

RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION IN TURKEY:
THE VIEW OF SOCIAL REALISTIC CINEMA

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ABSTRACT

RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION IN TURKEY: THE VIEW OF SOCIAL REALISTIC CINEMA

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Turkey, in the second half of the 20th century, live a big population movement from rural to urban. In this study, it is analyzed the representation of Social Realist Cinema Movement's approach to migration from rural to urban by using the discourse analysis method. The mainly New-Classical Theory: Push and Pull Theory is chosen to understand some sociological concepts represented in the selected films. The concepts identify the representations of the domestic migration from 1964 to 1986 in the social realist cinema in Turkey. In the light of ten chosen films from social realist cinema perspective, how people make decision, how they actualize this decision, and the adaptation process they gone through in the city are evaluated thanks to ten films; *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965), *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), and *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). At the end of the study, it is seen that these films show that people migrate to cities because they cannot earn their living in their villages. The opportunities motivate them to migrate to the cities, especially İstanbul, since job, health and education. Chained migration is seen generally in Turkey that men of the family migrate to city, find a job and house then his all family moves there piece by piece. The

chosen films show the adaptation period of migrants more. The difficulties they live while adapting are analyzed more detailly by classifying economic and sociocultural adaptations.

Keywords: Domestic Migration, Turkish Cinema, Adaptation, Social Realist Cinema,

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE KIRDAN KENTE GÖÇ: TOPLUMSAL GERÇEKÇİ SİNEMA İLE BAKMAK

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Türkiye, 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, kırdan kente büyük bir nüfus hareketi yaşanmıştır. Bu çalışmada, toplumsal gerçekçi sinema akımının kırdan kente göçe yaklaşımının temsili, söylem analizi yöntemi kullanılarak analiz edilmektedir. Seçilen filmlerde temsil edilen bazı sosyolojik kavramları anlamak için ağırlıklı olarak Yeni-Klasik Teori: İtme ve Çekme Teorisi seçilmiştir. Kavramlar, Türkiye'deki toplumsal gerçekçi sinemada 1964'ten 1986'ya iç göçün temsillerini açıklar. Toplumsal gerçekçi sinema perspektifinden seçilen on film ışığında insanların göçe nasıl karar verdikleri, bu kararı nasıl hayata geçirdikleri ve kentte geçirdikleri uyum süreci on film üzerinden değerlendirilmiştir; *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965), *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985) ve *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). Çalışma sonunda, bu filmlerin insanların köylerinde geçimlerini sağlayamadıkları için şehirlere göç ettikleri görülmüştür. Başta İstanbul olmak üzere şehirlerdeki iş, sağlık, eğitim gibi imkanlar onları göç etmeye motive ediyor. Türkiye'de genel olarak zincirleme göç görülür, ailenin erkekleri şehre göç eder, iş ve ev bulur, ardından tüm ailesi parça parça oraya taşınır. Seçilen filmler göçmenlerin uyum sürecini daha çok işlemektedir. Uyum sürecinde

yaşadıkları güçlükler, ekonomik ve sosyokültürel uyumları sınıflandırılarak daha detaylı incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İç Göç, Türk Sineması, Uyum, Toplumsal Gerçekçi Sinema.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Justice Party – Adalet Partisi
DP	Democrat Party – Demokrat Parti
TUİK	Turkish Statistical Institute- Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu
IOM	International Organization for Migration- Uluslararası Göç Örgütü
TLA	Turkish Language Association- Türk Dil Kurumu

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Migration is one of the most important social and economic phenomena in Turkey. Turkey had witnessed two types of migrations after the World War II, internal and external migration, since the late 1940s. External migration increased parallel with internal one especially to Germany. However, in this thesis, domestic migration is studied. Domestic migration changes the population density, socioeconomic structure, and brings the urban to the fore. Migration, especially domestic migration, is one of the most significant factors in Turkey for social and economic change. One of the main pushing factors of domestic migration in Turkey is the mechanization of life. In the rural, mechanization reduces the employment, and in the urban, it increases the possibilities and the employment opportunities. Therefore, the cities, especially İstanbul, become charming for people in the villages. In 1950, almost 75% of population lived in the villages, and 25% lived in the cities. However, in 1990, this changed, and almost 40% of the population lived in the villages and 60% lived in the cities (TUIK, 2015). In the following chapters, migration process is presented chronologically: the structure of the society before migration, reasons preparing people to migrate, how they migrate and how they find a place for themselves in the city. This study intends to analyze the representation of domestic migration in the social realist cinema in Turkey.

Social realist cinema attempts to represent life and social reality as they are. It emerged in the free environment of the 1961 constitution. It was affected by the neorealist cinema movement in Italy as well as the social and political environment in Turkey. The power, which was aware of the influence of the cinema on the audiences, encouraged it to turn into numbing, and hypnotizing entertainment.

However, it put obstacles before the films which were produced to raise the awareness of the audience and reflect the inequalities in life. Social realist cinema aimed to reflect the reality of labor class rather than bourgeoisie. Although they used the characteristics of melodrama and comedy, popular genres in Turkey, the fundamental intention was to reflect an idea, mostly in a provocative way. The topics treated are mostly people who have struggles in their lives. The economic problems, especially because of the inequality, are one of the most adopted topics. These topics did not please the power in the system, so this was one of the reasons why social realist cinema came forth approximately between 1960 and 1965. These were the years when the effect of the 1961 constitution was dominant. Social realist cinema did not continue after these years as a movement, but it has affected the cinema as a whole in Turkey. It transformed into a sub-genre rather than a movement after these years. Even today, there are many films carry the fundamental specialties of social realist cinema. These films focus on inequality and working class's life struggle mostly from a realist perspective. In this study, films are chosen to analyze the approach of social realist films to domestic migration in Turkey. These films are produced either directly in social realist cinema period or under its influence. It can be said that two of them are produced in directly in the social realist cinema; *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), and *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965); however, the other films are produced after it; *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). These films represent national (ulusal) and national (milli)¹ cinema movements, two significant movements following social realist cinema. These subjects will be discussed more in detail later in the study.

¹ The concept of 'Milli'(National) in the Milli(National) Cinema Movement is so close to the National(Ulusal) in the National(Ulusal) Cinema Movement. Their translations in English are the same, National. However, the concept of "national" was used in the past to include the concept of "religious", unlike today. In Ferit Develioğlu's Ottoman-Turkish Encyclopedic Dictionary, there are expressions of "belonging to religion and nation, related to the nation, national" against the concept of "national". Based on this, we think that National Filmmakers use the word "national" both to express their religious sensitivities and to refer to our national culture in today's terms (Sim, 2010: 213).

In the literature, migration has been combined with other fields in the social science as well. It has been proved a productive area to study. Filiz (2008) examines the internal migration patterns of Turkey to understand the change in the dominance of the east-to-west and the rural-to-urban migration since 1980. It is an economic and statistical analysis that combines the social and economic theories with economic models. Göğebakan (2019) studies migration and morality together. He analyses different moral approaches to problems which migrants have. He focuses on the volunteer and compulsory migrations and divides the approaches to migration into two moral approaches: theses defending open borders and theses defending closed borders. Besides, he works on the emotional and psychological states of the refugees by looking some films. Çakkalkurt (2015) examines the concepts of migration and nation (*ulus*). He puts forward that migration deconstructs the homogeneity of a nation and causes a global cultural flow. While he studies cinema of migration via its theoretical foundations, and he analyses the differences between ulusal cinema and migration cinema. He selects the films from Turkish films which include the stories of domestic migration, and migration to Germany.

One of the fundamental principles of social realist cinema in Turkey is to tell the story of people who suffer from injustice. This is one of its major characteristics, which makes it a good means to combine with any subject in sociology. Kozan (2019) studies the representation of women in Akad's trilogy; *Gelin, Düğün, Diyet*. These portrayed the women and the domestic migration that are valuable contributions to the Turkish cinema and the representation of women in Turkey. Kozan makes use of feminist criticism; examines women representations in cinema, and their role in the reproduction and reinforcement of male-dominated ideology. She classifies many female representations in the Turkish cinema to see their various types. Yalın (2017) tries to answer the question why this movement emerged in Turkey and why between 1960 and 1965. He considers that social realist cinema results from the social issues of the period. He describes the political environment in this period and examines social realist cinema by describing many themes and characters he uses (Yalın, 2017). Kılıcı (2019) also studies a similar

period, the 1960 military coup which was against the old despotic regime of the Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti- DP). So, the new free atmosphere enabled filmmakers to start Social Realist Cinema Movement, which was inspired by the Italian Neorealism Movement, effective between 1943-1952 in Italy. Kılıcı (2019) compared these two cinema movements. She describes the Italian Neorealism and Social Realism Movements and their political history. Then she analyses the representations of the first examples of these movements in the context of Marxist criticism (Kılıcı, 2019).

Coşkun (2014) studies the cinema in Turkey to understand the social change. She uses the comparative examination analysis that sociological field studies and some selected films are compared. She shows how two different disciplines can be studied parallelly and help each other to understand society and the change in it. In this way, sociological imagination and sociology of affect are the tools which support the comprehension of the films sociologically (Coşkun, 2014). Salıcı also studies social change in society in the context of Yavuz Turgul's films. It is his concern that these films represent the change in society, and they witness their time. These issues focus on what characters represent in the society and what the director wants to tell via their characteristic features (Salıcı, 2013).

After the World War II, Turkey, like all world, goes through a transformation. Turkey in these years is affected by the Europe under the modernization, or westernization. These are the topics of ulusal and milli cinema that they see these influences as a treat to Turkey. So Çilingir states that Refiğ focuses on the duality between West and East that west and east experienced modernization differently. Refiğ claims that modernization coming from the west is not appropriate for Turkey. Turkey has to follow its national (ulusal) origins to make good Turkish films (Çilingir, 2020). Biçer (2021) studies how milli cinema approaches to westernization in Turkey. He focuses on leading conservative producer, Yücel Çakmaklı's films. Çakmaklı supports his arguments about the social changes by using the religion. He includes in his films the cultural forms of the religious sensitivities of Turkey (Biçer, 2021). Engin Yıldız studies Yılmaz Güney a leading

socialist director. Güney produces films in three different areas which are not common thing; popular cinema, art cinema and third cinema (2019). He approaches from a Marxist perspective and criticizes the system. He and a few people tell the story of Turkey's Eastern part. He shows poverty in the society but also minority problems which are taboo for a big part of Turkey in these years (Yıldız, 2019). Cinema studies are also beneficial for taking an uncovering these taboo topics because films show people the life of others. So, both the films and the studies shed lights on social built-in problems.²

Migration does not carry only the people to the cities, but also their habits, problems, worries. This is one of the reasons to emerge urbanization discussions that city becomes a working field. It becomes a topic which should be studied with its all dimensions; social, psychological, economical, or architectural. Therefore, studies on city also beneficial for understanding migration. Orhan (2008) focuses on the city as a concept, and he draws a plan from İstanbul as a city to Akad's İstanbul. Orhan argues that İstanbul is depicted as a fairy tale and object of desire in Akad's films. He describes the city, its transformation and what it means for society, and then he focusses on Akad's İstanbul. Orhan (2008) identifies that while Istanbul is a dream place for many people, after the end of the 80s it becomes the city that refers the fear, claustrophobia, strangeness, isolation, and loneliness. So Orhan (2008) narrates how Akad portrayed all transformation. There is a study which approaches the change in the city myth like Orhan does in Akad's cinema, Tuncer (2005) analyses the social change in the city myths. She concentrates on how the myths which modern people encounter in the city are reproduced in the Turkish cinema. She tries to make a critical analysis of the city that finds its expression through cinema (Tuncer, 2005). This kind of studies on the city and individual increases especially after the 90s because Turkey has tendencies to individualism like world. There are increase in the studies that focus on the

² There are studies focusing on similar topics in recent years by Şen (2009) and Gatar (2011). Şen (2009) studies the Kurdish/eastern problem in Turkish cinema in the context of orientalism and cinema. He inspects the representation of 'the other' in the colonial discourse and the representation of Kurds/East in Turkish Cinema (Şen, 2009). Women's Representations in New Period Kurdish Cinema is also done by Nigar Gatar (2021).

individual who is alone in the city. Their psychology, depression, or struggles are popular. For example, Toprak studies Ömer Kavur's films' the representation of strangeness in individual and societal relationships (Toprak, 2011). He studies becoming strangers in the shadow of the political turmoil in the community.

Several sources have been summarized above in order to see how this thesis will take place in the literature. They all are meaningful sources making contribution to literature. Cinema, and media and cultural studies, departments are majority. This thesis will try to analyze how films made in the tradition of the social realist cinema portray domestic migration in Turkey. This thesis will examine ten films: *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965), *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), *Züğürt Ağa* (1986).

In the following part of the introduction, the method which is used to analyze the films will be explained. Discourse analysis is an important supporter of this study because it shows how a film can tell many things about the society it is made. The purpose, and importance of the study, and the research method will be included in this part.

1.2. Method

1.2.1. The Purpose and Importance

The purpose of this study is analyzing how the films approach domestic migration. The research questions will be answered is how the representation of before the migration, migration process, adaptation to the city, and the change in the family are done. The representation of all processes starting from decision-making to the adaptation period will be analyzed thanks to these films caring social realist cinema's characteristics. Social realist cinema, although it cannot dominate cinema in Turkey for more than five years, it has had an impact on Turkey's Cinema as a whole. There are not too many films that can be said to be exactly

social realist films. However, there are many which can be said to have caring Social Realist characteristics reflecting the reality of life. These characteristics in the chosen films make them a source for sociology. The analysis part is first organized chronologically that pre-migration, migration process, then the entrance of the migrants into the city, and finally adaptation part will follow. How this process is represented in the social realist films will be analyzed in light of some theories focusing on migration issue. The Adaptation part will be looked at under two titles, economic and sociocultural adaptation. Then there are supporter concepts, family, women's place in the family and social types. Although the representation of the reality of cinema is studied in many fields, from cinema and TV, fine arts, cultural studies, communication sciences, and stage design to history, there are not enough studies in sociology. There are very important studies, but they are not enough. Therefore, this study tries to make a contribution to this literature on the sociology of cinema by focusing on one of the most important turning point in the history of Turkey. In this thesis, how films approach migration from the rural-to-urban issue will be analyzed with sociological concepts.

1.2.2. Research Method

In this thesis, for the different sides of the subject, different theories are chosen. In the process of making migration decision, the Chained Migration is chosen for this study because it is one of the most widespread types in Turkey, so in the films. Then in the process of determining the reasons for migration, the New-classical Theory: Push and Pull Theory is chosen because all the factors, both in rural and urban have an important effect on migration decisions. In this theory, all these will be observed by being aware of the subjectivity of the decision. Factors related to the place to migrate, factors related to the place left, and the challenges encountered in the process are fundamental to making a decision, but it should not be forgotten that all are individual's decisions. When it comes to the continuation of immigration, the networks, relatives, neighbors, or countrymen are one of the biggest assurance of migrants in the city.

To be able to understand why migration films are chosen for this study, the way followed will be summed up below. When the study started, there was an idea of examining realist films. So, all the films, produced in Turkey, and telling the concerns about society, are tried to be reviewed. These films show that migration is a popular topic parallel to its effect on society. Therefore, this study is shaped around the chosen films. They are chosen because they are thought to reflect society well. There are 10 films, 2 of them, *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964) and *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965) are from the '60s, 6 of them from the '70s, *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), and 2 of them from the '80s, *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). Domestic migration is focused on in this study to be able to be restricted in Turkey. The films including domestic migration in Turkey are limited with İstanbul because it is the most preferred city by migrants. There are significant films on seasonal migration I willingly excluded to set the limitations of the study, so *Endişe* (1974) and *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde* (1979) are not included.

On order to put a time restriction on this study, I choose the films from 1964 to 1986 because social realist cinema rises with these years and gives many films about the domestic migration. This migration movement started in the 50s, and the first film focusing on domestic migration was done in 1964, *Gurbet Kuşları*. Besides, *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965) follows that these two are the first representations of the importance of migration in Turkey. The '70s were the years that migration subject became popular because there is a huge movement, and its effects started to be seen. It can be seen that these directors take advantage of the way opened by social realist cinema. While *Gurbet Kuşları* and *Bitmeyen Yol* are produced in these years, others can only reflect the remaining and the effects. Then, the reason for the finishing of the films in 1986 is the transformation in cinema in Turkey after these years. After the '80s, there are not films which directly focusing on the domestic migration. An individualistic narration emerges. Even many social issues are started to be approached more individualistically. Before the '90s Turkey's cinema reflected the people as if one person could represent a group of people.

Avcı explains this as the use of stock types in which the demolition films frame any conflict arising from the slum problem as a social rather than a personal one (Avcı, 2013). This is one of the most important reasons that the selected films in this study stopped before the 90s. In the 90s, the changes in the world start to reflect on Turkey as well. Life transforms into a more individualistic, individual-centred, life. Hence, with this, the films are also altered in this way. After the 90s, the small stories of ordinary people and how they are affected by social problems are more preferred by the new directors. Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Derviş Zaim, Yeşim Ustaoglu, Zeki Demirkubuz and Reha Erdem are the first ones coming to mind. They started to produce films in the '90s, and they focused on the individual, so the big problems such as migration, are treated differently. Psychological feelings and depression experienced by individuals against these problems came to the forefront.

While analyzing the films, the discourse analysis will be used to make a comprehensive and transdisciplinary analysis. All films are combined and analysed under some titles. At first, there is a chronological analysis that starts with the pre-migration process, then migration process, and the adaptation to the city. The adaptation part is studied in economic and sociocultural adaptation. The economic part is organised according to sectors migrants can find a place for themselves. The socio-cultural part is organised under three concepts, creating the basic discussion in Turkey's daily life: moral conflicts, the immorality of the west and class representation. Change in the family structure, the relationship between father and son, and the place of women in the family, is one the most important concepts in Turkey which the films prefer to include their representations. Finally, the social types of Simmel are included as an important supporter of research serving the sociology of cinema.

Especially in the pre-migration process, what the characters say is the main source because it is not portrayed too much. However, in the all-over analysis, from the dialogues, looks, clothes, and houses, to the way characters talk or even the silence

become the source to understand what directors want to say. Sometimes, to support the arguments scenes from the films are used and referred to directly.

To be able to analyse cinema, which is a transdisciplinary concept, discourse analysis will be a perfect choice because it is also a transdisciplinary concept. Çelik and Ekşi state the place of discourse analysis in research methods that discourse analysis can be seen as an alternative perspective to the understanding of science and a worldview that is dominated by positivist thought. Since it is claimed that the positivist approach does not have the power to explain the complex relationships of the social world lived in, in-depth interpretations are needed rather than the information obtained from numerical data for the explanation of the world lived in (Çelik and Ekşi, 2008: 115). Therefore, discourse analysis can achieve what positivist research cannot achieve because it looks the society as a social unit, not only as numerical data. It is an effort to pass the approaches, which are general, institutional and quantitative to approaches which are qualitative and detailed (Wood & Kroger, 2000). It does not determine the superficial analysis of society's complicated existence. It tries to anatomise the discourse to understand what is behind it. It wants to look beyond what is said directly. It is advanced hermeneutics and social semiotics that search for variety in the meaning and variables (Elliott, 1996). What Gadamer calls interpretation includes many dimensions to analyse a discourse from who said it to how it is said. According to Gadamer,

to unmask artificial meaning is to unveil meaning that is hidden or otherwise conveyed. Interpretation is the articulation of the discourse created in a tradition. In other words, saying/s is needed for interpretation. Expressions that are meant by what a text or person means, which everyone accepts as discourse, become clear with interpretation. This process bridges the gap between the interpreter and the interpreter (Sözen, 1999).

To be able to interpret the discourse which tells about society, there are concepts that have to be known. Every society has power relations and ideologies which they approach in various forms. One of the most crucial duties this analysis has is to understand how people do this. Besides, at what level these concepts affect

people's lives and their decisions also are important for this study. Critical discourse analysis focuses on themes such as power, domination, hegemony, class difference, gender, race, ideology, discrimination, interest, gain, re-creation, transformation, tradition, social structure or social order, and deals with these issues as a research area. Critical discourse analysis deals with how various social phenomena such as power relations, values, ideologies, and identity definitions are reflected and processed on individuals and social order through linguistic constructs (Van Dijk, 2003). Critical discourse analysis, instead of doing universal and one-dimensional determinations, looks at something in the context of all social factors.

Discourse analysis examines the semantic or syntactic structure of texts or language and deals with both linguistic and socio-cultural dimensions of discourses. In parallel with the developments in linguistics, the development of this field as open to interdisciplinary analysis has become widespread. In order to reveal the meaning of the messages given, there has been a need to analyse the semantic, syntactic and semiotic written, verbal and visual messages. In this context, it is possible to collect the basic concepts of discourse analysis under these three concepts: semantic, syntactic, and semiotic (Baş and Akturan, 2008: 27). Discourse analysis can be the analysis of the language, but it does not look at only the meaning that first comes to mind or semantics, phonology, syntax, or morphology. It turns its centre of attraction to social incidences that language users create in social and cultural contexts (Barker & Galasinski, 2001). Discourse analysis can be examined under three titles, Syntax, Semantics and semiology. Syntax focuses on the meaning of a sentence or a word, and its relationship with its user. Semantic care about the place of the word in the sentences or the context. Semiology is to describe different communication or sign systems (Aktulum, 2004) in social life, to determine the connections they establish with each other, to find the forms of articulation of meanings, to classify signs and sign systems or to explain the interaction between human and human, human and nature, for this purpose epistemological, methodologically and descriptively, it is defined as creating an all-inclusive, consistent and simple framework (Rifat, 1998).

Ankaralıgil (2008) expresses in his study that rather than trying to convey ideologies directly and make them dominant, it has been a very accepted approach, especially in the last century, is to consciously place the discourse in the text of the news, films and spread it by making it felt, implied, and implicitly explained. Cinema, which has its own words, sentences, language and expression structure, has a language quality due to its text and meaningful discourse. The sentence in which the words combine to form a meaningful whole and the cinema, in which the filmic technical codes come together to form a meaningful whole, are of the same nature (Ekinici, 2014: 57). Cinema overcomes many obstacles and achieves people more than a book or a newspaper. Especially at the beginning, it was silent. After a while, talking films emerge. So, people need very few things to understand what the film is saying. Films also address people who are illiterate. What this shows is that it is a great discourse which can achieve large masses. Zor applies Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis to a film, and he divides this analysis into the structure, macro and micro. Within the scope of macrostructure, the thematic and schematic structure of the film is discussed. In the sub-title of thematic structure, the subject and theme of the film, the narrative structure, the characters and the presentation of the places were evaluated. Besides, within the scope of microstructure, the dialogues of the film, sentence structures and the forms and meanings of the words used in the syntactic context were discussed, and their contribution to the formation of ideological discourse was emphasized (Zor, 2017: 882).

All these will be guides to understanding the films in the analysis chapter and to be able to analyze the films, getting help from these methods, should be supported by the systematic studies done until now. The theoretical approaches of considerable researchers, who studied until now are mentioned at in this chapter.

In the second chapter, social realist cinema in Turkey will be explained. However, while doing this, the effect of the Italian Neorealism (Neorealismo) Cinema movement will be mentioned. Then, how the social realist cinema transformed into

other movements; ulusal, milli and revolutionary cinema. Moreover, how these movements create cinema discussions in Turkey will be included.

In the third chapter, the theoretical background of migration, and which ones are appropriate for this study will be mentioned. This chapter are organized as Migration Decisions, Theory of the Emergence of Migration, and Why Migration continues. Therefore, the theoretical studies done to be able to understand the pattern of migration will be summarized.

In the fourth chapter, the domestic migration in Turkey. The social, political, and economic factors preparing the domestic migration will be discussed. Domestic migration in Turkish cinema concentrates the period between 1964 and 1986. The reasons for leading to domestic migration will argued that mechanization, disorganization in the landownership, and developments in the transportations are summarized this chapter.

In the fifth chapter, chosen films will be examined in the light of sociology and how migration from rural to urban is represented in these films will be the main point. It will start by explaining the pre-migration period as much as interpreted from the films, then continues with the process of migration. After these, the adaptation period of the migrants will be discussed with economic and sociocultural aspects. The changes in the family will complete the arguments in the adaptation period. Finally in this chapter, social types in Turkish cinema will be mentioned.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL REALIST CINEMA IN TURKEY

This thesis centers on social realist films in Turkey. Ten films are chosen from this tradition that their main topic is domestic migration. Therefore, I will briefly explain the social realist cinema in Turkey. It is dominated Turkish cinema approximately five years between 1960 and 1965; however, it has a great influence on Turkish cinema. So, I will describe first Italian Neorealism which plays a crucial role in Turkey's cinema. Then social realist cinema will be explained. Although it cannot continue as a movement for a long time, its influence carry on even today. One of the reasons to emerge social realist cinema in these years is the free environment in the country. In the 1965, with the end of this period, Turkish cinema follows a different path, and three cinema movements arise: ulusal cinema, milli cinema, revolutionary cinema. All carry the main characteristics of social realist cinema, reflecting the reality of life. However, all approach the problems from different perspectives and offer their suggestions. Halit Refiğ is the pioneer of ulusal cinema he argues that Turkish cinema should be based on the values, deep-rooted past and traditional arts of Turkish society (Sim, 2010). So ulusal Cinema criticizes the westernization that Turkey is not an ordinary country to copy and apply exactly what the west is doing. What will be produced there has to be rooted there. After that, milli cinema led by Yücel Çakmaklı. According to Çakmaklı, the film should be made considering the religious structure of Turkish society (Sim, 2010). He supports that resistance against external threats should be done in the light of religion. Besides, there is revolutionary cinema gathering around the Cinematheque Association, founded in 1965. It started by showing products in European and world art cinema and organizing meetings and speeches on the criticism of cinema and the capitalist system (2010). These different approaches create a discussion environment among the filmmakers who are the intellectuals as well. So, after mentioning their discussions under the title of

cinema wars (Refiğ, 2019), the Turkish cinema as a sector and migration films will be summarized in the end.

2.1. Italian Neorealism (Neorealismo)

Before Neorealism emerged in Italy, there was a fascist Mussolini Regime. Although many important politicians and socialist thinkers, including Gramsci, try to challenge the fascist regime, they cannot be successful (Özonur, 2016). So, Mussolini led the fascist regime in Italy for more than 20 years. This regime, knowing the power of the cinema, worked in this direction and they created a union named L'Unione Cinematographica Educativa (LUCE). Then they created a place including 22 studios in Rome as the most equipped cinema studios in Europe. Then Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, which is one of the most reputable cinema schools in the world is established by this regime to be able to use the cinema as a propaganda tool (Biryıldız, 2000). On the one side films produced in Italy are restricted very harshly; on the other side foreign films cannot find a place in the theatres because of the regime (Önbayrak, 2008). Everything about the cinema was under the control of the fascist regime, so it was a period when there were no films about the reality of the time. However, Önbayraktar states that all these factors did not create a fascist cinema but supported the cinema to rise technically and artistically above itself (2008).

Neorealism rose with Mussolini's fascist regime falling after WWII. The neorealism movement rose in a newly established system where there was much-unemployed poverty and pain (Sivas, 2010: 42). Neorealism emerged against the films done throughout the fascist regimes to entertain and numb people. This movement provides a confrontation with society's real problems but also it provides a positive thesis to solve them. It resists accepting the cinema as an entertainment tool and proves it by making films about the real issues of small people and their life struggles. Although there are many issues that can be told about after the war, they choose to talk about the social inequality in society. Zavattini and De Sica, in 1948, made their masterpiece film, *Ladri di Biciclette*,

The Bicycle Thief; Luchino Visconti made his film, *La Terra Trema* (The Earth Trembles), about a fisherman as real as a documentary in the same year. Roberto Rossellini made *Paisa* (Peasant) in 1946 (Önbayrak, 2008). *Ossessione* (obsession), in 1943, which is one of the first films of the movement, was encountered very furiously. The audience, in the salon, thinks that this film defiles religion, so they make the priest bless the cinema salon. Neorealism pays attention to the deterioration of humanity's balance in societies which do not have adequate economic development and equality. Moreover, it wants to reveal how friendship and love are thought to be something dangerous (İri, 2014: 29). Stories are told naturally and in a direct way. The pain and reality in life are represented directly. There are no happy endings anymore. There are no intrigues like in the 1930s Italian Cinema, but there is everything in life (Önbayrak, 2008). Why “neorealismo” is that they try to leave the old realism behind and look at today’s realism. Neorealism wants to be different in both form and content, so its name is Neo-realismo.

Luchiano Visconti with *Ossessione* makes one of the first films of this movement, and he criticises the bourgeoisie who were exalted by the fascist regime. Roberto Rossellini, although he did films for the fascist regime, he joins the underground and registered against Nazi conquerors. *Roma, Città Aperta* (Rome, Open City) is also one of the first films of the movement. His film is accepted as a masterpiece of Neorealism (Biryıldız, 2016: 79-80). Vittorio De Sica, *Ladri di Biciclette*, his film is accepted as the best film which describes Neorealism’s purposes and aesthetics (Coşkun, E., 2017: 184-189). Moreover, this film is analysed with the *Hope* (Umut) film from Turkey in Önbayrak’s thesis which is an important source to see the effect of the Italian Neorealist Cinema Movement on Turkey’s Cinema Movements.

As the economy improve in Italy, people do not want to see the pain, poverty, and problems of real life. In addition to this, when women were given the right to vote in 1946, with the influence of the church, the centre-right Christian Democratic Party won the 1947-1948 elections. We can say that the Neorealism Movement

came to an end in the year 1960 (Sklar, 2002: 256). The bourgeoisie, which lost its power after the war with the economic breakdown, gained its authority again. Their life and their struggles, which do not mean much to the rest of society, become popular for filmmakers. Therefore, this increases the demand for Hollywood Cinema examples.

Hence, the social reality is an important variable in cinema. While looking at Italian Neorealism, how the relationship between the reality of the people and the cinema can be seen more. Neorealism in Italy came forward almost 15 years between 1945 and 1960, but it can be said that although after these years it did not continue as a movement, it changed the cinema culture in Italy, in Europe, and maybe in the world. Italian cinema has a place in the world cinema culture with its authenticity.

Like the French Nouvelle Vague and the Brazilian Cinema Novo, Turkish Social Realism was also related to the legacy of Italian Neo-realismo whose leftward-oriented politics and realist-minimalist aesthetics fitted well with the socio-political concerns of a new generation of Turkish filmmakers eager to develop a “national” film language (Önbayrak, 2008).

2.2. Social Realist Cinema in Turkey

There are some commonalities between Neorealist Cinema Movement and Social Realist Cinema that both came out of a right-wing and despotic administration. While Neorealism emerged against the fascist regime of Mussolini, Social Realism rose in Turkey with the overthrow of Adnan Menderes who was the leader of the DP that ruled the country for 10 years (Daldal, 1960). On the 27th of March in 1960 Turkish armed forces took power (Kasım and Atayeter, 2012). Kongar defines the reason for the military coup as the friction between two sides of Turkey, statist/elitist and traditionalist/liberal. While the first one includes the intelligentsia which wants to renew and westernize, the other ones include landowners and country gentries which are liberal conservatives. It can be said

that this coup was done against the DP (Boztepe, 2017). There are many reforms done to turn Ataturk's principles. It is an important period, especially for artists who want to produce freely.

This environment brings the filmmakers a great opportunity to produce films which tell the reality of the time. So, there is a great effort to create a new cinema in Turkey. Two purposes are attributed to the Social Realist Movement. The first one is to reflect the reality of society objectively and in a revolutionary way. The second one is the combination of modern and traditional structures (Kasım and Atayeter, 2012). The atmosphere after 1960 prompts filmmakers who do not want to make films to numb or trick people. However, this motivation provides many films produced with Social Realist Perspective in Turkey. Refiğ also emphasizes that this movement cannot be thought of apart from the 1960 revolution (Coşkun, 2009: 35-36). These years are films made about real issues in Turkey such as rural lives, politics' reflection on society, migration problems, urbanization and so slums, (gecekondulaşma), and workers' problems. However, this period did not take too long, and, in 1965, the Justice Party (Adalet Partisi-JP) which can be considered the continuation of the DP, won the election. This election brought the end of the free atmosphere when the social realist cinema was born. Besides, this prevents the continuation of the social realist cinema. It does not disappear, but it turns into different movements. ulusal cinema, milli cinema and revolutionary cinema carry out main characteristics of the social realist cinema.

Although Social realist cinema does not take too long as a dominant movement, it has a great impact on Turkey's Cinema as a whole. Ending the ruling of Adnan Menderes on May 27, 1960, and the 1961 constitution opened the way for the social realist cinema in Turkey. Industrialization and so migration moves people from rural areas to cities. People who come with all their traditions falter in the cities. While in society, labor movements and socialist movements started to develop, important cinema magazines such as Yeni Sinema, Sine Film, Si-Sa and Sinema 65 started to be published. Some leading cinema directors started their careers as cinema critics.

The first Social Realist films are produced in these years. *Gecelerin Ötesi* by Metin Erksan is defined as the preview of the change coming on May 27 (Daldal, 1960: 60). Following it, there are many films that represent society very realistic and striking way; *Gecelerin Ötesi* (1960), *Acı Hayat* (1963), *Susuz Yaz* (1964), *Yılanların Öcü* (1962), *Yasak Aşk* (1961), *Şehirdeki Aşk* (1963), *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), *Haremde Dört Kadın* (1965), *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* (1965) and *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965). With the election of the JP this era was closed. However, although it cannot continue as a movement, there are films which can be defined as social realist films (Ufuk & Osman, 1996: 10). Lütfi Akad's films known as the "Immigration Trilogy", *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), and *Diyet* (1975) are its important examples.

The atmosphere in which the 1961 constitution³ was effective is important to see in socio-cultural production. There is an environment where filmmakers discuss their approaches to how to make a film and what to tell. In the mid-1960s, directors and critics, who had opposing views; nevertheless, acted together in studies on how a realistic cinema should be born (Çebi, 2006). In this action, Halit Refiğ led the way with Quality Premium Meetings. He mentions in his book, *Ulusal Sinema Kavgası* (National Cinema Fight), that although they encounter many oppositions, he and a small group of filmmakers work for a social realist cinema in Turkey. These films try to express social problems. Instead of a problem experienced by one single person, they represent some groups in society which are mostly excluded and exploited people. What the social realist films reflects social problems created by development of capitalism which is a system of inequality.

³ The 1960 Revolution brought the 1961 Constitution, and the 61 Constitution provided a relatively autonomous environment for cinema. This environment revived hopes for a short time and brought new breaths. Topics that were previously taboo and feared were discussed and started to be treated with enthusiasm. While realism was partially applicable, cinema was able to address the problem of "language" in substance and form. While the directors had something to say, they had the opportunity to evaluate the development and new issues and to produce high-quality products. Period audience records were broken; It was an active and lively period in which artists, producers, technical personnel, directors, cinema lovers and volunteers increased rapidly. For example, while 14 new directors joined the cinema in 1960, this number increased to 5 in 1963 and 18 in 1965 (Aydın, 1997: 13).

To be able to mobilize the masses and give them the motivation to take their lives under control, these films prefer realistic stories about ordinary people. So, the audience can see in the films themselves as the leading roles who challenge the oppressors. In these films, telling the problems of real life openly does not please the government. That is why social realist cinema is not supported by ruling party in Turkey. Moreover, government banned their films. Social realist film criticizes the state, the ruling party, the bourgeois, rich people, or the powerful ones. One of the first social realist films is *Susuz Yaz* (Dry Summer) by Metin Erksan. the first film which won an international film festival, in Berlin, Golden Bear; however, it cannot be released in Turkey due to censorship. Many films, produced in the '60s, cannot find the opportunity to be released in theatres easily for many years. With the 61 constitutions, directors find ways to produce their films without censorship. They made films about the oppression of poor people, workers, and migrants.

Although in Turkey the social realist cinema movement could not continue for too long as a movement, it had a great effect on the films produced after it. Directors, who follow this way, are divided into groups mostly according to what they oppose. With social realist cinema, it is understood that Turkey has many good directors who want to produce the reality of their society for them. Their common purpose is to reflect the struggles they experience or witness. The period between the fall of the DP and the newly established JP, which was established as a continuation of DP, made many directors appear. Metin Erksan, Halit Refiğ, and Duygu Sağıroğlu's Social Realist Films have been produced in these years. However, this environment disappears with the election of JP, and the restrictions, which make the filmmakers' production difficult, come back. Therefore, this prevents the Social Realist Cinema Movement from continuing as a Movement. Directors do not stop making films, but they turn their direction into a more national narrative. Kılıcı (2019) states that Social Realist cinema films have tried to transfer all reality to cinema by analyzing the current social order with an objective and unbiased perspective, and also aimed to create a new national cinematic language of its own. So, directors have to move away different way. Directors continue different cinema movements to tell their concerns. In Turkey,

with the effect of Yeşilçam, melodrama and comedy films are dominant characteristics in the cinema. Although this thesis focuses on the social realist part of the films, the melodramatic and comedy characteristics cannot be denied. Moreover, sometimes they can be intersected with that pain or struggle people encounter more melodramatic or comedy tone of the narration.

2.3. Ulusal Cinema Movement

Ulusal cinema movement is mostly a reflection of Halit Refiğ's point of view, especially against westernization ideas. Refiğ defines westernization as an illusion that the intellectuals of backward societies hold on to eliminate the feeling of inferiority that comes from seeing advanced societies in the face of the fact that their own societies cannot develop. Westernization is a recurring image of a social disability among the intelligentsia (Refiğ, 2019: 43). Using a western tool, cinema, in order to express Turkish thought needs an adaptation to Turkish thought structure, method, content and style. Without doing these, cinema turns into a tool for distortion of the local culture, and the origins of the culture. The approach to the west is an unending discussion for Turkish thinkers.

To understand why Turkey should have a different path in Cinema production from the West, although it is tried to be applied, many things should be comprehended. Turkey and Turkey's Cinema are different from the West. According to Refiğ, there are two types of cinema in the world. American cinema, which consists of big capital, and is based on a market economy, emerged in developed industrial countries. The other one is the cinema organised by the government, which does not serve the economy but the dominant culture of the government. However, for Turkey, both do not fit because in Turkey the cinema is based on neither big capital nor the government. In Turkey, cinema is "Halk sineması", public cinema or people's cinema (Erverdi, 2013: 6). Turkish cinema develops with the audience. The ratings are the fundamental factors for producers to make films.

In Turkey, film makers affected by the Social Realist Movement use the cinema as a tool for an idea. Because there was no formal education for cinema in Turkey until the 70s, most of the directors had different backgrounds. What can be seen in some of them is that they choose to be a cinema thinker and writer at first. After they enter the sector, they tend to make their own films such as Metin Erksan, Halit Refiğ, Lütfi Akad, and Atif Yılmaz. They have something to tell or show. Cinema is not the only entertainment for these directors. They use it as a tool for expressing their ideas and reflecting the society. The first systemized movements in Turkish cinema were created by Halit Refiğ and Metin Erksan. They try to create a cinema based on the origins of Turkey against the productions copying the west's ideas, styles, methods, or productions totally. Refiğ argues that Turkish cinema should not imitate western cinema that is based on different socio-cultural roots. He defines that Turkey has a different background from the ancient Greek and Roman societies based on slavery to the Feudal Western European societies. They are based on land slavery, after private ownership of land, and then turn into the dominance of a certain class in industry and commerce. So this prevents Turkey from applying the same paths as other societies. This theory is called the Asiatic mode of production by Marx. The ancient, feudal, and capitalist modes of production were basically European phenomena that were not necessarily applicable to non-European societies (Shollomo, 1969). In countries like Turkey, or India, people do not have ownership of the land but only the using rights. So, they cannot have capital accumulation to pass to their kids, but everything is their kings or emperors. So, trying to apply western culture to Turkey is not something that is likely to work.

Turkey, relating to its location, is open to the effects of various cultures but the western impacts have become a hot topic for Turkey. Refiğ and Erksan work to prevent the country from going in this direction. They write about this and make films to support their arguments. Although Refiğ puts effort into working with an English cameraman from Sight and Sound and he tries to make films with German filmmakers at the beginning, he decides not to do. He states that working with them causes the loss of themselves, and getting out of their origins, so he decides that to be able to protect our own culture and worth, we have to do amongst

ourselves and stand on our own feet (Refiğ, 2019: 26). However, the censorship, the socio-economic and political environment, and the lack of studies on Turkish cinema led to that young cinema lovers to tend to foreign cinema.

2.4. Milli Cinema Movement

Yücel Çakmaklı's milli cinema like Refiğ's ulusal cinema is against the westernization. However, the milli cinema movement puts forward against the west by the religious figures and motivations which have to be followed according to him. Against Western and European cinema, Çakmaklı sees milli cinema as back to the essence. While Çakmaklı prepares to make films against the Western temptation, Refiğ takes the head, and Çakmaklı goes after. Çakmaklı made the first film of this Movement in 1970, Birleşen Yollar (Sim, 2010). It can be said that milli cinema cannot go further becoming a cinema movement rather than a cinema currant (Ertürk, 2021: 116).

Most of our films are imitations of made-up American films made by commercial producers and directors who see cinema only as a means of commerce, or vulgar comedies and luscious melodramas based on market novels. (...) Turkish cinema will be able to attain the identity of a national cinema only by producing films that reflect the Anatolian realities, blended with the beliefs, national characters and traditions of the villagers and citizens and the Muslim Turkish people who value spiritual values above material (Çakmaklı, 1964: 3).

Although it continues with ups and downs, Sim states that milli cinema was on the rise until the middle of the 90s. In this process, it is an important place that Milli Cinema finds a place in TRT for many years (Sim, 2010: 216). However, the 28 February process changes things for intellectuals, but Sim argues that filmmakers who speak very radically alter their approach with 28 February 1997 Military intervention (Sim, 2010).

2.5. Revolutionary Cinema Movement

The "revolutionary cinema" discussions, which started with the October Revolution in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Vertov and continued with

Godard in France during the revolutionary 68 generations in the following years (Keşaplı, 2012), were seen in Turkey in the 60s-70s. It was developed by people around the Cinematheque Association and people who separated and issued a periodical, Genç Sinema (Young Cinema).

Young cinema is absolutely against all Yeşilçam in the world. Wherever you are on earth, there is really only one enemy. Universality in this sense goes hand in hand with the idea of nationality. Young Cinema believes that a national work that is solid, well-established and has real artistic values will automatically gain universal dimensions (Keşaplı, 2012: 55).

They support the argument that the cinema has to be revolutionary, independent and facing to Public. However, the revolutionary cinema movement could not produce more than a couple of films even though they had lost film reels. Yeres criticizes themselves about this issue and says that in the Young Cinema movement, we preferred talking rather than making films, and so nothing came up (Keşaplı, 2012: 55). They could not make films while they spent time on theoretical discussions of film production.

2.6. Cinema Wars⁴

With the Social Realist Cinema Movement, Cinema becomes a sociocultural and political field in which filmmakers express their ideologies through their films. However, it cannot be limited to the films they make, but also their personal statements are important to Turkey's sociocultural community. As in many fields, in cinema, there are different perspectives, and intellectuals who they are film makers and critics. The discussions among these intellectuals in Turkey, which Refiğ (2019) calls Cinema Wars, are very significant to open a window. These people are not only producers for fun, but they are intellectuals to try to contribute to society as a whole. What they do is not only claim an idea, but they work to reflect some truths in society, showing how it should be, or telling the people their ideas about what is happening in society. Because these people have different

⁴ Refiğ, H. (2019). *Ulusal sinema kavgası*(4nd Ed.). Dergah Yayınları.

approaches, they have different interpretations and solutions for the same problems. Refiğ blames the Cinematheque Association for trying to restrain the films produced under the Ulusal Cinema movement. He accuses them of keeping silent about valuable films and having business failure, such as *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, *Keşanlı Ali Destanı*, *Haremde Dört Kadın*, *Bitmeyen Yol*, *Hudutların Kanunu*, or *Sevmek Zamanı*. These films were produced in the '60s, and their values for Turkish social realist cinema are understood after many years. What Refiğ criticizes the most is that this association does not include any filmmaker among its founders, and they have an opposing attitude against the Turkish filmmakers and their problems (Refiğ, 2019). Although this association tries adding many important directors to themselves, they cannot be successful in this. According to Refiğ, they put an effort to convince Lütfi Akad, Metin Erksan, Duygu Sağıroğlu, Memduh Ün, Atif Yılmaz, Osman Seden, and Alp Zeki Heper, but they could not. He claims that they, the social realist movement, are defeated because there is no real bourgeois having a nationalistic character (Refiğ, 2019). In Turkey, the bourgeoisie is interested in the western arts which are not appropriate for Turkish cinema. Turkey, in its cinema, encounters a comprador bourgeoisie. Metin Erksan, Lütfi Akad, Duygu Sağıroğlu, Ertem Göreç, and Halit Refiğ, as Sine-iş (Turkey Cinema Workers Union), work to establish an organization to establish a professional system and protect the workers in cinema sector. Although they got many members very fast, they could not succeed. They failed against the propagandas (Refiğ, 2019). Refiğ in his book, *Ulusal Sinema Kavgası* (National Cinema Fight), examines this issue in detail. He argues that he and many important directors endeavor to develop a ulusal cinema which is totally domestic manufacturing against the western ones. However, they failed in the political environment in Turkey against the comprador bourgeois.

The other perspective also should be regarded, some members of Cinematheques Association, Onat Kutlar and Nijat Özön. Refiğ blames in his book, *Ulusal Sinema Kavgası*, them who are significant critics of Turkish cinema. There are no well-coordinated writings about Turkish Cinema before Nijat Özön's *The History of Turkish Cinema (Türk Sineması Tarihi)*. Even today it is one of the most used sources for cinema research. Özön criticizes Turkish filmmakers and their

inadequacies. He criticizes Muhsin Ertuğrul very harshly that he is not a filmmaker, and he says about Ertuğrul;

Cinema was a secondary job for him. Besides, there was a very simple formula he applied in this secondary job: When the theatre season was over, taking the actors of the 'City Theater' to the audience, making them repeat any play they played during the last theatre season. Or they take any foreign film and create a remake. (Özön, 1968).

Moreover, he states that Ertuğrul has been a dictator in Turkish Cinema for many years, that he is the only producer, and his works are totally useless. If he does not do any films, it becomes much better for the cinema sector (Özön, 1962). While he criticizes Refiğ's Fatma Bacı, as being superficial for treating its psychological or economic problems, he gives Refiğ his due in his film, *Haremde Dört Kadın* being a good representative of the period (Scognamillo, 2014). Although he emphasizes the deficiencies of the Turkish cinema, he celebrates Akad and Güney by saying

The one who continues and develops the line of Akad in Turkish cinema, who can be considered its only 'legitimate heir', at the same time functions as a link between the Age of Cinematographers and the Young/New Cinema period, and also started this last period artist is Yılmaz Güney (Özön, 1985).

While Kutlar criticizes the current situation of Turkish cinema, he attributes the problem to the inability to discuss about the dialectical development of cinema in Turkey. In this context, it demands a new, alternative and independent cinema that is completely separate from the dominant film industry (ie Yeşilçam). Thus, Kutlar's ideological stance places the nascent Cinematheque Association in the position of "behind the front of a fight" (Yıldırım, 2018). According to Kutlar, the art of cinema has to be socialist, realist and revolutionary. The revolutionary filmmaker's understanding of how to make a film and their understanding of nationality are related to class-based concepts that are directly related to the content, such as "being towards the people" and acting "in line with the ideology of the working class". However, Kutlar completely rejects Erksan and Refiğ's ulusal cinema movement, influenced by the historical novel master Kemal Tahir.

He blames them by building on the theme of "Anatolian peasantry", which is thought not to be westernized but degenerated (Yıldırım, 2018). Therefore, all this supports what Refiğ says about how Cinematheque Association remains silent when many important films go through economic difficulties or struggle with censorship, such as *Bitmeyen Yol*, *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*, *Hudutların Kanunu*, or *Sevmek Zamanı* and many of them (Refiğ, 2019).

2.7. Changes in Turkey's Cinema as a Sector

The years between 1950 and 1975, are important because there was a tax reduction in 1948 in cinema production. So many businessmen entered the cinema sector as producers. Positive developments in the field of economy in Turkey came to an end in 1953. After the re-restriction of imports, many of the basic consumption needs became unmet over time. Foreign film importers suffered the first major blow due to the devaluation. The second major blow was experienced in raw film imports. However, as a black market for the raw film has emerged and is already being purchased at high prices, Turkish Cinema's domestic production has suffered less than anticipated. It can even be said that it has become more advantageous than foreign films. Due to the economic crisis and its devaluation, Turkish Cinema is first affected negatively, then positively. Despite the economic crisis, the number of spectators in Istanbul, which had 164 film theatres, in 1958, was 28.123.550 (Özön, 1968: 137). However, it is not enough that in the 1950s, it is seen that the capital accumulation in the cinema sector did not reach a sufficient level. Producers and directors who wanted to meet the increasing demand for films started to do co-productions. With the joining of the migrant from rural to urban to the city population, the number of the audience increased a lot. Their participation as an audience in the cinema sector, whose technological opportunities and demand satisfaction rate are increasing day by day, the total audience of 20 million people in the late 1940s reached 60 million in 1958-59, and the number of seats increased from 175,000 to 400,000 (Erkılıç, 2003: 68).

Although in these transition years produced films are very similar to each other, these directors put efforts into producing films telling the real stories of the people from Turkish society. Since Turkey imports films mostly from America, there is an influence on Turkish-produced films and their stories. However, these thinkers, no matter what film genre they belong to, mainly produce a thesis against westernisation. There is no help from the west, but getting any support causes the loss of the origins. Refiğ does not deny that it is a tool that originated from the west, but the method used to produce films, stories wanted to be told, and the style they should tell have to be our's (Turkey's).

The 12 September 1980 coup changed the cinema sector because it came with its restrictions. By the end of 1982, a new Constitution was introduced that restricted political rights, increased the powers of the state, and expanded the scope of religious life to prevent the appeal of leftist ideologies to the young (Arat & Pamuk, 2019: 1). So, films including Social Realist features cannot find a place in the cinema theatres, but arabesque and singer films can find (Sim,2010). While in the 70s sexually explicit films have been started to be dominated the cinema theatre, with the 80's restricted era, arabesque films started to dominate the sector. So, when these were added to the political environment of Turkey, families stayed away from the cinema for many years. What Turkey's cinema sustained is the videocassettes, especially pirate videocassettes. However, with a law in 1987, it is also restricted (2010). At the end of the 80s, all over the world, American Cinema dominated all local cinema and opened many offices also in Turkey.

The political and economic atmosphere makes people close to their homes. In theatres, American films can attract the attention of audiences. In these years, the government has tried to support new films with the Ministry of Culture. Turkey has become a member of Eurimages, which is the fund established to check and support European Cinema against American Cinema (Sim, 2020). This is an important support for Art Cinema in Turkey. Despite many efforts, Turkey's Cinema could revive again in 1996 with Eşkiya.

2.8. Migration in Turkey's Cinema

The first film that focuses on migration from rural to urban in Turkey is *Gurbet Kuşları* which was made by Halit Refiğ in 1964. Migration influx started in the 50s, and it got bigger in the 60s. Halit Refiğ and Duygu Sağıroğlu are the first directors who include migration in their films as a main topic. The population of the country increases, and its density changes from rural to urban. This population movement is so critical to understand today's society. People move to the cities, they leave agriculture and enter industry and service sectors, so all their lives are changing.

In this study, films with social realist features are chosen, so the representation of migration in the films will be examined. In this respect, from the '60s, 2 films are chosen, *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964) and *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965). These two show the first migrations to İstanbul with great hopes. People, who cannot see any future in their villages, decide to find a place in İstanbul. İstanbul is a city full of opportunities for migrants. To refer this fruitful environment in this city, even a phrase has emerged about İstanbul that it is paved with gold. Therefore, it becomes the fundamental destination for most of the migrants. In the '70s, it increased much more. People take courage from the migrants they know and migrate to find any hope of having better living conditions. So, in this study, 6 films were chosen *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974) and *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979). In these films, people are more aware of what they should expect from İstanbul than the first migrants, but they still have big hope for the city. The 80s are the years that the atmosphere is changing because the country is also changing. There is no hope as much as before, but people still migrate to İstanbul. They think that in İstanbul there are possibilities which are not in the village. Although they start to understand that İstanbul is not paved with gold, they migrate because they do not have any other plan. In the '80s, films were chosen, *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), and *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). In these two films, the disappointment of the migrants, who come with a dream of relying on their

countrymen, can be seen more. People start to realize that they have to struggle with life's difficulties by themselves.

Therefore, it cannot be said that there are no films focusing on migration issue after the end of the 80s. However, the way of looking at this issue is changed. There are a new way of approaching to many topics as well as migration that the depression in which people live in the big cities as an individual is one of them. Nuri Bilge Ceylan's *Uzak* (2002) is one of the best examples of this. It tells the story of the conflict between an old migrant, who get used to city life alone, and his countryman, who comes to him for a short time and does not go.

CHAPTER 3

THEORY OF MIGRATION

I will mention the theories about migration and migration literature in Turkey to establish a relationship between sociology literature and films which I will discuss. I will not include all but some points to create a bridge between the cinema and literature.

3.1. Understanding Migration Conceptually

What is migration? and Who is the migrant? are the first questions that should be answered. According to the Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu-TLA), the definition of migration is the act of moving individuals or communities from one country to another, from one settlement to another for economic, social, or political reasons, moving, emigration, and immigration (TLA, 2021). International Organization for Migration (Uluslararası Göç Örgütü - IOM) also defines

The migrant as an umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflects the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students (IOM, 2019).

It should be mentioned that there is not an internationally accepted definition of migration or migrant. As IOM calls it, an umbrella term, an exact definition cannot be done. It is a process that people go through. This process starts with thinking of migration somewhere and continues at least until the migrants adapt to where they

go. It is a complicated process that while migration can be a driving factor for social change in some cases, it can be a result of social change sometimes (Şen, 2012; İçduygu ve Ünalın 1998; Yalçın, 2004). Therefore, migration can be noticed in many countries in their own way. Below I will discuss migration decision-making phase first. Secondly, the main theories which tried to explain the emergence of migration will be summarized. Then, after theories focusing on why migration continues will be explained, the relationship between migration and poverty will be mentioned finally.

3.2. Migration Decisions

People decide to migrate in different ways; however, in a society, there are some patterns which can be examined under three titles. These are individualistic, mass\forced migration and chained migration.

When migration is an *individualistic-rationalist decision*, there is an economic analysis involved in it. Who think of migrating start to calculate the advantages and disadvantages of this decision. S\he has to think about his current state and what s\he will lose and gain after migration. If the gains are more than the losses, s/he could decide on migration. The individual deciding to migrate tries to choose the best job for himself. S\he searches for finding the most appropriate job for his skills, professional, and background. Although s\he could not find the best one, this attempt shows that s\he is a realistic actor who has an active role in his life (Kaygalak, 2009; Özer, 2004; Tekeli, 2011). In this type of migration, because the individuals act realistically, they migrate after finding a job. Therefore, this can prevent extreme and beyond-control migration. In underdeveloped and developing countries, people do not act in this way. They prefer to go for a job after migrating (Tekeli, 2011: 31).

Another type of migration is *mass\forced migration*. As of the early 2000s, it is estimated that approximately 25 million people worldwide have been displaced within their own countries. As of 2005, this figure is 23.7 million people in 50

countries (Ünalın qt by Norwegian Refugee Council, [NRC], 2006). This type of migration is quite different from others. There is no plan or control over the process. The decisions on the economic, social, or political issues that governments make lead to mass\forced migrations. In addition to the difficulty of this process, migrants go through various social problems. They find themselves in unexpected and unplanned situations, so this causes these migrants to have the possibility to enter informal sectors more. Since they have to find a job immediately somewhere they do not know, they find jobs in informal and low-paid sectors. In Turkey, especially village evacuations were seen in the eastern and southeastern regions because of security and terror problems (Kurban et al., 2008). However, mass migration is not a widespread topic for the films especially for the period I choose.

The *chained migration* is the most widespread migration type in Turkey. It is defined as continuing the migrants' contact with the old and new networks (Erder, 2002: 144). A network can be a relative, a neighbor, a hemşehri (countrymen) or someone who have common friends. People choose to migrate where their relatives, friends, or hemşehris migrated before because they can get benefit their networks' guidance. People use their networks to find a job and home and stay until they find a home for themselves. This is a significant advantage for migrants who do not have enough capital. It is argued that this type of migration is less risky than others thanks to these networks. They use their networks to find a house or a job (Ayata & Ayata, 1996). Becoming hemşehri in the city is a vital assistance while finding job, and a house. While family migration can be seen together in Turkey, gradual migration is also common. First, the man of the family migrates, finds a job and a house, and then slowly carries his family with him. The both of them can be witnessed in the chosen films as well.

3.3. Theory of the Emergence of Migration

People migrate to attain better living conditions than they have. It can be economic, social, political, cultural, and educational reasons; moreover, these reasons are intertwined with each other most of the times. People do not leave their whole lives quickly for only one reason, but they evaluate the positive and negative aspects. These are all subjective evaluations at a point because the priorities, opportunities, and expectations are different. In the following part of the study, various theories about migration process, how people decide, and which factors have an influence on this decision are summed up.

3.3.1. Ernst Georg Ravenstein

Ravenstein started the first systematic and sociological analysis in 1885 with his work called *The Laws of Migration*. He focuses on absorption and dispersion in his study, and distance is an important factor in deciding. People migrate to the cities from the closer villages, and the other close places fill the gap they cause. The original seven laws of migration that Ravenstein listed is as below:

- 1) Most migrants only proceed a short distance and toward centres of absorption.
- 2) As migrants move toward absorption centres, they leave "gaps" that are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, creating migration flows that reach "the most remote corner of the kingdom."
- 3) The process of dispersion is inverse to that of absorption.
- 4) Each main current of migration produces a compensating countercurrent.
- 5) Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.
- 6) The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country.

7) Females are more migratory than males (Corbett, 2003)

According to Ravenstein, the fundamental reason for relocating is to become economically in better conditions; other reasons are not as important as this one. People want to improve their economic situation first. The second discussion of him is the continuity, why people proceed to move. The logic of this continuity of this process is the development of industry and the increase in the number of industry and trade centres (Yalçın, 2004; Çağlayan, 2006). The increase in the opportunity to find a job in these industries is essential in migrating there.

3.3.2. New-classical Theory: Push and Pull Theory

In the Theory of Migration article, Everett S. Lee (1966) evaluates the work of Ravenstein and claims that after Ravenstein, most of the theorists studied it. However, no one could go further than a tendency to look at the demographic structure of migration. Lee concentrates on migration, but he states that migrants are the actors who should not be ignored while analyzing the whole process. This theory centers on analyzing why people migrate and the objective and subjective factors (Canatan, 2020: 106-108). The pushing and pulling factors of migration are below:

1. Factors related to place lived
2. Factors related to the place that is thought to go
3. Challenges that interfere in the process
4. Individualistic factors (Yalçın, 2004: 30).

People migrate for a better life, so the factors above are considered with positive and negative effects. These all should be evaluated separately and then should be compared to reach an ultimate decision. If the gains of migration exceed the losses, it means that migration can be implemented. Otherwise, it is not a rational decision to make.

3.3.3. Marxist Theory: Center-Periphery Relations

This theory leans on the capitalist economic idea, criticizing the new-classical theory that inequality is not natural and irrepressible. Migration can be seen as necessary and inescapable if inequality is accepted at any level. Nevertheless, it is neither a coincidence nor a destiny. It is the result of historical development processes. Migration is the product of the relationship between developed and underdeveloped societies. According to this theory, the determinant of migration is not labour-force/migrant-workers, but it is the capitalist centers. They create the need for a labor force so that people move accordingly. Therefore, this catalyzes the population agglomeration in the industrial centers. In underdeveloped and developing countries, this agglomeration can overstrain the possibilities of the cities and result in unequal development (Canatan, 2020: 108). No one has an equal opportunity to reach resources in the cities. There are some determinants that separate people.

While the classical Marxists prioritise the economic base and ignore the other factors, Neo-Marxists try to develop the non-economical side of this theory. Neo-Marxists do not deny what the classical theory is doing, but they want to develop it upon superstructural, social, political, and cultural factors. It tries to understand the effects of non-economic factors on migration decision.

3.3.4. New Economic Migration Theory

In this theory, migration is based on the family or household's decisions. It means that this theory chooses to look at groups than individuals because people are the social units that live with collective ideas and strategies. Besides, people migrate to have better insurance and equality, not only to have better economic conditions. Especially it can be said that traditional societies, which attach great importance to the institution of the family, make decisions in the grip of the family. Moreover, in the countries like Turkey, this family can be enlarged into distant relatives. This decision-making process is controlled by the eldest man in the family in patriarchal

societies. In traditional families, there is a hierarchy, and women and children act according to their father, husband, brother, or\and brother-in-law. It is the same in almost all-important decisions, and migration is one of them (Canatan, 2020: 113-114). The differences in income level are not the primary determinant in this theory.

3.3.5. Dual Labour Market Theory

It is also called Lewis' Limitless Labor Supply Theory because the rural is seen as the limitless labor supply. The industrial system, called the modern sector, has a great capacity to produce; hence, this will bring the need for a labor force. Rural follow the traditional mode of production with limited production capacity, so the excess of the labor force in the rural moves to the urban (Canatan, 2020). In the industrial centers, unskilled and less-paid jobs are attributed to women and children, which can be under bad conditions. However, after these movements, some of these jobs were found suitable for migrants. They do not have formal education, and they are obligated to these jobs. Therefore, the working conditions in some of them are accepted only by migrants. This is related to the social status of people. The women and children's status changed over time, and they left their places to migrants. These create a reciprocal effect that as migrants work in these eras, the local people refrain from them. After a while, these jobs started to be called migrant jobs.

3.3.6. Ecological Balance Theory

In this theory, the balance between the needs of society and the environment's potentiality is the main point. When the balance is broken, migration can be seen. Imbalance shows that the consumption capacity exceeds the environment's endurance. It can prevail in the population increase, changes in the routine consumption patterns, or ecological imbalances. Different societies act differently against situations like that, passive reactions like hunger, technic/technological innovations, imports, and migration/conquests. It is arguable how this theory will

explain migration in modern society. Nevertheless, it has the potential to explain migration caused by ecological disasters like drought and climate change (Canatan, 2020: 118).

Therefore, in this thesis, for analyzing films, the Push and Pull Theory is chosen. It is called New-classical Theory: Push and Pull Theory by Everett S. Lee. It supports the analysis as the most fitted choice. It will be seen obviously in the analysis chapter that there is push and pull factors making people migrate to Istanbul. In this theory, these factors, the obstacles people can encounter, and individualistic factors are calculated. Making both subjective and objective analyses is one of the most important reasons for choosing this theory. Migration from rural to urban in Turkey does not have one dimension but more. Urbanization is not only seen as a population accumulation. It involves much more than just aggregation of population to certain cities (Kartal, 1978). Hence, the Push and pull theory will fit this thesis to be able to make a more dimensional analysis.

3.4. Why does Migration continue?

The network theory is one the factors which affect the continuity. The Network is an essential social capital for people. The network can be anyone known from their hometown, a friend, or a relative of their friends. The risk and cost of migration can be decreased thanks to these networks. It enhances the ability to find a job and a house. Even some information heard that there are life opportunities that can boost the idea of going. There are some forced migrations where the government is the starter of the movement, or the unequal developments due to the government policies can oblige people to migrate to the cities. Canatan (2020) claims that the government started migration but cannot control it. Governments can lead to forced or volunteer migrations with political issues, terror problems, or unequal development; however, they do not have the power to stop it. They can only be prepared to support the fundamental rights of humans with the substructure of the cities.

The corporate theory claims that after migrations have started, some private and volunteer institutions try to provide what the migrants need. They are working to encourage people who want to migrate for a better life. Because it is a long, complicated, and costly period, people can choose to get help from these institutions. Besides, these are not always friendly. Nevertheless, this is not an easy process to control. The ability to earn money from this causes the emergence of the black market (Canatan, 2020: 121). People who see that as a way of abuse can make use of it. This can raise the informal sector people get money unjustly.

The cumulative theory can be analysed within the context of network and system theory. What is common in these theories is to take the migrants as a social capital source. So even only social capital is a reason to encourage migration. Migration movement can change both societies, migration-receiving and sending countries. During the periods that huge worker-migration movements happened, migrants fulfilled a need in the sectors. This fulfilment leads to the withdrawal of the local workers from these jobs. So there are labels that migrant jobs that local workers do not prefer anymore (Canatan, 2020: 122). When a society starts to receive migration, migrants become an essential part of that country.

According to migration systems theory, at the micro-level, kinship and friendship systems have affected migration, and at the macro level, economics, sovereignty, political systems, national migration politics, and socio-cultural systems affect migration processes. Migration supports not only economic developments but also social ones. Moreover, not only migration-receiving society but also the sending place get advantages. Migrants help their hometown economically with the currency, and they carry what they learn from the developed place to their hometown. It can be social, cultural, knowledge, skill, or attitude (Canatan, 2020: 123).

After migration started, it can be said Network Theory became a dominant one in Turkey. Corporate, and Cumulative Migration Theories are seen mostly in the external migrations. However, Network Theory can be seen in the chosen films

Relatives, neighbors, or hemşehris, who visit their village after they migrate to the city or send any news about their lives in the city, affect people in the village. The people in the village aspire and think that if they can do it, we can do it as well. Moreover, this relationship makes their migration much easier.

3.5. Poverty and Migration

Poverty is directly related to average income level, economic growth, and unequal income distribution. In the free market economy, the economy's growth can be thought of as the development of the country as all, but it is not like that. It is found that the economic status that they belong to at the beginning determines what they get from this growth. It means that countries' unequal distribution of income at the beginning have unequal growth eventually (Şenses, 2006: 151). The unequal distribution of income causes a wage gap between the classes when there is unequal growth. So this means that while a part of the population leads their lives in wealth, a part of it has to live in poverty.

There are two arguments about the relationship between poverty and migration. The first one is the wage gaps between rural and urban. Kıray emphasizes that mechanization in agriculture increases class differentiation. The mechanization in agriculture has completely changed the existing agricultural sector and increased social differentiation in the region (Kıray, 1999: 158). Besides, with the technological developments and industrialization of the urban, new job opportunities emerged in the city centers. Therefore, these changes push people to migrate. People who cannot earn as much as enough to meet their family's needs choose to migrate to the urban. However, underdeveloped and developing countries like Turkey have difficulty coping with this. The city centers are not ready for people who lose their jobs in rural and want to find a job and a home in the urban. Hence, the development in the urban cannot catch up with the people who pour into the cities. This imbalance is the reason for urban poverty. Thus, urban poverty is a reflection of rural poverty (Şenses, 2006: 161). Because the government and the private sectors provide enough opportunities for migrant

people to work and earn their lives, the poverty in the rural areas is carried to urban areas with them. The second argument states that poverty is the restrictive factor in migration. The people who are at the level of poor in rural areas cannot use the opportunity to migrate, so they get the benefits of migration least. Poverty and migration do not have a direct relationship, but they have many factors that construct their relations. It has need to analyze multi-dimensionally. In Turkey, it is not something to be seen at most, and it is not preferred to be included in films. Thanks to network usage, poverty is not something that deterred people from migrating. However, it is a reason to migrate, and something carried to cities with them.

CHAPTER 4

THE DOMESTIC MIGRATION IN TURKEY

Theoretical approaches which are studied by many scientists stated to be able to see what is studied until now. While the theoretical studies are summarized above, the domestic migration will be explained in this chapter. For Turkey, migration to Germany is one of the most important movements. Many people moved to Germany as workers in 1961 with the Turkey-Germany Labor Agreement (Uluslararası İşGücü Genel Müdürlüğü | İKili İşGücü Anlaşmaları, n.d.). Turkey, like many developing countries, meets migration again in the 20th century with industrialization. Although many international migrations are seen with the 1961 agreement, in this study domestic migration which has experienced dramatically for decades will be discussed via social realist cinema. Domestic migration is crucial to concentrate on the transformation in society. Yasa (1966), in his study, *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri* (Slum families in Ankara), shows that the dominant system of property ownership is small business management. Moreover, it is interesting that only 0.8% of all farming families own one-fifth of the cultivated land (Yasa, 1966: 16-17). In Turkey, 75% of people was living in the rural areas before the '50s. Agriculture and stock raising are the fundamental means of existence. Therefore, their lives revolve around agriculture which is the fundamental production structure. Many people work as sharecroppers that they give the crops which they cultivate in the farms to landowner (Ağa). Then their landowners share some with sharecroppers which it can be seen in one of the films, *Züğürt Ağa*. In addition to this, there are people in the rural areas who earn their livings from stock raising. It can be seen especially the eastern part of the country. Yalçın-Heckmann (1993) studies stock raising in *Sheep and Money* that people in the Eastern Turkey lead their lives by selling and buying animals mostly sheep. Moreover, it provides people with the opportunity to make illegal trade, smuggling, with the other side of the border (Yalçın-Heckmann, 1993; Beşikçi,

1970). Because people in the rural are far and disconnected from the central system, old feudal system continues in some levels. However, it should be mentioned that the Eastern part of country is not preferred often to portray in the films directly. These topics are approached either cautiously or as an element of comedy. There are landowners and sheikhs in some of the villages

The history of feudalism is nothing but the ongoing class conflicts between the landed nobility and the peasantry. The fundamental contradiction arises in the feudal mode of production. The feudal mode of production determines the social and political organization in the form of tribalism with religious institutions such as sheikhdom, and it gives it legitimacy and legality according to its own needs (Beşikçi, 1969: 19).

The main problem is the sheikhism which interprets and numbs the religion of Islam according to this ownership and production models, particularly feudal ownership and production relations, and the tribal social and political organization in accordance with all these factors (Beşikçi, 1969: 18-19).

It is portrayed above the life in the villages before starting to migrate to cities. It is significant to understand their migration motivation better. There are changes, toward the end of the 20th century, that most of the population lives in the urban areas, and employment in agriculture passes to other sectors, especially service sector. The films which will be discussed later in this study also portray these alterations. These changes result in domestic migration. Therefore, to comprehend the domestic migration better, some of its fundamental reasons will be summarized below. Although these are under three headings, it should not be forgotten that these reasons are intertwined with each other: mechanization, change in the agricultural structure, and progress in transportation.

The beginning of the 20th century was a turning point for mechanization of agriculture. In 1924, 221 tractors were imported, and the Turkish Agricultural Equipment Institution was established in 1944. This number arrived, in 1960,

100.000 (Keyder, 2014: 194). This is the messenger of the following steps, like the US-supported in 1948 with Marshall Plan that enhances the agricultural machinery assets (*Türkiye'de Tarım Makineleri Tarihi*, 2019). The entrance of these machines into Turkish agriculture has crucial importance for the country. Agricultural production was the main sector of employment in Turkey before the 50s. Therefore, the mechanization in agriculture has a major impact on all these people. Especially, with Marshall aid, America supports the agricultural production system in Turkey. Pastures are included in agriculture with tractors, so the cultivated land increases but the husbandry is affected negatively. People can cultivate many more products with fewer people. These influence some good on big ownership, but breeders have problems (Oktar & Varlı, 2010). Yasa (1966) puts forward that agricultural workers cannot get the support that industrial workers get. They cannot get the labor wage industrial workers get and they cannot get benefits from the same legal rights that industrial workers have. Hence, they choose to transfer into the industrial sector in the cities. Mechanization in agriculture led sharecroppers to migrate to the cities. The reason why it causes these people to move is that these machines substitute many sharecroppers, so they become unemployed.

Disorganization in landownership is one of the factors that people migrate to the cities (Yasa, 1966) because it cause the inequal distribution land and so income. This inequality between farmer families also represents their income inequality because it is their only source of income. Therefore, what happens to the lands they cultivate affects the decisions of these people about whether to stay in that village. According to Yasa, most of the lands in Turkey's rural area are infertile farms and in small pieces. This leads them not to be rewarded for their efforts. He finds the credits given to agriculture and the development program for a show (1966: 21). These only work for a small group of farmer families, but not for most of them. In addition to all these, there are an increasing population; so, this increase causes the division of the land into much smaller pieces. The land of a father is inherited to his sons. Therefore, whether the land is fertile or not, when it is divided more, it becomes worse off. The separated and small lands are their income that is

no longer sufficient (Stirling, 1965: 140-141). While for most of the population this makes them migrate to cities, there can be different reasons of course. For some large landowners, there is a different path. They can end up with a social stratification (Akşit, 1993). They can get machines instead of sharecroppers and continue for some time. Then with the decrease of the raw material's price, they also start to have problems. Another inspiration is the different approaches of father and son that young generations have more potential to search a new life in the cities. It can be said that the reflection of modernization on rural life can cause the emergence of migration idea. The sons who do not want to conflict with their fathers start to be charmed by the city, promising to secure their future (istikbal) (Schiffauer, 1993). While people start to lose their hopes on their villages, they are tempted by the opportunities in the cities.

These years are important to start the integration of rural and urban because parallelly transportation network also developed. Therefore, while rural society can start to enter the labor market, secular academic middle schools, vocational-technical schools, teacher training schools, and half secular half Islamic imam hatip schools have reached the villages (Akşit, 1993). Therefore, there is a big transformation in the village's economic and social life. Keyder (1988) states that, in addition to mechanization, the opening of the forest lands, and the lands not cultivated for a while, provide more lands to cultivate. Cultivating the land is much easier than before because machines can harvest crops much more than humans. With this, the price of the crop people harvest will drop a lot, and the share of the agricultural workers will decrease (Kiray, 1999: 153). Because the raw material market loses its old value, the rural population's income decreases so much that people have to find different paths. Therefore, with the ease of transportation, people in rural areas see that they can enter labor market. This shows that some developments like transportation give the opportunity to improve many sectors; all are connected. People migrate to cities to support their households. Besides, the salability of the rural or domestic economy's products causes these economies' specialization. People in rural areas try that they can sell their own products in exchange for money. This can be with an awareness of the price and cost.

Therefore, while some choose to go out of the village to work, some convert their productions in the home and village into the farmers' market in the cities. This means commodifying both labor and product consumed and produced (Keyder, 1988: 163-164). Therefore, with implemented policies, foreign capital entered Turkey, agriculture and trade loans increased, and the number of small and medium-sized enterprises increased. With the developments in transportation, these people find a way of leading their lives by migrating closer to city centers (Tümertekin, 1973; İçduygu ve Sirkeci, 1999). Hence, in the cities, especially Istanbul, trade, and labor market started to grow. Most of the population in the rural are carried to Istanbul to be a part of this growing system to be able to receive a share for themselves.

Table 1. Proportion of city and village population (%)

Census year	City			Village		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1927	24,22	26,06	22,52	75,78	73,94	77,48
1935	23,53	24,82	22,29	76,47	75,18	77,71
1940	24,39	26,21	22,57	75,61	73,79	77,43
1945	24,94	26,50	23,37	75,06	73,50	76,63
1950⁽¹⁾	25,04	26,65	23,39	74,96	73,35	76,61
1955	28,79	30,60	26,91	71,21	69,40	73,09
1960	31,92	33,69	30,08	68,08	66,31	69,92
1965	34,42	36,16	32,62	65,58	63,84	67,38
1970	38,45	40,61	36,24	61,55	59,39	63,76
1975	41,81	43,41	40,12	58,19	56,59	59,88
1980	43,91	45,26	42,52	56,09	54,74	57,48
1985	53,03	54,58	51,44	46,97	45,42	48,56
1990	59,01	60,29	57,70	40,99	39,71	42,30
2000	64,90	65,30	64,50	35,10	34,70	35,50

Source: Tuik- Population Census, 1927-2000

As the table shows, throughout the 20th century, Turkey experienced massive domestic migration. Industrialization caused many alterations which happened via adaptations of the world. It creates a huge population that cannot find jobs in rural.

There are many reasons that people move to cities by leaving their homes. The most obvious reason for this is the mechanization that comes with the industrialization and modernization of agriculture.

At first, these changes cause an increase in seasonal migrations. Stirling observes in his study only seasonal migrations, but he states that men who see the outside worlds become much less hopeful for life in their villages (Stirling, 1965: 146). In light of these facts, the city centers become the center of attraction, and the dissociation of the rural is the result of these. What is interesting is that these migrations and mechanization in agriculture is not an indicator of real development in industrialization. As the table 2 shows, these migrants work in the service sector which has great growth in the big cities, especially Istanbul.

Table 2. Development in the sectoral distribution of the workforce in selected years

TABLO: XV.5.b. Seçilmiş Yıllarda İşgücünün Sektörel Dağılımında Gelişme
(15+ yaş, Bin Kişi)

	1962	%	1967	%	1972	%	1977	%	1983	%	1988	%	1993	%	1998	%
Tarım	9 740	77,0	9 556	72,2	9 307	66,9	9 100	61,8	9 451	60,7	8 369	50,6	8 397	45,0	9 282	30,6
Sanayi	995	7,9	1 222	9,2	1 491	10,7	1 859	12,6	1 911	12,3	2 512	15,2	2 916	15,6	3 610	11,9
Hizmetler	1 908	15,11	2 460	18,6	3 119	22,4	3 767	25,6	4 215	27,0	5 669	34,3	7 389	39,5	8 702	28,7
İnşaat	300	15,7	384	15,6	454	14,6	537	14,3	586	13,9	866	15,3	1 158	15,5	1 285	4,2
Ulaştırma	261	13,7	312	12,7	391	12,5	496	13,2	507	12,0	640	11,3	903	12,1	957	3,2
Ticaret	366	19,2	434	17,6	537	17,2	632	16,8	696	16,5	1 692	29,8	2 361	31,6	2 889	9,5
Banka-Sig.	52	2,7	87	3,5	157	5,0	188	5,0	217	5,1	381	6,7	421	5,6	511	1,6
Diğer Hizm.	711	37,3	916	37,2	1 298	41,6	1 644	43,6	1 935	45,9	2 090	36,9	2 628	35,2	3 058	10,1
Bilinmeyen	218	10,5	327	13,3	282	9,0	270	7,2	273	6,5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Toplam	12 643	100,0	13 238	100,0	13 917	100,0	14 726	100,0	15 577	100,0	16 550	100,0	18 600	100,0	21 594	100,0

Notlar: 1. Hizmetlerde işgücünün alt kesimlere dağılımı yüzdeleri ayrıca verilmiştir, toplam üç ana sektörün dağılımını verir.
2. 1988 ve 1992 için bilinmeyen istihdam sayısı ayrıca verilmemiştir.
3. Hizmetler'in 1993 yılının istihdamının alt sektörlerle dağılımı, DİE, HİA "ortalama" sonuçlarıdır; (TİY, 1994, s. 251) ve 12+yaş grubunu kapsar bu nedenle, alt sektör toplamın sektörün genel toplamından 82 bin kişi fazladır.

Kaynak: DPT. IVKP, s. 26 1985 Programı, s. 280; 1988 Programı, s. 336.; 1995 Yılı Geçiş Programı, s. 139; DPT, Temel Ekonomik Göstergeler, s. 131

Reference: Kepenek, Yentürk, 2001: 414

4.1. Between 1950 and 1980

After the '50s, 60% of migrants in the cities migrated because of not having enough land to cultivate (%46) and unemployment (%14). All changes in the

villages affect life in the urban. Because most of the migrants are uneducated, they work in unskilled jobs like construction. While men graduated from primary school, most women were illiterate. Besides, school-age children can be obligated to work to support their families. Hence, the lack of formal education is a vital determinant in people's lives. Because unskilled jobs bring families low salaries, more than one person has to work in the family. However, even this cannot prevent them from being at poverty risk.

The government could not meet the needs of all migrants, so they had to find a way for themselves. The formal ways cannot meet the needs of the migrants; so, they have to build small houses in the empty lands by themselves. With the increase in migration the number of these houses rise as well. These houses called as slums (gecekondu). Slums and the small buses(dolmuş) are emerged by migrants to meet their demands to accommodation and transportation because there are not enough supply. Slums which became problematic in the end of the 40's (Şenyapılı, 1978: 51). Dolmuş also, like Gecekondu houses, showed up in order to fulfil the increasing demands. People solve problems in the way they can solve or effort them (Tekeli, 1976: 151). In addition to the inability of the state to meet the needs, there are changes in the policies with January 24 decisions. These are the preparations for after 1980. According to Sallan Gül, January 24th decisions have clear and hidden purposes. The clear purpose is to decrease inflation, decreasing and removing the balance-of-payments deficit at the end. The hidden purpose is to aim for economic integration with the EU and international markets with the new liberal marketing implementations (Sallan Gül, 2006: 282). This new market-centred economy means that the market should replace the government in many responsibilities. The government's responsibilities are limited anymore. Therefore, the shares in the sectors provided as free for the public also got smaller. This decrease in government grants results in an increase in the population who are open to social risks (Kahraman, 2015: 104).

Because the migrants' education level is not high, they can find jobs as unskilled workers almost only. What Şenyapılı (2004: 124) states should not be ignored is

that marginal business lines and construction jobs that did not require qualifications and experience were the only employment areas open to them. Though they cannot earn as much as they expected before, they could find a place for themselves mostly in the cities until the 80s. They find jobs and places to build a house (gecekondu). There is no serious control by the government, and there is a space for newcomers. Thanks to these open spaces, people can create a life for themselves without being too hard. According to Kıray, slums are the shelters of large masses working in unspecialized and low-income jobs that do not comply with agriculture and population changes and spread to our unorganized and industrialized cities (Kıray, 1998: 27).

Especially after 1980, the reflections of the neoliberal transformation on the cities of Turkey became the focus of attention with the studies conducted in the Turkish social science literature. In different parts of Turkey, new migrants, coming to the cities, faced the necessity of migration due to political reasons as well as economic reasons, and they came to the cities more unprotected and more insecure than the migrants of the previous period (Kaygalak, 2009).

4.2. After the 1980, Changes in Migration.

Before 1980, migrations were more related to economic sources. The economy of the country is worse off. The other countries do not make any loans and deny the checks. There are many products that could not be reached like fuel, or lamps. People have to join queues to get any of their needs, and many products are sold on the black market. The Turkish money was lost in value. Moreover, the country has social and political problems as well. There are terror incidents that make people feel insecure. Economic reasons are still important, but political and social reasons are the dominant ones. With the 24 January decisions, there are many changes in the system. The duty to fix the economy is given to Turgut Özal, the prime ministry undersecretary, bringing the 24 January decisions to the agenda. The main issues in these decisions are to leave the statist policies and conservative policies for Turkish money and devaluation of the Turkish lira by almost 70%.

The geographical position of migration has changed. Between 1980-1985, 56 per cent of migrants moved from urban to urban, and this followed between 1985-1990 as 62 per cent. This shows that there are centres for the attraction of people. At first, İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Antalya, and Mersin are these centres, and then Antalya, Mersin, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, and Diyarbakır are the most migration-receiving cities. While Antalya is an important Tourism center, Mersin is important for trade (Eraydın, 1992: 126).

During this period, people migrate into the legacies of the earlier migrants. They could find jobs in the factories making contract manufacturing without any insurance and guarantee. They have to work long hours under bad conditions (Kaya, 2009: 162). Therefore, this fast population increase, and inadequate government support bring the urban poverty concept. People find the solution to lead their lives by applying to informal sectors for both jobs and the need to lead their lives. In addition to the economic problems, they go through, political issues have an important role in migration of people, especially from East and Southeastern Anatolia. People choose to move to the big cities because they do not feel safe in their hometowns because of the terror attacks. Besides, these years village evacuations and compulsory migrations are seen in these regions (Kurban et al., 2008). These cause unexpected migrations in a bigger number. It is stated that in the 1986-2005 period in Turkey, approximately 4% of the migrating population migrated for security reasons. Among those who migrated from 14 provinces (Adıyaman, Ağrı, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Şırnak, Tunceli, Van), the rate of those who migrated for security reasons is 16% (Şen, 2014, as cited in HÜNEE, 2006).

In the '80s, both the new kind of migrations and some results of the previous ones can be seen. While there was no ethnic form in migration, in that period, it occurred. There are more political movements. The relationships between the government and the people of the region are problematic. Government cannot enter into matters which happen inside this region. Landlords or religious leaders have much more power in these areas. People trust and listen to their decisions.

However, this causes a decrease in government spending for there. Migration, especially after the 80s, includes these people who cannot lead their lives as old days. In these years, economic problems go parallel with political friction. All over the country, but especially in regions with ethnic, religious or racial minorities, people choose to migrate to the cities. While in the Eastern part of the country, Kurdish people have many problems, in some villages in the cities such as Sivas, Çorum, and Maraş, the Alevi people have gone through many problems. These minorities try to exist without denying their identity, which is not encountered positively by conservative governments. Alevi identity has been denied by the governments for many years, but its rising started in the 60s. Then after the '80s, especially Sivas/Madımak and Maraş Massacre, Alevi people chose to migrate to big cities because they did not feel safe in their villages. For example, in the Yıldızeli in Sivas, the Alevi population in some villages decreased by 60,8 % while at the same time, the population decreased in Sunni villages in the same region is around 27%. Therefore, after the 80s, there was a much more political environment that people had to live in. These years are becoming very complicated periods both politically, socially, and economically. These topics, Eastern and ethnicity problems in Turkey were an taboo topic for many years; so in the films chosen for this study cannot include these directly. There are some clues by the way of speaking, or where they come from. However, they are not the focus of this study because the social realist films concentrating on domestic migration do not include these. Moreover, the last of these films is made in 1986 which is just the beginning of this period.

Although it seems that there are many reasons people have to leave their villages, all these can point to one thing people get poorer they stay in the village. Poverty is an issue that without mentioning it directly can be correlated with many social, economic, or political problems. Çağlayan points out that the relationship between migration and poverty takes place on four axes. Poverty, a driving factor for migration; Poverty, restricting migration movements of potential immigrants; Poverty, caused by immigration and the impoverishment experienced by immigrants for various reasons after immigration; Poverty, reduced through

immigration (Çağlayan, 2008 as cited in Açıkgöz & Yusufoglu, 2012: 94). These all are the possible statuses which can be encountered in Turkey. Although abject poverty can be a restrictive condition, in Turkey, people take advantage of networks. Getting help from their relatives or hemşehris, who migrated before, can provide free transportation(tractor), and a free place to stay.

Some analysts use others, instead of rational decision-making models to analyse migration decisions. Instead of trying to maximize the expectation of the decision maker, people will seek to cross a certain threshold, where they will not perceive all the opportunities. They will choose from a limited number of opportunities. The number of acquaintances and relatives in perceiving the opportunities will be effective for people who have migrated to that region before. It is assumed that they will reach the final stage after different searches, in which they will decide to start the evaluation instead of making the final decision or analyzing that are closer to the real decision-making approaches of the human, for which gradual migration models are developed (Tekeli, 1998: 14-15).

Moreover, they can find jobs by using their networks which is common in Turkey's migration history. When these four axes are considered to explain the relationship between migration and poverty in Turkey, two of them can fit to the representation of migration in the chosen film. The first and third axes fits into how social realist cinema reflects domestic migration. Especially after the 70s, there was a large and uncontrolled migration toward cities. This causes accumulation in these cities. Hence, what is common in Turkey is poverty as a reason and as a result. People, who believe that they cannot see any future for their social, and economic lives in the rural areas, migrate to the cities where they think that there are many opportunities for a better life. However, this migration movement is something that neither the public nor private sector in the cities is prepared for. Migrants, who do not find what they expect in the cities, move to the bigger cities such as İstanbul, Antalya, İzmir or Mersin. Since these cities' economic and social growth is not in line with the incoming population, a part of the migrants experiences significant difficulties. In this study, how social realist

cinema approaches migrants, who move to İstanbul with great hopes, are focused on.

CHAPTER 5

DOMESTIC MIGRATION IN THE LIGHT OF SOCIAL REALIST CINEMA: FILM ANALYSIS

The main purpose of this study is to examine the films produced in Turkey after the 50s to understand how social realist cinema approaches domestic migration. An attempt was made to lay the groundwork for this analysis above. Social realist cinema, migration theories and internal migration in Turkey are summarized. As domestic migration is one of the turning points of the country in social, political, and economic terms, it is the main focus studied below. In the scope of this study, ten films identified to support the argument, these films are: *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965), *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), and *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). In these films the issue of migration is addressed from various perspectives. Moreover, they reflect the characteristics of the theories explained in the theory of this study. In the latter sections, the fact that theories and directors support each other also be indicated. This study allows us to see the representation of selected theories in the selected films. In the following chapter, before elucidating the concept of migration, migration processes as well as sociocultural and economic adaptations of the people are mainly clarified. In addition to these, changes in the family structure and women's place in the family will be explicated. These issues will be analyzed by referring to the social types observed in these films. Just before starting to analysis, I will summarize all ten films in a couple of sentences to ease to follow.

Gurbet Kuşları, tells the struggle of a family who migrates to İstanbul because their business in Kahramanmaraş goes down. Although family come to İstanbul with a great hope, they cannot adapt to the city life. They first lose their daughter then all money, so they have to go back.

Bitmeyen Yol, is about six men migrating to Istanbul for better conditions. They realize that making money in the city is not easy at all, but they have no hope in the village. That's why the film depicts their work in very harsh conditions for very little money without any security.

Fatma Bacı, is about a single mother who loses her husband because of blood feud, and decides to raise her children far from this, in İstanbul. She works as a concierge of an apartment and raise her three children. The film focuses on the part that she focuses on the parts where she clashes and merges with her children.

Gelin, is the first film of Akad's trilogy that starts with he Gelin and her nuclear family migrate to İstanbul along her husband's family. It is the story of a women who wants to save her son by confronting the whole family. She criticizes her family's greediness, hypocrisy, and biasness. She leaves the house and starts to work in a factory.

Düğün, is the second film of Akad's trilogy focusing on the battle of five siblings in İstanbul. While the male members of the family risk their families falling apart in order to earn more money, the film tells about the sacrifices of their oldest sisters made to keep the siblings together.

Diyet, is the last film of Akad's trilogy that focuses on the factory workers and labor union. This film portrays a women who take cares his whole family by herself, and the process of her acquiring class consciousness.

Kızım Ayşe, is the story of a single mother who loses her husband because of the lack of the doctor in their village. This incident makes her ambitious about making her daughter a doctor. They migrate to İstanbul for this purpose but her daughter loose her way. So, film focuses on a moral struggle in İstanbul.

Yusuf ile Kenan, is one of the first and rare films focusing on the children living on the streets. Kenan and Yusuf are brothers who have to migrate because their

father is killed in a blood fraud. While they try to stay alive in İstanbul, film portrays many children living in the streets.

Bir Avuç Cennet, is about a family which migrates to İstanbul along their relatives, but they learn that he died before they come. So they have to live in a remnant bus, and they create a house from a trash.

Züğürt Ağa, is the only film that portrays the village before migration very detailly. So, this film shows the relation of landlord and his sharecroppers in the village and how landlord has to migrate. This film describes how a landlord has to leave his all status to survive in İstanbul by using the irony, and comedy elements.

5.1. Pre-migration

The period before migration is not included in the films directly except one film, *Züğürt Ağa*. Although there is not too much about the village lives in the selected films, there are clues to get some ideas. Therefore, these clues will help to have an idea about their village and the reasons for migrating. Migration to the city is a man's decision mostly which affects the whole family. The lonely woman who migrates to the city is too rare. It can be seen only there is no choice like *Fatma Bacı* and *Kızım Ayşe*. However, most of the examples show that there is a patriarchal family structure. The men in the family have difficulties in the village; then, they decide to migrate. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, the family comes from Kahramanmaraş, a small city. They have a shop and a house with a garden. Because their work stopped, they sold their shop and house to come to İstanbul. The slowdown in the market in the rural makes the men think about migrating to İstanbul. Because *Gurbet Kuşları* is an example reflecting the first wave of migrants, they have no one to apply for a support in the city. So, it is not possible to talk about any networks. Father and middle son open a car repair shop. They are rare characters who have manual skills. In *Gelin*, Gelin's husband was rençber (agricultural worker) in Yozgat, but he regretted not to be a commerce like her brother living in the city. He migrates to work with his brother who has a grocery

shop in the city. Although, in the literature, rural to urban migration is dominated in the films, the migrants in the films are mostly moved from small cities. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, family migrated from a village to Kahramanmaraş before they come to city. In *Düğün*, the film starts with a small view of marketplace in Urfa. However, most of the films there are not a certain information about it.

One of the different motivations to go to İstanbul is Kemal's. He is influenced by the loss they lived in a small village in Kahramanmaraş, where they lost their little daughter. She dies because there is no doctor in the village, so this incident motivates Kemal to be a doctor and serve his village. In *Kızım Ayşe*, there is a similar motivation. Turkey has gone through many contagious diseases or illnesses which cause many deaths because of the lack of doctors in the small villages. In *Kızım Ayşe*, Huriye, the mother, loses her husband because the doctor is late, so she persists in making her daughter a doctor. She does everything she can do to do this. So in both films directors show the lack of health facilities in the village as a pushing factor which motivates young ones to become doctors. At this point, the pulling factor of İstanbul becomes prominent that many films portray migrants in İstanbul going to university to become doctors.

In the Akad's trilogy, *Gelin, Düğün, Diyet*, like in *Gurbet Kuşları*, there is a man's decision that they drag their family to the city. *Düğün* is not different which the siblings who lose their parents and trust their uncle to earn more money in İstanbul than in Urfa. The director shows Urfa's downtown for a little movement to be able to compare it with İstanbul. There is a stationary and quite empty state opposite İstanbul's crowded and hustle. In *Diyet*, there is only one clue about the village; they come through Hasan's situation. He wears ragged clothes, and how needy he can reflect why he comes to the city with nothing. *Bir Avuç Cennet* has nothing different from the other families, but the only thing that can be understood is that the family's mother has a big role in migration decision. Kamil, her husband, admits that he listens to her decisions which he is not used to. Kamil explains the reason for migration by saying the village has no taste anymore. In these films, it can be seen that the families cannot continue their lives in their village like in the

old days. The problems they live through, such as the lack of health and education opportunities, increase incrementally. There is a changing world, and Turkey is trying to fit this change. The developing ideas, technologies, and opportunities start to achieve the villages. Even though it does not achieve, its news gets access to the people.

Although Nesli Çölgeçen in *Züğürt Ağa* film chooses to use humour and drama at the same time, it creates a great picture to see how the remnants of the feudal system work or do not work in a village. The peasants in the film are maraba, sharecroppers and they are working for Aga in the land. Aga takes all crops they cultivate, and then he gives the sharecroppers the share promised before. Aga gets angry at something the sharecroppers do, so he decreases their share with one word. It is a system that is run with the arbitrariness of a man. There are marabas who is confused who to trust in between their landowner, and their Sheikh, religious leader. This film shows the corruption in both that while Aga decreases their share with a word, Sheikh sells the land in paradise to peasants to make them vote party he supports. Moreover, the problem in the harvest dues to drought is attributed to God's punishment, so they want Sheikh to mediate with God to ask for rain in the arid land. However, it does not work. Aga speaks to God and complains to him about how you took its wisdom off them. This speech can be read in a religious supplication or political innuendo. Instead of God, he can call the government with the same complaint. It is known that these years are migration ratio is so high because the government has changed its direction of investments. The government substitutes industrial and private investments for agricultural investments. It can be likened to God's withholding of his wisdom. Peasants who cannot get support from their government and their God. It is time that people start to lose their faith in both.

In *Bitmeyen Yol*, although the director does not show the migrants' background, it can be understood that they also go through a similar situation as in *Züğürt Ağa*. There are six peasants who migrate, and they escape from a feudal leader who does not care about their lives.

Peasant1: Bread is not bread; it's like cream. There is no need for anything to eat with it.

Peasant 2: Let's see whether we can always find this bread. There is still no job. We followed this madman and came here. We do not have any minds.

Peasant 1: Would it be better to be a slave to an unbeliever like kırık aga? What did you see when you came to this age? Did you eat such bread? Was there shit in the village? Look at these women, especially those cars. The stone and soil of this place are gold, but you must know how to win (Sağiroğlu, 1965, 0.24.30).

Fatma Bacı and *Kenan ile Yusuf* have different backgrounds. It cannot be denied that both include what the other characters live through. However, both end up in blood revenge, which is a common problem in Turkey, especially in small villages. *Fatma Bacı* loses her husband, and *Kenan* and *Yusuf* lose their father because of this. While *Fatma Bacı* decides that she wants to grow her children far away from the blood revenge, *Kenan* and *Yusuf* take the first ticket to İstanbul as their father tells them. The only thing shown is that their father was a shepherd in their village, and the older one went to primary school.

Worsening conditions of the village life leads to people looking for different options. The increase in transportation and the flow of information makes people think that the big cities, especially İstanbul is their salvation. How an idea can be produced can be seen in *Züğürt Ağa*. Migration is not an idea that peasants can produce by themselves. It is an idea that should plant the seeds of.

Kekeç: So what are you waiting for? Go to the city, to Istanbul. Die there instead of starving to death here. But in the city, if you are wise, you can hit the goldmine; there is no chance here.

Labourer 1: Our owner is Agha; he does not allow it.

Kekeç: Don't get permission then.
They start to discuss and think.

Labourer 2: Kekeç, let's say we did what he said, we forgot that we were the property of the Agha, and we fled to the city. How are we going to go? There is no money.

Kekeç: You can sell wheat.

Labourer 2: What wheat, what wheat is left?

Kekeç: Aga's store is full.

Labourer 1: Repent, are we thieves?

Kekeç: You will get your right, two of the three. You will sell and capitalise on them.

Labourer 1: Either this clumsiness is having fun with us.

Labourer 2: Let's say we did what you said, and we got our right to. Whom will we sell it to?

Kekeç: I will find it too (Çölgeçen, 1986, 0.45.45)

It is similar to that a slave learns s/he has the rights as a free human being. It is not easy to produce an idea different than preconceived understandings in a closed culture, but someone who comes from outside of the community brings them an idea. This idea comes to them in the weakest movement of Aga. People trust neither Aga nor Sheikh, who guarantees either their afterlife or life on the earth anymore. Hence, they follow Kekeç's idea and migrate to İstanbul without saying to Aga. Aga, who does not have any labourers to work, has to sell the village and migrate to Istanbul as well. So he has to find a way to earn his money by himself.

It is common for all characters in the films that migrants want a better life and job opportunities to migrate to the big cities, mostly İstanbul. İstanbul is seen as a place where the streets are paved with gold (taşı toprağı altın) which means that in this city, there are many opportunities to earn money. Turkey has gone through different levels of development all over the country, such as İstanbul is much more developed than the other part of Turkey. However, although it is described as a dream city in many films, especially the magnitude and the crowd in the İstanbul start to make people afraid. It is described as if people can do anything to earn more money in this city. Therefore, this gives people the feeling that they should defeat or overcome the city. In Turkish films, Istanbul is a symbolic subject. Those who come to İstanbul with dreams make a statement about defeating İstanbul.

Gurbet Kuşları is a great example of at least four male characters who call out, I will defeat you, İstanbul. I will be the king of You.

5.2. Migration Process

The first migrants' entrance to the city and their first settlement will be mentioned following part of this study. The entrances into the city show how the characters will be introduced in the film by directors. It is important to see how they come, their first reactions, or how the İstanbulites react to them, especially the prejudgments about them. The most traditional way to show how people come into İstanbul is the train station, Haydarpasa Station. It is a common scene for people from the eastern part of the country to encounter a different Turkey. It is an interesting movement for seeing the migrants' astonishment about the city, its magnitude and crowd. *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Bitmeyen Yol*, *Gelin*, and *Kenan ile Yusuf* are the films that start in the train station. Films, which start with the train's coming or leaving, are very common in Turkish cinema to portray the new beginnings or endings. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, in its first scene, the family gets off the train, and they act together. Father controls whether everyone is there, and his first words are, "Be careful, don't lose each other, here is no joke, it is İstanbul". Moreover, the reactions of the family members are different. The father and two older sons encounter the city with joy and excitement that can be understood from their faces and the father's words, with God's willing, we will be king of İstanbul. While men face with joy, women and the youngest son are looking around, more frightened, and curious. This is the same in the film *Gelin* as well. The surprise of Gelin and especially their son, Osman, is obvious, and in this film, the surge of newcomers is noticeable. The entrance scene in *Bitmeyen Yol* is good to see the difference between the migrant men and the local people. They look around with astonishment, and they do not even know how they should walk on the road. They walk in the middle of the road, which is for the cars. Shooting them from above displays how they are not fitting the crowd naturally. Bird's eye view is used to show how they differ from the local people and how they end up in a different system. The magnitude of everything in İstanbul, roads, buildings, or the sea,

surprises people. The director shoots the characters from a bird's eye view, and this contributes to showing the chaos they end up in. Among these, *Yusuf ile Kenan* has one of the most powerful narrations throughout the film. The train scene is the beginning. Two children who go out of their village most probably for the first time see a panorama of Anatolian people who migrate to İstanbul. With Yusuf's little tour on the train, the audience also sees the profile of who comes to İstanbul and how. They are the landscapes of people from all over Turkey. While in the film *Bir Avuç Cennet*, the family uses the tractor to move to the city, in *Züğürt Ağa* Aga uses a bus. In *Züğürt Ağa*, it is portrayed how the bridge road is clogged with people coming from Anatolia. The director shows the rush to the city.

Using networks to migrate can be seen in the films; *Bitmeyen Yol*, *Gelin*, *Düğün*, *Kızım Ayşe*, *Kenan ile Yusuf*, *Bir Avuç Cennet*, and *Züğürt Ağa*. In these films, people migrate to İstanbul, relying on their relatives. These networks can provide them somewhere to stay and a job to work at least until they can have their own. In *Bitmeyen Yol*, their networks do not work for finding jobs. They recommend only waiting, which they cannot do because they need money, but they stay at night in a coffeehouse owned by their hemşehri. One of the men stays in his hemşehri's house. This is one of the most common ways that men migrated before, and when they started to handle, they brought their families. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, father and older son visit İstanbul, find a house and place to open repair shop. Then they migrate with all family members. *Gelin* migrates to İstanbul with her husband and son along with her husband's family. They stay and work with them. While men take care of the grocery shop, women do the domestic work and pickled cabbage to sell in the shop. In *Düğün*, siblings move to İstanbul with their uncle's support. The older brother sells clothes his uncle brings for them, and the middle brother sells the food their older sister makes. In *Kızım Ayşe*, they get help while they find a house and find a job for Huriye, the mother. She tries to look after her daughter and send her to the university by sewing fabric. On the other hand, in *Kenan ile Yusuf* they have only their uncles' address who their relatives in İstanbul. However, they cannot find him and lost in the streets alone. The family in *Bir Avuç Cennet* migrates to İstanbul with a tractor along with their relative, but they learn

that he died after they migrate. Therefore, they have to settle on a bus and live there. Although the family's father finds a job on the railroads, they cannot afford a house. Züğürt Ağa moves to his childhood friend's house and tries to work with him; however, he does not want to do. Ağa understands that in the city every man is for himself, so he has to look his own way. He tries to do many works, from running a market to selling lemons.

5.3. Adaptation

The period after migration is also a changing period in that all migrants have different experiences. Within the scope of these films, the decisions of the migrants can be questioned because there is no detailed representation of village life except for Züğürt Ağa. Why they have to migrate can be seen in their words or dialogues. However, what films include more is the adaptation process of these people. They are encountered more positively and naturally by their networks or friends who come before them, but as time passed, in the 80s, this started to change. In the film, *Bir Avuç Cennet*, the network, Kamil goes to find a job, responds to their migration by saying, "Is the situation any better here?" Because, starting in the 50s, there was a huge unplanned migration movement, the cities were not able to handle this situation anymore when the time came in the 80s. The cities are filled with migrants, and their chances are less than before. Although the huge migration movement fills up a gap caused by industrialisation, this migration does not make the local population in the city happy. So migrants can have many difficulties. They become strangers in their own country. Although there are migrants who go back to their villages, most of them stay and establish a life for their families as much as they can. However, what can be seen throughout these films is that there is a separate life for local people and migrants. This separation shows the limitations introduced for the migrant people, such as house, neighbourhood, or job opportunities. So while they expect to be the king of the city, they can hardly find a place. Whatever they make, they will always be a stranger to local people, so they try to make a good life for themselves. To be able to live there, they have to adapt. Adaptation has many dimensions, economic and

sociocultural and neither of them can be attainable fully. Throughout this research; whether these people can manage to live in the city or not is the fundamental issue to see. The place people find in the city to work is treated in the economic adaptation part. Although the fundamental triggering point for this migration is the industrialized world that migrants will support the industrialization of the cities, they cannot find enough space in that, but the service sectors, unskilled jobs called the marginal workforce, which does not produce in low productivity. The adventure to find a place in social life has difficulties because of the different moral understandings in city and rural life.

5.3.1. Economic Adaptation

The economic struggle is the first pushing factor for migration. A decrease in earnings and the opportunities to earn more and better is the fundamental point to think about other ways. So people believe that they can use their chance in the big cities. What is common in all films is that people come to the cities with no skills mostly. In other words, they have no skills that prepare them for life in the city. The highest education they can get is high school which is not common also. Although there is a prestige of graduating from a school in society, the necessity of education is not understood yet.

In the films, there are only a few examples of working on getting an education. These are medical education most of the time which is not surprising that in the village people who live lost due to a lack of health facilities have the motivation to become a doctor. In the film, *Kızım Ayşe*, the first motivation for migration is this. Ayşe loses her father because of a contagious disease, which the doctor cannot reach the village to cure in time. So her mother decides to make her daughter a doctor, and they migrate to the city. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, Kemal who is the youngest son of the family also has similar motivation because he loses her sister for a similar reason. Both of them plan to go and work for their village after graduation. There is only one different example that Ayşe, in *Fatme Bacı*, studies fashion

design in the fine arts. The approach of her mother could show the prestige of education in these times whatever the subject is.

In the cities, especially in Istanbul, there is a new working sector, new factories and a new market. One of the reasons for the attractiveness of the city is the formation of business lines called marginal sector; such as hawker, maid, porter (Şen, 2014: 239). Therefore, to be able to be a part of it, people have to develop new skills. This is the biggest difficulty of migrants when they try to find a job. The films include very few examples of migrants who have any skills that can be beneficial in the city. It is thought that this huge migration movement will meet the workforce needs of the industry. Of course, there is an influence on the industry; however, it is not as expected. As, shown in table 2, shown by Kepenek and Yentürk (2001), Rural-to-urban migration resulted in a shift of the labor force from agriculture to manufacturing and, mostly, to the services sector (Arat&Pamuk, 2019: 28). Hence, in the below, how Social Realist Films represent the placement of migrants in the economic sector in Istanbul will help to see the migrant's economic adaptation processes.

5.3.1.1. Small Capital Owners

Having any capital is not too common for migrants in Turkey, especially as time passes. However, some of them sell whatever they have in their village and use this capital to create a life in Istanbul. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Gelin*, *Düğün*, and *Züğürt Ağa*, the directors focus on families migrating and establishing their own works. Opening a grocery store (bakkal/market), a repair shop and hawker/peddler are the most common jobs that migrants choose in Istanbul. Films chosen in this study reflect these in many ways.

In *Gurbet Kuşları*, the characters are the rare ones who have skill and capital, so they try to use it to create a life in İstanbul. The father and his middle son had a car repair shop in Kahramanmaraş, but their work did not go well. Therefore, they sell all they have and migrate to İstanbul. However, they discover that they are

swindled. The big workplace they arranged before migrating is not worth as much as they paid. If they are aware of the market and what can be the price there, they may not lose their money. However, they do not dwell on this subject too much, and they open a shop with their money left. The family in the *Gurbet Kuşları* has a certain amount of capital and skills to run a shop. However, they cannot manage to maintain it. They are not in the world they knew anymore. The father cannot handle the work. He tries to put the price on how much he wants, and her son, Selim, does not support him well. Then he has to close it and buys an old car to become a taxi driver. However, this car also breaks down on the road. In this film, there is no portrayal of poverty, and their economic problems are treated superficially. Refiğ prefers to tell stories about people's moral problems more than economic struggles. In the movement, they can have financial problems; they get support to open a shop in their hometown. Although there is no portrayal of deep poverty, it can be said that they failed in the city. They lose their capital, their daughter, and their home.

In *Gelin*, Gelin and her husband Veli migrate to his father's and brother's house after selling everything. Veli mentioned his regret about choosing to become a rençber (agricultural worker), and not choosing to enter the market like her brother. So he starts to work with them in a grocery shop. They enlarge their works, and they plan to open a shop in the region where İstanbulites live. This is an important development in their works. However, increasing in their works causes Gelin and their son unhappy. Therefore, in this film, greediness of the male members of the family are criticized by Gelin.

Züğürt Ağa is one of the rare films that character comes to Istanbul with his capital. While peasants migrate to the city because of its facilities, Ağa migrates since he has to do it in the end. In the city, Ağa has the capital to invest or run the money; yet, peasants have a labour force that they get used to selling. Although Ağa has capital, he is unable to hold a job. He tries to manage a grocery shop, sell tomatoes by truck, sell balloons in the parks and lemons in the bazaar. However, he cannot succeed in any of them. He has no proper education, training, or experience. His

character shows that only economic capital is not enough to adapt to a different society. In the end, he does what he is best at, Çiğ Köfte, steak tartar a la Turca. People who come to the city find themselves in a totally new situation. There is no orientation or support to adapt to the city. However, the director uses a tragicomic narration in *Zügürt Ağa* that he tries to survive in a world he does not know what to do. Because he has a status in his all life, he never had to do earn his life. He cannot succeed in all these works because he has too much pride to do some works. For example, he thinks that he cannot sell lemon or tomato in bazaar. Ağa loses almost everything in this process, his money, his wife and his children. He stays with his mother and his father's second wife. Finally, he sells his leather boots which symbolize his last piece left from landownership (Ağalık). Then although he is portrayed as a small hawker with plastic slippers, he seems happy.

5.3.1.2. Hawker/Peddling

In *Düğün*, what is the same is that all siblings do not have skills to earn proper money to look after their family. They do not have capital, but their uncle provides them goods to sell. While the oldest brother, Halil, sells the suits that their uncle brings them, the two small sisters are working at a factory. The middle brother, Ibrahim, sells the food which their oldest sister, Zelha, cooked. Their only smallest brother goes to the school which they are proud of. However, all can earn very little and Halil is not satisfied with this. Bride price is the solution that their uncle and Halil find to be able to earn more money. Bride price is a tradition that can be seen in small cities and villages where the man's family gives money or something of equal value like an animal or gold to the bride's family. *Düğün* is one of the first films that does not portray working women negatively in the film. However, it is also portrayed that the money a woman earns by working somewhere is much less than a man earns from the same work. This is one of the reasons that Halil perceives making his sisters marry as the best choice. Besides, they have only their uncle in the city who can be accepted as a family elder, so they, Halil, choose to listen to his decisions. In *Düğün*, director exposes the greediness of oldest brother

and their uncle. They are portrayed as they could do anything to earn more money; such as, risking the family to fall apart.

Haybeci, a character in *Gurbet Kuşları*, represents how to be successful in Istanbul according to Refiğ. Haybeci means freeloader. Because he acts as a freeloader, one of the family's members says to him that istanbulites call people like you as Haybeci. He uses public transport without giving any money from the train to the ferry. He comes to İstanbul at the same time with this family, and he also asserts similar claims with them. He says that he will be the king of Istanbul and conquer it. What is different from this family is that he has no capital, so he follows the way of working from the lowest. He starts to work in minor jobs, and he works very hard with patience, then is promoted to upper positions. After this, he is promoted to parking lot steward, then auctioneering, and then he owns a slum and plans to start a business on guiding domestic migrants. He adapts and achieves his dreams slowly. He pushes the limits, he does not follow the rules, but he always works hard and saves money. However, the family cannot keep the money in their hands. Father does not know how to work in the city, and sons do not work but spend all their money on entertainment.

Yusuf ile Kenan shows street life, how to earn money, people in the streets, and stay alive. Among the chosen films, *Yusuf ile Kenan* is one of the best ones to show the severe part of İstanbul. Moreover, it tells the story through children that have to work in the street. Both Yusuf and Kenan, and all children they encounter throughout the film, face many difficulties. They live on the streets, sleep in derelict houses, and eat from the trash; some of them sell cigarettes, work as an apprentice, or steal car radios. This film has an important place being one of the first and still rare films focusing on the life of children in the streets. The police officers collect the children who do not have an adult with them on the train and put them in custody until their parents come. If they do not come, they send them to their hometown. Therefore, they have to take care of themselves and each other. They have to find a way to earn money to live. Kenan offers Yusuf to ask for a job in a Kebab shop. Yet, Yusuf claims that they cannot be workers by saying, “we

are peasants; we have no skills.” So, Yusuf learns how to steal a car radio and spends time with Çarpık, who had a difficult life and is about to join a political group. Kenan chooses another path; he and Böcek(Cenk) catch birds to earn money. However, they are caught by polis before they can sell.

In the custody, the director shows a panorama of Istanbul’s Street children. The children meet each other by telling why they are caught. One child is selling cigarettes, one is commuting in the train all day not to get cold outside, and one is staying in the buildings under the construction. They beat them and send them back to their village or set them free to the streets. Ömer Kavur, the director, portrays the street life in İstanbul. One of the children who earns money by selling cigarettes says that I can make 800-900 liras in a day. Another child who hears that asks for a job, but this child says that “no one, but the people from Diyarbakır, can work there. We took the Karaköy underpass once, and no one else could work. We even stay in a hotel together.” These words demonstrate the polarization between people, the areas in İstanbul, and jobs according to people’s roots. People who come from the same city or village tend to settle in closer places and help each other to find a home or a job. So they end up in the same environment. The director elucidates an important reality in the cities over the street children. Therefore, there is not only an adaptation to the city as a migrant, but there is an adaptation to adulthood. Children are aware of everything; moreover, they can know better than adults with high brows. Çarpık, who steals and sells car radios, is aware of the economy. He knows the devaluation because he cannot sell the same product for the same money. Mustafa is described as the opposite of Çarpık from a political perspective. He is a worker like his whole family and works as an apprentice in a man’s engine shop. He verbalizes that “My brother says that poverty and fear make a man do anything”.

5.3.1.3. Working as a Worker

Duygu Sağıroğlu depicts a different perspective of migration in *Bitmeyen Yol*; six men migrate without their families. They have almost nothing more than their

mattresses/bed (döşek) and money to buy bread for a couple of days. They have no skills to find a well-paid job, so they search for manual work, such as construction works. The ambience of the film is dark and severe to be able to show the life in İstanbul. He also displays the family of three women and how they live in hard conditions, but they at least have a house and food to lead their lives thanks to their jobs. However, these six men try to create a life from nothing but their labor. Their struggle to find a job lifts the lid on a struggle. The labor market is an important scene to tell many things about how needy people are. These six men who cannot get the support they expected from their hemşehri go to the labor market, and they start to wait in a place where the unemployed workers gather. The unemployed peasants flock to any job opportunity emerging. The scene in which people are flocking to the track and coming to get workers for construction shows the vitality of jobs. These people have no formal education or skill to get a high-paid job, so they have to fight to small opportunities. It is a labor market in which people need workers to come and bring how many people they need. A foreman comes and chooses men they need. There is nothing to do more than wish that man sees you. Then the working process has difficulties. They work for small money under bad conditions. The employers prefer to work with migrants much more than local ones because they have no idea about the union or the fundamental human right, they can request. Moreover, they use them however they want in exchange for a bit of money. In the film, the cost of workers becomes an issue for employers. When the cost of new workers is too much for them, the employer says that “these are the peasants, they have neither unions nor insurance. We’ll silence their tough ones and take care of the rest”. Besides, they give less money than they promise. Although they accommodate hand labor needs in the industry with their labor force, what they deserve is not encountered. Because the migrants do not have awareness about working life in an industrial city, they do not know the worth of their labor force. They accept terrible conditions and low payments without labor unions that can help them protect their rights and security at work. Since the labor unions lead to difficulties for employers, newcomer migrants are much more preferred by employers. Most of their jobs need to take extra security cautions, but they have no insurance while working. There is a little scene in the film where a

worker stays under the digger in construction. Nevertheless, this incident is treated so fast, and nobody talks about it; moreover, people act as if nothing like this ever happened. Neither workers nor employers care or talk about this. The only thing the employer says is, “nothing will happen to them; it happened to our money.” While employers do not see the workers as human, workers are not aware that this is the employer's fault. It is one of the first films which express workers' or unskilled workers' struggle for life. Therefore, this is one of the reasons for it failed to pass censorship for a long time. Reflecting on the life of workers and their difficulties gone through is not encountered by the government in a good way. If this film reaches large audiences, the expectations of people can change about Istanbul. No matter which political period, the people in the ruling parties in the country do not support revealing the bad side of the country. They try to hide the people living in the bad conditions from their supporters or opponents, so this censorship is something there will always be. Yet, the people who want to reveal what is hidden will also always be there.

For the workers, the labor union has great importance, not only for migrants but for all. Since industrialization is much later in Turkey than in Europe, the labor concept is also developed with it. In *Bitmeyen Yol*, it was a new idea that most of the migrant do not know. However, the film, *Diyet* portrays a period that there is a labor union which is spreading among workers. There are employees that spoke for the labor union and tried to make more workers members of the union. Mevlüt is a worker from the black sea, which can be understood from his accent. He is only one of the workers who convince people to join the union by saying, Are you running low on money? Don't blame anyone. The fault is in all of you. If I say something, there is wisdom in it. If all of you join the labour union, your wages will inevitably arise ... I say unity is strength. It is in your hands to prevent work accidents, say goodbye to bad meals, and increase your wages.

One of the most symbolic scenes in the film, *Diyet*, to see how a man can be needy is the scene where Hacer gives Mustafa's shoes to Hasan because his ones are very old, and Mustafa does not need them anymore. Hasan's happiness and the effort

to put in the shoes show how needy he is. When he cannot put her feet on shoes at first, he washes his feet properly, and they fit into the shoes. The director portrays how he needs this job very much. He is employed in the factory on condition not to join the labor union, but already, he does not achieve awareness to request his rights. Hasan works in the machine in which Mustafa gets injured, and he is exhorted to speak and act against the labor union. Their employers demand them to work day and night shifts for more than a month and are paid the deserved amount. The most influential scene is the speech of Hasan and Mustafa.

Mustafa: I thought that Muhsin Usta and Mevlüt were right. We could not understand what they said. If we were united, this machine could change. If it was changed, I could be standing now.

Hasan: It's not the machine's fault; nothing happens with bullying.

Mustafa: They do not say by bullying, but by compromising bargaining.

Hasan: Bargaining is in the market. Is bargaining with the man you work with unheard of? If the fault is the machine's, why is nothing happening to me? You will open your eyes; everything needs attention if you are not careful... (and Mustafa looks at his own shoes on Hasan's feet)

Hasan: sorry, I could not know (Akad, 1975, 0.48.46).

Hence, it cannot be talked about rising awareness of Hasan, but it can be talked about Hacer, who watches everything happens. Hasan has no consciousness to be able to understand why he needs a union or why he is in danger in this work, but Hacer has. In addition to what she observes, the extra money given to Hasan, because of his help to their employers, plants seed of doubt in her mind about her employers. It can be said that her father's words contribute to her decision. He says to her that "There is a hadith. Our Master the Prophet said that two is better than one, three is better than two, and four is better than three, unite, he commanded." The director supports his argument with religious sayings. Hacer, who worries about Hasan, decides to join the union.

Bir Avuç Cennet portrays how people can fail to be included in the city. This family is much more isolated than any other characters, both physically and

socially. Only Kamil, the father, finds a job and gets close to some people. He works in the state railways as a worker. However, they accept easily that Kamil's earnings do not provide them with a new and proper house. So Emine starts to settle on the bus. They begin to clean the environment, hang the curtains, divide the rooms with curtains and make a kitchen. Moreover, they start cultivating their environment, and Kamil buys a water pump to get water. They, Emine, create heaven in a derelict bus in a dump. One of the interesting points in the film is that even at the end, when their house, and bus, are taken by police, they do not choose to go back to their village. This shows that they do not have any hope in their village in comparison to the city.

5.3.1.4. Women Stance in this Economical Struggle

In most of the films, there is not women character that holds the capital in her hands. Although there are examples of working and earning money, this money goes to their husbands, fathers, or the biggest male member of the family. Migrating to cities creates the need for more working members in families. This need opens the way of the working sector to women. However, they only work if they have to, if they do not have a man to look after their family. The possibility that a woman can look after her family if she is the only worker, and it is too rare. Women can earn only as small as to support their family but not earn a living for the family. *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Gelin*, *Bir Avuç Cennet*, and *Züğürt Ağa* are films in which any working female main character, outside of the house. Working women are not encountered in a good way, but they are mostly criticized very harshly by the main characters, neither male nor female. In the films including working women characters, they work in unskilled, daily jobs and many times they work as an invisible workforce at home. How films represent these will be demonstrated below. They work as cleaners, tailors, concierges, patients/caregivers, or they work at home to provide their men with many things to sell as an invisible workforce.

In the film, *Kızım Ayşe*, one woman cannot look after her daughter by working almost 24 hours a day in Istanbul. Because she is an unskilled worker, she can only do low-paid work, which is not enough for even a family of two. She works as a tailor, and cleaner at the same time but it does not provide her proper salary. After this situation is shown, moral critics are issued more than economic problems. In the movement, when they will live through great economic problems, Kazım emerges suddenly and their all-economic life changes. After that time, the subject of the film becomes a social adaptation problem. Although the economy is a domain of the situation, it is not treated.

In the film, *Fatma Bacı*, she has to work to take care of her whole family because she has no husband. She works as a concierge in an apartment. She cleans the houses when they need to. However, to be able to lead a life in even a concierge's flat, all family has to work except the daughter going to school. Her only son works as a coppersmith, and the older daughter works in a factory. Although three members family members work, they can barely get by these money.

In the film, *Düğün*, many young women are portrayed as working, but they also unskilled and low-paid jobs. So, their support for the house is not seen that their brother sees the bride price more profitable. In addition to this, the oldest sister of this family is a great example of invisible labor force of women. Her brother sells what she makes. It is like in *Gelin* that two daughter-in-law and their mother make pickled cabbages in the house to sell in the grocery. While these films represent this reality on one side, another side also is portrayed that labor of women and its importance starts to see more obvious. Especially, Akad's women have a great representation of change in the society related to women. His last film in the trilogy, *Diyet*, is a great work to see the working life in the factory without distinguishing the women or men which is mentioned above.

5.3.2. Sociocultural Adaptation

Economic and sociocultural adaptation processes are intricate to each other for migrant people in the cities. Most of them do not have enough social, cultural, or economic capital to help them to adapt to the city. The directors illustrate their alienated situation psychically as well. To be able to show strikingly, they are shot from a bird's eye view in the streets in *Bitmeyen Yol* and *Züğürt Ağa*. They are portrayed on the car roads while they do not know how to pass the road, and they work in the middle of the road. Hence, the directors show how the migrants stay estranged even in the streets. What can be seen in *Gurbet Kuşları* is that although they have some economic capital, they cannot succeed in being a part of the city. Migrants in the city encounter many difficulties in their economical lives while adapting. Moreover, most of the directors attribute migrants' economic problems to the difficulties they end up in their socio-cultural lives. A city and a village have different moral principles which *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Bitmeyen Yol* and *Kızım Ayşe* focus on. Refiğ criticizes the western moral principles in *Kızım Ayşe* and Akad in *Gelin* creates a critique of the dilemma between traditional and modern mindsets. Besides, finally, in *Fatma Bacı* and *Bir Avuç Cennet*, the representation of class understanding in society is mentioned.

5.3.2.1. Moral Conflict

In *Gurbet Kuşları*, there is a portrayal that the city and the village have very opposite moral principles. This causes problems the whole family confronts. All children, except for the educated ones, get lost in the charm of Istanbul. Therefore, the director attributes the bankruptcy of their work to be drawn of his children to the seductions in the city. There is a moral problem in the adaptation than an economic one. The biggest moral destruction they live through is attributed to their daughter. Fatma, the daughter, is an uneducated, silent, and curious young girl in a traditional and patriarchal family, so Istanbul is full of curiosity for her. She discovers the city with their new neighbor, who brings Fatma to alcoholic parties. People at the party make her think that to be able to adapt there, she has to drink alcohol and act like them. This neighbor can be read as İstanbul, misleading the young girl with all its charm. She loses her way and falls in love with a man who

gives her promises to marry. Then after she gets pregnant, he disappears. She thinks that she cannot go back home and has to go to a brothel. When Murat finds her, she chooses to throw herself off the top of the building instead of giving herself over to her family. An issue that is not a big deal for the family's male members can cause a female one's the death. The moral issues in Turkey are evaluated over women only. It is not something that has changed even today.

In *Gurbet Kuşları*, three of children are charmed by the new life in İstanbul. While Fatma is seduced by a man, her brothers are charmed by women. Murat falls in love with a woman who works in a nightclub(pavyon). He spends his all-time with her. He does not work and neglects his family. He explicitly accepts that he is impressed from her because she is from İstanbul. He aspires to İstanbul and women from there who are more sophisticated and appealing to him. However, what influences him is nothing more than an image which he incubates. The thing he does not know is that she is actually his hemşehri. Besides, Selim falls in love with a Greek married woman who is the wife of an owner of a repair shop across from theirs. He believes that she has an eye on him; so he follows that woman. Then they start to have an affair. He is charmed by this woman and neglects the repair shop. This woman can represent the west which is tempting and seductive. She causes Selim to betray his roots and his family. Both brothers cannot continue their relationship. Murat's girlfriend cannot stand his patriarchal, macho, and oppressive attitudes and breaks up with him. Selim's girlfriend breaks up with him because she says she has a relationship with him only because of her husband's job. Hence, the main problem of this film is the moral critics of the city. İstanbul is somewhere that seduces people to alienate people from their origins, their families, or their morality. This alienation is the source of their economic problems, according to Refiğ.

In *Bitmeyen Yol*, while on one side there is a life struggle, especially among six men, on one side, there is a moralistic crisis Ahmet lives inside. He humiliates Fatma about the fact that she loses her morality in the city due to her desire to have a relationship with Ahmet. However, He has a significant dilemma inside because

while he tries to stick to his moral understandings and traditions, he wants to have a better life with Cemile, who is also married to. Ahmet sees people in a high-quality restaurant. Then he sees in his dream that he and Cemile go there, but suddenly his friends start to emerge with folklore clothing. Then drums and zurna (a traditional musical instrument) start to be played, and Cemile and Ahmet dance. The minute they kiss, Fatma and many people show up. Then the eastern music turns into a western one. They dance to western music. Ahmet stands there with bare feet, and he falls into place. People, who are dancing, kick Ahmet by dancing. Therefore, his dream turns into a nightmare. He cannot escape from his dilemma even in his dreams. He is confused because he wants to stick to his origins, but also, he wants to be with Cemile, who is not appropriate for their moral understanding. However, in this dilemma, Cemile outweighs, so they start a relationship. Ahmet tries to take responsibility for Cemile's family after losing her job because Ahmet and Cemile have a relationship now. The director illustrates the process that Ahmet tries very hard to find a job, like chaos. He speaks to many people and gets terrible responses or humiliation. Then he cannot control himself and kills someone who humiliates him. The director questions whether the system makes a mankiller or not. Ahmet is a man who has no job or any income. He cannot find a job and is humiliated a lot, so all these bring him to depress. From the beginning, Ahmet is not portrayed as if he is incapable of killing someone. However, he kills someone in the end, and Cemile remains alone with nothing left. This film portrays, in the minute people lose their origins/traditional, moral values their lives are devastated.

In the film *Kızım Ayşe*, the director portrays the new migrants, Huriye and Ayşe, as pure good. Halime is a self-sacrificing, religious, hardworking, and humble person, and Ayşe is beautiful, good, naive and pure. However, this young girl tries to adapt to local people of her age. Although she has conflicts with her mother, she does not lose her control fully. Moreover, she offers Melahat that "Our worlds are very different. It is better for me to stay in the world which I was born in, let me stick to my roots.", and Melahat responds that "you sound just like our philosophy teacher, do you see that setting sun? One day we will go down too.

Life is as short as the light of a match. Are you going to waste this life by returning to your village?” Melahat has a considerable influence on Ayşe’s life. She dresses Ayşe in her clothes and pushes Ayşe to be like herself. She makes Ayşe join her group by saying, “I can't let you go to the grave alive in your village”. Ayşe, who abstains and retreats into her shell, feels strange until one point, but she starts to be used to everything from clothes to Melahat’s friends. Therefore, the director portrays Melahat as the reason for Ayşe’s losing the way. In the end Huriye saves Ayşe from a man but she cannot save the Melahat. Ayşe, who starts to follow her mother again, finishes school and back to her village to serve as a doctor.

5.3.2.2. Influence of the West

In addition to the dilemma in the moral principles, there are also many dilemmas the migrants encounter. Westernization and conserving the origins is one dilemma, and modernism and traditionalism also is one dilemma that can be seen in Turkey parallelly. The most obvious representation of the critics of westernisation is in the film, *Fatma Bacı*, done by the character of the younger sister, Ayşe. She has a different environment from her sister, and she has school friends. To be able to fit in with them, she does not say that she is a migrant who lives in a concierge’s flat. She acts as if she has a life like them. She joins their parties and drinks alcohol with them. Moreover, she gives a party in an apartment flat entrusted to her mother, as if it belongs to her family, and she acts her mother as her helper. When her mother gets angry with him, she defends herself at the cost of making her mother upset. Nevertheless, the last party she joins changes everything for Ayşe. She judges her friends because they sleep with each other’s girlfriends\boyfriends. When she says that she is uncomfortable with this situation, her boyfriend starts to humiliate her by saying;

She wore western clothes; she has been drinking her delicious double-breasted brandy since the night. She admires its music, reads its art, and then acts as a custos morum (ahlak bekçisi) like a neighbourhood girl. (...) I did not lie to you; you are the liar. You are nothing but a nasty bug. You can live in the cellars on the floors, the housekeeper's floors, and the housekeeper's daughter. You will never reach the point we reached. You are a denier fool who was ashamed of her

family and lying that pretended not to recognise her birth mother who served that day. Now he is up and is moralising us. Go away, your cellar (Refiğ, 1972, 1.04.50).

Ayşe responds by saying that “the west is not this. If this is your west, God damn your west.” She realises her fault in the end and runs to her mother. Ayşe’s friends are the biggest representatives of the West in the film. They all belong to high-brow families that can be understood by their words and by talking about their holidays and shopping in Europe all the time. They dance and drink alcohol all the time. The moment they learn she is the daughter of the housekeeper of an apartment, they act like she is not unlike them. Her friends turn their backs the minute they learn about her family. The director shows a west where there is nothing but parties, alcohol, and sex, which does not accept anything different or any critics. The west, according to Refiğ, does not acknowledge any critics but responds to critics by harsh humiliation.

The conflict between modern and traditional ones is very close to the conflict between west and origins dilemma. Moreover, in some points they are used interchangeably. Akad emphasizes this contradiction in the *Gelin* film. In this film, her father-in-law, mother-in-law, and all family except for Gelin have a problematic approach to the new world they migrate to and the traditions they should leave in the old days. They are drawn to hypocrisy throughout this process. While on one side, they act in a very religiously and strictly conservative way, they try to develop their economy at all costs. They sell wine in the grocery in the evening, and they buy new cash registers while they solve every problem in the house by praying. While they claim that the pray of the mother-in-law can cure Osman, the father-in-law uses the cream that the pharmacist gives him. The mother-in-law puts an effort to heal Osman by using old woman medicines and pouring lead to repel the evil eye. Moreover, they lose their temper when their countryman advises going to the doctor for Osman. Seeing a doctor is denigrated by the mother-in-law very harshly. Their hypocrisy leads to the death of little Osman. It does not change anything about other family members other than Gelin and Veli. The mother-in-law, father-in-law, and Veli’s brother cannot accept some

big city facilities. Health facilities are one of the most important benefits of the big city. They attach to be blind to their traditions so that they cannot take even the good things which will be beneficial to them. This determination causes the death of a child and the separation of the family because, in the end, Gelin and Veli leave the home. While his family expects Veli to punish Gelin for leaving home, he chooses to follow his wife, leave home, and work in a factory.

5.3.2.3. Representation of the Class

In all films chosen for this study, there is something very common that migrant people are adapting in a way more or less most of the time. However, this does not mean that they are a coherent part of the city. They live mostly there by creating themselves isolated regions. Migrant people live in one neighborhood, and İstanbulites live in another one. They do not encounter too much because they keep the other ones always at a distance. The directors use these attempts or situations to tell the class concepts in Turkey, which is a very controversial topic, especially in Turkey. The above two representation is chosen one is from 1972, *Fatma Bacı*, and the other one is from 1985, *Bir Avuç Cennet*.

Skipping another economic class is not something easy to do, especially for a woman. In the film *Fatma Bacı*, Refiğ, by depicting Halime's character, criticises this issue. Halime is the oldest child, and she represents the degeneration in the family. To be able to get rid of the poverty they are in, she draws herself on a path. She lies to her family about working, and she has a relationship with a married man. She is not content with her life, family, and economic status. So, she changes it in her way by being together with someone who has a high economic status. Although the situation she ends up in is not appropriate for a conservative Turkish family's moral understanding, she does not care about this. When she learns she is pregnant with her boyfriend's baby, she leaves her house and wants a house from him for herself. She does not want to divorce him from his wife, but the only thing she wants is an apartment in the attic. From her words, it can be understood that the floor of the house represents the class they belong to. For her, looking people

down from her windows is being in a higher ranking in the social and economic class. She says:

Now I see the world from above. Everyone was above me for 15 years; from now on, there will be no one above me. Look at these people, how tiny everything looks from here, how everything crumbles, like a ferry toy. I am above all now.

Apartments people live in can symbolize a class status for many understanding. Its decoration, its room number, and its magnitude to the floor of the house all represent the wealth and economic position people have in society. Historically, it begins with single-floor houses in the villages and continues until skyscrapers. Housekeeping is one of the most traditional job opportunities offered to migrants. The flats which are given to them are almost underground in an apartment. At best, they have little windows which can be seen on the people's feet in the street.

When the time came in the '80s, Turkey was much different than before, especially in Istanbul. It is the most migrant-receiving city, so in the film *Bir Avuç Cennet*, the occupancy of the city is outrageous. So, the family has to live on a bus outside of a neighbor. The location of this bus is close to the trash dump, where children in the close neighborhood shuffle the garbage to find something useful. While one side of their location is this trash dump, the other side is filled with the apartment where Istanbulites live. In this film, the migrant family has no relation with any neighbour. Because the bus they live in is not inside a neighbour, they have no neighbour to socialize with or contact. Only the children from the close neighborhood play with each other, and the director chooses to show the class differences. While one group of children plays with the trash, the others play with their bicycles on a beach. Their bus is on the opposite side of the apartment where people from Istanbul live. They spend time with their friends, and some of them sunbathe on their balconies. The audience can see them only via the eyes of this family, via Cevat. They have no connection. They even do not encounter them in the streets. Cevat likes to watch them; moreover, he holds a mirror to the girls, which causes the girl's mother to call the police. The mother informs the police

about the family as they are disturbing the region's peace, and she describes them as gypsies. The perspective is an important symbol here; the director shows these people always from below. He tells the class differences by only putting them physically up and down. There is no extra effort to improve their conditions. Kamil is working and against the idea in which Emine works. Besides, while Emine opens the subject that they can send Cevat to school to become a man, Kamil does not look at the positive and says

Kamil: People like us can't be men. They can only be workers (amele).

Emine: How others become

Kamil: Those who have either money or men... let's find a job and get his pocket money (Özer, 1985, 0.20.13).

It can be said that the belief of education can change their destiny does not continue anymore. There is an acceptance of their status; they think that they cannot achieve more than what they have.

5.4. What the Local People Think About the Migrants

Although there are rare scenes that İstanbulites and migrants encounter, these are important to represent the view of local people. The first one is in *Gurbet Kuşları* and it shows a perspective of the family from İstanbul's highbrow. This interaction shows another perspective that Ayla's father represents a different view than Kemal and his family. They start talking about migration upon the question of Ayla's mother and why they migrated to İstanbul.

Kemal: We missed a better life, I guess.

Ayla's Father: That is so true. We are a race that cannot fit in its place. The incapability of standing in one place too long is our character coming from Middle Asia. More precisely, it is our raider spirit, I guess. Our ancestors come from Middle Asia to Anatolia with this spirit, and again with this spirit, they expand to Europe. They carry the civilizations.

Ayla: Daddy, you start your history class again.

Kemal: However, Ayla, it is not only a history but the most important issue of these days. Let's look at today's newspaper. On the first page, there is an article about people who come to İstanbul from rural. In the last five years, there have been 238.000 people who have migrated to İstanbul. There is an article about workers who migrate to Germany on the third page. Their ultimate aim is to buy a car there, sell in Turkey, and buy a house in Turkey. Let's open the fifth page. It is about Turkish doctors in America. Their going is likened to migration from rural to urban.

A.F.: Come on! It is wrong to look at the issue like that. All these young people represent our power outside of Turkey (Refiğ, 1964, 1.12.18).

This scene shows a perspective belonging to an Istanbulites. While Kemal explains their reason explicitly, the father of Ayla looks from another view. He approaches all these more historical perspectives that these movements are related to the raider spirit of Turks that comes from middle Asia. They cannot stay in one place too long, which causes the spread of civilisations. So, he does not see the economic reasons or the relation to opportunities. Moreover, he boasts about the doctors who migrate to America because he thinks they are Turkey's representatives. While Ayla's father thinks that migration to America is a representation issues which Ayla does not oppose, Ayla believes migration from rural to urban is inappropriate. Ayla says to Kemal, who gives alms to a beggar, "Why did she come here by leaving her hometown? Begging is an easy job. Come from your village and steal the İstanbulites." "They are destroying İstanbul". They cannot see the compulsory situations and the background of migration.

Besides, the second one is in *Kenan ile Yusuf*. It cannot be said that it is not really a dialogue between two sides, but it is the approach of one side. The children do not talk; they only answer the questions and let the audience see how other people see them. They only one movement they encounter İstanbulites, Dayı and Leyla, from the highbrow. They ask for their uncle's place, but they do not know. This confrontation shows that İstanbulites in this film see the migrant people only as uncomfortable, so they are not worried about these kids. The director includes this scene to tell the perspective of these İstanbulites about migrants

Dayı: It is a conventional issue that they come here from rural, les pauvres(the poor).

Leyla: You say so, dear Dayı, but you don't know how bad they are. They come from Anatolia like this; you take pity on them and take them with you, then what do they do!

Dayı: No, dear.

Leyla: Oh, of course. Do you know what Doğan goes through at the factory? Strike, resistance, collective agreements... I swear they destroyed Istanbul.

Dayı: Yes, it's true. Istanbul is not like it used to be. Son! Do you go to school?

Yusuf: I graduated from primary school.

Dayı: Bravo! Indeed well done to you. Everyone can go to school now.

Leyla: Oh! Doğan says that they should not be trained. They should be ground. Isn't it cute, we say that go to school...I swear we are only raising anarchists, I think.

Dayı: Ah! you are exaggerating a little. What's wrong with these little ones, right? Look how innocent they look.

Leyla: Let me see your leg(to Kenan).
When he shows his leg

Leyla: Look how beautiful it is, Dayı. There are more beautiful ones that are embroidered all the way through. Nilgün's maid was also brought to Nilgün from her own village. It's very decorative (Kavur, 1977, 0.12.08).

The director shows a common perspective in minutes. Dayı boasts of getting an education of Yusuf as if it is his success. However, Leyla is very aggressive about this issue, and she blames the migrants for leading to strikes, resistance, and collective agreements in the factories. However, she fancies their hand-knitted wool socks and their ornaments. She approaches the children as if they are commodities. She does not speak to them and does not approach them gently, but she acts as if they are not there. They are nothing but a folk motif for him. Her thought about the ineducability of migrant people supports her actions.

5.5. Family

The films portrays that in Turkey people have tendency to live with their families, even sometimes with their extended families. In addition to that it is a traditional way, it is an economical way as well. Therefore, migrant families prefer to live together. While the male members work outside home to earn money, female ones take care of domestic works. The Father is the decision-maker in the family, and he has a different relationship between his daughter and son. While father and son have a more direct relationship especially after getting older, father and daughter have an indirect relationship. Mother is a mediator between father and daughter.

In the chosen films the change in their relationship is also shown. Father and son have a kind of fight for power. The son is torn as to whether he should listen to his father or his own thoughts. Although this happens in all families, with migration this dissociation increases. While in men's lives this relationship changes, in women's lives, more comprehensive changes happen. On one side, there is increasing oppression on women with migrating to the city, from another side, this migration provides to be show women different chances. Akad is an important narrator who depicts women as a main character and portrays the transformation of the women's place. Hence, the representation of the transformation of the father-son relationship, and the place of the women in the family will be mentioned below thanks to films chosen for this study.

5.5.1. The Dissociation Between Father and Son Relationship

In *Gurbet Kuşları*, there is a father who loses his power over his children. Although he is the main decision-maker and breadwinner in the family, he does not have an influence on them anymore. He loses his authority parallel with his economic success. He is swindled on the first step into Istanbul; so they have to open a much smaller repair shop. He cannot control his sons, who do not work properly. The middle son should work with his father, but he does not come to the job to spend time with a woman. The older one starts to drive a taxi, but he also does not work properly due to a woman. Hence, not fulfilling their responsibilities result in economic problems in the family. Moreover, although these sons do not

have any contribution to the family, they think that they have the right to make some decisions at home. The only complaint and throwing up their fault to their face is made because Murat beats her sister. Murat, who sees Fatma in a man's car, goes crazy and beats her. The father, seeing this, stops Murat and gets angry, and says, "What do you take me for? I'm a father; no one else can beat my children in front of me other than me. I'm not dead yet; it's up to me to think about the honor of my family. You are not giving her bread, but I am. You look at yourself." He refers to the right to say something in the family as who brings the money to the family. Therefore, the economic problems of the father's life cause the disruption of the hierarchy of the father in the family. Because they could not see an influential father figure who would take care of this family, they lost their respect and acted accordingly.

In the film, *Gelin*, from the beginning, there is a dominant brother figure. The father is old now, so the big son takes more responsibility. Although he also gets used to the system in their village, he knows small cunning things like selling open wine to boost their clients. However, on one side, they use old-style methods to convince the owner of their new grocery that he threatens him. Therefore, the father's place can be seen as a more symbolic one in work, but the father's voice can be heard more in the house. As a small son, Veli is always respectful and obedient to his older brother and his father. He works without questioning what they say, but Gelin's rebellious attitudes weaken Veli's power and masculinity in the family. They assert him not to be able to control his wife, and he wants her wife to be more obedient and gently, but she does not listen to him. Gelin is not happy about the development in the work because she thinks that family ties weaken with the ambition to make money. Although the extended family does not see that as a problem, Gelin does not become happy that all her husband thinks about is work. He cannot spend time with his wife and his son; so Gelin tries to explain to her husband by giving examples of the Midas touch. He is a mythical king who can make what he touches turn into gold. Gelin, by referring to this, states that the man who makes the gold that he is holding is starving. Bread and water also turn into gold. We have gotten poorer since the new shop opened. We

couldn't eat anything but tarhana and bulgur. Moreover, she loses her son because of this ambition and backwardness. Therefore, after the death of little Osman, Gelin leaves home, and her husband follows him. Gelin's leaving the house becomes a breaking point for the father-and-son relationship between Veli and his father. After the death of his son, and leaving of her wife, Veli has to make a decision. Gelin starts to work in a factory as a worker, which her husband's family does not approve of. His father comes and talks with Veli as if Gelin is wrong and he should find him to correct her mistake. Veli asks Gelin to find a job for him in the factory. There is a dissolution of the relationship between father and son, or the family he was born in and the family he creates. The father represents the old customs, and Veli represent the new generation which gets to know new world. So a conflict emerges from this. It is like the conflict between old and new.

5.5.2. The Change of Women's Place in the Family

The changing of the family has many things parallel with the change in the women's lives. Many years in literature, art, history and films portray women at home. They have many duties at home, and they have little things to do outside of it. They take responsibility for the house, children and mostly the kitchen. All of these take them out of the political, economic and even some social fields. However, there is a changing movement which cannot be denied, especially from the beginning of the 20th century. In this study, it can be seen that migration to the city has also affected the lives of women. It is hard to say whether it is full positive or negative, but there is an influence in many ways.

In the films, *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Gelin*, *Züğürt Ağa*, and *Bir Avuç Cennet*, it can be said that the women characters do not have a job and a life outside the home. They do not even talk about it except for *Bir Avuç Cennet*. They do not depict the possibility of this. When in *Bir Avuç Cennet*, the woman offers her husband that she can work to support their family, but her husband rejects her very angrily. These films portray women as if it is something like it should be protected inside the house and serve their families. They do not work outside of the house and

cannot do anything that their male family members do not approve of. Among these films, *Gelin* portrays a transformation. Gelin, who lives with her husband's family, is a character that is hardworking and a decent woman. Her only purpose is to keep her son alive. For this cause, she can take a stand against her family, which is not common for a traditional family structure in Turkey. Although she cannot save her son, she tries to create a separate life with this family. Although she is pregnant, she leaves the house after the death of her son. She settles in a house by herself and starts to work in a factory. Although the family is never convinced of working with a woman, her husband chooses to follow her wife in the end.

In the films, *Düğün* and *Diyet*, working women can be seen. The fundamental reason why women are working in these films is the requirements. Because the migrant men earn money, which is not enough to lead a family life, the women have to work. In *Düğün*, while two small sisters work in the factory, their older sister work at home to support her brother. He sells what Zelha makes at home. Therefore, they have great support for home economics; yet, men do not realize this support. In the factory, because they work as unskilled workers, and the smallest ones cannot use their arm fully, they cannot earn too much. In addition to this, Zelha's workforce is not seen because her brother brings the money at the end. However, when their uncle and brother see the more profitable way, they lose their place. They are sold as if they are commodities. Starting with *Gelin*, in which the working of a woman is considered a disgrace, then *Düğün* comes with more normalized understanding of working women. The film, *Diyet*, focuses on a working woman and her life in the factory. The main character is a woman who works in a factory and takes care of her family. In Akad's trilogy, the three women, who Hülya Koçyiğit plays, are a great representation to see the transformation of women's place in the family and society. Akad portrays the change in the life of the women with migration to the city. Akad's women are so significant to Turkish cinema and the social sciences in Turkey, portraying women realistically. He tells the domestic migration story of Turkey with three mighty women.

Fatma Bacı and *Kızım Ayşe* films can stand in a different place because there is directly an obligation for women to work. They have no other choice but to lead a life, so these portray the two main women characters as powerful. However, the power in these is much more traditional. They are self-sacrificing and hard-working mothers, and whatever they do is for their children. There is a big sacralization of women by using their motherhood. Both are played by Yıldız Kenter, and they are portrayed so impeccably that they do not seem real. Although their directors are not the same in both films, they are the director who makes films to give some messages. Refiğ stands for the ulusal cinema, and Çakmaklı stands for the milli cinema movement. The description of the perfect woman for both movements is very similar. While one is based on religious values, the other is based on nationality. However, they are very similar and sacralized the women. When a woman does not fit into these sacred values, she will be declared as bad and immoral. In these two films, the mothers are perfect, good, self-sacrificing, and humble, and they save the young girls from the bad ways, their daughters. Then they become heroes. However, they do not have any persistence in self-reliance about being independence. When there is a man to take care of her family, they stop working and start to listen to his words like in *Kızım Ayşe*. When they encounter their countryman, they move to his house and live with his family without thinking. Therefore, there is no representation of free, self-controlled women, but a woman's work is because of only economic imperatives.

The woman in the film, *Gurbet Kuşları*, should be analyzed in more detail because Refiğ describes many different examples. In the family, Fatma is a young, uneducated, naive, and beautiful girl, and she is the symbol of the honour of this family, so she is not allowed to go out and speak with any man. When the first she said a word, her father told her wife to hold Fatma's bridles tight. There is no word of a woman in the house, even if the mother, who is the only thing to do, is praying. Another woman character is Seval, with whom Murat has a relationship, working in the nightclub and spending time with men to earn money. She is a character that gives the message across to the audience about how girls like Fatma end up with. Women who do not obey the rules of their families will come to the same end. The

Greek woman Selim has a relationship with is married, but she seduces Selim. Moreover, men who take fancy to these women also lose control of their lives. The only woman who does not lose control of her life in a bad direction is Ayla, she is educated and has grown up in a good family. In the beginning, she chooses a way that her father chose for her after her brother, and then she follows the way Kemal shows her. She is the only woman portrayed as a good woman except for the mothers. Although she seems like she is educated and more powerful, she changes her future with a word of Kemal and accepts to go to the Kahramanmaraş. They plan to go to Kahramanmaraş after they graduate to work for their village.

5.6. Social Types⁵ in the Films

Social types go a long way back than the cinema. The literature invents it, as Baker (2020) mentions in his research called *Kanaatlerden İmajlara: Duygular Sosyolojisine Doğru* (From Opinions to Images: Towards the Sociology of Emotions). Embracing the structure of the cinema uses this ability of the literature, and moreover, it enhances from some sides. Cinema creates a visuality by itself and achieves much more people than literature because to watch films people have to have less background than reading. Therefore, it is one of the best ways to reach more people from different layers of society. Social types are so influential in getting more people because without time or place restrictions, societies have social types which evolve through years and positions. However, their core, which makes them a social type recognized by people, stays the same. They are generated by society, and moreover, they emerge through the point of view. So, they can be located from the point of view of an average person in society. Literature and

⁵ Social type is an important concept in sociology in order to provide knowledge about modern social life. The creation and examination of social types in society started with Herbert Spencer and reached its peak with Simmel (think 'stranger' and 'poor') (Baker, 2002: 2).

I, therefore, define social type as a human prototype-a sociological summary of the typical characteristics of a particular group or of a category of human beings usually recognised and typed by the public and often granted a nickname. This group or category may be a secondary group, a community, a profession, a subculture, a status group, a class or a generation unit that is characterised by its look (physical, fashionable or both), lifestyle and philosophy, pattern of interaction (particularly linguistic), attitudes and certain psychological traits (Coşkun, Ç., 2017: 1148).

cinema, which are defined as the art of subjective points of view, are much more successful in making a social type visible than a descriptive sociological language. These all put social types into the bridge which is created by C. Wright Mills, *Sociological Imagination* (Mills, 2000). Social types serve perfectly to this connection between reality and sociological theories. These are important features that make the cinema a perfect tool for looking at society with sociology. How social types included in chosen films will be mentioned below.

They are films that want to narrate a problem or an important issue in society. Moreover, these films focus on the issue of internal migration in Turkey, but while telling this, they provide us with witness to many lives and characters' lives. The most general and common one in this study can be the migrant. The migrant is almost the same as Simmel's Stranger, defined as the man who comes today and stays tomorrow (Simmel, 2011: 143). The migrants are also strangers who will not totally fit into society. They have certain defined places in society, both physically and socially. They are there anymore; the migrants are now in front of the city dwellers. They are so close but also far away because they cannot mix and form a whole. In the films studied here, what is tried to be understood is this distance and not being a whole.

When more particular types are looked for in Turkish cinema, encountering social types is not too rare. Although many directors do not prefer to mention these types, at least in the small roles, it is easy to find. Turkish cinema is filled with cliches, like a rich father who does not want his child to marry someone who has a low-income family. This low-income family is always pure, humble, and kind-hearted, like *Aile Şerefi* or *Bizim Aile*. People who want to be a singer come to Istanbul, Unkapanı, and their story is shot. Müslüm Gürses, Ferdi Tayfur, Gülden Karaböcek are only some of them. Young girls who want to be an artist fall into the trap of villains, and *Ah Güzel İstanbul* is one of the first ones. In societies where individualization is not developed, people respond to many issues in similar ways because they all have the same background and a collective approach more

than individualistic consideration. Therefore, this also increases the cliches that come across in Turkish films often.

In Turkish cinema, there is a type that can call *beleşçi* (freeloader). He is a type that gets benefits from everything for free, and to be able to do this, he can lie and do everything he can. In Turkish cinema, he is portrayed in that way because the system engenders this type. People start to believe it is the only way to survive in the big cities. To be able to earn more or be successful, this kind of cunningness has to be done. It is first portrayed in *Gurbet Kuşları* as the Haybeci character. He is a migrant character that comes into the city without giving any money to anything. He lies to the staff who catch him without a ticket, and he introduces himself as a grandchild of a war veteran to pile on the agony. Besides, he is a character that the main characters in the film encounter at certain intervals. He does a different job in all intervals that are always higher than the previous one. He starts at the bottom and works without underestimating the jobs. He works without taking offence, and he advances his career. While he starts his career as a porter in the station, he is encountered as the owner of a slum planning to start a business on guiding domestic migrants at the end of the film. His name, Haybeci, is attributed to another character dedicated to his actions. What Haybeci means is also an indicator of the character's characteristics, making it a social type. Haybe means empty, useless, meaningless work (TLA) and Haybeci is someone who is unemployed and a freeloader. Haybeci's coming of impecunious to the city leads to underestimation about what he can succeed in. However, He does not care and starts to work. He states that to be able to reach the top of a building, you have to start from the lowest stair to Murat, who is named Haybeci first.

This freeloader and money-grubber social type is a common character in Turkish cinema. There are many swindlers or many fraud stories. Even if it is not told as the main character, it is preferred to set in motion the film as an evil character to increase the excitement. In Turkish cinema, Ali Şen is one of the actors who play bad and money-grubber characters. Kemal Sunal in *Kapıcılar Kralı* (1976), Erol Taş in many films like *Dertli Pınar* (1968), and Şener Şen in *Banker Bilo* as Maho

are just one of a few examples. In the films chosen for this study, these kinds of characters also represent this social type in some spectra. In the film, *Gelin*, Father-in-law (Ali Şen) and brother-in-law characters are portrayed in this spectrum. These men do not have any other goal than earning more money. They are working to grow their grocery store all the time. When they open the new one, they try to sell whatever they can think of. While it is growing, the brother-in-law plans to open a furniture shop. Moreover, he sells wine without telling his father. They focus on increasing their money so that they do not give the money for the surgery of their grandson. In the film, *Düğün*, this type is encountered as the uncle who is the only family elder of the siblings. Hence, he can control them easily, especially the oldest brother, Halil. He is tempted by him and does whatever his uncle says. They sell whatever he brings and wherever he says. They make their two small sisters marry whomever he wants. Moreover, he takes the percentage of the bride's price and whatever they sell. Last but not least, Kekeç in *Züğürt Ağa* is a significant character for the film's turning point. He, like old merchants, goes somewhere new and plants the seeds of an idea. He gives peasants the idea of selling their own percentage of crops and running away to Istanbul. Peasants listen to him, sell their crops via Kekeç, and migrate to Istanbul. This character comes and goes in between. He tries to get back her sister given to Ağa's father in exchange for the bride price to be able to give someone again. He cares only about money and does not care about his sister at all. These types of people in both films and real life can be always seen easily. It can change its shape, but its essence is still the same.

Bıçkın Delikanlı, a toughie and brave young man, is a type that can be seen in Turkish cinema very often, although, in these films, there are not too many examples. The only example among them is in *Gurbet Kuşları* Murat's character. He is the oldest brother who is rowdy and a bully in the house, and outside enthusiasts to Istanbul and girls from Istanbul. While he is a patriarchal masculine and restrictive against his sister, he falls in love with a girl working in a nightclub. He cannot act on her as he acts on his sister. It is also a common role that can be seen in many Turkish films that men who fall in love with a woman working in a

nightclub try to save her from there. Men take on the duty to save these women from this job and this environment. Yusuf in *Fatma Bacı*, Ibrahim, in *Düğün*, and Selim in *Gurbet Kuşları* also this type, Bıçkın Delikanlı, but they are at the other end of the spectrum with Murat. He wants to become her hero. Tanju Gürsu, İzzet Günay, Tarık Akan are the actors who made many films by playing these kinds of types.

The narration of women in all art forms is problematic, but for migrant women, it is much more difficult. Going out of the limitations they draw for a girl makes her bad and inappropriate for society. In Turkish films, bad things start to happen when the girl in the family does an inappropriate thing for her family. The pattern encountered in the films is that the family tries to hold the young girl, who is curious about a new place, inside the house. They do domestic work and help their mothers. Where they go out is only the market in the neighbourhood or their neighbour. What is thought for women is that the house they migrate to is still their village. They have to accept as if inside the yard is their village, and she should not go outside of it.

Bad things start in the family with going outside of a young woman. She starts with a mistake by going outside without listening to them; then it goes downhill. *Gurbet Kuşları* film is one of the most traditional representations of these. Fatma is the youngest daughter, a quiet, beautiful, uneducated and pure young girl. She is treated as if she is something to be preserved and silenced inside the home until she marries. However, she starts to socialise with her neighbour and her friends. She starts to tell lies to her family and spends time with a man who seduces her. She gets pregnant and runs off to him, yet, she cannot find him again. Hence, in the end, her story in Istanbul, starting with cinema, and parties with alcohol, ends in a brothel. Moreover, she prefers suicide to go back home in the end. Another woman in this film, Seval, is also a migrant woman who has to earn her living working in a nightclub. What this film shows is that a woman who loses her way, due to not listening to her family, cannot go back. She will either go to a brothel/nightclub or die. Another woman character, Despina, is portrayed as a

seductive woman. She is a non-muslim/western, married and seduces Selim to distract his attention. The only woman portrayed as a good woman is Ayla, Kemal's girlfriend. She is from Istanbul and has a noble family who educated her very well. She listens to either her father or her boyfriend. *Gurbet Kuşları* is a fruitful film to look at how Turkish films narrate women. Refiğ tries to mention different representations of women, especially migrant women. In *Kızım Ayşe* and *Fatma Bacı*, young women are portrayed as very similar, which they are new in Istanbul and seduced by Istanbul and people from Istanbul. They lose their control over the parties, but their devoted mothers save them. While *Gurbet Kuşları* Refiğ attributes women to destructive roles, in *Fatma Bacı*, women are attributed a constructive role.

Akad uses women as a protagonist. In this trilogy, *Gelin*, *Düğün*, *Diyet*, he uses the characters Hülya Koçyiğit plays as heroes. Although, in the beginning, she becomes a silenced character who listens to her male relatives, she strengthens throughout the film. So, she, in the end, takes the whole responsibility for both her and her family's life. The *Gelin* character in the film, *Gelin*, also is treated like this, her mother-in-law forbids her to go out of the yard and speak with their neighbour, or she interferes with her clothes and behavior. However, *Gelin* ignores her to save her children's life. In *Düğün*, she is a devoted big sister who gives her life to her siblings. In *Diyet*, she is a mother, wife, and daughter who has to look after all of them. Hence, women have to be self-sacrificing mothers, sisters or daughters. Otherwise, they are bad women who will end badly. Even today, women characters are mostly not narrated very differently; yet, it does not mean there is no different story. *Bir Yudum Sevgi* is one of them. In this film, a different migrant woman tries to look after her four children without her husband's support. She starts to work and looks after her children herself. Then she starts to have a relationship with a married man without caring about her environment. Seeing a reckless woman not live accordingly to her environment is not common in Turkish cinema because it does not appropriate to society's norms. Müjde Ar is one of the most influential women actresses, and she breaks society's norms with her liberating roles of female identity and sexuality.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This paper has argued that how social realist cinema approaches the domestic migration in Turkey. Social realist cinema portrayed significant incidents in Turkey. Domestic migration is only one of them. In this study, ten films were chosen to show us how this cinema see the domestic migration. Discourse analysis is used to understand what can be interpreted from the films comprehensively. The chronological journey of migrants was followed in the analysis. The representation of domestic migration in the social realist cinema in Turkey was tried to be analyzed. Before stating what the analysis shows, it seems required to make a general review of the first part of study.

Cinema in Turkey becomes a certain topic for sociology especially with the social realist cinema emerging. Social realist cinema which is affected by Neorealism in Italy can find a place in Turkey thanks to the political environment. The 1961 constitution provides people a freedom atmosphere for a short time in comparison with before. Therefore, the artist, and intellectuals, who cannot express their thoughts freely, start to produce according to their own preferences. In cinema, these open the way of a new cinema movement, the social realist cinema. In 1965, JP took the power alone. Although it is the end of time called libertarian, this cinema movement becomes very influential for whole cinema in Turkey. While oppositional films were made until 1965, after this date, they have changed their shape. They still carry important social realist features, but they start to focus on different concerns like westernization. There are still those criticizing the power and hierarchy, but the current enemy becomes the west. However, it should be stated that these do not prevent the government from interfering. Most of these films can be released after many years of production. For this study, ten films are

chosen to open a window the time they are produced. These films are very important for Turkish cinema and for sociology of cinema that they are chosen because they are good representatives of their time's reality. One of the most significant realities of these times is domestic migration which is the focus on this study. The main purpose of this study is to examine how social realist cinema approaches domestic migration in Turkey.

The second half of the 20th century is a transformation period for Turkey. In the 1950s, more than half of the population lived in the rural areas, in 1990 it became the opposite. While on one side the population increases, on the other side, most of the population moves to the cities. So, the way of living, and earning their lives are all changed. In this study, the reflection of these changes to the cinema was discussed. How these films tell the story of these people is studied. There is chronological analysis: the before migration, migration period and after migration, adaptation period. For the period before and migration process, the character's sayings, and clues about that are paid attention. Because the main issue focused on migration from rural to urban, the film starts with the first domestic migration film in Turkey, *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964). Halit Refiğ , and then, Duygu Sağıroğlu with *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965) are valuable intellectuals that they are the first people to deal with this issue in Turkey's Cinema. After them, in the 70's there are much more films about domestic migration. six films chosen; *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979). Then the 80's is the period that migration changed and became more political. At the end of the 80's more than half of the country's population lived in the cities. What can be seen now is the people who migrate with great hopes and cannot find what they expect. Therefore, there are two films chosen in the 80's, *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). These portray the atmosphere of the time that migrants, who left their homes with great hopes, have difficulties about finding a place for themselves in the city. These last two films show how Istanbul is not ready for so many people. After the end of the 80's, migration films have transformed into more psychological stories, more than sociological ones. There are films tell the story of individual who migrated much before and try to live in

the city. The loneliness, or the alienation in the crowd can be seen in the films starting from the new cinema era called directors' era. However, it is not the focus of this study.

In the fourth chapter, it is focused on the analysis of how social realist films represent the domestic migration in Turkey. Ten films are chosen about how they are approaching migration from rural to urban. Most of the chosen films do not include the period before migration directly, so the dialogues and the clues in the films provide us some information. It can be said that people in the rural areas think that they have limited choices in their villages and these choices are being used up. People migrate because they start not to earn their living in their villages. This is the most obvious and observable reason for migration that also films can show with the characters' dialogues mostly. The films show that the sources in the villages have started to decrease. People could not earn their livings. The land is not productive, and raw material becomes cheaper constantly. When the lack of health and education facilities are added to these, they decide to migrate to cities. Then they prefer to migrate bigger cities mostly, and İstanbul is the ultimate destination for migrants. While historical records show this, it supports that, in all films chosen for this study, people migrate to İstanbul. It should be mentioned that there are some reasons for migration, but they are not preferred to be portrayed in the films in this period. Problems about the Eastern part of Turkey and ethnicities are taboo topics for these years. So, the films do not include these. The films mostly start to portray the process of migration, and how they come to the city. They use trains mostly and they use their hemşehris for both coming, staying, and finding a job in the city. The films show migrants' astonishment when they see the crowded and big city.

The adaptation of these people into the city is the focus of these films. They struggle for both economical and sociocultural adaptation to the city. Economical struggle shows us that migrants can work in the service sector mostly that they open shops to sell some things such as grocery shops or repair shops, or they sell stuffs by peddling in the streets. Some of them can work as a manual laborer in

the factories. What films show that they cannot earn enough money for one family who wants to live on welfare. Although in a family more than one member work, they cannot earn enough. Therefore, understanding this increases the work of spouses and daughters outside the home in families. Women's place in the working sector changes but these films show that this becomes due to obligation. In addition to the economical struggle they live, they cannot be a part of socioculture of the city. Istanbul is a city open to outside of Turkey more than other part of the country, so it gets first the changes in the world. When migrants come to İstanbul, they find a city too different than their villages. İstanbul is western, modern, crowded and fast city and films reflect all these conflict migrants gone through. Moral values of their villages and the city are different; so, these cause difficulties for migrant people to adapt. Instead of adapting or being a part of the city life, they create their own villages in the regions that are not too close to the city center. In the films, İstanbul is portrayed as a seductive place that young people lose their control and make wrong things according to their families. For some of the directors, this moral corruption in the İstanbul comes from the West. While Refiğ supports with his film the idea that Turkey has to back its ulusal origins, Çakmaklı puts forward that Turkey has to follow the religious structure of Turkish society. Therefore, they explain the solution for the problem they see in the society in these ways. While Sağıroğlu portrays the worker's lives and very first years of labor union, Akad, in *Diyet*, shows more widespread years of the labor union. Moreover, Akad depicts the change in a women's life with migrating to İstanbul and how a woman gradually comes to class consciousness by watching what is happening around her. Kavur chooses to tell the consequences of migration from a rare angle by describing street children. It is the years that İstanbul is started to be seen as a dangerous city, in addition to its opportunities. Özer and Çölgeçen follow this understanding that migrants end up a chaos. Özer in *Bir Avuç Cennet*, choose to demonstrate a family which even cannot enter into this chaos, and live in a bus in a corner of İstanbul. Besides, Çölgeçen portrays a landlord who has to leave his all statues to survive in İstanbul.

After the adaptation period, the changes in the relationships between father and son and the women's place in the family is mentioned. Migration increases the

dissociation between father and son. Although it is common to see the differences between generations, migrating to city increases problems between fathers who want to stick to the tradition and sons who want to try new things. However, women lives alter more comprehensively. Especially with the Akad's trilogy, the changes in the migrant women's life in the city, and normalization of working women in the eyes of their families are portrayed.

In conclusion, in this thesis, a representation of domestic migration in Turkey is portrayed. How domestic migration leads to big alterations in people's lives, and country as a whole is tried to be summarized in the light of social realist cinema by using the sociological concepts. This study shows how multimedia tools can be used to understand social circumstances. Although cinema is seen as a tool only for entertainment, it is a great tool to open a window to people. In this thesis, a period of Turkey was tried to be analyzed, the period of domestic migration. This period is important to see a comprehensive change in Turkey because it is a priori of 2000's.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Göç, Türkiye'deki en önemli sosyal ve ekonomik olgulardan biridir. Türkiye, 1940'ların sonlarından itibaren İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan bu yana iç ve dış göç olmak üzere iki tür göçe tanık olmuştur. Dış göç, özellikle Almanya'ya yönelik olmakla, iç göçe paralel olarak artmıştır ama bu tezde iç göç incelenmiştir. İç göç, nüfus yoğunluğunu ve sosyoekonomik yapıyı değiştirmekte, kentliyi ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Özellikle iç göç, Türkiye'de sosyal ve ekonomik değişimin en önemli faktörlerinden biridir. Türkiye'de iç göçün ana itici faktörlerinden biri hayatın makineleşmesidir. Kırsal kesimde makineleşme istihdamı azaltmakta, kentte ise imkanları ve istihdam olanaklarını artırmaktadır. Bu nedenle şehirler, özellikle İstanbul, köylerdeki insanlar için çekici hale gelmiştir. 1950'de nüfusun yaklaşık %75'i köylerde, %25'i ise şehirlerde yaşıyorken, 1990 yılında bu durum değişmiş ve nüfusun yaklaşık %40'ı köylerde, %60'ı ise şehirlerde yaşamıştır. İlerleyen bölümlerde göç süreci kronolojik olarak ele alınmış ve şöyle işlenmiştir; göç öncesi toplumun yapısı, insanları göçe hazırlayan nedenler, nasıl göç ettikleri ve kentte kendilerine nasıl yer buldukları. Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de toplumsal gerçekçi sinemada iç göçün temsilini incelemeyi amaçlamıştır.

Toplumsal gerçekçi sinema, hayatı ve sosyal gerçekliği olduğu gibi temsil etmeye çalışır. 1961 anayasasının özgür ortamında ortaya çıkmış ve İtalya'daki Yeni Gerçekçi sinema akımından ve Türkiye'deki sosyal ve politik ortamdan etkilenmiştir. Sinemanın seyirciler üzerindeki etkisinin farkında olan iktidar, sinemayı uyuşturan, hipnotize eden bir eğlenceye dönüşmesi için teşviklerde bulunmuştur. Ancak seyirciyi bilinçlendirmek ve yaşamdaki eşitsizlikleri yansıtmak için üretilen filmlerin önüne engeller koymuştur. Toplumsal gerçekçi sinema, burjuvazinin değil işçi sınıfının gerçekliğini yansıtmayı amaçlamıştır. Türkiye'de popüler türler olan melodram ve komedinin özelliklerini barındırsalar da esas amaç bir fikri, çoğunlukla provokatif bir şekilde yansıtmaktır. Ele alınan

konular çoğunlukla hayatlarında mücadele eden insanlardır. Özellikle eşitsizlikten kaynaklanan ekonomik sorunlar en çok benimsenen konulardan biridir. Bu konuların sistemdeki gücü memnun etmemesi, yaklaşık olarak 1960-1965 yılları arasında toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın ortaya çıkmasının nedenlerinden de biridir. 1961 anayasasının etkisinin egemen olduğu yıllar geçtikten sonra toplumsal gerçekçi sinema bir akım olarak devam edememiş fakat Türkiye sinemasını bir bütün olarak etkilenmiştir. Bu yıllardan sonra bir akımdan çok bir alt türe dönüştü. Bugün bile toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın temel özelliklerini taşıyan birçok film bulunmaktadır. Bu filmler, eşitsizliği ve işçi sınıfının yaşam mücadelesini daha çok gerçekçi bir bakış açısıyla ele alır. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'de toplumsal gerçekçi filmlerin iç göçe yaklaşımını analiz etmek için filmler seçilmiştir. Bu filmler ya doğrudan toplumcu gerçekçi sinema döneminde ya da onun etkisi altında üretilmiştir. Bunlardan ikisinin doğrudan toplumcu gerçekçi sinemada üretildiği söylenebilir; *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964) ve *Bitmeyen yol* (1965); ancak diğer filmler ondan sonra çekilmiştir; *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). Bu filmler, toplumsal gerçekçi sinemayı takip eden iki önemli akım olan ulusal ve milli sinema akımlarının etkisiyle üretilmiştir. Milli sinema hareketi'ndeki 'milli' kavramı, ulusal sinema hareketi'ndeki ulusal kavramına çok yakındır. İngilizce çevirileri aynıdır, national ancak geçmişte "milli" kavramı günümüzden farklı olarak "dindar" kavramını da içerecek şekilde kullanılmıştır. Ferit Develioğlu'nun Osmanlı-Türk Ansiklopedik Sözlüğünde, "milli" kavramına karşı "dine ve millete ait, millete bağlı, millî" ifadeleri yer almaktadır. Buradan hareketle Milli Sinemacıların "milli" kelimesini hem dini hassasiyetlerini ifade etmek hem de günümüz şartlarında milli kültürümüze atıfta bulunmak için kullandıklarını düşünülmektedir.

Literatürde göç, sosyal bilimlerdeki diğer alanlarla da birleştirilip çalışmak için verimli bir alan olmuştur. Bu tezde de birçok çalışma özetlenmiştir. 1980 yılından itibaren doğudan batıya ve kırdan kente göçün egemenliğindeki değişimi anlamak için Türkiye'nin iç göç örüntülerini incelenmektedir. Sosyal ve ekonomik teorileri birleştiren ekonomik ve istatistiksel bir analiz yapılmıştır. Ekonomik modelleri kullanarak göç ve ahlakı birlikte incelenmiş. Göçmenlerin sahip olduğu sorunlarla

ilgili farklı ahlaki yaklaşımları analiz etmiştir. Gönüllü ve zorunlu göçlere odaklanır ve göç yaklaşımlarını iki ahlaki yaklaşıma ayırır: açık sınırları savunan tezler ve kapalı sınırları savunan tezler. Bunun yanı sıra bazı filmlere bakarak mültecilerin duygusal ve psikolojik durumları üzerine çalışmaktadır. Göç ve ulus kavramlarını inceleyen tezde göçün bir ulusun homojenliğini bozduğunu ve küresel bir kültürel akışa neden olduğunu öne sürülür. Göç sinemasını kuramsal temelleri üzerinden incelerken, ulusal sinema ile göç sineması arasındaki farkları da irdelemektedir. Filmler iç göç ve Almanya'ya göç hikayelerini içeren Türk filmlerinden seçmiştir.

Türkiye'de toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın temel ilkelerinden biri de haksızlığa uğramış insanların öyküsünü anlatmaktır. Bu, onu sosyolojideki herhangi bir konu ile birleştirmek için iyi bir araç yapan en önemli özelliklerinden biridir. Akad'ın üçlemesi kadın temsilini inceler; *Gelin, Düğün, Diyet*. Bunlar, Türk sinemasına ve Türkiye'de kadın temsiline değerli katkıları olan, kadınları ve içi göçü resmeden çok önemli filmlerdir. Feminist eleştiriden yararlanılarak, sinemadaki kadın temsillerini ve bunların erkek egemen ideolojinin yeniden üretimi ve pekiştirilmesindeki rolünü incelenir. Türk sinemasındaki birçok kadın temsilini çeşitli türlerini görmek için sınıflandırılır. Bu hareketin Türkiye'de neden 1960-1965 yılları arasında ortaya çıktığı sorusunu cevaplanmaya çalışılır. Toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın dönemin toplumsal meselelerinden kaynaklandığını oldukça yaygın bir düşüncedir. Bu dönemdeki politik ortamı anlatmakta ve kullandığı birçok tema ve karakteri betimleyerek toplumsal gerçekçi sinemayı irdelenmektedir. DP'nin eski despotik rejimine karşı 1960 askeri darbesini incelenen yaygın konulardandır. Yeni özgür atmosfer film yapımcılarının İtalya'da 1943-1952 yılları arasında etkili olan İtalyan Yeni Gerçekçilik Hareketi'nden ilham alan Toplumsal Gerçekçi Sinema Hareketi'ni başlatmasını sağlar. Bu iki sinema akımını çokça karşılaştırılarak incelenmektedir. İtalyan Yeni Gerçekçiliği ve Toplumsal Gerçekçilik Hareketlerini ve bunların siyasi tarihini daha sonra bu hareketlerin ilk örneklerinin temsillerini Marksist eleştiri bağlamında analiz edilmektedir.

Toplumsal değişimi anlamak için Türkiye sinemasını incelemek bu tezde olduğu gibi artan bir alan olmaya başlamıştır. Sosyolojik alan çalışmaları ile seçilmiş bazı

filmlerin karşılaştırıldığı karşılaştırmalı inceleme analizini kullanarak iki farklı disiplinin paralel olarak nasıl çalışılabileceğini ve toplumu ve içindeki değişimi anlamak için birbirlerine nasıl yardımcı olabileceğini gösteren çalışmalar da vardır. Böylece sosyolojik tasavvur ve duygu sosyolojisi, filmlerin sosyolojik olarak anlaşılmasını destekleyen araçlar olarak kullanılabilir. Yavuz Turgul'un filmleri gibi birçok yönetmenin filmleri bağlamında toplumdaki toplumsal değişimi anlamak için bir araç olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu filmlerin toplumdaki değişimi temsil etmesi ve zamanlarına tanıklık etmeleri onu odak noktalarındandır. Bu konular, karakterlerin toplumda neyi temsil ettiği ve yönetmenlerin karakterlerin özellikleri üzerinden ne anlatmak istediği üzerine odaklanılmaktadır.

2. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra tüm dünya gibi Türkiye de bir dönüşüm yaşamıştır. Türkiye bu yıllarda modernleşme ya da batılılaşma kapsamında Avrupa'dan etkilenmektedir. Ulusal ve milli sinemanın bu etkileri Türkiye'ye bir zarar olarak gördükleri konulardır. Çilingir, Refiğ'in Batı ve Doğu arasındaki ikiliğe odaklandığını, Batı ve Doğu'nun modernleşmeyi farklı deneyimlediğini belirtir. Refiğ batıdan gelen modernleşmenin Türkiye'ye uygun olmadığını iddia etmektedir. Türkiye, iyi Türk filmleri yapmak için kendi ulusal kökenlerinin peşinden gitmek zorundadır. Türkiye'de milli sinemanın batılılaşmaya nasıl yaklaştığı sosyolojide tercih edilen konulardandır. Muhafazakar sinema önderi Yücel Çakmaklı'ya ve filmlerine odaklanır. Çakmaklı dini kullanarak toplumsal değişimlerle ilgili argümanlarını destekler. Filmlerinde Türkiye'nin dini hassasiyetlerinin kültürel biçimlerine yer verir. Önde gelen sosyalist yönetmen Yılmaz Güney ise bu konuya daha farklı bir açıdan yaklaşır. Güney üç farklı alanda da film üreten nadir insanlardandır; popüler sinema, sanat sineması ve üçüncü sinema. Marksist bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşıyor ve sistemi eleştiriyor. Güney ve birkaç kişi Türkiye'nin doğusunun hikayesini anlatan nadir insanlardan. Toplumdaki yoksulluğu ve bu yıllarda Türkiye'nin büyük bir bölümü için tabu olan azınlık sorunlarını da aktarmaktadırlar. Sinema çalışmaları da bu tabu konularını ortaya çıkarmak için faydalı olmuştur çünkü filmler insanlara başkalarının hayatını gösterir. Dolayısıyla hem filmler hem de araştırmalar toplumsal yerleşik sorunlara ışık tutar. Türk sinemasında Kürt/doğu sorununu

oryantalizm ve sinema bağlamında inceler ve sömürgeci söylemdeki 'öteki' temsilini ve türk sineması'ndaki kürk/doğu temsili ve yeni dönem kürk sinemasında kadın temsilleri az da olsa işlenen tabu konulardandır.

Göç, sadece insanları şehirlere değil, onların alışkanlıklarını, sorunlarını, kaygılarını da taşımaktadır. Kentleşme tartışmalarının ortaya çıkmasının nedenlerinden biri de kentin bir çalışma alanı haline gelmesidir. Bu yüzden de göç tüm boyutlarıyla çalışılması gereken bir konu haline gelir; sosyal, psikolojik, ekonomik veya mimari. Bu nedenle kent üzerine yapılan araştırmalar göçü anlamak açısından da faydalıdır. Kenti kavram olarak ele alan çalışmalar artmaktadır, tabiki özellikle İstanbul. Bir kent olarak İstanbul'dan Akad'ın İstanbul'u gibi yönetmenlerin şehirleri resmedişleri de önemli belgeler haline gelmektedir. Akad'ın filmlerinde İstanbul'un bir peri masalı ve bir arzu nesnesi olarak tasvir edildiğini savunur. Kenti, dönüşümünü ve toplum için ne anlama geldiğini ve ardından Akad'ın İstanbul'una odaklanan çalışmalar vardır. İstanbul pek çok insan için bir rüya yeri iken, 80'li yılların sonundan itibaren korkunun, klostrofobinin, yabancılığın, izolasyonun ve yalnızlığın ifade ettiği şehir haline geldiğini belirtmektedir. Akad İstanbul'un dönüşümünü tasvir eder bu süreçte. Başka bir çalışmada ise kent mitlerindeki toplumsal değişimi incelenmektedir. Modern insanın şehirde karşılaştığı mitlerin Türk sinemasında nasıl yeniden üretildiğine odaklanır. Sinema aracılığıyla ifadesini bulan kentin eleştirel bir çözümlemesini yapmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu tür şehir ve birey üzerine çalışmalar özellikle 90'lı yıllardan sonra artış göstermektedir. Kentte yalnız kalan bireyi merkeze alan çalışmalarda artış görülmektedir. Psikolojileri, depresyonları veya mücadeleleri popülerdir. Örneğin, Kavur'un filmleri, bireysel ve toplumsal ilişkilerdeki yabancılığın temsilidir. Cemaatteki siyasi kargaşanın gölgesinde yabancılaşıma odaklanır.

Sinema ve medya ve kültürel çalışmalar bölümleri çoğunluktadır. Bu tez, toplumsal gerçekçi sinema geleneğinde çekilen filmlerin Türkiye'de iç göçü nasıl betimlediğini incelemeye çalışmıştır. Bu tezde on film incelenmiştir: *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), *Bitmeyen yol* (1965), *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985), *Züğürt Ağa* (1986).

Bu tez, toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın Türkiye'de iç göçe nasıl yaklaştığını tartışmaktadır. Toplumcu gerçekçi sinema, Türkiye'deki önemli olayları resmeder. İç göç bunlardan sadece bir tanesidir. Bu çalışmada, bu sinemanın iç göçü nasıl gördüğünü bize göstermek için on film seçilmiştir. Söylem analizi filmlerden neyin nasıl yorumlanabileceğini kapsamlı bir şekilde anlamak için kullanılmıştır. Analizde göçmenlerin yolculuğu kronolojik bir şekilde ele alınmıştır. Aşağıda filmlerin kısa özetleri yapılmıştır:

Gurbet Kuşları, Kahramanmaraş'taki işleri bozulduğu için İstanbul'a göç eden bir ailenin mücadelesini anlatıyor. Aile büyük bir umutla İstanbul'a gelse de şehir hayatına uyum sağlayamaz. Önce kızlarını sonra bütün paralarını kaybederler ve geri dönmek zorunda kalırlar.

Bitmeyen Yol, daha iyi şartlar için İstanbul'a göç eden altı kişiyi konu alıyor. Şehirde para kazanmanın hiç de kolay olmadığını anlarlar ama köyde umutları yoktur. Bu nedenle film, onların çok zor koşullarda çok az paraya, hiçbir güvence olmaksızın çalışmalarını anlatır.

Fatma Bacı, kan davası nedeniyle eşini kaybeden bekar bir annenin İstanbul'da çocuklarını bundan çok uzakta büyütme kararı vermesini konu alıyor. Bir apartman dairesinde kapıcı olarak çalışır ve üç çocuğunu büyütür. Film, çocuklarıyla çatıştığı ve yeniden kaynaştığı kısımlara odaklanıyor.

Gelin, Akad'ın gelin ve çekirdek ailesinin kocasının ailesiyle birlikte İstanbul'a göç etmesiyle başlayan üçlemesinin ilk filmi. Tüm aile ile yüzleşerek oğlunu kurtarmak isteyen bir kadının hikayesidir. Ailesinin açgözlülüğünü, ikiyüzlülüğünü ve önyargılılığını eleştiriyor. Evden çıkar ve bir fabrikada çalışmaya başlar.

Düğün, Akad'ın beş kardeşin İstanbul'daki mücadelesini konu alan üçlemesinin ikinci filmi. Ailenin erkek üyeleri daha fazla para kazanmak için ailelerinin dağılmasını göze alırken, filmde en büyük ablalarının kardeşleri bir arada tutabilmek için yaptıkları fedakarlıklar anlatılıyor.

Diyet, Akad'ın fabrika işçileri ve sendikayı konu alan üçlemesinin son filmi. Bu film, tüm ailesine tek başına bakan bir kadını ve onun sınıf bilincini kazanma sürecini anlatır.

Kızım Ayşe, köyünde doktor olmadığı için kocasını kaybeden bekar bir annenin hikayesidir. Bu olay, kızını doktor yapma konusunda onu hırslandırır. Bu amaçla İstanbul'a göç ederler ama kızı yolunu kaybeder. Dolayısıyla film, İstanbul'daki bir manevi mücadeleye odaklanır.

Yusuf ile Kenan, sokakta yaşayan çocukları konu alan ilk ve ender filmlerden biridir. Kenan ve Yusuf babaları bir kan dolandırıcılığında öldürüldüğü için göç etmek zorunda kalan kardeşlerdir. Onlar İstanbul'da hayatta kalmaya çalışırken, filmde sokaklarda yaşayan pek çok çocuk anlatılır.

Bir Avuç Cennet, akrabaları ile birlikte İstanbul'a göç eden bir ailenin gelmeden önce onun öldüğünü öğrenmelerini konu alıyor. Bu yüzden artık bir otobüste yaşamak zorundalar ve çöpten bir ev yapıyorlar.

Züğürt Ağa, göç öncesi köyü çok detaylı anlatan tek filmidir. İşte bu film, ağa ile ortakçının köydeki ilişkisini ve ağanın nasıl göç etmek zorunda kaldığını gösteriyor. Bu film, bir ev sahibinin İstanbul'da hayatta kalabilmek için tüm statüsünden nasıl vazgeçmek zorunda kaldığını ironi ve komedi unsurlarını kullanarak anlatıyor.

Türkiye'de sinema, özellikle toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın ortaya çıkmasıyla sosyolojinin belli bir konusu haline gelir. İtalya'da Neorealizm'den etkilenen toplumsal gerçekçi sinema, Türkiye'de siyasi ortam sayesinde kendine yer bulabilmektedir. 1961 Anayasası, eskiye göre insanlara kısa süreli de olsa bir özgürlük ortamı sağlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla düşüncelerini özgürce ifade edemeyen sanatçı ve aydınlar kendi tercihlerine göre üretmeye başlarlar. Sinemada bunlar yeni bir sinema hareketinin, toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın yolunu açar. 1965'te JP tek başına iktidara gelmesi ile birlikte bir dönem kapanır. Bir dönemi kapatıp toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın bir sinema hareketi olarak devam etmesi engellense de toplumsal gerçekçi sinema tüm Türkiye sinemasını önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. 1965 yılına kadar yapılan muhalif filmler bu tarihten sonra şekil değiştirmiştir. Hâlâ önemli toplumsal gerçekçi özellikler taşıyalar da batılılaşma gibi farklı kaygılara odaklanmaya başlarlar. Hâlâ iktidar ve hiyerarşiyi eleştirenler olsa da şimdiki düşman Batı olmuştur. Ancak bunların devletin müdahale etmesine engel olmadığını belirtmek gerekir. Bu filmlerin çoğu, uzun yıllar süren sansürlerden sonra gösterime girebilir. Bu filmler, Türk sineması ve sinema

sosyolojisi açısından çok önemlidir ki, içinde buldukları dönemin gerçekliğini iyi bir şekilde temsil ettikleri için seçilmişlerdir. Bu dönemin en önemli gerçeklerinden biri de bu çalışmanın odak noktası olan iç göç olgusudur. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, toplumsal gerçekçi sinemanın Türkiye'de iç göçü nasıl ele aldığını incelemektir.

20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı Türkiye için önemli bir dönüm noktasıdır. 1950'lerde nüfusun yarısından fazlası kırsal kesimde yaşarken, 1990'da tam tersi olmuş bir yandan nüfus artarken diğer yandan nüfusun büyük bir kısmı şehirlere taşınmıştır. Bu durum yaşam biçimlerini, hayatlarını kazanma biçimleri tamamen değiştirir. Bu çalışmada bu değişimlerin sinemaya yansımaları ele alınmıştır. Bu filmlerin insanların hikâyesini nasıl anlattığı araştırılır. Kronolojik bir analiz yapılmıştır: göç öncesi, göç dönemi ve göç sonrası, uyum dönemi. Göç öncesi dönem ve göç süreci için karakterin sözlerine ve bununla ilgili ipuçlarına dikkat edilir. Temel konusu kırdan kente göç olan Türkiye'nin ilk göç filmi Gurbet Kuşları ile başlıyor çalışma. Halit Refiğ ve ardından Duygu Sağıroğlu, *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965) ile Türkiye Sinemasında bu konuyu ilk ele alan değerli aydınlardır. Onlardan sonra 70'lerde iç göç konulu çok daha fazla film vardır. Seçilen altı film; *Fatma Bacı* (1972), *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1974), *Diyet* (1975), *Kızım Ayşe* (1974), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979)'tur. Daha sonra 80'ler göçün değiştiği ve daha politik hale geldiği bir dönemdir. 80'lerin sonunda ülke nüfusunun yarısından fazlası şehirlerde yaşıyordu. Şimdi görünen, büyük umutlarla göç eden ve umduğunu bulamayan insanlar. Dolayısıyla 80'lerden seçilmiş iki film bulunmaktadır. *Bir Avuç Cennet* (1985) ve *Züğürt Ağa* (1986). Evlerinden büyük umutlarla ayrılan göçmenlerin şehirde kendilerine yer bulmakta zorlandıkları dönemin atmosferini anlatmaktadırlar. Bu son iki film, İstanbul'un bu kadar insan için nasıl hazır olmadığını gösterir. 80'li yılların sonundan itibaren göç filmleri sosyolojik olmaktan çok psikolojik hikâyelere dönüşmüş. Çok daha önce göç etmiş ve kentte yaşamaya çalışan bir bireyin öyküsünü anlatan filmler çoğunluktadır. Yönetmenler dönemi olarak adlandırılan yeni sinema döneminden itibaren filmlerde yalnızlık ya da kalabalık içindeki yabancılaşma daha çok görülmektedir. Ancak, bu çalışmanın odak noktası bu değildir.

Dördüncü bölümde, toplumsal gerçekçi filmlerin Türkiye'deki iç göçü nasıl temsil ettiğinin analizine odaklanılmıştır. Kırdan kente göçü nasıl ele aldıklarını anlatan on film seçildi. Seçilen filmlerin çoğu doğrudan göç öncesi dönemi içermediği için filmlerdeki diyaloglar ve ipuçları bize bazı bilgiler vermektedir. Kırsal kesimde yaşayanların köylerinde sınırlı seçeneklere sahip olduklarını düşündükleri ve bu seçeneklerin tükenmekte olduğu söylenebilir. İnsanlar geçimlerini köylerinde kazanamamaya başladıkları için göç etmektedirler. Filmlerin de çoğunlukla karakterlerin diyaloglarıyla gösterebildiği göçün en bariz ve gözlemlenebilir nedeni budur. Filmler köylerdeki kaynakların azalmaya başladığını gösteriyor. İnsanlar geçimlerini sağlayamıyordu. Toprak verimli değil ve hammadde sürekli ucuzluyor. Bunlara sağlık ve eğitim imkanlarının yetersizliği de eklenince şehirlere göç etmeye karar veriyorlar. Daha sonra daha çok büyük şehirlere göç etmeyi tercih ediyorlar ve İstanbul göçmenler için nihai varış noktası. Tarihi kayıtlar bunu göstermekle birlikte, bu çalışma için seçilen tüm filmlerde insanların İstanbul'a göç ettiğini desteklemektedir. Göçün bazı sebepleri olduğunu ancak bu dönemde filmlerde gösterilmesi tercih edilmediğini belirtmek gerekir. Türkiye'nin doğusu ve etnik kökenlerle ilgili sorunlar bu yıllar için tabu konulardır. Yani filmler bunları içermiyor. Filmler çoğunlukla göç sürecini ve şehre nasıl geldiklerini anlatmaya başlar. Daha çok trenleri kullanıyorlar ve hemşehrilerini hem şehre gelmek, hem kalmak hem de iş bulmak için kullanıyorlar. Filmler, göçmenlerin kalabalık ve büyük şehri gördüklerinde yaşadıkları şaşkınlığı anlatıyor.

Bu insanların şehre adaptasyon süreci bu filmlerin odak noktasıdır. Kente hem ekonomik hem de sosyokültürel uyum mücadelesi veren insanlar resmedilmiştir filmlerde. Ekonomik mücadele, göçmenlerin çoğunlukla bakkal, tamirhane gibi bazı şeyleri satmak için dükkânlar açarak veya sokaklarda seyyar satıcılık yaparak mal satarak hizmet sektöründe çalışabildiklerini göstermektedir. Bazıları da fabrikalarda el işçisi olarak çalışabilir. Fakat filmler bu göçmen ailelerin refah içinde yaşamak isteyen bir aileye yetecek kadar para kazanamayacaklarını gösteriyor. Bir ailede birden fazla kişi çalışsa da refah seviyesi şehirlilerle ulaşacak seviyede kazanamazlar. Dolayısıyla bunu anlamak, ailelerde eşlerin ve kızların ev dışındaki işlerini artırır. Kadının çalışma hayatındaki yeri değişiyor,

daha fazla kadın formal yada enformal sektörde yer bulabilmeye başlamıştır ama bu filmler bunun zorunluluktan kaynaklandığını göstermektedir. Bu yüzden feminist bir değişim olduğunu söyleyemeyiz fakat bu bu durumun kadın hayatı için önemli olmadığını göstermez. Göçmenler yaşadıkları ekonomik mücadelenin yanı sıra şehrin sosyokültürünün bir parçası olamamaktadırlar. İstanbul, Türkiye'nin diğer bölgelerine göre dışarıya daha açık bir şehir olduğundan, dünyadaki değişimlere ilk önce şait olur. Göçmenler İstanbul'a geldiklerinde köylerinden çok farklı bir şehir bulurlar. İstanbul batılı, modern, kalabalık ve hızlı bir şehir ve filmler tüm bu çatışmalı göçmenlerin yaşadıklarını yansıtır. Köylerin ve şehrin manevi değerleri farklıdır ve bunlar göçmenlerin uyum sağlamasını zorlaştırıyor. Uyum sağlamak ya da şehir hayatının bir parçası olmak yerine şehir merkezine çok yakın olmayan bölgelerde kendi köylerini kurarlar. Filmlerde İstanbul, gençlerin kontrollerini kaybedip ailelerine göre yanlış şeyler yaptıkları baştan çıkarıcı bir yer olarak tasvir edilir. Bazı yönetmenler için İstanbul'daki bu ahlaki yozlaşma Batı'dan gelir. Refiğ filmleriyle Türkiye'nin ulusal kökenlerine sahip çıkması ve bu minvalde filmler üretilmesi gerektiğini destekler. Çakmaklı da Türk toplumunun dini yapısını takip etmesi gerektiğini öne sürer ve bunu destekleyen filmler yapılması gerektiğini söyler. Dolayısıyla toplumda gördükleri sorunun çözümünü bu yollarla açıklarlar. Sağıroğlu işçinin yaşamını ve sendikanın ilk yıllarını anlatırken, Akad *Diyet*'te sendikanın daha yaygın olduğu yılları gösteriyor. Ayrıca Akad, İstanbul'a göç eden bir kadının hayatındaki değişimi ve çevresinde olup bitenleri izleyerek yavaş yavaş sınıf bilincine varan bir kadını anlatır. Kavur, sokak çocuklarını anlatarak göçün sonuçlarını ender bir açıdan anlatmayı seçmiştir. Bu yıllar İstanbul'un imkanlarının yanı sıra tehlikeli bir şehir olarak görülmeye başlandığı yıllardır. Özer ve Çölgeçen, göçmenlerin bir kaosa sürüklendiği anlayışını benimser. *Bir Avuç Cennet* 'te ise bu kaosa bile giremeyen bir aileyi göstermeyi seçer ve İstanbul'un bir köşesinde bir otobüste yaşayan bir aileyi anlatır. *Züğürt Ağa* ise bu kaosta tek başına hiçbir iş yapmayı bilmeyen ve statüsü nedeniyle de öğrenemeyen eski bir ağayı anlatır. Ne zaman statüsünden sıyrılması gerektiğini anlar o zaman kendine bir hayat kurabilir.

Tezin devamında uyum sürecinden sonra baba-oğul ilişkilerinde yaşanan değişimlere ve kadının aile içindeki yerine değinilmiştir. Jenerasyonlar arası

farklılıklar her zaman olsa da göç, baba ve oğul arasındaki ayrışmayı artırır. Nesiller arasında farklılıklar görülmesi yaygın bir durum olsa da şehre göç, geleneğe bağlı kalmak isteyen babalar ile yeni şeyler denemek isteyen oğullar arasındaki sorunları artırıyor. Ancak göç ile birlikte kadınların yaşamları daha kapsamlı bir şekilde değişmektedir. Özellikle Akad'ın üçlemesi ile göçmen kadınların şehir hayatındaki değişimleri ve çalışan kadınların aileleri nazarında normalleşmesi resmedilmektedir. Gelin filminde evden dahi çıkamayan, çalışması, doktora gitmesi yasak olan bir kadının kendi ayakları üzerinde kurma süreci anlatılırken Akad'ın son filmi olan Diyet filminde ise kendi ailesini geçindiren babasına çocuklarına kendi çalışıp bakan bir kadın resmedilir.

Sonuç olarak, bu tezde Türkiye'deki iç göçün bir temsili ortaya konulmuştur. İç göçün toplum ve ülke yaşamında nasıl büyük değişimlere yol açtığı sosyolojik kavramlar kullanılarak toplumsal gerçekçi sinema ışığında özetlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışma, multimedya araçlarının sosyal koşulları anlamak için nasıl kullanılabileceğini göstermektedir. Sinema sadece eğlence amaçlı bir araç olarak görülse de insanlara pencere açmak için harika bir araçtır. Bu tezde Türkiye'nin bir dönemi olan iç göç dönemi analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu dönem 2000'li yılların a priori olması nedeniyle Türkiye'de kapsamlı bir değişim görmek açısından önemlidir. Türkiye'nin bugününü anlamak için de önemli bir kavramdır göç. Ülke nüfusunun çok büyük bir çoğunluğu belli kentlerde yaşamakta ve çalışmaktadır. Bu yüzden de bu insanların neden ve nasıl geldikleri, geldiklerinde neler ile karşılaştıkları önemli bir araştırma konusudur.

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