consumed by more than 2 billion people. The revenue of the company is 45 billion € per year. (Çetin, 2012, pp. 232-235)

Unilever is one of the very first multinational companies in the world. Even, Lever Brothers can be considered the second multinational company in world history after Singer. (Fieldhouse D. K., 1978, p. 17) Both partners were the biggest examples of multinationals in those years. Both owned several plantations, factories, and sales offices in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and America in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Fieldhouse D. K., 1978, p. 13) The same expanding strategies of both companies have been followed after the merger. Between the two world wars, Unilever had established new factories in India, Thailand, Indonesia, China, Argentina, and

Brazil. (Çetin, 2012, p. 230) Unilever’s history had a connection with the colonialist history of European countries especially by the plantations owned by Lever Brothers. David K. Fieldhouse who wrote a book about Unilever Overseas Committee<sup>33</sup> and focused on manufacturing and management groups in individual countries draws attention to a fact that, Turkey is the only country in his book which have not been a European colonial at some period during the twentieth century. (Fieldhouse D. K., 1978, p. 8)

Building up new facilities in developing countries may had more unpredictable future, but obviously, it was much more profitable than working in developed countries. Owning an intellectual property like research and development, patent rights and brands, also the know-how of marketing, finance and management puts Unilever companies in developing countries in an advantageous position. Also, most of the time the company enjoys a monopolistic or oligopolistic market in the countries they have been so far. Geoffrey Jones shares a simple table comparing the yields of Average Unilever and Overseas countries in different years:

<b>Date</b>	<b>Unilever Average</b>	<b>Overseas</b>
1969	7,5	7,6
1974	8,1	13,4
1979	6,8	13,8
1981	7,0	15,7

*Table 1 Comparison of Unilever Average Yield and Unilever Overseas Yield (Jones, 2007, p. 80)*

Unilever managers have visited Turkey in 1939 for investigating a potential investment. However, the upcoming Second World War has interrupted the search for

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<sup>33</sup> Unilever grouped the business out of Europe (mostly in developing countries) under the name of Overseas Committee (Jones, 2007, p. 79)

new investment potential in Turkey. The visit in 1939 was not the beginning of Unilever's relation with Turkey, but it had a long history dated from the Ottoman period. Both, Margarine Unie and Lever Brothers had some trading relations with companies formed in Turkey and the Ottoman Empire. Lever Brothers was selling soaps and soap granules and also had several representative shops in the early 1920's in İstanbul. Today, we can reach the trademark registration certificates of Lux<sup>34</sup> dated 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1920 and Vinolia<sup>35</sup> dated 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1921. (İbar, 2015, p. 59) It is possible to reach the records of export to Turkey in the archive of Margarine Unie. In the records of the company, there are bills of 900 kg of margarine sale to Turkey in 1923 and 588 kg of margarine in 1924. After 1924 there are no records of an export most probably because of the rising custom taxes within 1924. (Fieldhouse S. , 1978, p. 419)

Besides the direct trades of Margarine Unie and Lever Brother, Unilever also owned a company in Istanbul in 1929 in a roundabout way. George Baker, a young gardener from United Kingdom, Totteridge had moved to Istanbul in 1847 for gardening the consulate buildings of U.K.. His gardens were admired by the palace and in 1852 he started to work as the consultant of palace gardening. In 1854, he established "Bakers" company in Istanbul and started to import women's clothes to Istanbul and export Istanbul carpets to the United Kingdom. As a successful trader, he added supplying army uniforms for the Ottoman army and cold storage businesses to his business. After his death, his sons maintained the business. In 1919 an important amount of Baker Ltd.'s stocks sold to African & Eastern Trading Corporation in 1919. After this purchase, Baker Ltd. accelerated the investments and added car showrooms, sporting goods and also bought 60% shares of an oil rendering plant in Bakırköy, İstanbul. That oil rendering plant would be the field of Unilever margarine factory in Istanbul from

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<sup>34</sup> A toilet soap brands of Lever Brothers

<sup>35</sup> A perfumery and toilet soap brand of Lever Brothers

1953 to 1988. Baker Ltd. had been owned by African & Eastern Company for ten years from 1919 to 1929. Later on, African & Eastern Company had merged with The Niger Company and bought by Unilever in 1929. Briefly, in 1929 Unilever became the owner of a group of companies in Turkey which also had owned a small vegetable oil rendering plant in Istanbul. (İbar, 2015, pp. 76 - 85)

The first conscious attempt of Unilever to penetrate into the Turkish market was in 1939. Head of Unilever Overseas Committee Sidney J. van den Bergh and Gerrit Frederik Ferwerda had visited Turkey in 1939 for preliminary investigations of a potential investment in the hinterland. As quoted by Ibar, Sidney Van den Bergh and Ferwerda's observation report mentions: "[B]utter, tail fat and other animal fats are the staples of Turkish cuisine but they are quite expensive for daily consumption. Margarine and solid vegetable oil would be a good alternative for the market." They have also made an assumption of 1500 tons of margarine and 1000 tons of solid vegetable oil sales per year, which can be increased into a much higher volume with only a few years with a good market growth strategy. (İbar, 2015, p. 118) Van den Bergh and Ferwarda had also met the Swedish manager of Turyağ owned by British Eastova company in İzmir. Manager Hochstrasser had expressed his observations about the market. (Sandalcı, 2013, p. 27) Unilever and Turyağ had discussed the possibility of Unilever buying the majority of Turyağ's stocks in Turkey and produce both in Turyağ's plant in İzmir and the oil rendering plant in İstanbul that Unilever already owns. After the visit, Unilever started to study about both alternatives and discuss the investment plans in Turkey. However, the uprising Second World War let the company put the new plans about international investments on stand by. (İbar, 2015, pp. 116 - 119)

The uprising Second World War had impacted the business of Unilever around the globe deeply. Under the Nazi policies, it was forbidden for transnational companies to transfer their profit to headquarters and Unilever was obliged to re-invest their profits in Germany. The company had invested in cheese, fish, hair dye and ice-cream factories

in Germany. The Soviet Union enlarging the borders in middle and east European countries, and Communist Party in China taking charge caused Unilever to leave their factories to state governments in Middle Europe, East Germany, Poland, Baltic States, and China. Also, Unilever's one of two main headquarters in Rotterdam was under the occupation of Germany. (İbar, 2015, pp. 122 - 123)

Together with Unilever, the war had also caused important stagnation in Turkey's food policies. Even though Turkey did not enter the Second World War, Germany's invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece, Soviet Union's invasion of Bulgaria led Turkey mass the troops along the borders. Around one million people of working age had been conscripted. The production of wheat decreased by 47%, and the quantity of sheep had 45%. Also, the export of the country had decreased by 75% and imports had decreased by 85% from 1938 to 1945. (Bülbul, 2006, pp. 1, 12) All the bad conditions let the government to run "Wealth Tax", "Law of National Prevention", supplying bread with ration cards, and a strong fight against black market. (Dokuyan, 2013) Also, the population has faced serious danger of famine and the epidemic illnesses which have prevented during the pre-war period have started again due to lack of nutrition. (Temizer & Özkan, 2009, p. 325)

The state executed two counteractions after the war against the food stagnations has experienced in the war years. One was increasing the import of foodstuff during the recovery time, and the second was speeding up the establishment of SEE's. Luckily, meanwhile the United States was following a food regime in accordance with the needs of Turkey. Respectively Marshall Aids and concessional foodstuff sales of P.L. 480 helped to supply the needs. The food aid of the United States from 1948 to 1951 aimed to dispose of American surpluses to European countries for reconstruction after the war. In time, after the European economies became self-sufficient the food aid turned into concessional foodstuff sales and directed to developing countries with the enactment of P.L. 480 in 1954. (Yenal, 2000, pp. 50 - 51) Turkey has welcomed and benefited

both aids. Meanwhile, P.L. 480 has another importance taking into consideration the topic of this dissertation. Because vegetable oils had the second biggest portion of P.L. 480 imports after wheat. (Coffing, 1974, p. 13)

While benefiting the cheap crops imported from the United States, Turkey used this time to establish more economic enterprises founded by the state for food production. Most of the aforementioned SEE's have been established in this period. Which can show us the state took lessons from the problems faced during the war like the bursting of black market, famine, epidemic, etc. However, unlike meat, milk, and dairy products, fish, wheat, tobacco, and sugar enterprises; the state decided to supply the fat and oil demand by cooperating with a transnational company for producing margarine.

In 1949, ten years after their first visit, Unilever organized a second visit to Turkey. In the ten years behind, Turkey had become a much more fertile country for a transnational company to invest in. The population of the country had risen up from 17 million to 21 million. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) (Republican People's Party) had loosened up the protectionist economic policies and the economy became relatively more liberal. Turkey also had joined the European Economic Co-Operation (OEEC) which would lead to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1961. Later on, Democrat Party (DP) had been established by some of the deputy members of CHP, which blames the protectionist policies for the economic depression that was lived in recent years. Democrat Party was promising to privatize the SEE's, and also giving the rights to the workers to strike and also right to establish trade unions for government officers. In 1950, Democrat Party won the elections.

The years of the Second World War caused a big depression on the Turkish economy. In the years of the Second World War, only in 1942, the growth rate was 5,6% and in the rest, there was a recession of economy. Also, the black market was causing huge inflation and also an inadequacy on staples.

Before the visit of Unilever managers, Baker's Company had bought the rest of the shares of the small oil producing plant in Istanbul, which they already had the majority before. There is an urban legend about Unilever's investment in Turkey telling a story of two Unilever managers who got stuck in Turkey because of an aircraft incident and saw the potential of the market in Turkey while they were spending time in Istanbul. However, organizing two visits in the country, -one before and one after the second world war- also the preliminaries of the visit shows us that this visit was not a coincidence but a planned and organized action of a transnational company intentioned into making investments. Two months after the second visit, J.J. Clerk visited Turkey again with a technical crew for estimating the potential of investments to Turkey and conduct meetings with government authorities.

Unilever had presented a report to Turkish authorities indicating the benefits of an investment.

“We believe that the enterprise will be beneficial to the Turkish Economy mainly for the following reasons:

- a. By using almost entirely indigenous raw materials, it will create a new outlet for agricultural products.
- b. By making available products of a high nutritive value, it will increase the general standard of health in this country.
- c. By a policy of reasonable selling prices, it will assist the Government in their aim of reducing the cost of living.
- d. It will, once the products have been accepted by a large part of the population, including the armed forces, free considerable quantities of oils, such as olive oil, for export.
- e. It can, particularly if exports could be arranged under Turkey's trade agreements with other countries, play a certain part in the Government's export drive.” (Fieldhouse S. , 1978, p. 426)

Unilever not only obliged to convince the government for this investment, but also convinced a Turkish company to be a partner in this investment according to Turkish statutory obligations. At first, the partnership was offered to Vehbi Koç, owner of Koç Holding, one of the biggest conglomerations in Turkey. But the offer was rejected by Vehbi Koç because he didn't foresee any potential of margarine consumption in Turkey and Türkiye İş Bankası had undertaken this responsibility. Türkiye İş Bankası was the first bank established in the Turkish Republic and also founded by Atatürk. Having Türkiye İş Bankası as the partner of Unilever is an indicator showing the motivation of the government having Unilever investments in the country. President of the government in that period, Celal Bayar was an economist and the former manager of Türkiye İş Bankası and as the president and former manager, he still had an important efficacy on the management of the bank. Even there are no such records, it is possible to make the assumptions that Türkiye İş Bankası had got into this business under the directions of Celal Bayar.

In 1949, Unilever-İş company was established with a 5.000.000 Turkish Liras of capital. Unilever owned 80% of the company and Türkiye İş Bankası owned 20%. J.J. Clerk was assigned as the president of the company, Dr. Kac as the sales director, Roohuyzen as technical director, R. B. Ratcliffe as the president of marketing, Muammer Eriş as representor of Türkiye İş Bankası. Suphi Argon was an important expert of oily seeds in Turkey and started to work as advisor along with Gabriel Couteaux and head accountant F. Van den Hoven. (İbar, 2015, p. 138)

The small oil plant in Istanbul, Bakırköy, which was bought by Baker Company hence by Unilever was chosen as the field of the margarine factory. The construction of the factory took three years and meanwhile, the marketing exercises, naming of the products, field researches, and recruitment organizations were projected. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of January, 1953 the company have officially launched. The president Celal Bayar,

Minister of Economy and Trading Enver Güreli, Mayor Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, Dutch Embassy, and consulate and Chairman of Unilever M. Paul Rijkens had attended the official launch of the company. Within the ribbon cutting, Celal Bayar said in the opening speech:

“I think this factory provides two-headed benefits. One beneficiary is the Turkish manufacturer, and the other is a Turkish customer. However, what really pleases me is the conscious and valuable cooperation of domestic and foreign partners. Congratulations to all concerned parties.” (Çalışlar, 1998, p. 42)



Figure 4 Bayar has opened the edible fat factory yesterday. January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1953 Milliyet

The marketing plan of Unilever-İş was based on two separate simple products. One product was put on the market as “cooking fat” which was particularly for using in the

dish cooked. The product's name was "Vita" which means "life" in Latin. Vita was composed of 100% vegetable oil and it was imitated from a cooking fat produced for India market, Vanaspati. Of course, it wasn't directly mentioned but the target market of the product was lower-middle class. The products were sold in 1 kg and 2 kg tin boxes. Van den Hoven (Head of the account of Unilever-İş) mentions that the tin boxes was a brilliant idea of the marketing manager, Dr. Kac, for tin box was an unusual packing system for Unilever until that time. (İbar, 2015, p. 165) In 1950's, most of the country was still purchasing its oils and fats from local bazaars or dairies. Those fats were sold big tin boxes and stored in the houses in these boxes, because the refrigerators were still a privilege to a rich minority. With the help of these tin boxes, the company let the consumers try these new fats without making a big change in their purchasing and storing habits. (Şenlik, 2019) Also, keeping the content milk-free and addition of 1% salt was the precaution against spoilage of the oil without refrigerators. (Çalışlar, 1998, p. 44)



*Figure 5 Tin box of Vita margarine. "Edible margarine with smell and taste of melted butter".  
Gross: 2 kg Net: 1.7 kg*

The second product was released on the market as “edible breakfast fat” which could be used for cooking the dish, but also could be spread on the bread. Name of the product was Sana, which means “health” in Latin. Unlike Vita, Sana contained 18% milk and water, therefore it had to be stored in a refrigerator. Sana margarines were sold in 250 gr. packages so that they could fit in refrigerators easily. The company was planning to produce 7500 kg of fats per year at the first step and the selling price was planned as 360 piastres per kg. while one kg of butter costs 675 piastres (Çalışlar, 1998, p. 47) and one kg of olive oil costs 217 piastres. (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2010, p. 495)



*Figure 6 A package of Sana margarine. "for caring mothers".*

By the beginning of the production process, Unilever engineers have faced an important problem regarding the quality of the products. As it was mentioned by the report presented to Turkish authorities, the initial plan was using the indigenous sunflower oil as raw material. However, the result was not like it was expected. Margarine produced with 100% sunflower oil was too crunchy and juicy than expected. It was impossible to produce a marketable margarine by using only indigenous sunflower oil. (Sandalcı, 2013, p. 49) Cheap cottonseed oil and soybean oil imported from United States with P.L. 480 have rescued the company from this technical

problem at the beginning. (Jones, 2007, p. 92) (Fieldhouse S. , 1978, p. 431) However, the dependency on imported cheap oils would cause problems for the company for a long time.

1950's Turkey was still a young republic with a population of 21 million, with an average age of 20, and literacy rate 32%. 84% of the almost 9 million working population were working on food production sectors like farming, foresting, hunting and fishing and 47.5% of the national income was coming from agriculture and stockbreeding. Only 25% of people were living in urban. (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2010) However, the urban population was increasing with a high ratio of 6% per year. (Tekeli, 2009, p. 117) The majority of the population increase was in urban and sourced from the workers' migrating to metropolises like Istanbul and Ankara, and most of them were building their own houses (*gecekondu*) in the periphery. A very small portion of the urbanized population could be classified as white collared workers who are attached to the global economy working in business services, media, finance, head office functions tourism, etc. However, Yenal implies this small proportion of population's importance in setting new trends and impacting the cultural life of the country as:

[T]he new middle classes comprise a very small segment of metropolitan employment, they have trend-setting consumption patterns. This is so because, the new middle classes are the groups who are the major receivers of global cultural flows, in the form of symbols and images, and they express their cosmopolitan lifestyles through consumption.” (Yenal, 2000, p. 5)

By 1946 multi-party democracy had been actualized by state, and in 1950, the opposition party Democrat Party had won the elections. This means the individualist policies on the economy were superseding the statist economic policies. Even though the Democrat Party outpolls the elections and a new political view is in the saddle;

modernization, developmentalism, and globalism were still the mainstream political goal of the state. Especially modernism was not only a politic course but also an important aspect to be symbolized in the everyday life of citizens, especially in urban areas. The abovementioned enviable trendsetter middle class life's symbols can be summarized in a few goods. A nuclear family, living in an apartment flat with electric, gas and water connection, owning a radio and white goods like refrigerator and washing machine. It is possible to claim that not the job or cultural capital was promoted and idealized but the goods owned were the symbols of this middle-class life. As stated by Warde, "In such a view, *lifestyle* increasingly becomes a basis of *social identity*, displacing class as the central organizing principle of social life" (Warde, 1997, p. 7)

The idealized middle-class lifestyle's appearance in the kitchen was based on consuming industrial food products like a common European middle-class family. As Yenel states: "[W]hen some industrial items such as frozen food and packaged dairy and meat products were introduced to the Turkish market, they did not become mass foods, but rather fueled the creation of niche markets serving upwardly mobile middle classes." (Yenal, 2000, p. 25) Definitely, margarine was one of the very common and -in respect of the prices- accessible dietary symbol of upward mobility, modern lifestyle, and affluence.

A term invented by Pierre Bourdieu can be helpful for a deeper understanding of the symbols carried by goods and how these symbols work in everyday life. According to the *Habitus* concept structured and entitled by Bourdieu, it is possible to cluster the tastes and lifestyles as they become the identifiers of individual social classes -or can be expressed as individual habitus. A habitus can be structured according to socio-economic groups, cultural capital groups or any distinction or connection material brought into use by class and status differences. As Yenel briefly summarizes: "The structured nature of habitus comes from the fact that it is partly a product of

internalization of the division of the social world into different and hierarchically-positioned social classes.” (Yenal, 2000, p. 16)

A material could be carrying a symbol within itself in order to create a cultural classification in the social world, or it can be filled with that symbol afterward. As mentioned by Bourdieu

“The habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes.” (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 170)

The aforementioned social identity goals of the state were strongly promoted and idealized by the intellectuals and media. Also, as mentioned above, this social identity or *habitus* can be symbolized and expressed with the behavior patterns, apparel, or consumption of arts, media, and even foods. Having regard to the topic of this dissertation and this chapter, the focus will be attributed to the symbols of foods, especially margarine in order to understand the symbolism of margarine in the early years of Unilever in Turkey.

Margarine was already produced, imported and sold in the country, but mostly in small amounts. The entrance of Unilever into the market was a big change in the recognition of margarine not only because of the big amount produced and sold but also the extensive advertisement campaigns run around the country. It is possible to claim that the Turkish citizen’s meeting with margarine thoroughly happened by the chance of Unilever’s entrance to the market. Therefore, the assumption of margarine evoking notions like westernization, modernization, technology, international capital would not be wrong which all these notions are relevant to the promoted and idealized life-styles

of the 1950's because it was produced in a factory owned by European companies in high technologic applications.

While Bourdieu theorizes the *distinction* and *habitus* notions, he mentions a duality of tastes. Here he does not use the "taste" as one of five senses but he uses it in the wider sense. The duality of tastes is classified as "taste of luxury" and "taste of necessity". An agent's taste is indicated to one's peers by consumer goods like garments, home decoration or foodstuff. According to Bourdieu, an agent's taste is not only composed of only one's pure enjoyment but also it is an indicator of the social status the agent belongs to. So, an agent's preference of consumption and expression of taste is directly connected to the social status -or habitus- that the agent belongs or wants to belong to.

"As can be seen whenever a change in social position puts the habitus in new conditions, so that its specific efficacy can be isolated, it is taste -the taste of necessity or the taste of luxury- and not high or low income which commands the practices objectively adjusted to these resources. Through taste, an agent has what he likes because he likes what he has, that is, the properties actually were given to him in the distributions and legitimately assigned to him in the classifications." (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 175)

Even though margarine was invented and was produced as a cheap replacement of butter it was carrying the "taste of luxury" symbols through the western and scientific images of its own, unlike European countries. In order to compare the symbols of margarine in Turkey and England -the homeland of Lever Brothers, one of the two merging companies of Unilever- two quotations will be shared one from England and one from Turkey.

Historian Alysa Levene studies "The Meanings of Margarine" between the classes in England between 1918 to 1953 and tries to understand why the margarine has never

freed from the association with poverty against butter. Even though the producers succeeded to imitate the butter perfectly on the grounds of taste, appearance and health-giving properties and became indistinguishable from butter according to the results of blind tastings the association with “the austerity and the restriction of the wartime diet” have never left behind. She mentions: “Many respondents to mass observation surveys in the 1930’s said that they might use margarine at home, but never for company, and that they would be insulted if they were served elsewhere.” (Levene, 2014, p. 146)

If we look at the margarine – butter duality in England between 1918 – 1953, we can easily apply Bourdieu’s theories to the existing framework. Butter symbolizes itself as a “taste of luxury” with all the natural values, lovely taste and hard-to-get conditions on economic structure. On the other hand, margarine is only a ‘cheap synthetic cousin’ of butter imitating every individual specialty of it but never be able to become one. All the mass observation surveys that Levene cites, shows that every consumer’s only reason for buying margarine is the butter is not affordable for them. A bottom sample of “taste of necessity”. (Levene, 2014, pp. 146 - 148)

In Turkey, the opinions about margarine were quite more optimistic than England in regard of the technologic production features, the sympathy against the European countries and the curiosity against one of the very first packaged food produced by transnational capital in Turkey. A good example of this admiration can be seen in a newspaper column written by Refik Halit Karay (1888 – 1965), one of the very first columnists writing about the daily life and especially culinary culture in Turkey. It is not possible to call his writings as “gastronomic literature” however, he likes to write about foods, the changing food culture, what he likes and dislikes about the food in Turkey. In 1956, he writes a column in *Yeni İstanbul* (New Istanbul) newspaper about his appreciation for increasing the production capacity of Unilever from 22 thousand tons to 32 thousand and shares his opinions about the benefits of margarine without mentioning the name of Unilever, Vita or Sana. The opinions that he mentioned in his

column carry a wonderful example about how an average western-oriented intellectual see Unilever's products from the perspective of westernization.

“Edible Fat:

The edible fat factory is going to increase the production capacity from 22 thousand tons to 32 thousand tons; thereby a huge amount of the demand would be supplied. This is a good example of the changes in the manners and lifestyles that I write here as long as I observe. Because people used to consume olive oil but would not touch edible fats, which is another type of the same. Even, they would consume the most acidic and stinky olive oil but hate the pure, white and cheap vegetalene, which used to come from Europe in tin boxes. People were fond of the unclean fats, which are impure with tallow and suet. However, when they used to walk in a street where someone boils the suet to produce these fats, they would retch because of the terrible smell. The biggest evidence of we got rid of this bad custom, is the increase in the production capacity of the edible fat factory. The increase can also be seen as the evidence of the ideal progress public. Because the public is considering the health issues as well and also is aware of the harmful effects of animal fats on their bodies and livers. The ones, who cannot afford butter, are all deciding to consume vegetal fats. Cooks, pastry cooks and restaurants are also sick of these hoarders impure fat sellers and therefore, they started to use edible fats which are easy to supply as well.

These are all good developments. Yet the best development is the government and the municipality is conserving the edible fats as well. Conserving the edible fat is equal to conserving the public health.” (Karay, 2014, p. 198)<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Original version of the text: Nebatî yağ fabrikası istihsal kapasitesini 22 bin tondan 32 bine çıkaracak, böylelikle ihtiyacın büyük bir kısmı da karşılanmış olacakmış. İşte sırası geldikçe yazdığım âdet ve yaşama tarzlarımızdaki değişikliğin bir misali daha. Zira bir zamanlar halk zeytinyağını kullanırdı ama onun bir nev'i olan nebatî yağı ağzına koymazdı. Hattâ zeytinyağının en asidli ve kokmuşunu yerdî de Avrupa'dan tenekelerle gelen halis, bembeyaz, tertemiz ve ucuz vejetalinden

Comparing the totally opposite feelings and opinions about the same product in two different countries can show us how ideology and perspective can affect the decisions of a foodstuff. As Bourdieu summarize briefly, “[D]ifferent conditions of existence produce different habitus” (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 170) Ünsal Oskay summarizes this concept in a very simple example by the visual codification of advertisements:

“[I]n developed countries, the visual codification of the fruit juice advertisements focus on the messages evocating nature. On the other hand, advertisements for the same products in the countries that have not completed their development and industrialization phase highlight the technologic abilities of the factories and show the fruit juice as a product of advanced technology. Because citizens of west miss the nature, and underdeveloped country citizen miss the industrialization” (Oskay, 2019, p. 33)

It is not a coincidence that Refik Halit Karay relates the products of Unilever with modernism and health benefits. From the very first days, both Sana and Vita have been promoted with these two values in their advertisements. In 1953, by the release of the product on the market, Unilever published advertisements in the biggest newspapers with this paragraph:

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nefret ederdi. Murdar kokulu kuyrukla içyağından ne idüğü belirsiz iğrenç mahlûtlara düşkündü; kenar mahallelerde ekseriya kaynatılan kuyruk kokusundan gelip geçenler öğürececek hale gelirdi. Artık bu kötü görenekten sıyrıldığımızın en büyük ve susturucu delili yukarıda bahsi geçen nebatî yağ istihlâkindeki artıştır. Artış bir bakıma fikri ilerleyişin de delili sayılabilir, zira halkta sıhhi şartlara karşı uyanıklık başlamıştır; hayvani yağların bünye ve karaciğer üzerindeki zararlarını öğrenmiş, malî vaziyeti tereyağı kullanmağa müsait olmadığından vejetal yağlarda karar kılmıştır. Aşçılar, pastacılar ve lokantalar ise mahlût yağcıların ihtikârından bıktıkları için kolayca tedariki kabil olan nebatî yağlarda rıza gösterdiler. Bunları hepsi iyi oldu; asıl iyi olan hükûmetin ve belediyenin nebatî yağı himaye etmesidir. Onu himaye, umumî sıhhati himaye demektir.

“UNILEVER’s factory in Bakırköy (Istanbul) is equipped with the most modern installments of the country and is run by Dutch engineers. Unilever guarantees the unchanging excellence and substantial health-giving products which they are produced under the most unpolluted conditions with the experience our engineers have gained in the factories established in America, Europe, and several different countries for three quarter centuries.” (İbar, 2015, p. 174)

Unilever had achieved a great economic success in the Turkish market since the day it had entered the market. According to İbar, the company had reached eight times of their sales projections in ten years. (İbar, 2015, p. 168) Besides the interest showed in the modern food products produced by western companies and sold in packages, it is possible to show three more advantages that Unilever has in the Turkish market. First of all, there was a deficiency of fats and oils in the country. It is possible to come across of the news mentioning the effort of government and municipalities to create solutions against the deficiency and adulteration of fats and oils. Under this deficiency, a cheap replacement of butter, margarine costs half of the butter. The cheap price combining with positive meanings on class status (as mentioned in the previous paragraphs) creates a very fertile area for margarine to increase sales easily. The second important reason is, Turkish people have a deep relation with solid fats, especially butter for centuries. The previous chapters have clarified the strong relation between Turkish people and butter extensively. The relations of Turkic nomads with dairy foods, having clarified butter as one of the most preferred food in Ottoman and the massive clarified butter consumption of the Ottoman Palace. One of the opportunities of Unilever is that margarine is not only a replacement of butter for nutritional values but also, it looks like butter so, the consumers would not feel a big change while consuming margarine in their foods. The way it is conserved, the way it is cooked, the sound it makes on a hot pot is almost the same with the butter. In addition to that, Unilever’s marketing managers made extensive research before starting the production and imitated the taste

and smell of the specific butter types that Turkish consumers like. (Şenlik, 2019) Finally, the most important factor for the success of Unilever was the lack of other transnational companies in the food market of Turkey. Not only having the advantages of a monopolistic field as they were the only margarine producer (apart from Turyağ and Ufa which both had little production capacity) in the market but also none of the companies in Turkey -including the advertisement agencies- had the marketing know-how and experience that Unilever had.

## Şehrin yağ dâvası

**İ**stanbul Belediyesinin, sebze ve meyva ihtikârını önlemek için açtığı mücadelenin tevsî edilmek iste ve yağın da teşmilini isteyenler oldu. Şehirde, kolay kolay temiz süt yağı bulunamadığı, tecrübe ile bilenler de imal şekilleri gıda maddeleri nizamnamesine uygun margarini, dondurulmuş nebati yağları, vejetalini mahlûl yağlara tercih eylediklerini anlattılar.

Memleketimizde elli milyondan fazla koyun ve keçi, on milyondan fazla büyük baş hayvan mevcuttur. Süt istihsalımız, senede beş milyon tonu aştığı hesaplanmıştır. Bu rakamlar yağ ve peynirin memleket bakımından arzettiği büyük ehemmiyeti göstermeye kâfidir. Değeri yüz milyonları aşan bir mahsulümüzü toptan kütülemenin doğru olmayacağı tabiidir. Şüphesiz büyük şehirlerde süt ve yoğurdu olduğu gibi, süt yağlarının da taklit edenler çoktur. Fakat bu umumî değildir. İstanbulda bütün sade yağların istisnasız mahlûl olduğu iddia edilemez. Şehirimizde kıvırcığı, kıvırcık diye satan kasaplar olduğu gibi, keçiyi kıvırcık niyetine sürenler de vardır.

Her gıda maddesinde rast geldiğimiz bu hilelerden süt yağlarının vâreste kalması beklenemez. Böyle olmakla beraber,

Figure 7 A newspaper article about the difficulties of reaching to oils and fats in Istanbul and the precautions taken by Istanbul municipality. July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1953 Milliyet.

Unilever had started the marketing studies before releasing the products into the market. These studies involve market researches and strategizing the marketing projects would be followed including the names of the products. Prof. Dr. Talat Sait Halman, future Minister of Culture of Turkey worked as translator and organizer of

field researches of Unilever in 1951. According to an interview made with Halman, Unilever's first concern was the name of the products. They wanted to be sure that people would accept the names of Sana and Vita. At the end of the research, the name of "Vita"s approval rate was 95% and "Sana" was between 60 – 65%. So, the company decided to follow up with these names. (Mola, 2016)

With the start of the production Unilever had started a massive publicity and marketing campaigns for their new products. Unilever has been one of the two biggest advertising clients all around the world along with Procter & Gamble since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Also, they maintain the same habits in Turkey. However, it was an unprecedented campaign for Turkey so far.

In 1950's there were only three advertisement agencies in Turkey: Radar, Faal, and Grafika. Most of their jobs were preparing simple notices and advertisements in newspapers. Unilever had started to work with Grafika one year before the commencement of production. According to my interviewee Ayhan Şenlik (former Unilever manager) and book of İzzeddin Çalışlar a former copywriter and business historian, Unilever has taught the fundamental assignments of an advertising agency like how to create a concept, develop a marketing strategy or organize a campaign to their collaborators in Turkey. (Çalışlar, 1998, p. 46) (Şenlik, 2019)

Sihhatiniz, enerjiniz ve aynı zamanda tasarrufunuz için  
İşte **Sana** Holanda tipi margarinini !

Türkiye'nin en modern fabrikasında, gayet sıhhi şartlar altında, en mükemmel nebalı yağlar ve pastörize süt ile imal edilen, A ve B vitaminlerini ihtiva eden SANA'yı yiyen herkes enerji ve sıhhat kazanır

Bilhassa çocuklar SANA'yı fevkalâde lezzeti için severler ve sizler de onların ne kadar istifade ettiklerini görebilirsiniz.

Ekmeğinize bol bol SANA sürünüz, pastalarınızı SANA ile hazırlayınız !

Ve bilhassa şunu unutmayınız ! SANA ucuzdur ! 250 gr.lik bir paket yalnız 95 kuruştur.

**Bir ahçıbasının nasihatı:**  
Tâv, börek veya makarnanızı koku ve lezzeti herikâlâde olan hususî mutfak margarin VİTA ile piyiniz netice-i en fevkalâde memnûn kalacaksınız!

**UNIT**  
KALİTEYİ GARANTİ EDEN MARKA

Figure 8 Early advertisements for Sana in newspapers February 8<sup>th</sup> 1953 Hürriyet

The newspaper advertisement above is one of the very first advertisements of Sana. The advertisement started to be published on 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1953 and it was every Sunday in Hürriyet newspaper. The advertisement shows a happy child eating a slice of bread with spread Sana on it. The headliner of the add says: “For your health, energy and also for your savings here’s Sana Dutch type margarine!” Girls dressed in folkloric Dutch costumes carrying dish on right and on left below there is a chef advising us to “Cook rice, pasta and, börek with Vita margarines which has a marvelous taste and smell. You will remarkable pleased with it.” And the main text says:

“Anyone eats SANA which produced in the most modern factories of Turkey under hygienic conditions with perfect edible oils and pasteurized milk and contains vitamin A and B gains energy and health.

Especially children love SANA for its marvelous taste and you can see how they benefit from it.

Spread a big portion of SANA on your bread, prepare your cakes with SANA!  
Especially don't forget this! SANA is cheap. 250 gr. package is only 95 kuruş.”

This advertisement contains a lot of indicators about Sana's target market. Dutch (European) girls presenting the dish cooked with Sana, using the name of Netherlands twice in the advertisement (one in the headline, one on the package) mentioning the modern technology of the factory and also the scientific nutritional values like vitamins, and finally, a chef recommending Sana are all the indicators that we can understand the product's target market was upper middle class. By these characteristics, this Sana advertisement carries opposite messages of the Vita advertisement, which can be seen below.



Figure 9 Early advertisements of Vita in newspapers. June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1955 Milliyet

The advertisement shows us four different women from four different cities of Turkey, all located in Anatolia; Ankara, Sivas, Konya, and Adana. The women are dressed up with the folkloric costumes of the cities. In the middle of them, there is a compass showing four different directions and in the middle of the compass, there is Vita. The interesting part is; the capital of Turkey, Ankara is also considered as one of the “underdeveloped” cities and the lady from Ankara is also dressed up in a villager

costume. Obviously, the advertisement aims to give the opposite message of the one shown before. Showing Vita as a regular consumption staple of Anatolia and telling “All around the Turkey everyone uses VİTA kitchen margarine.” On the bottom of the advertisement says “Vita margarine is produced with the most natural materials with very healthy methods. It is delicious, nutritious, easy to digest and it is a TRUE FRIEND of your home.” “VİTA is unique in quality”

Along with the newspaper advertisements and market researches, Unilever also organized big public events to improve awareness about their products which most of the Turkish people have not eaten before. The company set up stands in several public spheres and handed out sandwiches and pastry products, which were cooked with their margarines. Advertisements in newspapers were announcing the places in which the company will hand out free products for a week and calling people to “come and try for free”.

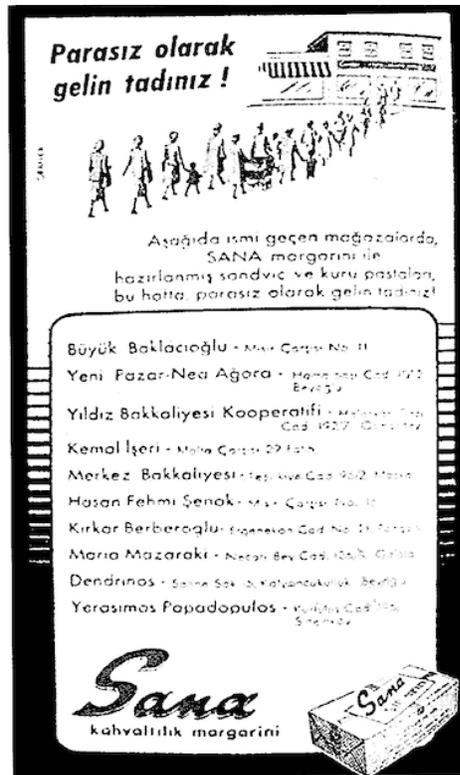


Figure 10 Sana advertisement in a newspaper announcing the hand-out event for a week. (Sandalcı, 2013, p. 54)



Figure 11 Margarine hand out event in a delicatessen in Spice Bazaar, İstanbul. 1953 (Çalışlar, 1998, p. 58)

In Figure 9, the uniform of the hostess attracts attention by its similarity to the uniform of a nurse. It also shows us the success of the marketing campaign in the 1950's, which Unilever tries hard to highlight the health benefits of their products. In the next period, trucks covered with the brand logo started to visit the villages in Anatolia and hand out margarines or foods cooked with margarines in the village squares.



Figure 12 Margarine handout event in a village square. (Sandalcı, 2013)

The marketing policy was involving the training of the sales representatives for an intervention on the groceries for the presentation of margarines. My interviewee Ayhan Şenlik had started his occupation in Unilever as a sales representative. In our interview he also shared experiences as a sales representative:

“There were special sale cars of Sana covered with the brand logo. One driver, one sales representative, and one carrier were occupied in it. We used to visit every single grocery in our areas. Our first duty was in the fridge. We were going over every single margarine package and switching the expired packages with new ones. The grocery owners were getting astonished. They had never seen such a service. (...) The exposure was very important. The margarine packages had to have the biggest exposure area and also located in the place to leap in the eye of a person who enters the grocery. We were even visiting the storage area of the groceries and dusting the packages in the storage rooms.”  
(Şenlik, 2019)

An indicator showing the acceptance rate of margarine in Turkish culinary culture can be traced from the cooking books. Ekrem Muhittin Yeğen, an important opinion leader, a pioneer cooking book writer in Turkey as mentioned in the previous chapter, studied the Girls’ Institutes in his books. In his bestseller book “Alaturka ve Alafranga Yemek Öğretimi” (Allaturca and Allafranga Style Food Studies) he classifies the fats according to their qualities. Although we observe only butter and clarified butter in the early editions published in 1945, in 1963 edition he mentions the quality of Vita and Sana margarines. Also, in any individual recipe, he mentions which fat or oil to cook with. In most of the recipes, he suggests the readers to cook with Vita. (Yeğen, 1963)

Starting from the end of 1950’s newspaper advertisements show us several entrepreneurs impressed by the economic success of Unilever and established new margarine brands in Turkey. By a research made in Milliyet newspapers, it is possible

to come across of new margarine brands like Gıda, Toros, Yörük, Rekor, and Kademoğlu. However, none of those early brands could struggle against Unilever and survive for a long time. Between the early trials, the only surviving producer was Tariş. An important agricultural sales cooperative from İzmir. The cooperative was established for the sales of figs and grapes and later on included cotton and olive oil into the sales range. In 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1963, Tariş, has announced their new margarine brands in newspapers with a notice of a competition for finding names for their two products. The founder of the chosen names will be awarded with 3.000 Turkish Liras.

**TARİŞ**

İzmir Üzüm, İncir, Pamuk Ve Zeytinyağı  
Tarım Satış Kooperatifleri Birlikleri

**İKİ İSİM ARIYOR.**

Her biri için 3000 lira mükâfat verecektir.  
Üzümde, İncirde, Pamukta, Zeytinyağında TARİŞ. Şimdi de yemeklik ve kahvaltılık margarinde TARİŞ.  
Modern teknoloji, mükemmel imalat, lezzet ve tad, Sıhhat ve kuvvet, TARİŞ yemeklik ve kahvaltılık margarinlerindedir.  
Yakında piyasaya çıkacak yeni yemeklik ve kahvaltılık margarinler için iki isim aranıyor. Beğenilerek her bir isim için bulana 3000 lira mükâfat, ikinciden onuncuya kadar mükâfatla kemahi bedel.  
İsimler bes hatırlı olmamalı, söylenişi kolay ve ahenkli olmalı, hatıra tutulabilir melidir. Beğenilen aynı isim bulanlar arasında Noter huzurunda kura çekilecektir. Bulduğunuz isminizi isim ve adresinizle birlikte bir kâğıda yazıp 20 Eylül 1963 tarihine kadar aşağıdaki adrese gönderebilirsiniz.

**A D R E S :**  
**TARİŞ**  
Posta Kutusu No: 220  
**İZMİR**

GHAŞIN İ. 3382 - 14850' E184

Figure 13 TARİŞ İzmir Fig, Grape, Cotton and Olive Oil Sales Cooperative is looking for two names for their margarine products. Finders of each name will be rewarded with 3000 liras. March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1963 Milliyet.

Later on, in 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1964, Tariş announced the winners of the contest with a newspaper advertisement. According to the advertisement, tens of thousands of people have offered names and between them, hundreds of people have offered the same name.



them. Another example indicating this result can be found in a notice published in newspapers by a famous canned food company Tamek. In 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1963, Tamek announced that there are fake Tamek brand margarines in the market which Tamek has no concern with them and they don't produce margarine. The notice warns the consumers to avoid Tamek margarines on market.

**TAMEK**  
**KONSERVELERİ**

**Sayın müşterilerine**

Şirketimizin ticari ünvanı ve kıymetli tevecühlerinize mazhar olmuş çeşitli konservelerimizin kanunen müsecel markasını teşkil eden **TAMEK** kelimesini aynen kullanarak ve yazılış şeklini taklit etmek suretile bir firma tarafından nebati margarin yağının piyasaya arz edildiği öğrenilmiştir.

Bu yağların Şirketimiz ve dolayısıyla mamulâtımızla bir günâ alâka ve münasebeti bulunmadığını Şirketimizin marka ve ünvanını haksız olarak kullanarak ticari prensip ve dürüstiyi ihlâl etmiş bulunan mezkûr firma hakkında kanun yoluna müracaat ettiğimizi muhterem müşterilerimizin ittibasına arzederiz.

**TAMEK**  
KONSERVECİLİK LTD. ŞTİ.

TAMEK KONSERVELERİ: 5998 - 151

Figure 15 Tamek Canned Food notice announcing that Tamek margarines are not produced by their company. February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1963 Milliyet.

Even though Unilever was the leader of the market, for sure there was also an opposition against Unilever's existence in Turkey. The oppositions were based on two fundamental reasons. One reason of the opposition was about leaving the majority of production of a staple with a foreign brand. As mentioned above, by mid-1960's the portion of Unilever's production was covering one-third of the fats consumed in Turkey. According to the opposition foreign brand covering a huge portion of a staple should have been discussed as a food security problem of Turkey. According to this aspect, local producers of a nation should be competent to produce the staples consumed by their own citizens. The aspect of the second opposition was approaching to margarine as a public health issue and drawing attention to the correlation between the increasing cholesterol ratio, increasing obesity,<sup>37</sup> statistics of heart attacks and the increase in margarine consumption.

Osman Nuri Koçtürk (1918 – 1994) was the prominent actor of the opposition against margarine. Koçtürk received his bachelor's degree as a veterinary and worked in the army afterward as a veterinary. Later on, he had a doctoral degree in biochemistry and went to Missouri University as a visiting professor. After he came back to Turkey, he worked in the Meat and Fish Organization, Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Education as a nutrition specialist. He was a unique intellectual in his years. As Yenal mentions in an article about Koçtürk "The issue of nutrition was not only based on calories, vitamins, and minerals for Koçtürk. (...) But also, it was a set of practices embodied around the class and global power relations." (Yenal, 2015, pp. 70 - 71) In 1960's he was the only intellectual talking and writing about notions like biopolitics, hegemonic nutrition and food imperialism in Turkey. In the 1960's Koçtürk wrote a set of books like "Fear of Starvation", "Food Imperialism", "Nutritional Disorders of Turkish People", "Workers and Nutritional Disorders".

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<sup>37</sup> In those years "fatness" was used instead of obesity.



Figure 16 An article of Doç. Dr. Osman Nuri Koçtürk in the famous column of Milliyet newspaper. "Thoughts of the Thinkers": Ministry of Health and Margariners. September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1965 Milliyet.

While Koçtürk conveys the nutrition and international relation subjects he especially focuses on two individual issues. The first one is the free or cheap aid coming from the United States like Marshall Aid, Food for Peace and P.L. 480. According to Koçtürk, the food aid coming from the United States creates price fluctuations in the aid accepting countries and these fluctuations cause the bankruptcy of small food producers. At the end of the day, the grantor countries can sell the overproduced “empty calorie sources” like crops, milk powder, and conserved foods and buy qualified calorie sources like olive oil in return for cheap prices. (Koçtürk, 2009, p. 56) In addition, developing food exporter countries, which were depended on agricultural products become indigent to the ships coming from the United States loaded with crops. Briefly, “U.S. replaces the ‘fear of starvation’ instead of ‘fear of guns’ in the new colonial policy. For this goal, they use Marshall Aid, Food for Peace and P.L. 480.” (Koçtürk, 2009, p. 51)

Koçtürk's second target after the American aid was the margarine industry. He takes the margarine industry in the same group with tire, plastic and medicine industries as an assembly industry. (Koçtürk, 2009, p. 75) This means by the chance of cheap labor, Turkish companies buy the parts of products, assembly them here and acts like they are manufacturers. Of course, this analogy does not completely explain the production model of margarine in Turkey, but in this case, he implies the usage of soy bean oil that came along with P.L. 480 Unilever. Koçtürk considers the entrance of Unilever into the Turkish market as a continuation of acceptance of American aid, which he is against both. (Koçtürk, 2009, p. 56)

### DÜŞÜNENLERİN DÜŞÜNCELERİ

## Bazı yağ ve margarinler vücutta zararlı mıdır?

Bun yağların kalb hastalığı, kanser ve diğer hastalıkların sebepleri olarak kabul edilmiş ve bu sebeple insanların bu yağları tüketmemesi tavsiye edilmiştir. Ancak bu yağların vücutta zararlı mıdır? Bu soruya cevap vermek için önce yağın ne olduğunu ve vücutta nasıl işlev gördüğünü bilmemiz gerekir. Yağ, vücutta enerji depolama ve hücre zarının yapısını sağlamak için kullanılır. Ayrıca yağlar yağda çözünür vitaminlerin emilimini sağlar. Ancak bazı yağlar, özellikle trans yağlar, kalp hastalığı ve diğer sağlık problemlerine neden olabilir. Bu yağlar, vücutta kolesterol seviyesini artırarak damar tıkanıklığına yol açabilir. Ayrıca, trans yağlar, inflamasyonu artırarak kronik hastalıklara zemin hazırlar. Bu nedenle, sağlıklı beslenmek için trans yağ tüketimini sınırlamak önemlidir.

**Kimyager Dr. Nadir BIRCAN**

Bu yağların kalb hastalığı, kanser ve diğer hastalıkların sebepleri olarak kabul edilmiş ve bu sebeple insanların bu yağları tüketmemesi tavsiye edilmiştir. Ancak bu yağların vücutta zararlı mıdır? Bu soruya cevap vermek için önce yağın ne olduğunu ve vücutta nasıl işlev gördüğünü bilmemiz gerekir. Yağ, vücutta enerji depolama ve hücre zarının yapısını sağlamak için kullanılır. Ayrıca yağlar yağda çözünür vitaminlerin emilimini sağlar. Ancak bazı yağlar, özellikle trans yağlar, kalp hastalığı ve diğer sağlık problemlerine neden olabilir. Bu yağlar, vücutta kolesterol seviyesini artırarak damar tıkanıklığına yol açabilir. Ayrıca, trans yağlar, inflamasyonu artırarak kronik hastalıklara zemin hazırlar. Bu nedenle, sağlıklı beslenmek için trans yağ tüketimini sınırlamak önemlidir.

### DÜŞÜNENLERİN DÜŞÜNCELERİ

## Margarinler insan sağlığına zararlıdır

Gazetemizde 9 Haziran Çarşamba günü çıkan ve margarinlerin bugünkü durumu ile insan sağlığına zararlı olduğunu belirten yazı tepki ayandırmıştır. Aşağıda okuyucularımızın yazdığı görüşleri yayımladık.

**Doç. Dr. Osman N. KOÇTÜRK**  
Tarım Bakanlığı, Beslenme, Gıda Kontrolü ve Teknoloji Grubu Başkanı

«Çok margarin ve sert yağ kullanan memleketler, kalb hastalıklarından zarar gören toplumlar haline gelmiştir. Tabiiatta bulunan yağ çeşitleri veya az yağla beslenen toplumlarda ise bu çeşitli hastalıklar görülmemektedir»

«Çok margarin ve sert yağ kullanan memleketler, kalb hastalıklarından zarar gören toplumlar haline gelmiştir. Tabiiatta bulunan yağ çeşitleri veya az yağla beslenen toplumlarda ise bu çeşitli hastalıklar görülmemektedir»

«Çok margarin ve sert yağ kullanan memleketler, kalb hastalıklarından zarar gören toplumlar haline gelmiştir. Tabiiatta bulunan yağ çeşitleri veya az yağla beslenen toplumlarda ise bu çeşitli hastalıklar görülmemektedir»

Figure 17 A discussion about the impacts of margarine to human body. Two articles published in the same column in four days. Chemistry PhD. Nadir Bircan claims that margarine does not have bad impacts on human body. June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1965 Milliyet (On left) Four days later Nuri Koçtürk writes about the harmful impacts of margarine to human body. (On right) The note above Koçtürk's article mentions that "The newspaper received a reaction from readers about Bircan's article published 4 days ago. An now, you will read an opinion of an opposition. June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1965 Milliyet.

Unilever enjoyed the monopolistic market conditions in Turkey for around 25 years. The company succeeded to introduce this new edible product to consumers and managed to increase the production capacity and revenue both for *Sana* and *Vita* every single year above the previous year. The sale records of the first 12 years can show us the massive success of Unilever-İş in the early years. The records are from the book on the *History of Unilever in Turkey* (İbar, 2015, p. 228) By the mid 1960's, Unilever supplied one-third of all fat and oil consumed in Turkey. (Jones, 2007, p. 92)

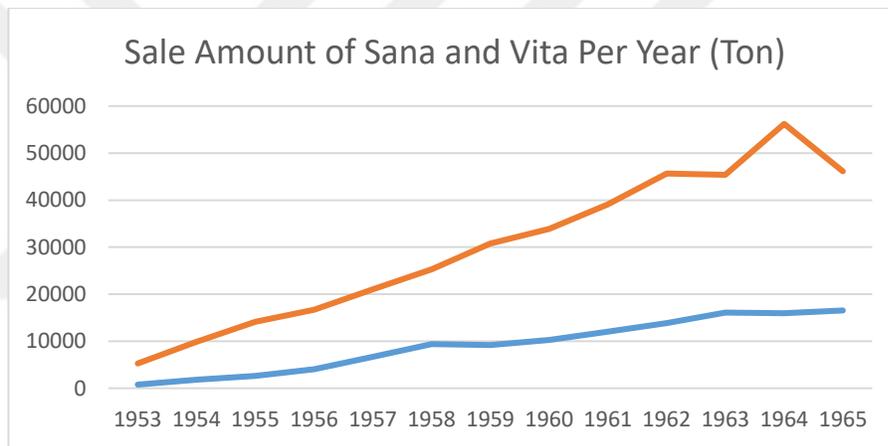


Figure 18 Sale Amount of Sana and Vita Per Year Between 1953 and 1965

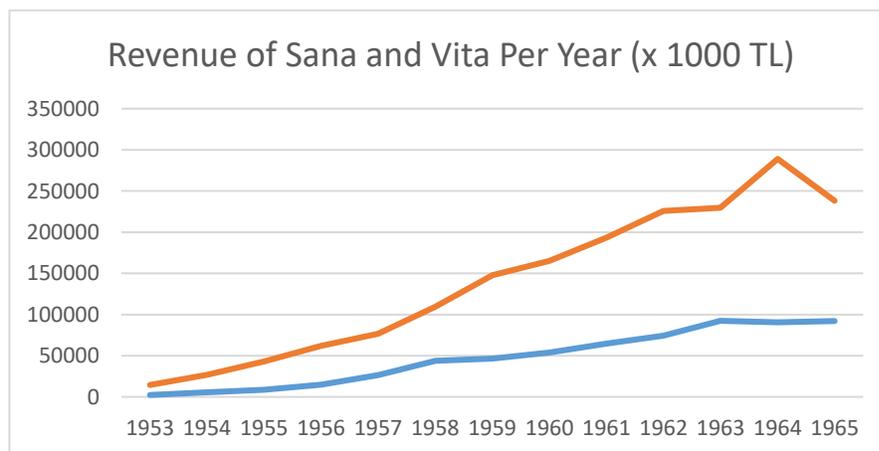


Figure 19 Revenue of Sana and Vita Per Year Between 1953 and 1965

### 3.2.3. Oligopolistic Margarine Market and Shortage Years in Turkey

By the mid 1970's the monopolistic market conditions have turned into an oligopolistic market after the investors in Turkey noticed the high profits of Unilever. One of the strongest competitors of Unilever margarines was *Aymar*, established in 1976 by Vehbi Koç, who had refused to enter this business as a partner of Unilever in the 1950's and deeply regret it. (Fieldhouse S. , 1978, p. 607) After the second half of the 1970's dozens of margarine brands have entered the market. Targeting different audiences, serving different types of margarines. Yayla, Evin, Neba, Tera, Ema, Birma, Ona, Luna, Niva, Tama, Asya, Doya, Evet, Gıda, Sabah, Besler, Halk, Hüner are just a few of them. Meanwhile, Unilever also has served several different brands for different target markets like Stella, Biskin, Nefis, Eva, Asta, Sanella, Supra, Tad, Rama, Flora, Becel, Livio, and Linera. Between the side products of Unilever two premium products; Rama and Becel have succeeded to be accepted by consumers.

Both Rama and Becel were produced for upper segment consumers. Rama became prominent with the extra milk addition and it's smooth texture, which has been highlighted in the advertisements several times. Unlike Sana, the advertisements of Rama were not hesitating to use the images of village. The advertisements were full of crops, cows, milk in wooden buckets, farms, etc. It goes along with the aforementioned example given by Ünsal Oskay. The more urbanized is the country the necessity for highlighting the natural peculiarities rise up. But on the other hand, the advertisements also mention: "These kinds of extra milk textured margarines are consumed more in the modern and western countries." (Çelik, 1997, p. 15) On the other hand, Becel highlights the health benefits of the product. The product has been produced in the Netherlands since the 1960's. The name of the margarine is the abbreviation of "Blood Cholesterol Lowering". The advertisements of Becel highlight the urbanized modern family more than the other margarines. The women in the Becel advertisements are shot out of the kitchen, spending time in the public sphere, driving car, etc. In the

further chapter, one Becel advertisement will be analyzed and more information about women's role in Becel advertisements can be seen below.

On the other hand, since the beginning of 1970's a stagnation period had started for the margarine market and it was revealed by 1976. Not only Unilever, but all the new brands would face the same problems until the 1980's. The problems experienced between 1976 and 1981 have occurred exactly in accordance with the predictions of Osman Nuri Koçtürk. Huge impacts of the global events into fragile and import substitution industrialized food market of Turkey.

The war between Arab states and Israel in 1973 also known as Yom Kippur War has caused a limitation for the petrol exchange worldwide which has ended up with a 400% price increase on petroleum and caused a huge increase in transportation costs. In addition to petroleum crisis, the invasion of Cyprus by Turkish forces ended up with an embargo of arms to Turkey. Even though the embargo did not conclude the foodstuffs, the search for the arms from different countries had caused stagnation in the economy.

Afterward, the foreign exchange gap and the dependency of foreign raw materials of margarine like soy seed oil have caused a shortage of raw materials and underproduction in accordance. In addition to this, state supervision was not letting margarine companies increase the prices even though the inflation was climbing. For example, from 1976 to 1979, Unilever had closed every year in the loss. The revenue of the company in 1979 was approximately one fifth of the revenue of 1976. (İbar, 2015, pp. 266 - 275) Because of the margarine raw material shortage, the margarine factories were not able to run in full capacities and supply the high demand of the market. Finally, the press and the public started to blame the margarine companies for stockpiling.

As a response, the state, authorized TARKO (Agriculture Cooperative Association) to distribute and sell the products of Unilever. However, an alien institution to the distribution process of the company has just made the operation more complex, and finally, the queues, stockpiles of traders and smuggling of margarine became a part of daily life.



Figure 20 1.5 tons of margarine found in storage in Fatih sold to the people. January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1979 Milliyet.



Figure 21 4 people trying to kidnap a fat truck had a gunfight with police, 1 died. January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1979 Milliyet.



Figure 22 Fat queue and two arguing ministers. October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1979 Milliyet.

While ending the decade of 1970's and the "Postwar Era" chapter of this dissertation, the final images of this period were the long queues of people trying to buy some margarine and bottled LPG gas. (Onaran, 2015, pp. 42 - 46) The significant issue about this situation is, all the goods that people are waiting in the queue have entered into their lives only 15 – 20 years ago and became essential necessities of a normal family in a short time. Falling short of these goods by the impacts of global crises has caused huge chaos in the country, which conquered all the politic debates, news and daily routines<sup>38</sup> etc. The goods have entered into the kitchens for modernizing the lifestyles and increase comfort, have become the source of caustic problems. All the shortage problems had brought a standstill to the "modernization of kitchen and household" goals. The solution would come with the normalization of the global economy; nevertheless, the state has decided to increase the liberalization of the economy with "January 24<sup>th</sup> Decisions". This new order would not only make foreign goods more reachable in the local market, but also would start a new regime on the food market in Turkey.

### **3.3. 1980's and After: Liberalization of Food Market**

By 1980, Turkish economy left the statist and closed economy regimes behind and turned its face into liberalized economic doctrines. The first and the biggest step of the new doctrines were "January 24<sup>th</sup> Decisions" prepared by Prime Ministry Undersecretary Turgut Özal. New economic formation includes devaluation, increase on the SEE goods prices, setting loose of price control and deregulation on the penetration of international capital. Briefly, this economic doctrine was the structural adjustment program imposed upon IMF, which has been implemented to several

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<sup>38</sup> Queues of the margarine and bottles LPG gas can be seen commonly in the Turkish movies of the 1970's. Maybe the most famous movie mentioning these queues is *Çöpçüler Kralı* (King of the Street Cleaners) directed by Zeki Ökten in 1977.

developing countries as well. (Boratav, 2016, pp. 149 - 150) In the next months, these doctrines would be supported with a military coup in order to eliminate the riots and civil commotions against.

Zafer Yenel summarizes the impacts of January 24<sup>th</sup> Decisions on food industry and the household consumption patterns in three headings: “(i) deregulation of agricultural production and foreign trade, (ii) increasing penetration of international capital into agriculture and food production, and (iii) concentration and ‘supermarketization’ in the distribution of food.” (Yenal, 2000, p. 64) Each of these three headings has different individual consequences on the production systems, marketing strategies, and consumption habits of foodstuff. Between these three developments, the biggest direct impact on the market of fats and oils has been caused by “(ii) increasing penetration of international capital into agriculture and food production”. Also, “(iii) concentration and ‘supermarketization’ in the distribution of food” should be mentioned by the indirect impacts. Therefore, this chapter will focus on these two developments in order to study the changes in food and oil markets between 1980 and 2019.

Starting from the 1980’s Turkey was a remarkable and fertile market for transnational food companies to penetrate into. As mentioned by Yenel, Walter Marketing Magazine summarizes the advantages of Turkish food market in five points in an issue published in 1987:

“[R]elatively low cost of most basic food items, low cost of local manpower, strategic geographic location, opportunities resulting from the phased withdrawal of the public sector manufacturers, the very attractive package of investment and export incentives.” (Yenal, 2000)

Industrial capital has caused a significant change in the food market of Turkey and the reflection of this change on the fats and oils market was the increase of the

differentiated products such as healthy, diet, low cholesterol, heart friendly, natural, - in the further years- ecologic friendly high-end market products. With the help of the more penetrated international capital -not only for the food industry but also mass-communication tools have a significant impact on it- diet, healthy, and ecologic food industry have risen up with a massive acceleration starting from the late the 1990's.

It is necessary to make a brief summary of the industrialized diet industry on the global level and the tight bonds of this industry with differentiated products. The struggle against coronary diseases, cholesterol levels, and obesity date back to the 1970's. A research made by United States Committee on Nutrition in order to understand the reasons uprising obesity and coronary diseases publishes a document called "Dietary Goals for the United States". The research shows that the abundance period after the Second World War made expensive food products like meat, dairy products, sugar and fats much more reachable than before. On the other hand, lots of other nations who follow traditional diets observe much lower rates of these chronic diseases. (Pollan, 2007) The major source of showing the connection between traditional diets and low coronary disease rates are conducted by Ancel Keys between the 1960's and 1970's. In 1980, he would collect all those studies in a book called "Seven Countries: A Multivariate Analysis of Death and Coronary Heart Disease". According to Pollan, the committee was planning to suggest Americans to consume less red meat and dairy products. However, the pressure coming from the food companies did not let the committee publish such report and made a change on the emphasis of the report and turned it into "Choose meats, poultry, and fish that will reduce saturated-fat intake." (Pollan, 2007) This small change in emphasis was the first step of a structural change in "the healthy food" notion of United States and afterward-whole world. By this change, the method of conscious nourishment has turned into a scientific method, which can be called as "nutritionism". With this new notion, "the healthy nourishment" comes with consuming "low fat", "diet" or "heart friendly" foodstuff.

Even though important scientific studies had been running in the same years, Ancel Keys was accepted as a pioneer biologist in United States by the researches he had conducted about the relation between food consumption habits and coronary disease. Even though his studies have carried himself on the cover of Time magazine, his studies have been ignored. After years of studies on different diet habits around the world, he had reached the facts that the Mediterranean diet is the healthiest diet around the world. He summarized his studies in a book called “How to Eat Well and Stay Well the Mediterranean Way”. By Mediterranean way, he means “rich in vegetables, fruit, fish, bread, and pasta with moderate amounts of dairy products and wine, and large quantities of olive oil”. (Mueller, 2013, p. 206)

However, a simple solution like “consuming less meat and more vegetables” would not be a profitable solution for the big food producers. Instead, they have advertised and promoted their differentiated products solution for the health diseases and increasing obesity and fulfilled the market with skimmed milk, diet, heart friendly, vitamin addition, and so on foodstuff.

### **3.3.1. Rise of Ecologic and Healthy Food Industry:**

Diet and healthy food industry, which started in the 1960’s have reached a top point in the 2000’s in the world. Also, ecologic and organic food industries, which have an opposition to the existing industrial food industry, also have turned into an industry and participated in the new fashion of consumption habits. By the 2000’s, the Turkish food market was not a follower of 20 years later but it is deeply bounded up with the recent market. So, the new trends like ecologic and organic food market became the new trends in Turkey quite rapidly.

These new trends around ecologic, organic and healthy foods have created an individual market rapidly. And obviously, there was no place for margarine in these

new consumption trends. Osman Nuri Koçtürk's discourse about margarine and coronary diseases started to be discussed more in by medical doctors and public health specialists the 1990's. After the record-breaking sales of Sana margarine in 1990 the sales fell down regularly. (İbar, 2015, p. 305)

While margarine cannot find a place on its own in the new ecologic and healthy food industry, big food companies -either international or local- showed three individual reactions against this new trend. The first reaction was claiming that their product is different, more special and healthier than the other ones. The second reaction was cutting down the advertisement budgets of margarine and spending the energy on industrial sales like restaurants and cafeterias. The third reaction was increasing the investments on olive oil and butter production, therefore finding methods to produce them for cheaper prices and grab a bigger piece on the new "natural" fat and oil market. As a result of increasing penetration of foreign investment in the food market, and change of consumption patterns at the same time, we observe a big change hand of food brands and production facilities between big -foreign or local- companies starting from the end of the 1980's to today.

This period starts with the barter of Aymar margarines owned by Koç Holding bartered with Dosan conserved food factory and Fidan brand owned by Unilever. Then, Unilever buying 51% of olive oil brand Komili in 1992 and the rest 49% in 1995, Ülker buying Unilever's margarine factory in Adana in 1995, Unilever buying Bestfoods in 2000, Beşir Özyürt (raw material supplier of Aymar) buying the trademark and production facilities of Aymar in 2002, Soros Investment buying the trademark and production facilities of sunflower oil brand Sırma, corn oil brand Yudum and olive oil brand Komili in 2003, National Bank of Kuwait buying the same three brands in 2007, Cargill buying the oldest margarine brand Turyağ in 2014 can be counted as a few examples of the big trading period of fat and oil market in Turkey. It would not be

reasonable to claim that this period has ended, but probably the commodities in the market will continue to be tracing hands in the short future.

The biggest change in this period, which became more visible by the 2000's is, the urbanized and upped-middle consumers changing consumption habits into foods like butter and oil that they assume more "natural" and "organic". Of course, the naturalness and health effects of the foods produced in an industrial scale are controversial. In addition, a huge amount of research and scholar claims that the margarine, which the people refuse to buy, are creeping back by the milk, cream, cheese, fast food, and catering industries. But these arguments and scholars will not be discussed in this dissertation considering the huge size of the topic<sup>39</sup>.

### **3.4. Conclusion:**

This chapter starts with a general overview of the economic policies of the early years of Turkish Republic in order to have a deeper understanding of the food market. The studies show us that the food market acted in continuity with the Ottoman period and had been dependent on small producers like local diaries, small farms, slaughterhouses, etc. during the early years of the Republic. Also, in the early years, the nutrition policies of the state have found the solution on establishing several SEE's for sustaining staples such as meat, fish, milk and other dairy goods, sugar, tobacco, vegetables to the citizens at an affordable price. By these policies the state was not aiming to solve the food security problems but also creating jobs for the citizens nationwide, regulating the food market and sustaining the fundamental foodstuff for affordable prices. Nevertheless,

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<sup>39</sup> Readers looking for more information about the impacts of industrialized organic food market can check "Big Organic" chapter of "Omnivore's Dilemma" written by Michael Pollan. Also for more information about the creeping back of the fats which refused by the consumers, readers can check "Salt, Fat, Sugar" written by Michael Moss.

the food market kept on being dependent on small producers spread around the country both in the urban and countryside.

By the end of the Second World War, a set of changes has started in the food market in Turkey. For the stateside, the most important development was the food aid received from the United States by Marshall Plan; later on, cheap foodstuff under the Public Law 480 and finally high yielding seeds of Green Revolution. For the market side, the biggest change was the establishment of the margarine factory in Istanbul with the partnership of global food company Unilever and a local bank İş Bankası. This was not an important development about fat and oil market in Turkey, but also a massive impact of the nationwide food market because non-of the food companies have created such distribution network or run such big marketing campaigns before. As mentioned by Ayhan Şenlik, Unilever has shaped the advertising, transportation, press and media industries starting from 1950's in Turkey.

Unilever played a crucial role in introducing margarine to Turkish consumers. Nationwide introduction and tasting events, advertisements in newspapers, magazines, and billboards played an important role in the early years. Also, the company had the opportunity of promoting the margarine in Turkey. Unlike the association with poverty European countries, margarine has been associated with westernization, high technology, and modernism in Turkey by the chance of the British and Dutch roots of Unilever. Besides, the company has highlighted these specifications frequently in the advertisements along with the health, nutritional values and motherhood notions, which have let margarine become a very fundamental staple in the whole country. Finally, the indulgence of Turkish people to butter coming from the historic roots, margarine's ability to imitate butter successfully and the cheap prices compared to butter have very important roles in this success of Unilever to dominate the fat market in Turkey.

By 1970's Unilever faced three obstacles independent from each other. First of all, the cardiovascular health concerns around the saturated fat consumption started to be discussed in media and the public opinion. Since the margarine has the biggest portion of the market, the discussion mostly shaped around the margarine. Besides, the health concerned oppositions about margarine were combined with anti-western and anti-American policies because the establishment of Unilever was completed right after the Marshall Aid and also in the first years Unilever's production has been possible by the consumption of cottonseed oil imported from the United States under the treatment of P.L. 480. Second obstacle was local entrepreneur's investments in the margarine industry after Unilever have succeeded to introduce this new foodstuff to the country. Losing the monopolistic market was not only a problem for sharing the customers but also sharing the limited raw materials was a problem for the company. The limitedness of the raw material takes us to the third obstacle. The oil shock in 1973 in continuation of Yom Kippur War and Turkey's invasion of Cyprus and following embargo have resulted as an important shortage of daily consumption goods based on imports. The most impactful shortages in the public's eye were the lack of bottled LPG gas and margarine. The shortage has resulted in having long queues for the people demanding LPG gas bottles and margarine was a significant scene of 1970's and Unilever was accused of these shortages most of the time.

From the 1980's to nowadays, we witness several important changes in the food market. First and foremost, the deregulation of the market, rise of international capital in the food market, increase of supermarketization and Fordist consumption habits in accordance. Deregulation of the market starts with the 24<sup>th</sup> of January decisions in 1980, which allows the penetration of international capital into national industries. Of course, the food market and therefore the consumption habits receive a huge impact on the new actors of the market. Yet, the most important impact has appeared within the early 2000's by the rise of ecologic and organic consumption pattern.

Increasing obesity and cardiovascular diseases around the globe and forthcoming climate crisis have caused a big change in the perception of food and consumption habits around the global market. Within the 2000's we can witness a huge rise in the demand for ecologic, organic and healthy food consumption which the same fashion has surrounded the consumers in Turkey as well. In the new trend, unnatural foods like margarine do not symbolize the affluence and modern lifestyle anymore, but the old consumption patterns are highly appreciated. New diet approaches like "Mediterranean Diet" of Ancel Keys from the 1940's and "Paleo Diet" of Robert C. Atkins from the 1970's are much appreciated than the calorie counting, rational nutrition programs.

The arguments about the health impacts of margarine, new diet approaches, and lack of appreciation of modern food production systems have caused a fall in margarine sales in retail since the 1990's. After this period many margarine producers have closed down, invested in professional sales such as hotels, cafes, restaurants, catering companies, etc. and started to invest in butter and olive oil production. However, the biggest producer in Turkey, Unilever keeps advertising for end users even though they spend much less effort than the previous years. The next chapter aims to follow the rise and fall of the margarine sector through the television advertisements of Unilever.

#### **4. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FIVE UNILEVER MARGARINE ADVERTISEMENTS:**

This chapter is going to conduct a comparative analysis of five different television advertisements of Unilever's margarine brands broadcasted in Turkish TV channels. The study aims to have a deeper understanding of the aforementioned marketing know-how of Unilever, which allows the company have great economic success since it entered into the market. The comparative analysis will include five different advertisements broadcasted in different decades starting from the first TV advertisement that Unilever broadcasted in 1972.

The study aims to develop an understanding of the progress of the communication strategies of the company through decades while the consumer habits, market conditions, economic conditions of the country, people's opinion about margarine change in time. Also, the chapter will study the highlighted features of their products according to the new developments and changes in public opinions about margarine and general consumption habits of foodstuff.

In order to study the impacts of the advertisement and understand the developments of communication strategies in historical context, the chapter includes five different television advertisements of Unilever, and each advertisement will symbolize one decade. The comparative analysis between five different TV advertisements will be analyzed through the symbolization of family, symbolization of housewife, and deconstruction of messages that advertisement aims to forward. The advertisements are chosen to exemplify the market strategies in 1970's, 2000's and 2010's are from Sana, 1980's is a Vita advertisement, and 1990's is a Becel advertisement. All the Sana

advertisements were found from the Youtube account of Sana Türkiye<sup>40</sup> and single Vita<sup>41</sup> and Becel<sup>42</sup> advertisements were found from nostalgic advertisement accounts.

#### **4.1. Theoretical Background of Advertisements**

Before starting the comparative analysis of the Unilever margarine advertisements, it would be helpful to start the discussion from the theoretical background of consumerism, advertisements, and marketing. Many scholars studying around and advertisements are agreed around the comment that consumerism is not only based on consuming the goods that needed by the consumer, but it relies on consuming a set of symbols, objects, and values. (Baudrillard, 1999, p. 77) (Yenal, 2000, p. 161) (Dağtaş, 2012, p. 77) Through the advertisements, any goods or services can be fulfilled with symbols and meanings beyond their intrinsic value and let the consumers satisfy their desires by the meanings and symbols along with the use-values. As advertisements are the major tools for penetrating into consumers' perception it needs a set of tools. According to Gillian Dyer, these tools are the shared cultures.

“[C]ommunicator and receiver share a common culture or common frame of reference. The advertiser employs language, images, ideas and values drawn from the culture, and assembles a message, which is fed back into the culture. Both communicator and receiver are products of the culture -they share its meanings.” (Dyer, 2009, p. 9)

Stuart Ewen takes this idea a step further and claims that the development of consumerism has exceeded the “sharing a culture” but it reconstructed the shared culture. He claims that the industry has created a new definition of family, which

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<sup>40</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/user/sanabirtarifimvar1>

<sup>41</sup> <https://youtu.be/iHOMrjd743c>

<sup>42</sup> <https://youtu.be/GwuNwfbaoQg?t=1332>

“would mesh with the gears of the productive machine”. (Ewen, 2001, p. 113) As an example, he shows the works performed by Christine Frederick, a home economist, business strategist and also a pioneer of the concept of advertising to women. Frederick, had written several manual books for advertisers and manufacturers guiding for usage of special methods for selling more products to housewives. The books like “The New Housekeeping: Efficiency Studies in Home Management”, “Meals That Cook Themselves and Cut the Costs”, “Household Engineering” and the most famous one “Selling Mrs. Consumer” are a few of them. (Rutherford, 2003) One important discovery of Frederick’s was “a direct and vital business interest in the subject of young love and marriage” (Ewen, 2001, p. 134) eventually turned into a big promotion of young and happy marriages and their portrayal in advertisements.

The fundamental working method of advertisements realizes through adding extra values on the commodities and aestheticizing the commodities through these values. The additional value has been referred as “exchange value” by Adorno and “sign value” by Baudrillard in the upcoming years. Adorno draws attention to the soaring dominance of exchange value against the original use-value and lets the use-value to become secondary in time. (Featherstone, 2007, p. 66) The highlighting of additional value can be implemented through the aestheticization of everyday life. It is central for development of consumer culture. (Featherstone, 2007, p. 67) In an introduction to communication book, Ünsal Oskay gives an example of additional value usage through an exemplified margarine advertisement:

“A margarine advertisement with a lead character who is a neat housewife, sensitive about her husband’s needs, considers the livelihood of her house would involve the thoughts and concerns of the receiver about marriage and womanhood as much as their thoughts and concerns about the margarines and margarine brands into her decision of consumption. (...) That is the exact reason we don’t advertise margarine as a simple foodstuff but with a set of

verbal and visual codification, exaggerated emotional values, inside of a well-furnished apartment consumed by a happy family with healthy and plenty children. The main reason for preparing such discourse is, selling the margarine through ‘the happiness of family’ and ‘long-lived appeal of a prudent housewife’.” (Oskay, 2019, pp. 28 - 29)

Another approach propounded by John Fiske -borrowed by Barthes and Levi-Strauss- suggests us to look at the myths to understand the core meanings of advertisements. He states that the advertisements are commonly inspired by the primitive myths and they are prone to use the tools of myths such as archetypes or struggles between dualities etc. In addition, our contemporary culture creates myths as well and they are also commonly used by the advertisements because the myths are an easy and powerful method to convey a message directly.

“A myth is a story by which a culture explains or understands some aspect of reality or nature. Primitive myths are about life and death, men and gods, good and evil. Our sophisticated myths are about masculinity and femininity, about the family, about the success, about the British policeman, about science. A myth, for Barthes, is a culture’s way of thinking about something, a way of conceptualizing or understanding it.” (Fiske, 2002, p. 88)

The advertisements of oils and fats mostly direct their messages to housewives. So, it would be helpful to take a look at the family notion in the context of advertising. Family as a target market to an advertisement, also family -along with love, motherhood, caring, etc.- as a representation in the advertisements. “Family is a Gestalt;” says Aydan Gülerce, “which means more than the sum of its members, just like a synergy.” (Alagöz, 2004, p. 21) In the post-Fordist period, the market conditions and advertisement business identify the nuclear family is an organizational form gathered

around the organization of production and consumption entails, and home as an arena primarily of consumption. (Ewen, 2001, p. 135)

According to Ewen, romanticism is a profitable weapon against an outmoded authority used by businessmen in favor of a new one. (Ewen, 2001, p. 134) Again, Christine Frederick appears as the actor drawing attention to romantic feelings, love of family and women's role in the family as a tool service in advertisement business. "The extension of credit to the family, she argued, would not only increase the ability to consume, but would also subsidize the home role of women who should, she felt, direct much of this consumption." (Ewen, 2001, p. 135)

Young and happy couple is one of the most exploited stereotypes by the food industry, especially in margarine advertisements. Whether the role model happy couple is portrayed together in the kitchen or at the dinner table, or the women alone in the kitchen, the receiver can understand that she is in a happy relationship with her husband, who is not in the house yet. After the happy couple -or happy family-, the second most used notion is motherhood. Love of the mother, ability of caring, protecting the infants from unseen dangers in the house such as germs, or supplying unseen benefits to them such as vitamins, minerals or nutritional values through the advertised commodities.

#### **4.2. Comparative Analysis of Unilever Margarine Advertisements on Television:**

This chapter will study the comparative analysis of Unilever's margarine advertisements broadcasted on television. The analysis aims to have a deeper understanding of the marketing know-how of the company, which assumed to be beyond the standards of a regular advertising agency in Turkey especially in the early years of company's entrance into the Turkish market. Since, the entrance of television

to Turkey is in 1968 (Aksoy & Batmaz, 1995, p. 3) and the first advertisements on television was broadcasted in 1972 (Tokgöz, 1982, p. XVI) my comparative analysis will start from 1970's and analyze one television advertisement for every decade until 2010's. Each decade's individual advertisement will be analyzed through the discourse used in the advertisement and also in the conditions of the time period. The exemplified advertisements have been chosen according to their representation power of the main stream messages of each decade. The study aims to develop an insight about the communication strategies of the company and understand the ability to develop an attitude towards conditions of the specific time periods, and how these attitudes show an alteration for different conditions in different time periods.

The advertisements, which will be analyzed below, meet on several common grounds. First of all, all the advertisements have a strong emphasis on family notion. In all the advertisements the main character is a woman. She appears as a housewife in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's advertisements. In 2000's advertisement she is a grandmother and in 2010's advertisement she is a guest of a housewife who cooks with Sana. Also, all the advertisements highlight the emotional benefits much more than the functional benefits of the specific margarine brands.

#### **4.2.1. Unilever Margarine Advertisement in the 1970's:**

The broadcasting of advertisements in TV started on 1972 in Turkey. Also, the first advertisement of Unilever products (Sana) was broadcasted in 1972. (URL-1) So, we can say that Unilever is one of the first advertisers in Turkey. It is not a surprise considering that Unilever is one of the biggest advertisers in the whole world along with Procter & Gamble since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The advertisement is a one-shot film and we see only the hands of the characters. The work can be seen as a progressive advertisement because it doesn't use a dictating and

suggesting language unlike most of the early advertisements but instead, it shows a sweet love story between a young and happy couple. The film starts with showing the hands of a housewife cooking for her husband. All the appetizing food products are aligned on the kitchen bench and waiting to be prepared for the food. Also, some kitchen appliance shows up too during the pan of the camera highlighting the domestic values of the environment. Later, the audiences hear the man's voice and see his hands on the kitchen bench too. He drops the bread onto the bench and they start a daily conversation showing the audience that man just came back from work with a loaf of bread.

While the married couple has the daily conversation, the camera follows the hands, and the hands move around the package of Sana. First, the woman puts a piece of Sana into the pot while she is cooking a dish. Then, the man pulls the Sana package in front of him and spread it on bread and eats. The advertisement highlights that Sana can be consumed as both in the dish or as a spread on the bread. Since, the entrance to the Turkish market, the brand has highlighted the double-barreled usage area very often. Second time he tries to eat some bread with Sana spread on it, the wife holds his hand to prevent because she is cooking. Holding hand turns into a romantic gesture and the voice-over gives the message: "Sana, happy family's margarine."



*Figure 23 Sana (1972) – Hands of a happy and young couple in the kitchen.*

As mentioned in the theoretical background of advertisements, the emphasis of romantic love and happy marriage is highly used in margarine advertisements. This advertisement is a fundamental example of the usage romantic love and happy

marriage. As also mentioned in the previous chapter, Christine Frederick has an important role in shaping the marketing strategies and advertisements in general, suggest the brands to shape the message of foodstuff advertisements to women instead of men. Because of women's more active role in domestic life, they are in charge of buying the foodstuff. In her words: "Woman is of course powerful in buying largely because of her secondary position to man. (...) She takes charge of supplies largely for the very reason that she can't lead the forces in the field." (Rutherford, 2003, p. 146)

Besides the romantic love between young couple, middle-class symbols are also highlighted in the advertisement. As we understand from his wrists, the husband is wearing a suit, hence working in a white-collar job and carrying bread to home wrapped in paper. Also, countertop stoves were the rising middle-class symbols of Turkey in the 1970's. (Onaran, 2015, p. 43) Maybe, the only missing part of an aestheticized middle-class life in this advertisement is happy children. They can be excluded to keep the story simpler or to improve the "young and modern" emphasis of the advertisement. In his studies, Ewen mentions that consumer society creates a lifestyle illusion on people through the goods they consume. (Dağtaş, 2008, p. 23) This idea can tell us the intensive usage of upper middle-class symbols all around the advertisement and putting Sana margarine into middle of them.

#### **4.2.2. Unilever Margarine Advertisement in the 1980's:**

The lead character of this advertisement is Zeynep Değirmencioğlu also known as Ayşecik (Little Ayşe) a precocious child star of Yeşilçam. (URL-2) Ayşecik was a well-known film series in 1960's. The movies were based on the adventures of a clever, precocious, friendly but prankster little girl. In the advertisement, Ayşecik grows up and becomes a lovely housewife. The watchers know Ayşecik's childhood years and how she makes the correct decisions to get rid of the troubles, and now they see her as

a housewife. She speaks as a natural authority and she prefers to cook with Vita all the time.

The advertisement starts with a short sequence of an *Ayşecik* movie as a reminder. Then, we see Zeynep Değirmencioğlu watching an *Ayşecik* movie from television in the house with her children. Değirmencioğlu directly speaks to the audience. First, she identifies herself and says “I have grown up and became a housewife.” She continues her monologue with the audience while she cooks. Tells how much everyone adores her dish and the role of Vita fats for the deliciousness of her dish. Simultaneously the film focuses on close up shootings so the audience can be eyewitnesses to her success. Meanwhile, her children smell the cooked dish and come to the kitchen. She offers one to her children and the audience hears the voiceover “Vita, the taste living in our mouths from yesterday to today.”



*Figure 24 Vita (1984) – Zeynep Değirmencioğlu cooking with Vita.*

When Değirmencioglu offers some food to her children, her son gives a flower in return. So, she gets a reward because she cooks delicious food. A video prepared by Unilever's head office and distributed to marketing departments attracts attention to a reality that “Mothers feel frustrated and demotivated because they feel that they are seen as servants in the family.” The flower shows us a mother being appreciated by her family because she cooks delicious food with the opportunity of using Vita. It is another secret successful part of this campaign produced under the courtesy of Unilever’s supervisory.

The advertisement is entirely filled with motherhood and caring messages. Although surprisingly there is no single reference for health, nutritional values or any pediatric development issues. She speaks as a powerful symbol of mother’s pride and family praise. Değirmencioglu only speaks about the deliciousness of her foods, how they are appreciated both by her children and also adults. It looks like a simple suggestion from a housewife to another. But the audience knows this housewife since she was a little girl, which strengthens the connection between the mediator and audience. The slogan of the advertisement is also a simple recognition of the product. “Vita, the taste living in our mouths from yesterday to today.” It doesn’t promise anything new, contrarily it highlights the stableness of the product.

#### **4.2.3. Unilever Margarine Advertisement in the 1990’s:**

The prominent Unilever advertisement in the 1990’s is from Becel. (URL-3) As mentioned in the previous chapters, Becel margarine stands out with the health benefits especially for the benefits for cardiovascular health between the margarine products. Name of the brand comes from the abbreviation of “Blood Cholesterol Lowering” and all the advertisements of Becel are based on lowering blood cholesterol and caring for the health of the heart. Unlike most of the margarine advertisements, the analyzed advertisement doesn’t promise anything about the cooking performance, taste or the

economic advantages of Becel margarines. The only issue is health and the joy of life as related to a healthy body.

The advertisement is based on two parts. The first part educates the audience about how to create healthy lifestyle care for their cardiovascular system. The second part tells why Becel is the best option for fat consumption in this healthy lifestyle. Giving the health messages about the cardiovascular system in a broader context strengthens the advertisement's position as an educator. The consumption of the brand becomes entitled to a healthy lifestyle. The mentioned healthy lifestyle suggestions are decreasing the stress in life, no smoking, having more exercises (climbing ladders instead of escalators), and more conscious of healthy nutrition. The fundamentals of the previous suggestions increase the impact of the last suggestion, which is preferring Becel for daily consumption of fats.



*Figure 25 Becel (1995) – First part of Becel advertisement.*

The second part of the advertisement promotes Becel margarines as a subsidiary to a healthy lifestyle. The housewife mentions the ratio of saturated and unsaturated fats in Becel and how Becel helps to control the cholesterol ratio in the body. Meanwhile, the

audience sees the plastic package of Becel and spreading it on a slice of bread easily and finally a red pedestrian traffic light turning into green which can give a lot of messages to the audience. Moving forward, walking as an exercise, the reverse of embolism, continuing to live, etc. Since the audience finds themselves as the student in this advertisement, they are much open to such direct messages.

The audience see the husband most of the time, but it is the wife who speaks to the audience as a voiceover. Which gives us the husband-care messages. As known, cardiovascular health problems are one of the biggest health problems in Turkey, especially between men. So, the advertisement addresses the message to housewives as the buyer of household consumption goods and let them consider their husbands' health while shopping.



*Figure 26 Becel (1995) – Second part of Becel advertisement.*

Besides the healthy lifestyle, two more indicators draw attention: first, the above-average income of the family. Becel consuming family is the richest family between the advertisements portrays analyzed in this dissertation. They live in a house with a big garden, both the wife and husband are portrayed as white-collar workers and they

appear in events with tuxedos. The usage of wealthy and happy family images plenty times shows us the increasing importance of lifestyle in the advertisements instead of the functions of the advertised food supply. Secondly, the father figure: Father prepares drinks for the family and they play volleyball all together in the garden. He is a part of the household, unlike the other margarine advertisement characters. Briefly, the Becel consuming family looks good, lives good and they are in an emotional harmony as the whole family.

#### **4.2.4. Unilever Margarine Advertisement in the 2000's:**

As we reach to 2000's years, the specialties of margarine like being new, modern, and western are left behind a long time ago and it started to be associated with poverty just like it has been in European countries since the 1950's. (URL-4) Furthermore, the health problems related to margarine have been discussed in the media for a long time. Briefly, margarine is not favored in public opinion anymore and the sales for the end-users keep on decreasing. For all these reasons, Unilever's new advertisement strategy is based on melancholia against the disappearance of margarine from the table, therefore associate the disappearance of margarine with nostalgic feelings.

Researches show us that nostalgia gives a sense of continuity and meaning to people, as they get older. People tend to remember the old times better than they are and "compare the past with present and saying implicitly that the past was better –'those were the days'. (Tierney, 2013) The studies find the reason of craving of the past as a reaction against the accelerating technology and the fast changes in the fundamentals of social lives. (Huysen, 1994, p. 7) The analyzed Unilever advertisement does not crave the past looking from today, but it has created a past of today looking from a dystopic future of 150 years later.

The advertisement starts with a dystopic future apprehension of Istanbul in 2153. There is an exaggerated emphasis on a robotic future in the ambiance. All the color tones are cold; there is a disturbing background voice and a huge amount of digital voice effects. We see buildings rise as the years pass from 2003 to 2153 and the only unchanging structure of the city is Bosphorous Bridge. As the years reach 2153 the camera focus in a house and the audience see a nuclear family on a dinner table in. The family is composed of twin sisters, one big brother, mother, father, and grandmother. As we see in the advertisement, in the dystopic future humanized feelings are no longer welcome. This includes the warm relations between the family, in which all the margarine advertisements depend on. The older family members get, they seem less adjusted to the dystopic future. Youngest twin sisters speak simultaneously in a robotic voice. The older brother doesn't speak but tries to eat with his hand. The mother hits him slightly and warns him. Father deeply craves the old-time foods, and grandmother protests everything about this time period.



*Figure 27 Sana (2003) – Dystopic future apprehension of Sana advertisement.*

The main theme of the advertisement is the unpleasant food technology. In the dystopic future, people are nourished with food capsules instead of real foods. Young members of the family don't have a problem with capsules. The father craves the old-time foods, but he keeps up with the new technology and eats his capsule with an electronic fork like a light saber. However, the grandmother protests this new technology, repeatedly mentions that they are not foods but they are just capsules.

The grandmother symbolizes the nostalgia of today. She is portrayed in front of a screen which shows a scene of nature which looks like a wall carpet like commonly used in the houses of Anatolian villages, she knits while argues with the family and she argues with the doorkeeper which is inappropriate in the dystopic future where human interactions are very limited.

By the end of the dystopic future scenes, the times go back to 2003 and we see the same family having a picnic next to a lake. Everybody is very happy and enjoying the food and eating with appetite. The colors turn into warm tones and happy music behind. The voiceover also carries a nostalgic feeling for the people of Turkey. A very well-known television anchor Halit Kıvanç says: "Since there is time, and there is the taste of Sana in this country, Enjoy Eating!"<sup>43</sup>



*Figure 28 Sana (2003) – Dinner tables of dystopic future and happy nowadays.*

<sup>43</sup> In Turkish: "Hazır vakit varken, bu ülkede de Sana lezzeti varken. Yaşasın Yemek Yemek!"

Since the very first days, Unilever has been advertising its own products with modernism, technology, and progressive values. By 2000's, we see a change in the brand's positioning. Now, the brand positions itself as an institutional foodstuff and a value. The brand reminds the consumers that eating is not only getting nourished but it is a set of good feelings like the joy of cooking, serving, tasting, and sharing. The advertisement associates these good feelings with Sana and warns the consumers with the danger of losing these feelings while losing Sana. Briefly, losing Sana is associated with losing the joy of eating.

The dystopic future can also be interpreted as a symbol of dieting. Advertisement aims to alienate dieting and the uprising dietary habits and promotes the joy of eating against while associating it with Sana. Of course, symbolizing a foodstuff that can only be produced in technologic factories with the past and nostalgia is a bit oxymoron. However, we can see this advertisement as a fighting retreat strategy of a foodstuff, which is about to wipe out from the end-user market.

#### **4.2.5. Unilever Margarine Advertisement in the 2010's:**

The last advertisement of the comparative analysis part of this dissertation is also an advertisement of Sana. (URL-5) At this period, the margarine market for the end-users keeps on decreasing. Just like the example of the 2000's, in 2010's Sana leans on the powerful impact of nostalgia in advertising. However, this time it is not the nostalgia of today over the dystopic future, but it is using the nostalgic feelings of current customers to old days which the consumption rates of Sana was much higher. As mentioned in the Unilever Margarine Advertisement in 2000's chapter, the rising technology and fast changes on the lifestyles make people crave for the past where things seem much easier and remember the past better than it was. So, in this advertisement, Sana is represented as a constituent of the "good old days".

The advertisement starts with a sequence of preparing and baking of cookies with Sana. Behind the visuals, the audience hears a jingle transformed from a famous pop song from 1990's "Sana Demedim mi?" (Didn't I Tell You) from Mansur Ark but the lyrics are turned into "Sana yemedin mi? / Bu lezzetle sen de büyümedin mi?" (Didn't you eat Sana? / Didn't you grow up with this taste?). The song is the first attempt to trigger the nostalgic feelings of the audience. Within the baking scene, the cookies come to a dinner table of a family and guests. Our lead character is a young lady, appears as one of the guests but a bit alien to the environment at the table. She tries to make a place for herself between two fat and cheerful ladies who are laughing all the time. She takes a bite from the cookies baked with Sana and suddenly the taste transports her to her happy childhood memories, which she was eating a cookie baked with Sana.

The strength of taste and smell for triggering the old memories and inducing nostalgia was mentioned in the first book of *In Search of Lost Time, Swann's Way* written by Marcel Proust. In the book, the narrator was also sent back to his childhood by the specific taste of a sweet baked product, madeleines.

"No sooner had the warm liquid mixed with the crumbs touched palate than a shiver ran through me and I stopped, intent upon the extraordinary thing that was happened to me. (...) Undoubtedly what is thus palpitating in the depths of my being must be the image, the visual memory which, being linked to that taste, is trying to follow into my conscious mind. (...) And suddenly the memory revealed itself. The taste was that of the little piece of madeleine which on Sunday mornings at Combray (because on those mornings I did not go out before mass), when I went to say good morning to her in her bedroom, my aunt Léonie used to give me, dipping it first in her own cup of tea or tisane." (Proust, 1992, pp. 60 - 63)

Just like the narrator of Swann’s Way, the main character of the advertisement finds herself in her childhood right after she takes a bite from the cookie. Also, in her memories, she sits between two fat and cheerful ladies (acted by same actresses but dressed in 80’s fashion) where again there is no space for her to sit in a housewife gathering. Additively, those housewife gathering events (in Turkish they are called “Gün” and they are the mainstream socializing vents of housewives in urban) are quite strong nostalgic memories of an ordinary person who have been a child between the 1950’s and 1990’s.

In addition to Proust’s reference, the scene of reviving of childhood memories through taste is an exact copy of a scene used in a feature-length animation movie called *Ratatouille* (2007). First, her background becomes blurry, showing that she lost her perception with the existing space, then a close up shows the growing pupils and the camera zooms out getting out of her young version’s eye and shows her eating the same foodstuff.



Figure 29 Sana (2019) – Reviving the childhood memories through taste.



*Figure 30 Ratatouille (2007) – Reviving the childhood memories through taste.*

### **4.3. Conclusion**

This chapter analyzes five Unilever margarine advertisement examples each from successive decades. TV advertisements are being broadcasted in Turkey since 1972 - also the first advertisement of Sana was broadcasted in the same year- so, the chapter does not include the raising awareness campaigns in 1950's and 1960's but it only shows the TV advertisements of a relatively known foodstuff starting from 1972. The newspaper advertisements and events in public spheres in the 1950's and 1960's were mentioned in the previous chapter. So, this chapter is only based on the comparative analysis of TV advertisements between 1972 and 2019.

The comparative analysis of TV advertisements aims to understand the business success that Unilever achieved in Turkey and the reactions against the changing conditions around the perception of household, food consumption habits, perception of family, the symbols of affluence, etc. In each decade the social life conditions of Turkey have varied several changes. It is possible to observe several changes in symbolization of margarine through years according to the necessities of time.

It is not surprising that all the analyzed advertisements are targeted at women and all the advertisements have a strong emphasis on the family notion. Motherhood role is not used in all advertisements, but it is definitely the most used one. Besides, we see the women in the roles of wife, grandmother or guest of the family as well. On the other hand, we see husbands or children as the approvers of the taste of the margarine as a reminder to the caretaker role of the mother.

When we look at the messages of all advertisements together, we can see that the functional benefits of margarine, like cooking performance, taste, affordability are mentioned in very small amount. Instead of the functional benefits, all the advertisements lean on emotional benefits like caring, love, trust, emotional harmony or nostalgia. I assume there can be two reasons for this decision. First of all, it is difficult to differentiate one margarine from the other based on the functional benefits. Because the margarine is a standard and well-defined product. The limits of what can be called as margarine and what cannot is strictly defined by food administrations. So, the tangible benefits between the brands are very limited and it makes it difficult to point out a benefit, which cannot be satisfied by other brands. Therefore, the margarine brands lean on the emotional benefits, which can be seen in details in the comparative analysis of advertisements. Secondly, a functional benefit can be easily imitated by another brand. However, the emotional commitment of a client to a brand cannot be imitated easily.

Between five advertisements, there are only two examples of showing the functional benefits of margarine. One is Vita advertisement broadcasted in 1984. In the advertisement, Zeynep Değirmencioğlu mentions that everyone loves the dish she cooks because of the fat she uses. Secondly, Becel advertisement broadcasted in 1995 is based on a functional benefit, which is health care. However, in both advertisements the health benefits are surrounded by emotional benefits like family harmony, mother care and husband care symbols.

The most significant data that comparative analysis of advertisements gives us is the crystal-clear breaking point after the advertisement of 1990. The first three advertisements are completely full of motherhood symbols and good feelings like love and caring. We observe lots of happy housewives who want the best for their beloved children and husbands. However, in the advertisement of the 2000's and 2010's the margarine is not associated with motherhood anymore, but it is a foodstuff for anyone to buy. In addition, in the 2000's and 2010's advertisements the products are advertised through the absence of margarine. For example, the unhappy dystopian family in 2003 Sana advertisement is unhappy because of the absence of real food which would be cooked with Sana margarine. Or in 2019 Sana advertisement, the lady who haven't consumed any margarine for a time period and she suddenly remembers her childhood as she tastes one after many years. It is not surprising that both advertisements are produced after the fall of margarine consumption.

## CONCLUSION

This dissertation aims to develop an understanding about under which conditions and with which methods foreign investment can create a change around a structured production, distribution and sales system of a foodstuff irrevocably and also the habits of consumers in a relatively short period like 30 years. The reason for choosing the food industry as the sample of this dissertation instead of other compulsory expenditures like garment or personal hygiene industries is, because the food carries lots of other factors with itself like meanings about belief systems, lifestyle meanings, enjoyment and pleasure, and also habits regarding the consumption and preparation of food. Which the pleasure and habit factors based on the taste, smell and sound of the food may be the most difficult factor to change between the ones counted above.

The reason in the choice of oils and fats between several different foodstuffs comes from the special condition of oils and fats from several different perspectives. The first and most importantly, consumption of oils and fats are vital for human body, however paradoxically they have been associated with luxury and privilege the whole time. The common point of the foods left for privileged ones in different societies are usually rich in fat dense. Besides, fats and oils play a crucial role in evolution of human; they also have a high capability of revealing the tastes of foods and make them tastier. On the other hand, accessibility to high quality and admirable fats and oils has always been limited. For all the reasons mentioned above, fats and oils have strong bonds with privilege and luxury notions since the hunter-gatherer societies.

Since, the societies get larger and urbanization increases, it has been more difficult to sustain enough oil and fats to increasing middle class in Europe. The solution to this deficiency has been created in France in 1869. A butter replacement called oleo-margarine (with the future innovations it named as margarine) made it possible to transform the undesired oils like palm oil, cotton seed oil, coconut oil, etc. into a

standard food product and consumed as margarine. Which was a revolutionary invention for sustaining food security and turning the fats into an affordable price for the increasing middle class. However, the ability of margarine to substitute butter for nutritiousness and health benefits is an arguable topic, but biologists and food scientists should discuss this topic, therefore it kept out of the study fields of this dissertation.

The essentialness of oils and fats for body and their ability to make foods tastier made kept them as a desirable food product for the whole history. This dissertation has outlined the impact of the aforementioned specialties of oils and fats on rituals of societies, games, belief systems and even the models of distinctions through time. Also, the dissertation has expanded to Abrahamic religions and studied how three Abrahamic religions position the fats and oils, how they symbolize the fats and oil, what they bless about the oils and fats and what they denigrate and forbid.

It wouldn't be reasonable to consider that the importance and symbolic meanings attributed to fats and oils are left behind in the history. Today still there are dozens of idioms and proverbs using oils and fats in Turkish language and nearly all of them associate the oils and fats with beauty, affluence or chance. It is possible to show some examples like "Feeding with fats and honey" (Hosting someone very good), "Oiling up"<sup>44</sup> (To suck up to someone), "One hand in butter, one hand in honey"<sup>45</sup> (Living in luxury), "Being oil and honey"<sup>46</sup> (Having a really good relationship), "Land on an oily door"<sup>47</sup> (Finding a place to benefit from), "Putting butter on one's bread"<sup>48</sup> (Making a favor for someone or creating a chance).

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<sup>44</sup> In Turkish: Yağcılık yapmak.

<sup>45</sup> In Turkish: Bir eli yağda bir eli balda.

<sup>46</sup> In Turkish: Yağlı ballı olmak.

<sup>47</sup> In Turkish: Yağlı kapıya konmak.

<sup>48</sup> In Turkish: Ekmeğine yağ sürmek.

For sure, all these proverbs trace back to Ottoman Empire times and not only oral culture but also the palatal delight is in continuation from Ottoman Empire into Modern Turkey. For this reason, the dissertation has studied also the fat and oil consumption patterns in the Ottoman Empire in time in order to develop an understanding about the consumption habits of Turkish Republic citizens. The survey showed us, which oils and fats come into prominence in different time periods, how the consumption patterns change through time, and what kind of production, distribution and sales networks were active. Studying the oil and fat consumption patterns during the Ottoman era enabled us to understand the successful adaptation of a new type of fat “margarine” in food culture in Modern Turkey.

As we move forward to the days of Turkish Republic, the dissertation had begun with the study of general food policies of the young Republic and how these new policies changed the consumption patterns and succeeded to impact the household consumptions. The studies show us that the mainstream policies regarding food was establishing state economic enterprises for food production so that the food production would be regulated, standardized, and became affordable with middle class budget. Even though the state followed a straight policy of establishing big SEEs for sustaining staples, the biggest portion of food production in Turkey have based on small scaled producers until 1980's.

By the end of the Second World War and with multi-party democracy beginning, the new elected government DP, loosen up the statist economic policies as promised. The liberal policies of DP have also affected the strategies conducted on food security. Unlike the previous period, the new government have decided to sustain the fat demand by cooperating with a transnational company for establishing a margarine factory in Turkey.

One of the biggest food and cleaning products producer Unilever who had visited Turkey in 1939 for searching a potential investment but had to abort the work because of the emerging Second World War. By the end of the war, the company had organized a second visit in 1949 and their second visit resulted in a big investment plan. This second visit and the consequences creates the backbone of this dissertation. The margarine factory of Unilever with the association of İş Bankası commenced production in 1953 and until 2000's it had produced the majority of the fats have been consumed in Turkey. The dissertation aimed to understand the reasons of the success of the company. How did a food product which people didn't even know it existed before came out to be the biggest consumable item in Turkey and which force tools made this success possible? Such that, in the 25<sup>th</sup> year of the company Turkey have faced a lack of margarine resulting from several different reasons caused very long queues in the streets of the people demanding to buy margarine anyhow, the old production, distribution and sales systems would be away from creating a solution probably because they were not existing anymore.

The dissertation tries to explain the commercial success with price advantage, the association of margarine with the notions like modernism, westernization, etc., and the marketing know-how of Unilever, which was beyond the average know-how in Turkey. However, all these advantages do not protect margarine from being wiped out of the end-user market in 2010's. Still, we can't see this as a failure to Unilever. Today, the company manages 24 end-user brands, which 11 of them are serving different types of differentiated foods like ice-cream, instant soup, tea, and margarine. Also, Unilever Turkey acts as an epicenter for managing 36 countries markets like Iran, Israel, Russia, and Middle-Asian countries. (Çetin, 2012, p. 243) The current situation is definitely a success story which can be praised by both Unilever headquarters and Unilever Turkey. Yet, the international commercial success of the company is also left aside of the dissertation.

Instead of Unilever's success in different business lines, the dissertation have focused on how Unilever struggles against regressing end-user margarine market so, it doesn't only analyze the marketing campaign of successful periods but also it has the chance to observe what kind of marketing strategies the company follows on a product which the sales decrease on a regular basis.

This dissertation can be seen as a preliminary research about how and with which methods TNC's can create big changes on structured systems and place themselves into those systems in order to profit. The study does not promise to analyze every aspect but it is limited to sample one TV advertisement to every decade in order to develop an insight about the changes of strategies. There are several topics can be studied around food production TNC's, fat and oil consumption habits, and the forces affecting these habits which left out of this dissertation. However, these topics can be studied in order to develop the debates around food production TNC's.

As a final word, I will count a few potential study topics, which had to left aside for focusing the major topic of this dissertation but they can and should be studied for us to understand the forces around food consumption habits controlled by TNC's.

- Return of the rejected foods like margarine with the help of take-home foods, restaurant, catering sectors and most importantly by organized adulteration applied by industrialized food producers.
- The relations of food aids received from United States and Europe and their relations with penetrating foreign investment.
- The loss of local knowledge, craftsmanship and therefore intangible cultural heritage around food production after the penetration of TNC's into the market. Also, the possibilities of revival of the information left behind.
- The rise of supermarketization in retail industry and how they adjunctly work together with food production TNC's.

- Working conditions of the laborers in the early TNC's and comparison with the other factories.
- Rise of the ecologic and organic food industries within 2000's by the increase of the concerns about climate crisis and health problems.
- Increase of the remigration between middle-class, educated and urbanized people and several enterprises established by these people for producing natural and local olive oil brands.
- The similarity between promotion of Fordist consumption patterns after 1950's and ecologic consumption patterns after 1990's.

The potential study topics mentioned above have showed up as questions while I was writing this dissertation. However, by taking into consideration of time, labor and focus economy, I had to leave these topics out. I hope, more studies around similar topics will let us understand this mechanism much better in the future.

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## **APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS**

**APPENDIX B: ONLINE LINKS OF THE ADVERTISEMENTS**

**APPENDIX C: DOCUMENTATION**



## **APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS**

Şenlik, Ayhan. Interview with former manager of Unilever Turkey. 30 January 2019

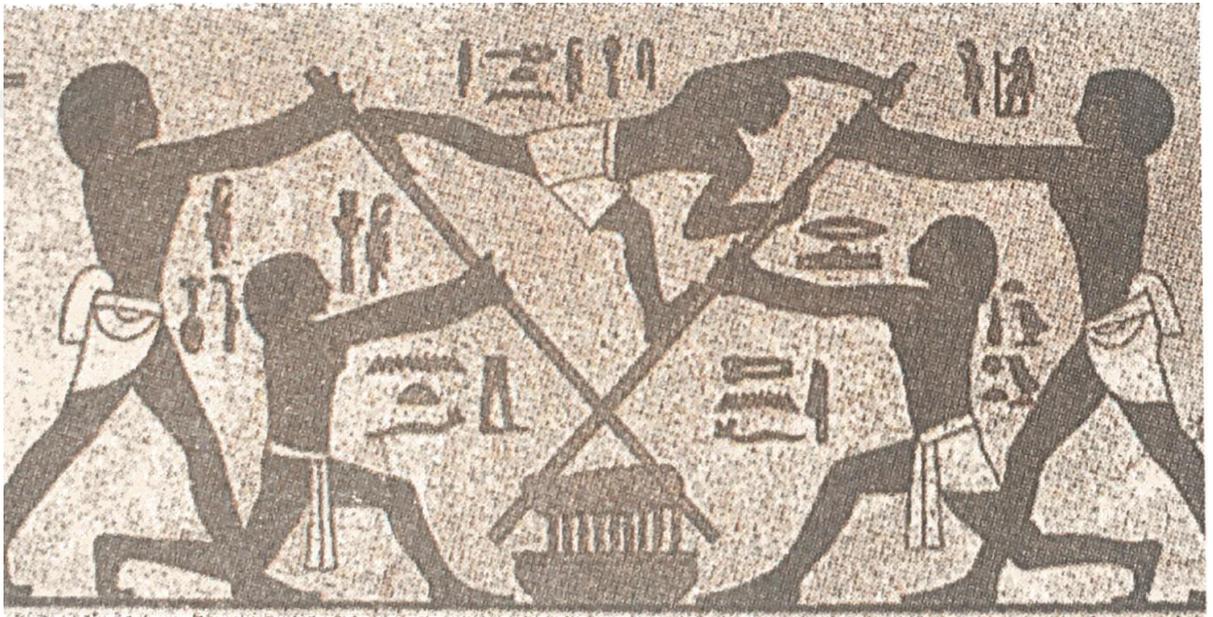


## APPENDIX B: ONLINE LINKS OF THE ADVERTISEMENTS

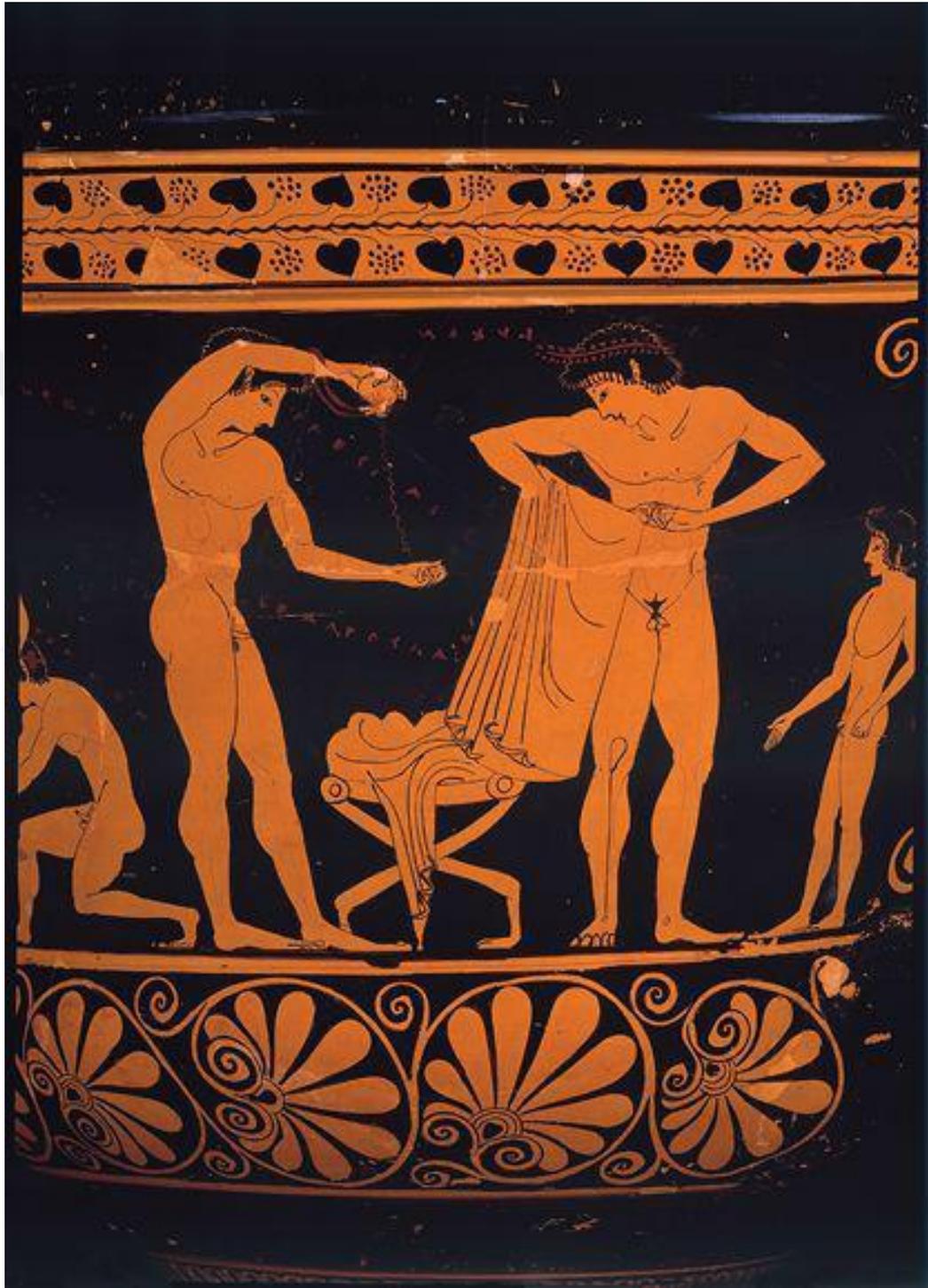
- URL-1. (2014, January 17). *Sana - Mutlu Ailenin Margarini*. Retrieved from Youtube: <https://youtu.be/HfBi5w0OoOQ>
- URL-2. (2017, June 03). *1984 Vita Reklamı Zeynep Değirmencioğlu Oynuyor* . Retrieved from Youtube: <https://youtu.be/iHOMrjd743c>
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## APPENDIX C: DOCUMENTATION

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*Appendix C 1 Pressing olive oil in Ancient Egypt. (Ünsal, 2016, p. 150)*



*Appendix C 2 Greek athletes oiling up before a competition. (Mueller, 2013, p. 348)*



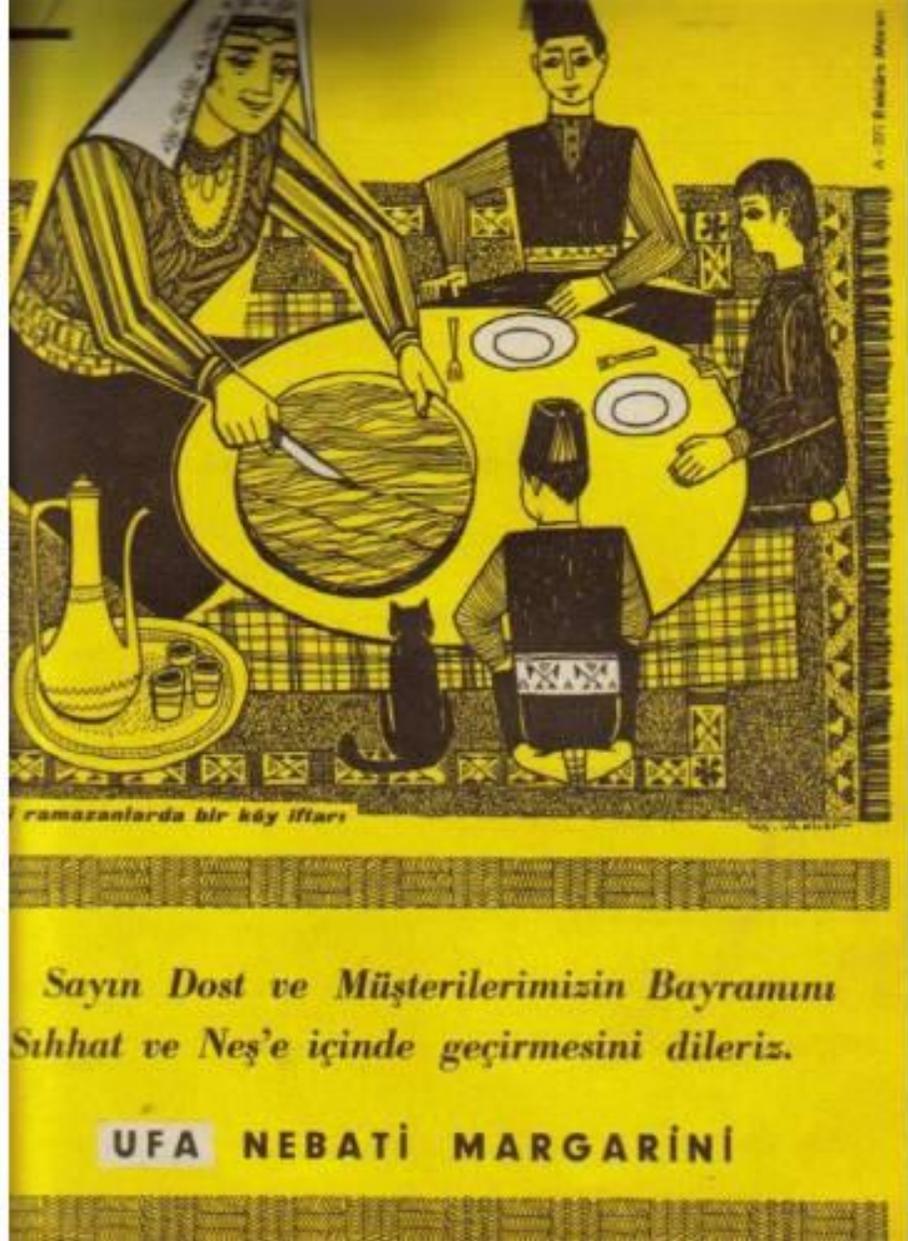
*Appendix C 3 Oil wrestling (yađlı gres) in Edirne, Turkey. (Mueller, 2013, p. 370)*



*Appendix C 4 Bagasse Warehouse of Turan (Turyağ) Oil Factory Salt Research Archive*



*Appendix C 5 Villagers on Crete bringing a bottle of their early harvest oil to the village church to be blessed by the priest. (Mueller, 2013, p. 369)*



Appendix C 6 Ufa Margarine Advertisement

# Yeni bir yağ fabrikası kuruluyor

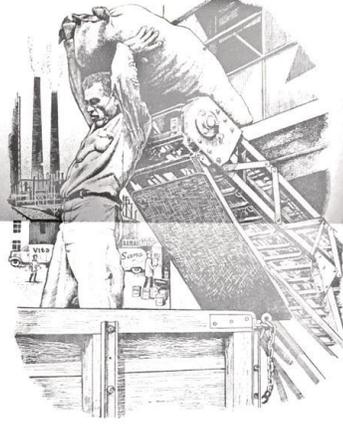
Ankara, 8 (A.A.) — Türkiye İş Bankası İngiliz-Hollanda müşterek G firması olan Levers Brothers and Unilever ile memleketimizde Margarin yağ istihsal edecek bir fabrikanın kurulması hususunda mutabık kalmıştır.

Unilever İş Türk Limited şirketi adını alacak olan bu fabrikanın sermayesinin yüzde 80 i Unilever, geri kalan yüzde 20 si de İş Bankası tarafından sağlanmıştır.

< III >

Appendix C 7 News from 1951, informing about the construction of Unilever factory in Istanbul.  
Milliyet, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1951.

**Sizin için çalışıyorlar!**



Günde, yorucu sekiz saatlik haftada altı gün çalışıyor. Herhalde, bu işin için SANA ve VITA ile ne alakası olduğuna hayret ediyorsunuz... Fakat çok alakası var!

SANA ve VITA imal etmek için ham madde bulmak, satın almak, nakletmek, depolamak ve işlemek lazımdır. Bütün bu ameliyeleri tek ve tek her çalışmanı yapar. Çoğunlukla herhangi bir işteki verim, maliyet fiyatının düşük tutulmasına yardım eder. Bu sebeple, ister ham madde nakliyyesinde ve depolamasında, ister yağlı tohumların pres edilmesinde veya natırlı yağların rafine edilmesinde.

Ay cırcığı ve sıtım tohumu ve pamuk çekildiği ve yağlı.

de, isterse SANA ve VITA'nın ambalajlama sevkediminde olsun «Verim» Unilever-İş Türk Ltd. Şti.'nin parolasıdır.

Bunda ve buna benzer yüzlerce işte, Türk Hollanda sermayesinden meydana gelmiş olan Unilever-İş Türk Ltd. Şti., tecrübe ve kaynaklarını işte bu şekilde hafızın hizmetine arz etmektedir. Gayemiz, yüksek evsafındaki işleri imal etmek ve bunları çok etkili şekilde satmaktır. Yalnız Türkiye değil, dünyanın 57 muhtelif memleketinde Unilever bu şekilde çalışmaktadır.

Unilever - İş Türk  Sizin için çalışıyor

V.61

**COPY**

MEDIA  
Advertisement

**GRAFİKA**

ADVERTISING AGENCY

GALİPDEDE CAD. 66-1 GALATA-İSTANBUL - PHONE : 445243

Client : Unilever-İş Türk Ltd.

Product : V I T A

Script No : V - 61

Date : 25.5.1958

**GRAFİKA**  
ADVERTISING AGENCY

**THEY WORK FOR YOU**

He puts in 8 sturdy hours a day. Six days a week. And you might wonder what his work has to do with SANA and VITA. It surely has!

For the manufacture of SANA and VITA raw material has to be found, bought, transported, stored and processed. All this takes intelligence and hard work. But the work is done efficiently. Because efficiency in any kind of work has the power to help keep the cost-price down. Therefore whether it is transporting or storing raw material, bleaching or deodorizing vegetable oils, packing or despatching SANA and VITA, efficiency is a watchword at Unilever-İş.

Thus and in a hundred kindred ways Unilever-İş Türk Ltd. Şti., a combination of Turkish and Dutch capital, puts its know-how and resources at the service of the public. Our aim is to produce high quality foods and to sell them at a very reasonable price. Not in Turkey alone but in 57 different countries the world over, Unilever works this way.

X  
cotton-, sesame- and sunflower  
seed and oil.

Appendix C 8 An advertisement of Unilever-İş from 1958 and the translation of the advertisement text prepared by Grafika Advertising Agency and sent to Unilever for approval. (Çalışlar, 1998, pp. 48-49)



Appendix C 9 Vita Advertisement. (İbar, 2015, p. 167)



Appendix C 10 Sana billboard. "Sana taste to the mouth, health to the body!" (Sandalcı, 2013, p. 57)

rın kalite ve kullanılmakta oldukları yerler hakkında izahat vermek yerinde olacaktır :

**Tereyağlar :** Tereyağların sırf inek, manda-inek, manda, manda-koyun, koyun ve keçi gibi muhtelif kaliteleri vardır. Sırf inek yağları (boyasız olarak) koyu sarı; manda-inek az sarı; manda, koyun ve keçi yağları ise boya katılmadıkları takdirde beyaz renktedirler. İnek yağları çok lezzetli, manda donukça ve lezzetsiz, koyun ve keçi ise lezzetsiz, kokulu ve çabuk cıvıması itibarıyla kahvaltı ve böreklerle pek elverişli değildirler. Koyun ve keçi yağlarını ancak yemeklerde kullanmalıdır.

**Sade yağlar :** Eritilmiş Urfa havaisi ve eritilmemiş Karadeniz havaisi olarak iki cinastır. Urfa havaisi yağları kalite sırasıyla şöyledir : Urfa, Siverek, Diyarbakır havaisi ve Kars yağlarıdır. Bunlardan Urfa, Siverek, Diyarbakır havaisi olan beyaz renkteki bu yağlar koyun sütünden imal edilmektedirler. Ağırca, fakat istifadeli yağlardır. Renkleri sarı ve rayihatsız olan Kars yağları ise inek sütünden imal edilmektedirler. Zayıf ve hasta mideler için pek elverişlidir. Ancak, kalitesi düşük Kars yağlarının bazılarında bir tulum kokusunun mevcut bulunması bu yağların kıymetlerini düşürmektedir. Kars yağları Urfa yağlarına nazaran %8-12 nisbetinde bir zayıflık arz etmektedirler. Eritilmemiş Karadeniz havaisi yağları ise, Trabzon Vakfikebir ve Trabzon İdi olmak üzere iki kalitedir. (Ardahan yağlarını da bu tip yağlara katmak kabildir). Umumiyetle inek sütünden imal edilmekte olan sarı renkteki bu yağlardan bilhassa Vakfikebir yağı, gerek lezzet, gerek rayiha bakımlarından fevkalâde olup, pilâv ve makamalara çok elverişlidir. İdi Trabzon ise, sarı ve beyaz olarak karışık bir haldedir ve lezzetlice yağdır. Ancak bu havaisi yağları erimemiş olduklarından, çabuk acıma tehlikesine maruzdurlar. Eritildiklerinde de nefasetlerini kaybederler. Bu yağlar Urfaya nazaran %20-25 nisbetinde daha zayıftırlar.

Şunu da kaydetmek yerinde olur ki, yukarıda bahsi geçen bu yağlardan herhangi biri olursa olsun, bunların nefasetlerini bir parça da yağların asit derecelerinde aramak icap ettiğini unutmamalıdır. Sade yağların asit dereceleri ilkbaharda 3-4, kışın da âzami 7-8 asit derecesi olduğuna göre, derecenin artması nisbetinde yağlar nefasetini kaybederek, ağızda acılık, midede ekşime hâsıl ederler. Kessafet dereceleri de yağların mahlûl olup olmadıklarını ifade ederler. Yağların kessafet dereceleri 26 - 28 arasında olmasa icap eder. Daha düşük yağlar mahlûl demektir.

**Nebati sade yağlar :** Bunlar da kıymet sırasıyla Sana, Vita, vejetalin ve Turyağlarıdır. Bunlardan Sana yağı tereyağı, Vita yağı da sade

yağ yerine kaim olmaktadır. Vejetalin ve Turyağlar ise, ancak tava ve kızartmalara elverişlidirler.

Vita ve bilhassa Sana yağları kızdırıldıklarında, derhal kararmaları dolayısıyla bunları tava ve kızartmalarda kullanmak caiz değildir. Şunu da kaydetmek isterim ki, tecrübe ve kanaatimce bu yağların yemeklerde kullanma nisbetleri gerek lezzet, gerekse hafiflik bakımlarından, ancak reçetelerimizde miktarlarını tayin ettiğimiz nisbetler dahilinde olması icap eder. Bununla beraber, sayın okurlarımın, kendi damak zevklerine uygun bir şekilde bu yağları kısmen veya bütün bütün hafzetmek suretiyle ayarlamaları, yani yerlerine istedikleri yağları ikame etmeleri veyahut da yemeklerini sadece bu gibi nebati yağlarla pişirmeleri de pek mümkün ve kabildir.

**Zeytinyağlar :** Bunlar da; rafine ve muhtelif asitli olmak üzere iki çeşittir.

Koku ve asidi alınmış rafine yağları ancak salata ve mayonezlerde kullanılması lazımdır. 0.5 ilâ 5 aside kadar olan yemeklik zeytinyağların nefasetleri ise, asitlerinin azlığıyla ölçülür.

**Susam yağı :** Bu yağlarla yapılan mayonezlerin bozulma ihtimali, rafine zeytinyağna nazaran daha az olması itibarıyla, mayonez için yegâne yağ denebilir. Bununla beraber salataya da çok elverişlidir.

**Çiçek ve Pamuk yağları :** Bu yağlar ise, tava ve kızartmalara elverişlidirler.

MUHTELIF TIP YAĞLARIN 100'ER GRAMLARINDAKİ KALORİ MİKTARLARINI GÖSTERİR CETVELDİR

Eritilmemiş yağlar Tereyağ-Trabzon	Eritilmiş yağlar Kars-Erzurum	Eritilmiş yağlar Urfa-Siverek ve havaisi	Nebati yağlar Zeytinyağı Vejetalin
780.785 kalori	560.880 kalori	914.920 kalori	925.928 kalori

#### C — TARTI VE ÖLÇÜLER :

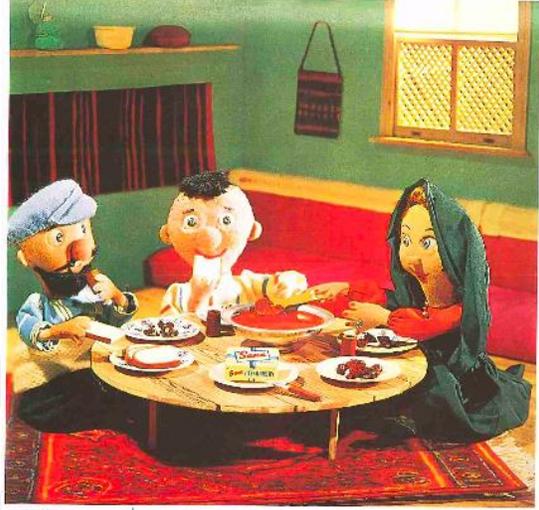
İyi ve daima iyi yemek pişirebilmek için, reçetelerdeki tartı ve ölçülere ehemmiyetle dikkat etmek icap eder. Götürü ve göz kararıyla pişirilen yemeklerin ağız tadıyla yenebilmeleri ancak tesadüfe kalmış bir iştir. Ancak evlerimizde daima terazî bulundurmak kabil olmadıgundan,



*Appendix C 12 Lady growing plants in tin boxes of Vita.*



*Appendix C 13 Kavaklı Primary School students in 1950's. Behind the windows it is possible to see plants growing in Vita tin boxes. Source: [www.beylikduzuketbellegi.org](http://www.beylikduzuketbellegi.org)*



**Sana**  
oguzlar her  
vikende  
yiyebilir

**Vita**  
yemegin herzati  
malinin  
dusundur

MAYIS 1965						
PAZAR	PAZARTESI	SAI	CARSAMBA	PEKEMBE	CUMA	CUMARTESI
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

HAZİRAN 1965						
PAZAR	PAZARTESI	SAI	CARSAMBA	PEKEMBE	CUMA	CUMARTESI
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

UNILEVER - İŞ TİCARET VE SANAYİ TÜRK LTD. ŞTİ. BAKIRKÖY - İSTANBUL

**Sana**  
oguzlar her  
vikende  
yiyebilir

**Vita**  
yemegin herzati  
malinin  
dusundur

EYLÜL 1965						
PAZAR	PAZARTESI	SAI	CARSAMBA	PEKEMBE	CUMA	CUMARTESI
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

EKİM 1965						
PAZAR	PAZARTESI	SAI	CARSAMBA	PEKEMBE	CUMA	CUMARTESI
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

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Appendix C 14 Souvenir calendar of Sana and Vita from 1965



# İki yağ devi fena kapiştı

**PIYASAYA** "kalbin dostu" sloganı ile çıkan Becel margarinini, iki dev Marsa ve Ünilever'i birbirine düşürdü.

**Sabancı'nın** Marsa'sı, Ünilever'i "halkı aldatmakla" suçladı. Ünilever ise Becel'in kalp sağlığına en uygun margarin olduğu görüşünde ısrar ederek, Marsa'yı halkı yanlış bilgilendirdiği için eleştirdi.

**Margarin piyasasında** rekabet kızışıyor. Piyasada önemli paya sahip Rama ve Sana'yı üreten Ünilever, yeni ürünü Becel'le tartışma yarattı. Becel'i Türkiye'de kalp sağlığına uygun margarin olarak tanıtan Ünilever'e Luna ve Evin'i üreten Marsa sert tepki gösterdi. Piyasada satılan hiçbir margarinin diğenninden farklı olmadığını öne süren Marsa'nın, bu konudaki eleştirileri şöyle:

"Yumuşak margarinlerin hepsi doymamış yağ yani sağlıklı yağ açısından zengindir. Analizlerde sağlıklı yağ oranı en yüksek üç margarin sırasıyla Luna, Rama kase ve Sana kasedir. Bu üç margarin Flora ve Becel izlemektedir."

**Marsa, Türkiye'deki tüm margarinlerin Sağlık**

## MARSA

Yumuşak margarinlerin hepsi kalbin dostudur

Yapılan analizlere göre sağlıklı yağ oranı en yüksek üç margarin Luna, Rama kase ve Sana'dır

Margarinlerin hepsi birbirinin aynıdır. Sadece lezzet farkı vardır. Becel halkı aldatıyor

Luna, Evin

## ÜNİLEVER

Biz, margarinler sağlıksız demiyoruz. Becel kalp sağlığı açısından avantajlı diyoruz

Üretimimiz AT margarin standartına göre yapıyor

Margarinlerin hiç biri birbirinin aynı değildir. Kağıtta, kasede ayrı yapı vardır. Becel ise bunların hepsinden farklı, kalp dostu margarindir

Sana, Rama, Becel

Bakanlığı'nın verdiği izinler ve standartlara göre üretildiğini bildirerek, "Yani ülkemizde üretilen yumuşak margarinlerden herhangi birini sağlık margarini ya da kalbin dostu ile adlandırmak bilimsel açıdan yanlıştır."

açıklamasını yaptı.

**Ünilever** ise Marsa'nın eleştirilerinin tamamen haklı olduğunu bildirdi. Ünilever'den yapılan açıklamada, şu görüşlere yer verildi:

● **Biz** margarinlerin sağlıklı veya sağlıksız ol-

duğunu tartışmıyoruz.

Tümü sağlıklıdır.

● **Avrupa** Topluluğu margarinler için "standart margarinler" kalp sağlığı margarini ve düşük yağlı margarinler" olmak üzere üç ayrı standart getirdi. Türkiye'de tüm margarin-

ler ilk sırada yer alan standart margarinler sınıfına giriyor. Yalnızca Becel 2. kategori de yer alıyor.

● **Becel**'de kalbe zararlı olan trans asit sıfır oranındadır. Bu da Becel'in "kalp dostu" olduğunu göstermektedir.

Appendix C 16 Two Fat Producing Giants Scramble Bad. Marsa: All the soft margarines are heart friendly. Ünilever: We don't say margarines are unhealthy. We just say Becel is more advantageous for heart health. October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1992 Milliyet.



*Appendix C 17 Siding houses with tin boxes of fats. Jan Chipchase, 2012.*



*Appendix C 18 Duck statute made by butter. İstanbul, 2019.*



*Appendix C 19 Larger version of the visuals of Sana advertisement from 1972. (URL-1, 2014)*



Appendix C 20 Larger version of the visuals of Vita advertisement from 1984. (URL-2, 2017)



Appendix C 21 Larger version of the visuals of Becel advertisement from 1995. (URL-3, 2019)



Appendix C 22 Larger version of the visuals of Sana advertisement from 2003. (URL-4, 2014)



Appendix C 23 Larger version of the visuals of Sana advertisement from 2019 and Ratatouille movie from 2007.  
(URL-5, 2019)