

MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE YEARS BETWEEN 1961-1963 CONCERNING  
LABOR MIGRATION FROM TURKEY TO GERMANY: THE CASES OF  
MILLIYET AND CUMHURİYET

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## ABSTRACT

### MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE YEARS BETWEEN 1961-1963 CONCERNING LABOR MIGRATION FROM TURKEY TO GERMANY: THE CASES OF MILLIYET AND CUMHURIYET

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This thesis work focuses on the media coverage of the years between 1961-1963 concerning labor migration from Turkey to Germany in two national newspapers, Milliyet and Cumhuriyet. In this way, this thesis work aims to reveal the extent of coverage in and approach of the two newspapers, ideologically positioning on different places, to the issue during the first two to three years, *i.e.*, pre-determined duration of stay within the official labor migration, and to understand not only the first years of migration but also its current impacts. By forming three categories and nine subcategories that are particularly decisive topics regarding the labor migration, this thesis work investigates to what extent each newspaper covered the labor migration on these topics, through content analysis. By employing discourse analysis, it also reveals convergence and divergence between the newspapers in their approach to the labor migration. As a result of a multi-step analysis of 3426 articles, including news, columns, and advertisements, from the two newspapers' online archives for the three years, and analysis of 444 articles for the final study, the thesis work reveals that Cumhuriyet covered the labor migration almost half as much as Milliyet. Also, both newspapers mainly covered the issue through brief and descriptive news. Finally, while the main divergence of the newspapers was encountered in articles about appreciation and praise for Turkish workers due to losing skilled workers, the main convergence is on expected development from Turkish workers, Turkish representation in Germany, and benefits and losses of the labor migration for Turkey and Germany.

**Keywords:** Labor Migration, Media Coverage, Turkish Migrant Workers, Content, Discourse

## ÖZ

### TÜRKİYE'DEN ALMANYA'YA EMEK GÖÇÜNE İLİŞKİN 1961-1963 YILLARINDA MEDYADAKİ YANSIMA: MİLİYET VE CUMHURİYET ÖRNEĞİ

YÜCEL, Altun Begüm

Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Bölümü

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Bu tez, Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçüne ilişkin olarak, iki ulusal gazete olan Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet gazetelerinde 1961-1963 yılları arasındaki medyada yer almaya odaklanmaktadır. Böylelikle bu tez, ideolojik olarak birbirinden farklı yerlerde konumlanan iki gazetenin resmi emek göçü kapsamında önceden belirlenmiş kalış süresi olan ilk iki üç yılda meseleye ne ölçüde yer verdiklerini ve konuya yaklaşımlarını ortaya koymayı ve yalnızca göçün ilk yıllarını değil aynı zamanda söz konusu göç hareketinin bugünkü etkilerini de anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu tez, emek göçüne ilişkin bağlam kapsamında özellikle belirleyici başlıklar olan üç kategori ve dokuz alt kategori oluşturarak, içerik analizi yoluyla her bir gazetenin bu belirli konularda emek göçüne ne kadar yer verdiğini araştırmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu tez, söylem analizinden yararlanarak, iki gazetenin emek göçüne yaklaşımlarındaki yakınsama ve ıraksamayı ortaya koymaktadır. İki gazetenin çevrimiçi arşivleri üzerinden üç yıl için seçilen haberler, köşe yazıları ve reklamları içeren 3246 yayının çok aşamalı analizinin ve son çalışma için 444 yayının analizinin sonucunda, bu tez Cumhuriyet'in Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçüne Milliyet'in neredeyse yarısı kadar yer verdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, her iki gazete de meseleye ağırlıklı olarak kısa ve tanımlayıcı haberler ile yer vermiştir. Son olarak, gazetelerin ana ıraksaması Türk işçilere yönelik takdir ve övgü ile ilgili yayınlarda karşılaştırılırken, ana yakınsama Türk işçilerinden beklenen gelişme, Almanya'da Türk temsili ve Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçünün faydaları ve zararları gibi konulardadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Emek Göçü, Medyada Yer Alma, Türk Göçmen İşçiler, İçerik, Söylem

*To my father, Salih Yücel,  
To my mother, Nevin Yücel,  
To my sister, Zülal Yücel,  
And to my dog, Şans...*



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM .....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xx
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
2.1. Labor Migration.....	9
2.1.1. Early Migration Research – Ravenstein’s Theory of Migration .....	12
2.1.2. Contemporary Theories .....	14
2.1.3. The Neoclassical Economic Theory: Macro- and Micro-Level.....	14
2.1.4. The New Economics of Migration Theory .....	18
2.1.5. Dual Labor Market Theory .....	21
2.1.6. World-Systems Theory .....	24
2.2. Media Studies on Labor Migration from Turkey to Germany.....	27
3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LABOR MIGRATION.....	32
4. NEWSPAPERS: MILLIYET AND CUMHURİYET.....	41
5. RESEARCH METHODS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	47
6. MEDIA COVERAGE IN MILLIYET IN 1961, 1962, AND 1963 .....	59
6.1. Labor Export.....	63
1.1.1. Articles with General Information .....	66
6.1.2. Working and Living Conditions .....	81
6.1.3. Official Processes .....	93
6.1.4. Expected Development .....	99
6.1.5. Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Workers .....	104
6.1.6. Turkish Representation in Germany .....	110
6.1.7. Duration of Stay.....	119
6.1.8. Private Agencies .....	126
6.1.9. Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export .....	133

6.2.	Social Life and Integration in Germany.....	141
6.3.	Criminality.....	155
6.4.	Conclusion.....	165
7.	MEDIA COVERAGE IN CUMHURİYET IN 1961, 1962, AND 1963.....	167
7.1.	Labor Export.....	172
7.1.1.	Articles with General Information .....	175
7.1.2.	Working and Living Conditions.....	188
7.1.3.	Working and Living Conditions.....	196
7.1.4.	Expected Development .....	199
7.1.5.	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants .....	203
7.1.6.	Turkish Representation in Germany .....	208
7.1.7.	Duration of Stay .....	214
7.1.8.	Private Agencies .....	217
7.1.9.	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export .....	223
7.2.	Social Life and Integration in Germany.....	228
7.3.	Criminality.....	232
7.4.	Conclusion.....	235
8.	CONCLUSION.....	238
	REFERENCES.....	244
	APPENDICES	
A.	ADDITIONAL FIGURES .....	269
B.	TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET .....	278
C.	THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU .....	286

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. List of figures used in the text .....	51
Table 2. The analysis process of Milliyet's issues of 1961 step by step .....	59
Table 3. The share of the articles published in Milliyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis .....	60
Table 4. The analysis process of Milliyet's issues of 1962 step by step .....	60
Table 5. The share of the articles published in Milliyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis .....	61
Table 6. The analysis process of Milliyet's issues of 1963 step by step .....	61
Table 7. The share of the articles published in Milliyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis .....	61
Table 8. The share of the articles published in Milliyet by category, and subcategory, on a triennial basis .....	62
Table 9. The share of the articles under the category "Labor Export" published in Milliyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis .....	64
Table 10. The share of the articles under the category "Labor Export" published in Milliyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis .....	64
Table 11. The share of the articles under the category "Labor Export" published in Milliyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis .....	65
Table 12. The share of the articles under the category "Labor Export" published in Milliyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the category "Labor Export" in all the published articles in the newspaper .....	65
Table 13. The share of the articles under the subcategory "Articles with General Information" on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory "Articles with General Information" in the upper category "Labor Export" .....	67

Table 14. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Working and Living Conditions” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Working and Living Conditions” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	81
Table 15. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Official Processes” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Official Processes” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	94
Table 16. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Expected Development” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Expected Development” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	99
Table 17. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	105
Table 18. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Turkish Representation in Germany” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Turkish Representation in Germany” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	111
Table 19. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Duration of Stay” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Duration of Stay” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	120
Table 20. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Private Agencies” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Private Agencies” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	126
Table 21. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	134
Table 22. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Milliyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis .....	141
Table 23. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Milliyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis .....	142

Table 24. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Milliyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis .....	143
Table 25. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Milliyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles .....	143
Table 26. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Milliyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis .....	155
Table 27. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Milliyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis .....	156
Table 28. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Milliyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis .....	156
Table 29. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Milliyet by Genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles .....	157
Table 30. The analysis process of Cumhuriyet’s issues of 1961 step by step .....	167
Table 31. The share of the articles published in Cumhuriyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis .....	168
Table 32. The analysis process of Cumhuriyet’s issues of 1962 step by step .....	168
Table 33. The share of the articles published in Cumhuriyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis .....	169
Table 34. The analysis process of Cumhuriyet’s issues of 1963 step by step .....	169
Table 35. The share of the articles published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis .....	169
Table 36. The share of the articles published in Cumhuriyet by category, and subcategory, on a triennial basis .....	171
Table 37. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis .....	173

Table 38. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis .....	173
Table 39. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis .....	173
Table 40. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the category “Labor Export” in all the published articles in the newspaper .....	174
Table 41. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Articles with General Information” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Articles with General Information” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	176
Table 42. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Working and Living Conditions” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Working and Living Conditions” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	188
Table 43. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Official Processes” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Official Processes” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	196
Table 44. The number of the articles under the subcategory “Expected Development” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Expected Development” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	200
Table 45. The number of the articles under the subcategory “Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	204
Table 46. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Turkish Representation in Germany” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Turkish Representation in Germany” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	209
Table 47. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Duration of Stay” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Duration of Stay” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	215

Table 48. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Private Agencies” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Private Agencies” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	218
Table 49. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export” in the upper category “Labor Export” .....	225
Table 50. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Cumhuriyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis .....	228
Table 51. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Cumhuriyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis .....	229
Table 52. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis .....	229
Table 53. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Cumhuriyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles .....	230
Table 54. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis .....	233
Table 55. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis .....	233
Table 56. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis .....	233
Table 57. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles .....	234



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Turkish workers will be sent to Switzerland, too .....	67
Figure 2. 200 Turkish workers will crush stones in Germany .....	68
Figure 3. There are 18,376 Turkish Workers in Germany .....	69
Figure 4. Workers will go to Germany nonstop .....	69
Figure 5.600 workers have gone to Germany last week .....	70
Figure 6. 980 more workers went out .....	71
Figure 7. 500 Turkish farmers go to Germany .....	72
Figure 8. 5986 Workers were sent to West Germany .....	73
Figure 9. Two thousand Turkish agricultural workers will go to Germany .....	73
Figure 10. Germans are hesitant to bring in workers from Turkey: Tailor instead of mason, barber instead of constructor goes in .....	74
Figure 11. Such an example .....	76
Figure 12. Turkish doctors are now going to West Germany .....	77
Figure 13. Workers and technicians wanted from Germany .....	79
Figure 14. Those who will go to Germany and are learning German .....	79
Figure 15. I am going to Germany .....	80
Figure 16. 17 tailors have gone to Germany to work yesterday .....	82
Figure 17. Ten thousand workers every year .....	83
Figure 18. West Germany seeks for female worker .....	83
Figure 19. Guarantee agreement has been made for workers going to Germany .....	85
Figure 20. Equal rights for Greek workers in Germany .....	87
Figure 21. Greek workers in Germany have the same rights as German workers .....	88
Figure 22. Most Turkish workers in Germany are miserable .....	89

Figure 23. An injustice .....	90
Figure 24. The Federal Minister of Interior of Germany has visited in .....	91
Figure 25. Turkish worker with 23 children cannot find a job in Germany .....	92
Figure 26. Turkish – German recruitment agreement has been put into effect yesterday .....	94
Figure 27. New bureau is established for employee referral to Germany .....	95
Figure 28. A Criminal record office is established under the Attorney Generalship .....	96
Figure 29. 28 thousand workers have gone to Germany so far: Worker dispatch is bound to a new shape .....	97
Figure 30. They went to the ordnance course .....	100
Figure 31a. Gürsel and İnönü sent a message to workers in Germany .....	101
Figure 31b. Gürsel and İnönü sent a message to workers in Germany .....	102
Figure 32. Tourism staff will be trained in Germany .....	103
Figure 33. Norway has requested 10 thousand sailors .....	105
Figure 34. Norway has requested 10 thousand sailors .....	106
Figure 35. Turkish workers in Germany are appreciated .....	106
Figure 36. German Factories want Turkish workers .....	107
Figure 37. A quarter of the workers of a factory in Germany are Turkish: Canteen's German cook completely removed pork from the menu because the Turks do not eat .....	108
Figure 38. What our champions in Germany do, and how they live: Sille earns 791 marks a month .....	112
Figure 39. What our champions in Germany do, and how they live: Bozkurt, wrestling, working, and studying .....	112
Figure 40. The first party to Germany .....	114
Figure 41. They have gone to work .....	115
Figure 42. A Turkish from Istanbul has become famous because of the restaurant he opened in West Berlin .....	119

Figure 43. 150 workers are sent to Germany .....	120
Figure 44. Germany wants to 500 thousand workers .....	122
Figure 45. 2-3 thousand workers will be sent to Germany .....	122
Figure 46. 77 more Turkish Workers have gone to Germany .....	123
Figure 47. The residence restriction of Turkish workers in Germany is lifted .....	125
Figure 48. Some workers who want to go to Germany are deceived .....	127
Figure 49. Turks who go to Germany to look for a job are in a difficult situation: Turks who do not have a work permit are not given employment .....	128
Figure 50. Six office owners who send workers to Europe, have been turned to the prosecution ..	129
Figure 51. Attention to those, who will go to Germany .....	129
Figure 52. The bureaus that send workers abroad will be struggled .....	130
Figure 53. Companies sending workers cannot be prevented .....	131
Figure 54. Difficulty for Turkish Tourists in Germany .....	132
Figure 55. 32 thousand workers applied to go to Germany .....	135
Figure 56. Complaints of Tailors Going to Germany .....	136
Figure 57. 261 workers were sent to Germany .....	137
Figure 58. Turkish workers in Germany will be able to send money by mail .....	139
Figure 59. Workers, who does not care for her or his family, will leave Germany .....	140
Figure 60. Turkish girls were offered for German bars .....	144
Figure 61. A Quran with a gold-embroidered cover was issued in Germany .....	145
Figure 62. Turks in Germany held an acquaintance meeting .....	146
Figure 63. West Germany Radio will stream in Turkish .....	147
Figure 64a. The Frankfurt streets have been overcrowded by Turkish workers .....	150
Figure 64b. The Frankfurt streets have been overcrowded by Turkish workers .....	150
Figure 65. Frankfurt has become a Turkish city .....	151

Figure 66. The best gift to your friends in foreign countries is an annual subscription of Milliyet .....	153
Figure 67. A Turkish Newspaper is published in Germany.....	154
Figure 68. A Turkish stabbed a German because of the match .....	158
Figure 69. Two Turkish workers were caught smuggling opium in Germany .....	158
Figure 70. A Turk caught his wife committing adultery in Germany .....	160
Figure 71. A Turkish worker was killed in Germany .....	160
Figure 72. Turkish murder suspect wanted in Cologne .....	162
Figure 73. A Greek-origin Turk killed his lover in Germany .....	163
Figure 74. German labor office has entered into service .....	176
Figure 75. 4,254 of our workers went to West Germany in 5 months .....	177
Figure 76. 1321 workers have been sent to Germany in the last 10 days .....	178
Figure 77. Germany is paved with gold! .....	179
Figure 78. Zurna and Peshrev .....	180
Figure 79. 2000 Turkish agricultural workers will soon go to West Germany .....	180
Figure 80. 500 farmers are sent to Germany .....	181
Figure 81. 500 Turkish farmers go to Germany .....	182
Figure 82. Except 35 old men, men from a village have applied to go to Germany .....	183
Figure 83. 103 People from a village have wanted to go to Germany .....	183
Figure 84. The Sports Palace is losing its hardworking director .....	184
Figure 85. Radio City - Export-Import Hikmet Taskent .....	185
Figure 86. Would you like to work in Germany? .....	186
Figure 87. I am going to Germany .....	187
Figure 88. Insurance for 40,000 Greek workers in West Germany .....	189
Figure 89. Equal rights are provided for Greek workers in Germany .....	190
Figure 90. The director of the Employment Agency has gone to Germany yesterday .....	191

Figure 91. The situation of insured workers in Germany is based on a new basis .....	192
Figure 92. The number of our workers who had a work accident in Germany is nearly 50 .....	193
Figure 93. Turkish Workers' Associations are established in Germany .....	194
Figure 94. Turkish-German Labor Recruitment .....	197
Figure 95. The Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement has been put into effect yesterday .....	197
Figure 96. Ford Factory will bring 250 workers from Izmir .....	198
Figure 97. Radio and television agreement with Germany entered into force .....	199
Figure 98. Criticism of RPP .....	201
Figure 99. Help of workers abroad .....	202
Figure 100. A Turk in Germany .....	204
Figure 101. West German Minister of Internal Affairs has visited .....	207
Figure 102. They have gone .....	209
Figure 103. Turkish students in Germany are developing the German basketball .....	213
Figure 104. Workers going to Germany are allowed a maximum of 3 years .....	216
Figure 105. Worker dispatch to Germany continues .....	219
Figure 106a. A lawsuit was filed against 40 bureaus that send workers to Europe with the promise of finding job .....	222
Figure 106b. A lawsuit was filed against 40 bureaus that send workers to Europe with the promise of finding job .....	222
Figure 107. German labor bureau has started its operations .....	226
Figure 108. What does a Turkish worker wants: 4 .....	227
Figure 109. Turkish newspapers are expensive in Germany .....	231
Figure 110. Misbah Uras: Detention warrant has been cut for Misbah Uras regarding fraud of 5 million .....	235

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany
DP	Democrat Party
EU	European Union
IG Metall	Industriegewerkschaft Metall – Industrial Union of Metalworkers
IOM	International Organization of Migration
JDP	Justice and Development Party
METU	Middle East Technical University
NDP	National Development Party
NEM	New Economics of Migration
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
RPP	Republican People’s Party
SLM	Segmented Labor Market Theory
SPD	Social Democratic Party of German *y
TRT	The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation
TRT-INT	The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation - International
U.S.	United States
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk Köln – The West German Broadcasting Cologne

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This thesis work aims to investigate the media coverage about the labor migration from Turkey to Germany for the years 1961, 1962, and 1963 by focusing on articles, including news, columns, and advertisements (ads), in two ideologically different Turkish newspapers, namely Milliyet and Cumhuriyet, in terms of frequency of coverage by content and way of coverage by discourse analyses. In this way, the purpose of this thesis work is to provide an understanding of the way the subject is handled from two different perspectives. Relatedly, it will find out if there was any convergence and divergence between the newspapers; and if so, on which topics they are. More specifically, as the media reflects the conjuncture in its time in a manifest or latent way and it cannot be thought without an ideological position, this thesis work is on the purpose of revealing the approach to the labor migration in Cumhuriyet as a newspaper on political left and in Milliyet as a liberal newspaper in the given years.

Given the significance of the issue, the topic of migration is crucial to realize current trends in the world, as it is always closely associated with the reinforcement of existing power relations and the intensification on xenophobic discourse all around the world. In specific to Turkey, while Turkey hosts the largest number of migrants and refugees with more than three and a half million Syrians, a remarkable increase of brain drain from Turkey to the West is another fact of the country. Thereby, this thesis work will strive for enabling a broad understanding of the position of migrants and refugees currently, the phenomenon of migration in general, and the role of media outlets during that process. On the other hand, as the subject of this thesis work is the labor migration from Turkey to Germany particularly, it is more important to consider the significance of the study in this sense rather than its general meaning.

Accordingly, it is needed to remind that the labor migration from Turkey to Germany, which started during 1950s through individual initiatives and then became official in 1961, has still been impacting economic, social, political, and cultural processes in both Turkey and Germany due to the huge number of the Turkish population in Germany as well as substantial number of citizens living in Turkey, who previously experienced migration to Germany. As those people and their ancestors have been contributing to both countries' economies, and being decisive in the two countries' social, political, and cultural life by being a considerable population group and by means of exchanging values, the labor migration at stake has a great importance in historical integrity. Thereby, understanding of the historical impacts of migration movements from Turkey to West Germany on economic, social, political, cultural

processes - or the interactions with these processes that can be traced in media, and particularly in newspapers - seems quite significant to project those impacts on current trends in both Turkey and Germany.

Even though the issue holds such significance, it has not attracted great attention scholarly. In other words, although there was a great migration movement from Turkey to Western Europe, especially to West Germany, in the twentieth century, as it forms the basis of a huge Turkish population and the number of which reaches millions today, one of the issues that has not been adequately studied in the relevant literature is the media coverage about this migration movement. In this sense, although media consumption habits of the Turkish immigrants has been a constant subject of research (Weiss & Trebbe, 2002; Arnold & Schneider, 2007; Genel, 2011; Şentürk-Kara, 2012a; Yılmaz, 2013), the content of this media has been investigated only in a limited sense. Considering the media coverage, on the other hand, apart from a couple of exceptional studies (Genel, 2014), there is a salient gap in the existing literature dealing with the issue in both Turkish and German context. Thereby, this gap in the literature has also been decisive on that selection. Herewith, analyzing two newspapers on different ideological positions will enable the understanding of whether different views are convergent or divergent with each other while approaching the issue. Also, employing a mixed method through combining the content and discourse analyses of the two newspapers will yield even richer understanding regarding the issue.

Given some general but crucial pre-information regarding the thesis work, it mainly focuses on “labor migration” instead of “migration”. To analyze media coverage concerning labor migration, the years of 1961, 1962, and 1963 have been selected by considering the expected duration of stay of Turkish workers in Germany, as two to three years depending on different sources. Also, the reason why these three years have been selected from the first three years of the official labor migration is the action points of the employment policy within the Turkey’s First Five-Year Development Plan then. More specifically, the plan was directed “*to export the labor surplus to the Western countries that are in need of labor power*”, and Turkey was regarded as “*a country with labor surplus*” in the plan (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p.1). Thus, the selected three years are quite feasible to trace such a perspective towards labor migration from Turkey to Germany, and to the other Western countries then, as labor migration was considered as an initiative to fulfill or balance the labor market needs of both sending and receiving countries on micro-scale and realize their economical ideals on macro-scale.

Since the thesis work mainly focuses on labor migration and the years have been selected in this regard, two relevant keyword combinations “Germany” and “Turkish”, and “Germany” and “worker” have been selected and used respectively. More specifically, although it is possible to encounter with search results in general meaning of migration through the keyword combination “Germany” and “Turkish”, this keyword combination has been set for the analyses as Turkish migration movement to Germany was carried out mostly by workers at that time. However, due to the main focus of the thesis work, another combination as “Germany” and “worker” has been additionally set to limit the analyses in the



given context. Thereby, some other possible keywords, *e.g.*, “expatriate” (Turkish: *Gurbetçi*) or “German Turk” (Turkish: *Almancı*) were avoided in order not to go beyond the limits of the frame of the thesis work.

Regarding the newspaper selection, it was an important determinant that the newspapers to be analyzed must have an existing physical or online archive of every daily publication, without exception, from the first three years of official migration, *i.e.*, 1961, 1962, and 1963, for a fruitful comparison of their approach to the issue. In this sense, Milliyet and Cumhuriyet have been selected as convenient newspapers to analyze because both have online archives of the selected three years and because they are ideologically positioned at different points as liberalism for Milliyet and leftism for Cumhuriyet, respectively, it allows a comparison to reveal convergence and divergence.

Herewith, online archives of the newspapers were reached for Milliyet through the link <http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/> and for Cumhuriyet through the link <https://egazete.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yayinlar> within the analysis part of this thesis work. Regarding the genre of pieces analyzed through these websites, the thesis work did not remain limited to news only. Instead, columns and ads were also analyzed in addition to news. In other words, the unit of analysis of the thesis work is articles, including news, columns, and ads. More specifically, the articles at stake are news reporting on related topics, columns discussing related topics, and ads of companies that were selling products for workers going to Germany or that were seeking workers for their workplaces in Germany and that were established at that time.

Since the thesis work investigates the frequency and the way of coverage of labor migration from Turkey to Germany, those articles, including news, columns, and ads, are approached through a mixed method of content and discourse analyses. On the other hand, since 3426 articles were encountered in the first place, including 2360 in Milliyet and 1066 in Cumhuriyet, for both keyword combinations and the three-year period; and 444 articles have been included for the final analysis, including 286 in Milliyet and 158 in Cumhuriyet, as a result of the multi-step approach that will be explained in detail in the chapter of Research Methods and Theoretical Framework later, discourse analysis of all the 444 articles would exceed the limits of this master’s thesis. Thereby, 105 of the 444 articles remaining for the final analysis were randomly analyzed in the thesis work in terms of their discourse, although all the 444 articles were counted within the content analysis.

As a crucial pillar of the thesis work, the analyzed articles are counted under three categories and nine subcategories under the first category. These categories and subcategories have been set by considering decisive dynamics and motivations of the labor migration and have not been given in a chronological order. More specifically, in light of the most salient topics in the context of labor migration from Turkey to Germany, the categories and subcategories have been established and those categories and subcategories are given in an order according to their relevancy with each other in the thesis work.

Accordingly, while the three categories are Labor Export, Social Life and Integration in Germany, and Criminality, the nine subcategories under the first category Labor Export are Articles with General Information, Working and Living Conditions, Official Processes, Expected Development, Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants, Turkish Representation in Germany, Duration of Stay, Private Agencies, and Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export, in turn.

Particularly speaking, the category Labor Export has been set to focus on several relevant dynamics of the migration but mostly in an economic sense. In this regard, while the subcategory Articles with General Information consists of articles delivering only some descriptive information, such as number of workers sent or their occupation, Working and Living Conditions highlights the workers' life in Germany, which were claimed that they would be the same as that of their German colleagues especially in the first year, and as relevant issues were also mentioned in articles with general information in patches. In the subcategory Official Process, articles on the Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement and related steps taken by Turkish and German authorities are grouped, and those articles also include some general information and reference about conditions. In the subcategory Expected Development, within the scope of the migration movement, which officially started with the Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement signed in 1961, articles about expected developments, both economic such as investment and foreign currency, and socially such as manners, are analyzed, as those developments were a latent part of the agreement from the Turkish side. Relatedly, the subcategories Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants, and Turkish Representation in Germany deal with the appreciation and praise for Turkish immigrants who met those expectations, and their positive or negative representation of Turkey in Germany - and therefore their praise or disgrace -, in turn.

Again, in relation to the expected developments, the subcategory duration of stay of Turkish workers is examined under the subcategory Duration of Stay, as it is decisive on emigrant workers' providing qualified labor to their country, develop their country by investing, and transfer the western manners they have learned on their return. On the other hand, since the duration of stay of workers and therefore the occurrence of what is expected from workers depends on a systematic conduct of migration, private intermediaries' operating even before the official start of labor migration was an important issue, and articles on those intermediaries that send workers illegally to Germany are analyzed under the subcategory Private Agencies followingly. Lastly, although it is mentioned in articles under different subcategories in patches, articles on which country gains more benefits from labor migration and which country experiences more losses, are analyzed under the subcategory Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export after the subcategory Private Agencies since those private intermediaries were damaging the systematic conduct of labor migration and in this sense, it was allegedly causing losses for Turkey.

Following the first category Labor Export, including the given nine subcategories, the second category the Social Life and Integration in Germany has also been set to group few articles focusing on non-economic dimensions of labor migration. Finally, the third and last category Criminality is placed after

the category about social life due to the fact that crime incidents that emerged depended on the ghettoization and social reaction of Turkish migrant workers because of not being integrated into society and being kept in isolation from Germans in social life.

As this thesis work is based on a rich literature review both on labor migration and media studies about labor migration from Turkey to Germany, the categories and subcategories have been established in light of both the main topics mentioned in articles in the newspapers encountered during analysis and main topics focused on in the existing literature in the context of labor migration from Turkey to Germany. However, it is also needed to note that there is only one exceptional study focusing on media coverage about labor migration from Turkey to Germany in the existing literature, and that study dealt with the issue through a similar categorization but in a less comprehensive way (Genel, 2014), although it was suggestive for the analysis of this thesis work at the beginning. For historical background of the labor migration, *Federal Almanya'nin Yabancilar Politikasi* by Mehmet Okyayuz (Okyayuz, 1999) and *Bitmeyen Goc: Konuk Iscilikten Ulus-Otesi Yurttasliga* by Nermin Abadan-Unat (Abadan-Unat, 2017) were employed as main sources in addition to several supporting sources from the literature.

Regarding the perspective of the thesis work, it approaches labor migration through an understanding that it is an outcome of the fact that central capitalist countries cause unemployment and labor devaluation in peripheral countries, particularly in rural areas, and migration movements from peripheral countries to central countries take place. However, this thesis work has an additional understanding that as immigrant workers are not invested in education and do not have the same social rights as native workers mostly, labor migration indicates a segmentation of working class, as they are the cheapest labor against cheap labor of native workers. Thereby, this thesis work denies the perspective that labor migration occurs due to persons' seeking better conditions entirely of their own benefits and will.

This thesis work includes eight chapters that are lined in a relevancy order. As this chapter is the introductory chapter, it is directed to present the aim, the significance, and the organization of the thesis work. However, it also strives to reveal the justification of the selection of the topic, years, keywords, newspapers, genres, categories and subcategories as well as providing a general information about the main sources, analysis and perspective of the thesis work.

The second chapter *Literature Review* consists of two subheadings in addition to a general introductory heading. In this sense, after giving the objects of the chapter, first, the literature on labor migration, and second, the literature on media studies regarding labor migration from Turkey to Germany are reviewed elaborately in order to provide a holistic understanding to the issue.

The third chapter *Historical Background of Labor Migration* aims to shed light on the historical background of migration. While doing so, not only the selected years of the analysis as 1961, 1962, and 1963, but also before and after those years are investigated. For the very reason of finding out the

migration's impact on economic processes involving production and consumption relations and, social, political, and cultural processes for both past and present, it is dealt with under the five main phases, starting from 1950s, when the first migration movements from Turkey to Germany emerged in this sense, until today.

The fourth chapter *Newspapers: Milliyet and Cumhuriyet* deals with some general information about the newspapers analyzed in this thesis work. While doing so, a comparative approach is taken by considering the newspapers' historical background given the vulnerability of the ideological position of the newspapers within the country context. In this sense, Milliyet and Cumhuriyet are reviewed as the analyzed newspapers within the thesis work. However, due to the very limited number of studies in the existing literature on Turkish newspapers, this chapter cannot be fed from a large variety of studies.

The fifth chapter *Research Methods and Theoretical Framework* reveals the details of the research method and theoretical framework of the thesis work. In this sense, as a mixed method employed through content and discourse analyses, both analyses' relevant literature is reviewed initially. After presenting the application of the methods within the study, the theoretical framework of the thesis is given at the end.

In the sixth and seventh chapters, the newspapers Milliyet and Cumhuriyet are analyzed through content and discourse analyses, respectively. Here, each newspaper, *i.e.*, each chapter, is given through thirteen subheadings, as these subheadings include introductory parts with the details of the analysis and concluding parts of each chapter. The other subheadings for each newspaper are the categories under which the newspapers are analyzed, as there are three categories, Labor Export, Social Life and Integration in Germany, and Criminality; and as the nine subcategories under the first category Labor Export are Articles with General Information, Working and Living Conditions, Official Processes, Expected Development, Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants, Turkish Representation in Germany, Duration of Stay, Private Agencies, and Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export, as mentioned above.

Lastly, the eighth chapter provides a conclusion by summarizing the thesis work and discussing findings by also projecting today. Nonetheless, it is also needed to generally remark about the thesis work that since the examination of different media outlets, such as print and audiovisual media, or even same media outlets in different languages, would go beyond the scope of a master's thesis, this thesis work and thereby its findings remain limited to the selected Turkish print media. For future studies, it is aimed to enrich the existing literature with such comprehensive studies in terms of both media outlets and languages as well. Also, such studies analyzing a larger period, for example from 1961 to 1973 as the official labor recruitment years within the Turkish labor migration movement to Germany, would undoubtedly yield more broad understanding to the issue. On the other hand, as mentioned above, considering the gap in the literature, this thesis work claims to be a significant step to understand media

coverage concerning labor migration from Turkey to Germany at least for years 1961, 1962, and 1963 in two distinct Turkish newspapers. Hereafter, to provide a holistic perspective, literature about labor migration and media coverage about labor migration from Turkey to Germany will be reviewed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter will introduce the existing literature regarding the two main focuses of the subject of this thesis work. For this reason, literature on labor migration, and media studies regarding labor migration from Turkey to Germany will be respectively reviewed with a holistic approach. However, since migration is mostly defined with economic terms and it is indeed not independent from economic terms, the first part of the literature review about labor migration is fed by the migration literature. In this sense, different approaches from earliest to contemporary migration theories will be touched upon within the literature review of labor migration. These theories are Ravenstein's theory of migration, macro- and micro-levels of the neoclassical economic theory, the new economics of migration theory, dual labor market theory, and world-systems theory. In this way, this chapter aims to demonstrate on which perspective the thesis is based, and which other perspectives does the thesis work criticize basing on its perspective. That is to say, this chapter will strive to put forward its position in a more comprehensive way through explaining what and why it stands against.

Particularly speaking, the first part of this chapter reviewed the Ravenstein's migration theory, which was proposed through seven and then eleven laws in the late nineteenth century and argues that migration is caused by mainly economic motivations of individuals. Then, macro- and micro-levels of the neoclassical migration theory is treated, as the theory is put forward in the twentieth century with the emergence of scholarly interest on international migration research, and focuses on wage differences and employment rates depending on geography by considering migrants as rational individuals. Followingly, new economics of migration theory is dealt with, as it approaches migration as a decision of collective groups like families, different from the neoclassical theory. However, it also considers those collective groups with terms of rationality again. Finally, two critical approaches are given within the part of the literature review on labor migration, as they are dual labor market theory and world-systems theory, in turn.

More specifically, while dual labor market theory argues that foreign labor is exported to have cheaper labor by receiving country, as immigrant workers are not invested in their education, training, or social services in receiving countries, and thereby brings about a segmented working class, the world-systems theory claims that international migration is an outcome of unemployment and devaluated labor in rural areas due to capitalist countries depending on globalization. Since this thesis work asserts that migration is much more than individuals' or collective groups own rationality, as migration stems from the current

economic system itself but also the interests of financially strong countries based on cheap labor within the system at stake, all these theories are reviewed in detail with the idea that it would be healthy to amplify the views criticized and adopted by the thesis, together with their main arguments, to provide a comprehensive and well-founded perspective in this chapter. Lastly, within the literature review of media studies regarding labor migration, studies on media coverage about Turkish immigrants is particularly reviewed.

By reviewing the two related literature elaborately, this chapter aims to reveal the general framework of this thesis work, which investigates the approach to the labor migration in the two Turkish newspapers during the first three years of the official labor migration. As the relevant definitions and concepts will be illustrated, different schools and theories will be elaborated, and research gaps will be pointed out; this chapter also aims to provide a richer understanding for the analysis and findings of the thesis work. In this way, the perspective and position of the thesis work in the existing literature will be clear, as it was mentioned in the previous chapter that there is a particular gap in terms of media coverage about labor migration from Turkey to Germany in the existing literature.

## **2.1. Labor Migration**

The phenomenon of migration has been being a subject of research in many fields, such as sociology, anthropology, politics, economics, and media studies; and labor migration is, indeed, only one of the variations of the field of migration. In this sense, approaching the phenomenon of migration without a consideration of different fields would be reductive. On the other hand, considering migration independent of the field of economics would be superficial because there is a historical-structural relationship between production processes and migration. Given the major migration theories with different perspectives that will be reviewed under this part of the literature review, the strong relationship between migration and the field of economics is also evident. Thereby, it is almost out of the possibility to come across a labor migration literature independent of the migration literature of a broad sense, or almost inevitable when reviewing the migration literature of a broad sense, due to encountering studies that are more or less related to the issue of labor migration. For this reason, the literature reviewed for labor migration under this subtitle is migration literature of a broad sense, as it is not possible in most cases to precisely distinguish between the migration literature in general terms and labor migration literature.

To make a distinctive definition of migration and labor migration despite the difficulty of defining their ambiguous boundaries, Lee identifies migration “*as a permanent or semipermanent change of residence*” (Lee, 1966, p.49). On the other hand, International Organization of Migration ([IOM], 2008) identifies labor migration as “*the movement of persons from their home State to another State for the purpose of employment*”.<sup>1</sup> Given the different conceptualizations of migration in the existing literature,

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<sup>1</sup> IOM and Labour Migration.

the strong relationship between migration and economics is apparent one more time. As one of the primary reasons for migration, even in very early migration research, is a pursuit of improving the economic well-being of human beings (Ravenstein, 1885; Ravenstein, 1889), or more realistically, ensuring and maintaining capitalist development within the globalization process (Petras, 1981; Sassen, 1988; Castells, 1989; Morawska, 1989), conceptualizations of migration have had strong traces of similar reasonability in different levels of analysis since they mostly focus on economic motivations. More specifically, as contemporary scholars opt for a more specific conceptualization, Peter Clark (1972) coins betterment migration and subsistence migration by considering migration as a search for economic advancement. The main difference between the two concepts is that betterment migrants are captivated by “*pull forces*”, while subsistence migrants are mainly urged by “*push forces*” (Winter, 2015, p.10). Also, betterment migrants are “*young people who moved to nearby towns and settle*”, while subsistence migrants are “*vagrant workers, criminal gangs, tramps and discarded women*”. (Thompson, 1991, p.65).

In a similar vein, Okyayuz (2005) recapitulates some other types of migration. Accordingly, transit migration means a pass-through in-between countries in order to arrive in the target country; commuting migration indicates a movement to another country just to work and on the condition of returning to home country at the end of the day; migration of elites consists of the migration of a group of selected people such as academics, artists, athletes and staff of multinational companies; marriage migration is carried out for obtaining a residence permit in another country through a fake marriage; and ethnical and culturally based officially organized migration grants people to return their country of origin, such as returning of German-origin Russians to Germany (Okyayuz, 2005). Also, immigration-receiving countries, indeed, approach immigrants in consideration of some disparities, such as “*good-bad*” and “*efficient-inefficient*”, through their immigration policies (Okyayuz, 2005, p.250). In this sense, while brain drain is regarded as “*efficient*”, refugees are considered vice versa (Okyayuz, 2005, p.250).

Besides, migration flows are also classified into three groups in the existing literature. Accordingly, global migration flows associate with economic globalization, and refer to high-skilled labor, such as academics or those working in multinational companies, which is not subjected to the same immigration policies as other immigrants (Okyayuz, 2005, p.251). Unlike global migration flows, regional migration flows associate with economic globalization “*indirectly*”, and occur within “*political-economic unions*”, such as the EU (Okyayuz, 2005, p.252). Although it is expected that regional immigrants may be subjected to relatively liberal policies, many countries “*protect*” their national labor market from those immigrants through different legal documents (Okyayuz, 2005, p.252). Lastly, international or transnational migration flows refer to “*legal or illegal labor migrants*”, refugees, and migrants through family reunification (Okyayuz, 2005, p.252). This group constitutes the most crowded among the three



groups, and immigrants are subjected to the heaviest policies and practices. In this thesis work, we focus on the third group, *i.e.*, international or transnational migration flows. However, we approach international and transnational migration within the broader scope, *i.e.*, the globalization process.

Given the emergence of the existing literature, the phenomenon of migration, indeed, has started to attract scholarly attention just in the nineteenth century, with Ravenstein's initial studies in the late 1880s, although migration movements are considered old as human history. Given the dominant perspectives, migration research has been shaping around two perspectives. Accordingly, while some scholars consider individual-level interferences as dynamics of migration (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969; Todaro, 1980; Todaro & Maruszko, 1987; Borjas, 1982), some others regard structural elements such as labor markets (Lewis, 1954; Ranis & Fei, 1961; Todaro, 1969; Harris & Todaro, 1970; Reich, Gordon & Edwards, 1973; Cain, 1976) and world-systems (Petras, 1981; Sassen, 1988; Castells, 1989; Morawska, 1989). Also, the existing literature have two paradigms prominently, as they are the functionalist paradigm (Ravenstein, 1885, 1889; Lewis, 1954; Ranis & Fei, 1961; Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969; Harris & Todaro, 1970, Borjas, 1982) and historical-structuralist paradigm (Petras, 1981; Sassen, 1988; Castells, 1989; Morawska, 1989). Accordingly, the functionalist paradigm, which has been arisen from Comte's positive philosophy in the nineteenth-century, takes an optimistic stance, claims, "*society as a system*", and deems that migrants aim to "*maximising income or 'utility'*" (De Haas, 2014, p.5). On the other hand, the historical-structuralist paradigm, which has originated from Marxism and argues that societies cannot be considered as a "*natural phenomena*", takes a skeptical stance, criticizes functionalist school, and advocates for "*'interpretative' social sciences*" (De Haas, 2014, p.5).

More specifically, the functionalist paradigm analyzes migration in consideration of the argument that people rationally migrate from less developed or developing countries to the developed countries, and they provide money and knowledge to their country of origin after the migration (Lewis, 1954; Ranis & Fei, 1961; Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969; Harris & Todaro, 1970). Particularly, neoclassical economic theories lead the migration literature, as they employ "*mathematical modelling and econometric analyses*" (De Haas, 2014, p.5) in line with Comte's positive philosophy. On the other hand, the historical-structuralist paradigm focuses on the capitalist development and world-systems by considering immigration policies, and other governmental interferences (Petras, 1981; Sassen, 1988; Castells, 1989; Morawska, 1989).

Related to these two paradigms, there are also development school and dependency school that dominate migration research. Accordingly, development school has two dimensions of migration. The first one is the "*intrinsic*" dimension, indicating freedom to move, while the second one is the "*instrumental*" dimension, indicating receiving higher wages. (De Haas, 2014, p.25). On the other hand, dependency school focus on superstructure in producing inequalities, and its role in persons' behavior, such as migration behavior (De Hass, 2014). Although the historical-structuralism and dependency

school are so close in their approach to migration because of dependency school's inspiring by the arguments of the historical-structuralists, they have some distinctions (Mobariz, 2013). Accordingly, while the historical-structuralists assume that underdevelopment is originated from the absence of capitalist advancement, dependency scholars deem that capitalism leads to underdevelopment per se (Morabiz, 2013).

After the 1990s and particularly during the 2000s, transnationalism studies in the migration research have started to proliferate. In this period, issues such as immigration policies, immigrant rights, political participation, education, daily life are mainly dealt with in light of debates on nation-state, globalization, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, diaspora (Bauböck, 1996; Okyayuz, 1999; Meyers, 2000; Rotte, 2000; Kymlicka, 2003; Portes, 2003; Green, 2005; Nauck, 2007). Nevertheless, since studies with different focus and conflicting views have been performed every period, there is no absolute periodization in the existing literature over time. Nevertheless, one can say that some approaches particularly stand out at some periods. Hereafter, starting with Ravenstein's pioneering studies, it would be useful to chronologically amplify the most underlying focuses and theories of migration within different paradigms and schools in order to fully understand the phenomenon and approach it through a multidimensional perspective.

#### **2.1.1. Early Migration Research – Ravenstein's Theory of Migration**

The first attempt to elucidate the dynamics of migration systematically was made by Ernst Georg Ravenstein in his work *The Laws of Migration* in 1885, although he had initially discussed his opinions about migration in the *Geographical Magazine* in 1876 (Grigg, 1977). Setting out as a criticism of Dr. Farr's argument "*migration appeared to go on without any definite law*" (Ravenstein, 1885, p. 167), Ravenstein aimed to demonstrate through an empirical study in 1885 that migration goes on with definitive laws. By basing on the decennial census data between 1871 and 1881 in the United Kingdom, he investigated internal migration within the four UK countries, *i.e.*, England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and have revealed seven laws of migration (Ravenstein, 1885) that are, respectively, based on short distance en route to industry and commerce centers, arriving in destination step-by-step and in circulation, countries of dispersion and countries of absorption, counter-currency of places that receive immigration and experience immigration, industrial and commercial routes for long-distance migration, less likely to migrate of those living in urban, women's less likely to migrate than men (Ravenstein, 1885).

Followingly, Ravenstein also analyzed international flows, and have expanded his seven laws to eleven laws by adding two more remarks (Ravenstein, 1889). Accordingly, first, the only reason for migration is not economic motivation; instead, migration can also result from some other dynamics, as they are "*bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation)*" (Ravenstein, 1889, p. 286). On the other hand, these

dynamics cannot be compared to economic motivations in their effect on decision-making process for migration (Ravenstein, 1889, p. 286). Second, migration continually increases because of “*locomotion and a development of manufactures and commerce*” (Ravenstein, 1889, p. 288), *i.e.*, because of the rapid industrialization.

Ravenstein’s theory of migration is, however, subjected to several critiques, although he is regarded as the first approached migration scholarly (Boyer & Hatton, 1997; Abadan-Unat, 2017; Greenwood & Hunt, 2003; Greenwood, 2019) as the father-figure (King, 2020), who has formed future research on migration (Grigg, 1977; Rees & Lomax, 2019), and provided a starting point (Lee, 1966) by his keystone studies (Velázquez, 2000). For example, Alexander and Steidl (2012) examined the seventh law assuming that women are more migratory than man, via the same data as Ravenstein employed. Their study reveals that Ravenstein’s finding in the context of gender and migration stems from the lack of reflection of men in census due to a higher rate of mortality and emigration of men compared to women (Alexander & Steidl, 2012). Boyer and Hatton (1997) also argue that Ravenstein’s laws are descriptive because they only deal with the subject, time, and place of migration, instead of seeking for an understanding of migration dynamics. However, Arango (2000) points out Ravenstein’s study in 1889, and argues that Ravenstein took the state policies and implementations such as “*bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation and even compulsion such as slave trade*” into consideration even in the nineteenth century.

For sure, Ravenstein has provided a significant contribution to the migration literature by taking the first step of the scientific approach to the issue in his time. Although his studies have inspired and laid the ground for future research in the field, it has had some limitation. For example, it is both a strength and a flaw that he thinks about migration together with absolute economic motivations and on micro-level (Ravenstein, 1885; Ravenstein, 1889). In fact, many people migrate due to economic motivations, and it is almost out of the possibility to consider migration and economy independently. On the other hand, as mentioned above, an entirely economic approach to migration seems to be reductionist because people also migrate for some other reasons, such as family reunification or break up, education, or desire to live in a new place. People may also migrate due to social, political, or environmental issues, such as discrimination, political persecution, or climate change, respectively. However, the crucial point is that while people migrate by those motivations, they are not rational decisive makers in fact. Instead, migration takes place depending on macro determinants, *i.e.*, the economic system and countries. Furthermore, Ravenstein limits his study with rural to urban migration (Ravenstein, 1885; Ravenstein, 1889). He approaches the phenomenon as if it is one-way, even though it is in circulation and occurs step-by-step. On the other hand, migration bases on multi-way since urban to rural migration is another fact as it is the natural and inevitable condition of rural to urban migration, which is expected to be experienced in future even more increasingly.

### **2.1.2. Contemporary Theories**

In the twentieth century, scholars have initiated to explain migration in a more multifaceted approach different than the approach in the previous century. They started to focus on international migration flows in addition to internal flows in conjunction with the practical realities stem from industrialization and technological advancement (Castells, 1989). Massey et al. (1993) revealed a path-finding study that elaborately explains different approaches and theories in the migration literature. Their study demonstrates through a compilation that the twentieth-century theories investigate migration dynamics in different levels of analysis in different contexts (Massey et al., 1993). Accordingly, twentieth-century scholars aimed to understand individual, familial, communal, or governmental motivations of migration with their economic, social, or political contexts or combinations of those contexts in their engagement with specific migration flows (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). For this reason, the contemporary theories are also classified as micro-level theories dealing with individual dynamics, macro-level theories dealing with government level dynamics such as policies, and meso-level theories dealing with household and social capital dynamics (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Thus, those contemporary theories differ from Ravenstein's one-dimensional approach.

Given the functionalist paradigm and historical-structuralist paradigm as well as development school and dependency school, the five major theories will be amplified hereafter. These theories are, in turn, the neoclassical economic theory with its macro-level and micro-level, the new economics of migration theory, the dual labor market theory, and the world-systems theory. While amplifying the theories, Massey et al. (1993) will be mostly guided in order to reveal the compiled general assumptions of each theory. Besides, pioneering studies of each theory be mentioned. At the end of each approach, the main critiques will be pointed out, and this thesis work's perspective towards each approach will be added.

### **2.1.3. The Neoclassical Economic Theory: Macro- and Micro-Level**

The neoclassical economic theories concentrate on interregional and international wage differences and employment rates by considering individual migrants as rational human beings who aim to maximize their benefit (Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1961; Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969, 1980; Harris & Todaro, 1970; Borjas, 1982; Todaro & Maruszko, 1987). In this sense, the neoclassical theories position within the functionalist paradigm and development school because of their optimistically approaching migration as a function of development. Even the macro-level model, which attributes migration to the geographical supply and demand differences for labor by focusing on market structure, does not any skepticism toward the market structure. Instead, like the micro-level model, it explains migration with the assumption of rational individuals. On the other hand, the two models of the neoclassical economic theory still have some distinctive features. The main difference between the macro-level model and the micro-level model is that while the former concentrates on an individual decision for migration, the latter considers migration as a combination of institutional and individual decision (Özcan, 2016). Also,

while the former assumes full employment, the latter does not assume it (Massey et al., 1993). To understand the two models and their distinctions more precisely, it would be helpful to look at both individually.

The Neoclassical Macroeconomic Theory has been developed by Lewis (1954), Ranis and Fei (1961), Todaro (1969), and Harris and Todaro (1970). The main argument of the theory is that governments can effectively control migration by regulating the labor market in both sending and host countries (Massey et al., 1993, p. 433). It also argues that migration flows result from an imbalance between supply and demand for the labor force and wages across countries based on geographical difference (Lewis, 1954; Ranis & Fei, 1961; Todaro, 1969; Harris & Todaro, 1970; Massey et al., 1993). More precisely, countries with labor surplus offer low-level wages to employers in their labor market, while countries with a limited labor force are vice versa (Massey et al., 1993, p. 433). Thereby, low-wage earners from countries with labor surplus migrate to countries offering high-wages because of the limited labor force in the market. In this way, in low-wage countries, from where labor surplus emigrates, wages increase depending on the decrease in the labor force in the market; and in countries, where labor surplus immigrate, wages decrease depending on the increase in the labor force in the market. Thus, low-wage and high-wage countries are balanced.

The macro-level theory was first grounded in Lewis' paper *Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour* in 1954. He remarks that the classics from Smith to Marx all deemed, "*an unlimited supply of labor was available at subsistence wages*", and focused on wage differences (Lewis, 1954, p.139). On the other hand, he claims that there is no efficient model to demonstrate "*the neoclassical reality*" because an unlimited supply of labor is no more available, although wages and income distribution maintain their significance (Lewis, 1954, p.139). Thereby, he identifies the new theory as *the modified classical model*, which is also called in the literature as *the Lewis Model* (Worrell, 1980; Fradera, Austen & Bader, 1999; Fields, 2004; Gollin, 2014). By this model, he aims to reveal the significance of labor surplus in countries' capitalist development through migration (Lewis, 1954). In this sense, he analyzed capitalist and agricultural economies (Lewis, 1954). Accordingly, agricultural labor surplus is encouraged to migrate to capitalist economies, where the immigrant labor contributes to capitalist advancement while enjoying higher wages than those in sending country (Lewis, 1954). On the other hand, remaining agricultural labor would receive higher wages because of the emigration of the labor surplus that would also yield a more efficient agricultural production than before (Lewis, 1954).

Ranis and Fei (1961) argue that Lewis did not provide an efficient model to explain the agricultural sector. Instead, he limited his study with the focus of the growth of the industrial sector through labor surplus' flows from the agricultural sector. On the other hand, if Lewis' model works, not only industrial sector but also the agricultural sector must enlarge (Ranis and Fei, 1961). Thereby, they aimed to develop a more comprehensive model to demonstrate "*the less developed economy's transition from*

*stagnation to self-sustaining growth*” (Ranis & Fei, 1961, p.557). In this sense, they have found out that less developed economies progress a stable growth before the turning point in the course of exploiting its “*under-employed agricultural labor force*” thanks to nourishment in agricultural fertility (Ranis & Fei, 1961, p.536).

Todaro (1969) has also added another dimension to the macro-level theory by pointing out increasing urban unemployment. He remarks that previous studies are far from establishing “*a realistic theory of urban unemployment for less developed countries*” while focusing on rural to urban migration (Todaro, 1969, p.138). On the other hand, migration from rural to urban does not guarantee recruitment for a high-paying job (Todaro, 1969). In this sense, he indicates that previous studies tried to explain the issue through one-step analysis of wage differences. However, a following step is needed to be taken into consideration as it deals with the probability of finding a job in urban (Todaro, 1969). Thereby, he examined job opportunities for rural migrants in the urban labor market through “*an analytical model of the structure and mechanism of urban labor markets*” (Todaro, 1969, p.143). Harris and Todaro (1970) expanded the initial study by analyzing agricultural and industrial sectors in terms of production and income differences. They claim that migration can last under the condition that expected urban income is more than rural income (Harris & Todaro, 1970).

The Neoclassical Microeconomic Theory, which is also mentioned in the literature as *the human capital theory* (Massey et al., 1993; Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999; Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Kurekova, 2010) deals with individual-level dynamics of migration. The theory has been developed by Sjaastad (1962), Todaro (1969, 1980), Todaro and Maruszko (1987), and Borjas (1982, 1987, 1989, 1994). The main argument of the theory is that international migration flows take place if rational individuals conclude that net benefits, and particularly budgetary net return, outweigh net costs of migration but benefits and costs of migration are not limited to wages and other monetary returns. (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969; Todaro, 1980; Todaro & Maruszko, 1987; Borjas, 1982; Borjas, 1987; Borjas, 1989; Massey et al., 1993; Borjas, 1994). Accordingly, human capital is regarded within the benefits and costs of migration because potential migrants, especially illegal migrants, contemplate some other factors, such as the orientation process in a new environment or introducing new culture and society. Thereby, decided destination country of potential migrants would necessitate “*minimal costs*” but yield “*maximal benefits*” (Massey et al., 1993, p.434).

The micro theory was initially developed by Sjaastad in his paper *The Costs and Returns of Human Migration* in 1962. Sjaastad (1962) argues that migration cannot be considered independent from the human factor. Instead, individuals have, at least, an equal role with market structure and policies, or perhaps individuals are even more decisive (Sjaastad, 1962, pp.92-93). Accordingly, he deems that individuals reason out costs and benefits of a possible migration rationally; then, they opt to migrate if benefits would be more than the costs of migration (Sjaastad, 1962). During this process, individuals take *private costs* and *social costs* of migration into consideration (Sjaastad, 1962). The private costs

are classified as “*money costs*”, e.g., transportation and accommodation, and “*non-money costs*”, e.g., looking for a job and learning a new language (Sjaastad, 1962, pp.83-84). On the other hand, social costs, or “*psychic costs*”, are family, kin, and surroundings (Sjaastad, 1962, p.85). Also, the age of potential migrants is a significant variable that has a visible effect on decision for migration (Sjaastad, 1962, p.92) because earnings are not independent of age as Sjaastad had revealed previously that even “*100 dollars increase in per capita*” urged for immigration or deterred from emigration “*at five percent maximum*” (Sjaastad, 1962, p.82).

Todaro (1969, 1980) has contributed not only to the macroeconomic theory but also to the microeconomic theory. In his study mentioned in the context of macroeconomic theory, in addition to the analysis of urban market structure in terms of job opportunities (Todaro, 1969), he deems that every potential migrant reason out expected income in rural and urban comparatively (Todaro, 1969). By doing so, he performed macro- and micro-level analysis together (Todaro, 1969). In this sense, he developed “*a behavioral model of rural-urban migration*”, and assumes, “*the planning horizon for each worker is identical*” and “*the fixed costs of migration are identical for all workers*” (Todaro, 1969, p.141). In light of this study, Todaro (1980) expanded his model to explain under which conditions an increase in urban job creation, which is carried out to reduce unemployment, leads to “*urban unemployment*” (Todaro, 1980, p.381). Taking one more step further, Todaro and Maruszko (1987) focus on the decision of individuals, and the role of illegal migration in the expected income disparity between sending and receiving countries. Thereby, they analyze decision-making for illegal migration at the micro-level in situations where legal migration is not allowed (Todaro & Maruszko, 1987).

In fact, the neoclassical economic theory has a similarity with the Push-Pull Theory, which has been developed by Everett Lee. According to this theory, there are four factors of migration decision (Lee, 1966). The four factors are, in turn, “*area of origin*”, “*area of destination*”, “*intervening obstacles*”, and “*personal factors*” (Lee, 1966, p.49). On the other hand, every location has also both attractive, i.e., pull, and deterrent, i.e., push, factors for migration decision, symbolized through plus and minus signs (Lee, 1966). These attractive or deterrent factors are not only economic but also environmental and social (Lee, 1966). Thereby, people decide or do not decide to migrate in light of these factors. The point at which the neoclassical economic theory approximates the push-pull theory is that both theories regard migration decisions as a consequence of decision-making for benefit maximization. Nevertheless, unlike the neoclassical economic theory, the push-pull theory argues that migration decisions are not entirely rational; they are even irrational than in some cases (Lee, 1966).

Although the neoclassical theory is one of “*the oldest*” and “*best-known*” theories (Massey et al., 1993, p. 433), it also receives several critiques. Since the macro-level and micro-level theories are mostly mentioned as a whole theory in the relevant literature, these critiques directly subject to the neoclassical economic theory as a whole, instead of focusing on the macro-level and micro-level theories per se. Kurekova (2010) argues that the theory “*mechanically reduces migration determinants*” through an

“*exclusion of politics and policies*” (Kurekova, 2010, p.7). De Haas remarks that the theory is prone to consider migrants as “*atomistic*” and “*utility maximizing*”, and ignores other dynamics of migration and migrants’ social involvement. Besides, he indicates that the theory initially eliminates earnings of non-migrants in analysis, and does not cover the issue of remittances to sending countries (De Haas, 2010, p.231). Velázquez (2000) remarks that the theory cannot explain reasons why countries with the least per capita, most wage differences, and the highest unemployment rates are not the primary sending countries, or why only a particular number of individuals prefer to migrate compared to the majority of people prefer to stay in the home country under the same economic conditions. Dickens and Lang (1985) also indicate that the neoclassical economics theory hardly deals with technological interference.

As seen, the neoclassical theory is subjected to several critiques as well it is one of the oldest and best-known theories. On the other hand, this thesis work, first, criticizes the way of criticism in the existing literature because the two theories have some distinctions that cannot be generalized to the whole neoclassical theory. Also, criticizing the macro-level and micro-level theories together instead of any specific reference for each level seems problematic because the two levels already have different focuses than each other, as the macro-level theory deals with countries and markets, and the micro-level theory concentrates on individuals. From the perspective of this thesis work, the main critique for the neoclassical macroeconomic theory is that although it explains migration through macro-structural terms, it considers those macro-structures as if they have naturally emerged. That is to say, it argues without any skepticism that international migration is a result of differences in wages, income, and employment rates in different geographies; however, it does not analyze the historical root of those wage and income differences. Instead, it even highly optimistically expects that markets of low-wage and high-wage countries would balance through migration of labor surplus.

The main criticism for the neoclassical microeconomic theory of this thesis work is also due to its unit of analysis because migration is entirely dependent on structural process of the economic development. Also, the micro-level theory has the same optimism and lack of critical thought, like the macro-level theory. Furthermore, the microeconomic theory approaches cost and benefit calculations of individuals from an incomplete point of view. More specifically, the theory regards individual migrants who choose their destination country in light of a ratio for minimum cost and maximum benefit (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969, 1980; Todaro & Maruszko, 1987; Borjas, 1982). However, as transportation is one of these costs, individuals would not migrate to the most distant countries according to this perspective. In this sense, the micro-level theory resembles Ravenstein’s theory of migration, claiming, “*the great body of our migrants only proceed short distance*” (Ravenstein, 1885, p.198).

#### **2.1.4. The New Economics of Migration Theory**

The New Economics of Migration (NEM) (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Massey et al., 1993; Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999; Kurekova, 2010) or the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) (Hagen-



Zanker, 2008; De Haas, 2010) has been theorized with the perspective that previous studies on the economics of labor migration had demonstrated “*the usefulness of old and well-established models of labor migration*” (Stark & Bloom, 1985, p.173). Indeed, the NEM both bases on the assumptions of the neoclassical theory and criticizes its arguments on migration dynamics and decision-makers particularly. According to the NEM, individuals are not the unique decision-maker of migration; instead, migration decision is taken by collective groups of concerning people, *e.g.*, families; and instead of purely maximizing benefits, migration takes place in order to also lessen risks and eliminate relative deprivation as well as market failures because families may allocate their resources to sustain livelihood and manage risks (Stark, 1982, 1984; Stark & Levhari, 1982; Stark & Bloom, 1985; Katz & Stark, 1986). In this sense, the NEM scholars exemplify, on the one hand, family members staying in their country of origin engage in the local economy; on the other hand, some family members migrate and send remittances to family members left behind that provide a great contribution to the family especially during market failure in a sending country (Massey et al., 1993). On this point, the NEM takes “*remittances*” into consideration as one of the vital elements of migration, unlike the neoclassical theory that neglects remittances (De Haas, 2010, p.243).

In fact, the NEM is the first and only theory that explains the decision-making process and results of migration in light of the notion of “*remittance*” (Özcan, 2016, p. 202). One of the other distinctions of the NEM is also that it takes future markets, capital markets, and insurance markets into consideration as well. In this sense, it differs from the neoclassical theory, which regards the labor market only and neglects other markets. Moreover, the theory claims that the unique concern of a migrant is not an increase in wages; instead, she or he may migrate to “*change his relative position in the same reference group, or to change his reference group*” (Stark & Bloom, 1985, p.173) that implies a climbing social ladder although it is not referred.

Given the pioneering studies in this regard, Oded Stark initiated and has greatly contributed to the theory of new economics of migration (Stark, 1982; Stark, 1984). In his paper *Research on Rural-to-urban Migration in LDCs: The Confusion Frontier and why We Should*, Stark (1982) proposes a new labor migration approach, and argues that although fertility in labor market in urban areas differs depending on family size, there is “*no very sound*” to this issue in the existing literature (Stark, 1982, p.64). Thereby, he assumes “*a model agricultural family*” as a “*decision-making entity*”, and exemplifies through the model family’s initiative for technological advance (Stark, 1982, p.64). Accordingly, the family would face two obstacles, as they are “*investment capital*” and “*risk*”, and if no credit market or insurance market performs well, the family will rearrange “*the utilization of its own resources*” through migration of the most qualified member of the family to urban (Stark, 1982, pp.64-65).

In his following study, Stark (1984) has expanded his analysis from rural-urban migration to international migration, and from less developed countries to both less developed countries and developed countries. He argues that international migration is a different experience than domestic

migration because of “*entering a new economy and culture*” (Stark, 1984, p.206). Also, there is a strong relationship between discontinuities and international migration (Stark, 1984). Thereby, he explains why international migration occurs and why some people choose to migrate cross-border whereas some others migrate within a country (Stark, 1984) through adding a discontinuity factor to the international labor migration analysis discontinuities that comprise risk diversification, relative deprivation, and information while deciding to migrate (Stark, 1984).

Stark has also contributed to the theory through joint studies (Stark & Levhari, 1982; Stark & Bloom, 1985; Katz & Stark, 1986). Stark and Levhari (1982) remark that the current trend on labor migration research initiated by Todaro (1969) particularly focuses on expected benefits and is far from explaining risks taken for migration, although the risk is one of the main contents of the economic research. Thereby, they argue that risk aversion is the “*major cause of rural-to-urban migration*” (Stark & Levhari, 1982, p.192). In their analysis, like in the initial study by Stark (1982), they formulate the example of the model agricultural family that does not employ a new technology due to its risks, although family members are willing to advance their work (Stark & Levhari, 1982, p.192). They assume that, if the insurance market does not service, the family take a risk “*through reorganized utilization of the family’s own resources*” (Stark & Levhari, 1982, p.193). On this point, Stark and Levhari (1982) point out risk, family, and insurance market factors of migration decision.

The new economics of migration theory draws criticism as it has not been sufficiently applied in empirical research, neglects household dynamics, such as gender roles, and primarily focuses on future scenarios (Özcan, 2016). Kurekova remarks that the NEM is far from being a theory on its own; instead, it is a “*critique of the neoclassical theory*” (Kurekova, 2010, p.7). Also, the theory has a “*sending side bias*”, and shares a little place to an application as it is “*difficult to isolate the effect of market imperfections and risk in migration decisions from other income and employment variables*” (Kurekova, 2010, p.7). De Haas indicates that the theory “*radically*” conceptualizes migration as a familial strategy in order to transform risk and cope with market failures (De Haas, 2010, p.249). The theory also considers migration and remittances as if they can overcome structural deficiencies (De Haas, 2010, p.249). The theory is also found “*quite abstract*” and “*vague*” to explain in which way migrants decide to the destination place (Hagen-Zanker, 2008, p.16).

This thesis work argues that different theories can even be combined to understand different cases better. On the other hand, the main critique is that the new economics of migration cannot go beyond the liberal perspective of the neoclassical economic theories because of its optimism and neglecting historical and structural dynamics of migration movements. Moreover, the new economics of migration scholars are relatively descriptive as they strive to reveal the theoretical framework in their studies. Even in studies with empirical applications, analysis remains limited to basic formulations and illustrations occasionally, instead of a comprehensive analysis of specific cases. In addition, it seems problematic

that the new economics theory considers families as homogeneous entities of society, although it implies through “*different decisions*” emphasis (Massey et al., 1993, p.433) that families are heterogenous.

### **2.1.5. Dual Labor Market Theory**

Dual Labor Market Theory (Richmond & Verma, 1978; Hirsch, 1980; Massey et al., 1993) or Segmented Labor Market Theory (SLM) (Reich, Gordon & Edwards, 1973; Cain, 1976; Wood, 1982) argues that international migration takes place as a result of inherent and continuous demand for labor in modern industrial societies (Massey et al., 1993) as well as in oil-exporting countries (Velázquez, 2000). Although the neoclassical theories and new economics of migration theory vary in identifying rational decision-makers of migration, describing dynamics of migration decision, and explaining roles of markets in migration decision and afterwards; dual labor market theory has a distinct focus compared to the two theories. In this respect, the dual labor market theory positions close to the historical-structuralist paradigm (De Haas, 2014), as the dual labor market scholars explain migration “*in a left-liberal or socialist direction*” (Cain, 1976, p.1216). In fact, dual labor market theory, even so, acknowledges the assumption of the neoclassical theories that potential migrants consider their benefits from migration rationally while deciding, and it acknowledges the assumption of the NEM that earning of migrants support their household in a country of origin. However, dual labor market theory relatively deals with institutions in-depth (Hagen-Zanker, 2008), similar to another macro theory, World-Systems Theory, which will be reviewed under the following subtitle.

Herewith, the dual labor market theory assumes that international migration does not stem from push factors in sending countries, such as high unemployment rates or low wages; instead, it stems from pull factors in receiving countries that is a persistent demand for low-waged and precarious foreign workers (Doeringer & Piore, 1970; Piore, 1979). The reason for such a demand is also that those receiving modern industrial societies have two sectors. The two sectors are “*capital-intensive primary sector*” and “*labor-intensive secondary sector*” (Massey et al., 1993, p.442), from which the emphasis “*dual*” or “*segmented*” in the name of theory has come. According to such a duality, or segmentation, in labor market, workers in the primary sector are skilled and well-educated people, who use the most advanced tools, require further investment for their professional development, and are mostly members of trade unions. On the other hand, workers in the secondary sector exert unskilled and precarious positions mostly for a specific period, such as the case of Turkish-German labor recruitment for two to three years of duration of stay, that eases to put them out work without any investment or compensation. Thereby, modern industrial societies pull migrant workers to employ in the secondary sector.

Moreover, there are four reasons for those societies’ demand for foreign labor to employ in the secondary sector (Abadan-Unat, 2017). Accordingly, first, the maintenance of the hierarchical system also depends on low wages provided to unskilled workers because native and unionized workers are not convinced of such low wages and foreign workers who accept low wages are exported (Abadan-Unat,

2017). Second, people do not only work to earn their livelihood but also for an upper social situation since native workers would not work at the bottom of the hierarchy. Thereby, foreign workers, who would already feel belonging of their country of origin and aim to have a higher social status there instead of the host country, are exported (Abadan-Unat, 2017). Third, labor supply is unlimited; receiving modern societies find new foreign labor sources in other regions if their current source of foreign labor ceases in a region (Abadan-Unat, 2017). Last but not least, international migration is endless (Abadan-Unat, 2017).

The first traces of the dual labor market theory are evident in the book *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis* by Peter B. Doeringer and Michael J. Piore in 1970. In addition to delivering the above-mentioned assumptions of the theory under an exact subtitle “*The Dual Labor Market Theory*” (Doeringer & Piore, 1970, p.271), they investigate the U.S. economy as the country has a dual labor market through an institutional explanation to the existing literature on the labor market. In this respect, they performed empirical research through interviewing management and union officers of almost 80 firms between 1964 and 1969, and point out a bifurcation in the U.S. economy (Doeringer & Piore, 1970). Accordingly, workers in the external labor market receive low wages and are subjected to harsh and precarious conditions, while the situation is vice versa for the workers in the internal labor market (Doeringer & Piore, 1970). Also, for the internal labor market again, they indicate the decisiveness of the recruitment process, technological engagement, and training of labor that not only affect labor costs but also explain low-level wages in the external labor market (Doeringer & Piore, 1970). In the context of migration, they argue that there may be a third market on an ethnical basis that is exemplified through “*the market for migrant labor in California*” (Doeringer & Piore, 1970, pp.13-14).

Piore (1979) has expanded his previous study with Doeringer, and amplified the role of international migration in his following study through an analysis from underdeveloped rural to industrial urban. Unlike Doeringer and Piore (1970), he even shares a chapter, titled *The Migrants* (Piore, 1979). Accordingly, migration has a crucial role in advancing the U.S. economy because of migrant ancestors of many American citizens who develop the national economy (Piore, 1979). He also indicates that industrial societies embrace migrants with the principle of temporary stay; however, migrants have started to stay longer than initially expected (Piore, 1979, pp. 50-51). The West German experience, which recruited foreign labor temporarily in the first place, is an example in this regard (Piore, 1979). In this sense, he strongly links up to recruitment process and migration:

These recruitment activities seem to explain both the timing of particular migration movements and the particular areas between which migrant flows develop. Recruitment is the key to the seeming paradoxes of migration processes; it explains why one region develops significant out-migration, and another essentially comparable in terms of income, transportation costs, culture, and labor force, never does so; how a low-income area can exist for years as an isolated, self-contained economy despite its relative proximity to an industrialized area and then suddenly begin to generate significant emigration flows. (Piore, 1979, p.24).

As he argues that there is a dual labor market structure in industrial societies, he points out the disadvantaged situations of the foreign labor in the secondary market (Piore, 1979). In this sense, he reiterates the confinement of the labor in the secondary market; however, he also indicates that the second generation would obtain similar jobs with natives that provide them higher wages as well as a better social status (Piore, 1979), which also exemplifies Turkish-German experience. In this respect, he does not only expand his theory in terms of its relevance to migration but also placement of future generations on the labor market in receiving industrial countries.

Dickens and Lang (1985) argue that neither dual market theory advocates nor the critiques have examined the theory since then; instead, the theory has been mainly explained through definitions. Advocating the assumptions of the dual labor market theory, they initiated to test “*the dual market typology*” and “*noneconomic barriers to entering the primary sector*”, through a statistical model (Dickens & Lang, 1985, p.792). They have revealed the two different labor markets with distinct conditions, as the primary labor market offers privileged circumstances compared to the secondary labor market, and non-white workers experience discrimination from employers that constitutes a barrier for entering into the primary labor market (Dickens & Lang, 1985).

Bulow and Summers (1986) developed a new model for dual labor market theory in light of Keynesian unemployment. They argue that motivating workers through paying more than “*the going wage*”, employers may evoke the most exertion of the workers (Bulow & Summers, 1986, p.376); and involuntary unemployment is an expected result of the apportioning of primary sector jobs for motivation reasons (Bulow & Summers, 1986). They have revealed that workers in the secondary labor market receive “*equal pay for equal work*”; however, they do not exert “*equal work*” (Bulow & Summers, 1986, p.380). On the other hand, government policies that are aimed to subsidize the primary labor sector can increase total welfare (Bulow & Summers, 1986, p.380).

The dual labor market theory is crucial because it explains post-war migration trends in Europe and the U.S. On the other hand, it is subjected to many critiques. For example, it is criticized as “*formal recruitment practices overemphasized*” in the theory and as it does not consider different migration rates in different developed countries with equal economic structures (Kurekova, 2010, p.7). Hagen-Zanker indicates that the theory excludes push factors of international migration as it only focuses on pull factors, and it does not deliver an analysis of the decision-making process of migrants (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Massey et al. remark that the theory mostly neglects the role of micro-level decision-makers (Massey et al., 1993). The theory is also considered as it has a “*descriptive nature*” (Kalleberg & Sorenson, 1979, p.358); has “*a serious gap*” in the analysis because of not having an explanation for “*efficiency*” interference (Wachter, 1974, p.644); and is “*sketchy, vague, and diverse if not internally conflicting*” (Cain, 1976, p.1221).

By acknowledging the assumptions of the dual structure of the labor market, the main critique of this thesis work in this regard is that the dual labor market theory does not deeply analyze the historical roots of the market structure. More specifically, international migration occurs depending on the cheap and precarious labor demand of developed countries from developing and less developed countries in order to maintain and strengthen the current economic system. However, the theory needs to regard the historical process of the emergence and strengthening of the current economic system related to international migration particularly. Nevertheless, this thesis work agrees that international migration occurs depending on the cheap and precarious labor demand of developed countries from developing and less developed countries, it also argues that there are some other reasons. As the theory neglects the push factors of migration by concentrating on the pull factors only, by entirely focusing on the demand of developed countries (Doeringer & Piore, 1970; Piore, 1970; Piore, 1979), international migration occurs as a result of both push and pull factors since capitalist penetration in developing and less developed countries can also induce international migration as a push factor.

#### **2.1.6. World-Systems Theory**

Scholars of the historical-structuralism paradigm and the dependency school have started to bring in a new explanation to the migration after the 1980s and especially at the beginning of the 1990s. In fact, they have not proposed a new theory; instead consider migration as “*a natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations that are intrinsic to the process of capitalist accumulation*” (De Haas, 2008, p.7). By basing on Immanuel Wallerstein’s arguments in his paper *The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative* published in 1974, they argue that international migration is led by the “*structure of the capitalist system*” (Massey et al., 1993, p.445), which has started to emerge in the sixteenth century (Ravenstein, 1974). In this sense, they bring in a different explanation to migration than the dual labor market, which bases migration on “*the structural requirement of modern industrial economies*” (Massey et al., 1993, p.442), and on the “*bifurcation*” of the labor market within countries (Massey et al., 1993, p.445).

According to the world-systems theory, international migration stems from the capitalist market structure, which is the source of inequality between central capitalist countries and non-capitalist peripheral countries (Petras, 1981; Castells, 1989; Sassen, 1988; Morawska, 1989). As central and peripheral countries are dependent on each other economically, central countries penetrate the peripheral countries; thereby, the peripheral population has started to migrate. More specifically, the central capitalist countries control land, raw material, and labor; the population in peripheral countries, particularly rural labor, becomes unemployed, and is included within the world capitalist market through migration to central countries (Abadan-Unat, 2017). In this sense, the theory has a “*macrosociological perspective*” which aims to reveal “*the dynamics of the ‘capitalist world economy’ as a ‘total social system’*” (Martínez-Vela, 2001, p.1).

Considering the basis of the world-systems theory, it is rooted in Wallerstein's critiques of modernization, which was the mainstream approach then (Martínez-Vela, 2001). As Wallerstein aimed to deliver a new conceptualization than modernization to understand capitalist development, he explains that there is only one social system, that is "*a world-system*" and has two variations, as "*one with a common political system and one without*" (Wallerstein, 1974, p.390). He also identifies the one with a political system as "*world empires*", and the other one without a political system as "*world-economies*" (Wallerstein, 1974, p.390). In this way, he implies the continuity between colonialism to capitalism (Wallerstein, 1974). Also, he proposes three country models, as they are core, semiperiphery, and periphery (Wallerstein, 1974). Although this proposal suggests the dual labor market theory that identifies two labor markets, Wallerstein criticizes it by describing it as "*the misleading concept*" (Wallerstein, 1974, p.389).

By acknowledging the inspiration by Wallerstein, Petras (1981) has expanded Wallerstein's initial explanation, and examines the capitalist world economy in relation to international migration through the threefold "*interdependent*" country model. Accordingly, she describes labor migration as "*the movement of workers within this historically interdependent grid*" (Petras, 1981, p.45). She argues that there is not only a labor movement but also a capital and commodity movement (Petras, 1981). Also, both exporting and importing labor yield some advantages and disadvantages in capital accumulation; however, abundant labor surplus causes both current and long-term aggravation of inequality in the world (Petras, 1981).

Sassen (1988) investigated the historical roots of the current conditions of migration. Accordingly, countries receiving the most foreign direct investment by the U.S. are the most migrant-sending countries (Sassen, 1988). Thereby, the role of foreign investment in capitalist development needs to be taken into account, although it is scholarly ignored (Sassen, 1988). By indicating the relationship between foreign investment and labor migration as the former leads to the latter, she emphasizes that employing foreign labor, which is "*slaves or immigrants*", has a crucial role in capitalist development (Sassen, 1988, p.26). In addition, migration is a consequence of technological advancement and the shifting of mass production to developing and less developed countries (Sassen, 1988). Accordingly, the new decentralized production is managed in global cities by a highly skilled labor force (Sassen, 1988). However, in these global cities, *e.g.*, in New York and Los Angeles, there is also a need for labor to exert low-paid jobs, such as within the service sector (Sassen, 1988). Through the supply of low-wage labor in global cities in order to meet the demand for low-paid jobs, a vast "*income polarization*" has been thus emerged (Sassen, 1988, pp.144-145).

Morawska (1989) investigates the labor migration from Poles to Western Europe and the U.S. between 1880 and 1914. As she points out the world-systems theory, which analyzes migration process in light of "*dominant core*" and "*dependent periphery*" understanding, instead of "*separate nation-states*" approach (Morawska, 1989, p.237), she considers the migration from Poles to Western Europe and the U.S. in this sense (Morawska, 1987). Accordingly, both core and periphery are subjected to the same

capitalist development and Germany is one of the most prominent examples of this fact (Morawska, 1989). More specifically, during the transition from agriculture to industrialization between 1850 and 1900, almost more than four million German natives emigrated to the U.S. (Morawska, 1989).

On the other hand, Germany experienced an internal migration during the same process, as the agricultural population living in the north and east parts of the country migrated to the industrialized west parts of the country (Morawska, 1989). Since a considerable portion of the German population had already emigrated to the U.S. and “*one-half of the labor force*” had migrated to the western cities of Germany, a need for agricultural labor in the eastern parts of the country emerged (Morawska, 1989, p.49). Thereby, almost ninety percent of the Polish labor force migrated to Germany to exert jobs that Germans are reluctant to do, while the U.S. continued to receive migration (Morawska, 1989). Thus, Germany comes into prominence as both a “*labor-importing core*” and “*labor-exporting periphery*” country during the industrialization process (Morawska, 1989, p.251).

The world-systems theory has been also drawing several critiques. Petras (1981) finds the general framework of the theory is “*strikingly elementary*” (Petras, 1981, p.150). Also, the concentration on the external connections between social systems causes “*an incapacity to differentiate the different moments of capital development*” (Petras, 1981, p. 150). Pieterse argues “*world system theory is a theory of the world system without a system theory*” because it has some confusion in defining its conceptual units, as they are “*social systems*” and “*modern world system*” (Pieterse, 1988, p.251). On the other hand, Wallerstein emphasizes the difference between *the world system* and *the worlds-system*. He points out that he uses the plural form of the word *world* and a hyphen between the words *worlds* and *system* because there has not been a unique world-system throughout history (Çağlayan, 2007). The theory is also criticized because of “*overemphasizing the world market while neglecting forces and relations of production*” (Pieterse, 1988, p.251); and mostly neglecting “*micro-level decision process*” (Massey et al., 1993, p.432; Güllüpmar, 2012, p.68). It does not take “*individual motivations*” into consideration, does not provide a “*clear*” explanation of “*the exact mechanisms of migration*” (Hagen-Zanker, 2008, p.8). It considers capitalist interests as the unique determinant, “*overemphasizes structural elements of globalization*”, and does not attach sufficient importance to the “*motivation and activities of groups*” in decision-making process for migration (Özcan, 2016, p.200).

By admitting the assumptions of the world-systems theory, the main suggestion of this thesis work is that the theory needs to share a place for the analysis of the segmented structure of the labor market at a country-specific level. More specifically, this thesis work agrees that the penetration of developed countries into capital market of the less developed and developing countries causes international migration. In other words, the pull factors in the periphery countries due to the decentralization of industrial core countries; and that all the capitalist development highly aggravated by international migration should be analyzed through a historical-structural perspective. On the other hand, international migration also occurs depending on the fact that developed countries need a segmented



labor market in order to maintain the current economic system; therefore, they demand for cheap and precarious foreign labor. That is to say, the international labor market significantly shaped by the capitalist world system through international migration is also supported by the various strategies of the developed industrial countries; and creating a segmented labor market in a country is one of these strategies. In this sense, combining the dual labor market theory and the world-systems theory in the analysis would provide a broader understanding.

In this part of this literature review chapter, it was aimed to reveal migration research in light of different perspectives as soon as possible. On the other hand, as the phenomenon of migration is as old as human history, and it has been the subject of much research in different fields, this thesis work had to be limited in review by becoming selective while giving concepts, theories as well as studies. Although understanding different theories and approaches provides a multidimensional perspective, this thesis work argues that migration flows need to be analyzed within the historical process by considering structural dynamics, as migration is one of the most decisive preconditions of ensuring economic globalization. As this thesis work considers the lack of historical-structural perspective of the dual labor market approach, it suggests the segmented structure of the labor market depending on the economic globalization.

## **2.2. Media Studies on Labor Migration from Turkey to Germany**

As the phenomenon of migration is the subject of different fields, it has also been attracting the attention of media studies scholars. On the other hand, despite the experience of a huge labor migration flow from Turkey to Germany, forming the basis of a Turkish diaspora in all Europe, whose number has reached millions, the media studies literature that focuses on Turkish migrants has remained relatively weak. After reviewing the existing literature regarding labor migration, given the existing literature in media studies regarding labor migration from Turkey to Germany, there are mainly three themes: Media coverage about Turkish immigrants, media targeting to Turkish immigrants, and media consumption of Turkish immigrants. However, since this thesis work investigates media coverage about the labor migration and labor in the two Turkish newspapers during the first three years of the Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement, the main focus of this second part of the literature review section will be studies in this regard.

Given the relevant literature, one of the great contributions to the media studies literature in the axis of the Turkish-German labor migration has been provided by Mehmet Gökhan Genel, as he focuses on media coverage, media targeting, and media consumption. Given his study on media coverage, Genel (2014) aims to understand whether the labor migration from Turkey to Germany received (a sufficient) attention from the Turkish press during the first years or not. In this sense, he investigates what kind of perspective was adopted, which aspects of the labor migration come into prominence, and which issues were mostly treated in the Turkish press (Genel, 2014). By examining three national newspapers,

namely Akşam, Milliyet, and Cumhuriyet, through a content analysis method, 140 relevant news are grouped under sixteen categories, such as “*The number of migrant workers*”, “*The policies of the Turkish Government regarding the Turkish emigrant workers*”, “*The policies of the German Government regarding the Turkish immigrant workers*”, “*Advantages and disadvantages of the worker sending to Germany*”, and “*Presentation of the Turkish workers on German public opinion*” (Genel, 2014, p.312). The study concludes that, although not sufficient, Akşam and Milliyet showed an interest in the labor migration both numerically and in content, while Cumhuriyet set its priority “*to bring the Republican People’s Party power again*” (Genel, 2014, pp.336-337). Leaving aside its conclusion, the study is quite descriptive and limited due to describing the news in one or two sentences rather than analyzing or even giving any details about the content.

Yalçın-Heckmann (2002) focuses on the discourse on hybrid identity of Turkish immigrants, and investigates the representation of different generations of Turkish immigrants in Germany in different types of media (Yalçın-Heckmann, 2002). In this sense, the movie *Kurz and Schmerzlos*, directed by Fatih Akin, a second-generation Turkish immigrant in Germany, is analyzed (Yalçın-Heckmann, 2002). As the movie is “*a praise to the multicultural society*”, the story revolves around a close friendship between a Turk, a Grecian, and a Srpska, members of three conflicting societies (Yalçın-Heckmann, 2002, pp.308-309). Also, the Turkish character supports the love affair between his sister and his Greek friend (Yalçın-Heckmann, 2002). In this sense, the movie does not only turn upside down the historical relationship between the given societies but also breaks the stereotypes about traditional Turkish family, in which “*the only job of a brother is to draw out a knife to protect his family honor*” (Yalçın-Heckmann, 2002, p.309).

Mora (2009) focuses on German newspapers and approaches to the issue through a broader scope than solely labor migrants. More specifically, she argues that prejudices are formed in the historical process, imprinted in the social memory of societies by being transferred to the future via language, art, etc., and reproduced by media (Mora, 2009). For this reason, relations between Turkey and Germany need to be examined within the historical process to recognize “*how Turkey and Turks are represented in the German media*” (Mora, 2009, p.606). According to the Turkish-German historical process, there is a reciprocal prejudice between the two countries that dates back to the Crusades and has escalated stage by stage because of the ingrained fear for Muslim’s possible invasion (Mora, 2009, p.623). Moreover, Turkish workers’ immigration to Germany is a significant source of prejudice because first-generation Turkish immigrants were mostly “*forest villagers*” (Mora, 2009, p.616). To reveal the traces of these prejudices, 2008 and 2009 issues of five German newspapers, namely Die Tageszeitung, Die Welt Online, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and Spiegel Online, are examined through a discourse analysis (Mora, 2009).

According to the findings, Die Welt Online emphasizes some keywords, such as “*terror*”, “*prohibited headscarf*”, “*prohibition of alcoholic beverages*”, and “*cross-border operation*”; Die Tageszeitung

gives messages about, for example, Turkey's unreliability and unfamiliarity with Germany and the EU; Spiegel Online reports criminal incidents about and lack of integration of Turks; Süddeutsche Zeitung adopts a mocking language about Turkish-Armenian relations; and Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung concentrates on headscarf prohibition, Turkey-EU relations, and the recognition of Cyprus (Mora, 2009, pp.621-622). Thus, the study reveals that Turkey and Turks living in Turkey or Germany are represented in all five newspapers negatively (Mora, 2009). Nevertheless, the concepts "Turkishness" and "Islam" are intertwined with each other in the study, as Mora attributes the German prejudice against Turks to the Crusades historically (Mora, 2009).

Zambonini (2009) concentrates on the evaluation of German media coverage on migration. Instead of performing empirical research, the transformation in the media coverage beginning of the 1950s in conjunction with the socio-political changes is discussed (Zambonini, 2009). Accordingly, as Germany did not consider itself as an immigration country until recently and had economy-oriented immigration policies during the 1950s and 1960s, the German media welcomed immigrant workers but as immigrant workers are "*guests*" who contributed to the national economy (Zambonini, 2009, p.3). With the oil and economic crises, and with the cessation of labor recruitment in 1973, the German media changed its discourse on immigrants as "*the former guest workers became unwelcome aliens*" in the 1970s and 1980s (Zambonini, 2009, p.3).

Zambonini argues that after the 9/11 attacks, the German media started to mainly intertwine immigration and Islam, which means it continued to present immigrants negatively (Zambonini, 2009, p.6). However, the German media has started to shift from a negative to positive stance during the 2000s because it is widely agreed upon the requirement of more inclusive integration policies, politicians appeal for dialogue with immigrant groups increasingly, and the German media has started to be followed by immigrants (Zambonini, 2009). With the integration of immigrant-background workers in the media market, studies revealing that almost one in two people in Germany has an immigrant-background, and studies demonstrating similar media tendencies of immigrants and natives with similar socio-economic backgrounds, the German media has particularly, but not entirely, left to the emphasis of foreigner (Zambonini, 2009). Although Zambonini's study is significant in terms of delivering socio-political analysis of media discourse historically, his approach seems quite optimistic due to the negation of the rising xenophobia and Islamophobia, especially after the 9/11 attacks, which outweighs the inclusive perspective in the German media.

Ramm (2010) confirms the recent Islamization of immigrants in the German media since the 2000s, and focuses on the changing image of immigrants, and especially Turkish immigrants, in public perception. In addition to the 9/11 attacks, the significance of the citizenship test, which is requested from Muslim immigrants with an "*openly racist approach*" by the German state of Baden Württemberg since 2006, is pointed out in this sense (Ramm, 2010, p.183). Though not given any details about the method, the study illustrates the parallelism between policies and media discourse via articles in some German news

historically (Ramm, 2010). Accordingly, the typical German perspective towards the Turks is explicitly mentioned in the quintessential article published by the German magazine *Der Spiegel* in 1973 (Ramm, 2010). The article depicts Turkish immigrants as an “*underdeveloped ethnic group*”, which have realized “*a mass invasion*” “*in droves*” (Ramm, 2010, p.184). Strikingly, after a couple of months, the German government call off labor recruitment due to the economic crisis (Ramm, 2010).

Şentürk-Kara (2016) investigates the relationship of the first generation of Turkish immigrants with the European news bulletin of Turkish channels. The study aims to clarify how the first-generation Turkish immigrants in Germany keep abreast of the agenda in Germany; and how they evaluate the news broadcasted on European bulletins of Turkish TV channels (Şentürk-Kara, 2016, p. 834). The findings show that 19 of the 22 participants mostly follow the European news bulletins of Turkish TV channels (Şentürk-Kara, 2016, p.848). Given the participants’ opinions about the European news bulletins, some of them think that the bulletins are not objective; instead, they cover Germans adversely (Şentürk-Kara, 2016, p.851). The study concludes that almost all the participants point out insufficient coverage about Turkish immigrants’ rights and problems in Germany by the European news bulletins of Turkish channels (Şentürk-Kara, 2016).

Çömlekçi (2019) investigates the representation of Turkish migrants by analyzing audiovisual media. More specifically, he aims to understand how the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), the public channel of Turkey, represented guest workers. As the Turkish government did not withdraw its support from the emigrated workers, TRT broadcasted programs on current issues in Turkey, and those concerning workers’ experiences and problems in Germany (Çömlekçi, 2019). Moreover, the government even established a goal-oriented channel, namely TRT-INT, in Germany (Çömlekçi, 2019). One of the motivations of all these efforts of the Turkish Government is to keep economic ties with the emigrant workers alive (Çömlekçi, 2019). To reveal the traces of this perspective and these efforts in media representation, 30 TV programs broadcasted in TRT between the years 1960 and 1990 were examined through a content analysis method (Çömlekçi, 2019). The study reveals that some programs emphasize on the Turkish traditions as well as problems faced by emigrant workers such as lack of communication, racism, unequal working conditions, and wage differences, while some others mainly function like an information tool on many subjects, such as social rights, education, and money transfer, and a warning tool against ghettoization and fraud (Çömlekçi, 2019). Strikingly, the study mentions emigrant workers as *guest workers* (Çömlekçi, 2019), which shows parallelism with the perspective of TRT and the Turkish government of the period.

Media coverage about immigrant workers is one of the main topics of the relevant literature. On the other hand, as the existing literature is relatively weak, there are few studies on this topic, too. Given the existing studies, the transformation in media coverage about Turkish immigrants is investigated through a historical analysis (Yağın-Heckmann, 2002; Zambonini, 2009; Ramm, 2010). These studies point out that although the emergent multiculturalism discourse since the 2000s, Turkish immigrants

have been increasingly considered with Islam simultaneously, particularly after the 9/11 attacks. Alternatively, it is also argued that the Islamization of Turkish immigrants in media has enrooted long before, in the Crusades (Mora, 2009).

In the context of media coverage, the historical shift in media coverage about Turkish immigrants is one of the most salient subjects (Yalçın-Heckmann, 2002; Zambonini, 2009; Ramm, 2010). The main emphasis in these studies is that a multiculturalism discourse has been visible since the 2000s; however, Turkish immigrants have been increasingly considered with Islam at the same time, especially after the 9/11 attacks. Although such an Islamization in media may even be dated back to the Crusades (Mora, 2009), without any reference of the Islamization, coverage about Turkish immigrants in the early period of the labor migration is also studied (Genel, 2014; Çömlekçi, 2019). Nevertheless, these studies do not only exclude a historical analysis but also not analyze media discourse, as they are limited to media content by revealing the number, brief subject and headline of news or TV programs. Thereby, this thesis work will fill the gap in the existing literature by analyzing both content and discourse in the media coverage about Turkish labor migrants in Turkish newspapers.

This chapter consists of two parts, as they are labor migration and media studies regarding labor migration from Turkey to Germany, respectively. In the context of labor migration, different schools and theories were elaborately mentioned from the very beginning. In this way, it was aimed to reveal in which perspective this thesis work stands and does not stand, with each perspective's main arguments. In the context of labor migration from Turkey to Germany, the main topic of this thesis work, *i.e.*, literature on media coverage was given through mentioning different studies. In this way, it was aimed to demonstrate the position of the thesis work, as there is a particular gap in the relevant literature both numerically and in content. As different approaches and studies in two relevant literatures were mentioned in this chapter in a historical integrity through a holistic approach, and to understand what is analyzed in this thesis work in the context mentioned in this chapter, the next chapter will followingly provide a historical background but regarding labor migration from Turkey to Germany this time.

## CHAPTER 3

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LABOR MIGRATION

In the previous chapter, literatures regarding labor migration and media studies on labor migration from Turkey to Germany were reviewed in detail through a holistic approach in order to understand the perspective of this thesis work as well as to demonstrate the position of the thesis work in relevant literature. Relatedly, to understand the basis of analysis will be carried out in this thesis work in this context, this chapter aims to provide a historical background of labor migration from Turkey to Germany through a similar approach. More specifically, although the years of 1961, 1962, and 1963 have been selected for the analysis, this chapter will provide a general overview of migration movements from Turkey to Germany from the very beginning, *i.e.*, 1950s, and touched upon today.

In this sense, and to keep a mirror to the present by looking at the past, in the first place, it would be meaningful to look at the conditions and dynamics of the period in Turkey as the sending country and Germany as the receiving country in a historical integrity. However, since the migration from Turkey to Germany has a historical continuity that is still maintaining, the migration movements will be elaborated through five decisive phases. As a final phase, by pointing out the current implementations, trends, and numbers, this chapter will provide an overall understanding of the issue before the analysis of the newspapers in relevancy. While doing so, in addition to supportive studies by several scholars, studies of Mehmet Okyayuz and Nermin Abadan-Unat will be mainly regarded as a guideline.

Understanding migration movements from Turkey to the Western Europe, which has mainly started in the second half of the twentieth century, has a great importance to realize its impact on both economic processes involving production and consumption relations and social, political, and cultural processes. This is because these migration movements, which has emerged in the 1950s through individual initiatives and private intermediaries, from time to time with motivations such as internship programs, and became official with the Turkey-Germany Labor Recruitment Agreement signed on October 30, 1961, continued with the bilateral agreements signed with Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, France, Sweden and Denmark, respectively, during the 1960s. Considering Germany in particular due to the main focus of this thesis work, the official labor migration was indeed terminated in 1973 with the outbreak of the oil crisis and economic breakdown, but continued in practice for various reasons in addition to work, such as family reunification, education, and asylum applications.

Also, in recent years, with the effect of domestic economic, social, and political dynamics, increasing globalization and the new immigration policies and laws of immigration-receiving countries, such as the Skilled Immigration Act in Germany, these migration movements have been maintaining their continuity by changing form. As a result of all these developments, as it started in the 1950s, migration movements from Turkey to the Western Europe, have become the basis of a Turkish population there, whose number has been increasing even more through the current forms of migration.

Returning to the first period of these migration movements, the vanguard movements from Turkey to Germany first occurred in the 1950s through individual initiatives and private intermediaries. During this period, some Turks who had already settled in Germany at that time and some Turkish businesspersons who had connections in Germany became a means of migration. In addition, with a project proposal by Prof. Dr. Bade, that was presented to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs as it offered a certain number of artisans from Turkey to do internships in Germany, departures to Germany for internship triggered (Abadan-Unat, 2017). The freedom to travel provided through the 1961 Constitution, also facilitated the departure process, so the process of intermediating the migration by private agencies that sent Turkish citizens abroad under some names, *e.g.*, translation offices, began.

On the other hand, the migration movement that was structurally paved the way, so tended to increase but not established in a formal system, caused concerns in the context of effects that both countries might have on labor market. Thereby, bilateral negotiation steps were taken by governmental authorities of the two countries subsequently. Eventually, on October 30, 1961, the Turkey-Germany Labor Recruitment Agreement, which will be applied retrospectively to cover the period until September 1, 1961, was signed in Bonn, and this agreement was followed by similar agreements with different Western European countries.

Considering the conditions of the period and dynamics of the agreement in the context of Turkey, labor export would cease the economic bottleneck due to the 1960 Military Coup, high unemployment rates, and shortage in foreign currency (Abadan-Unat, 2017), and it would yield several benefits to Turkey through even developing the national economy thanks to foreign currency and investments by emigrant workers and receiving qualified labor power in terms of both technically well-trained thanks to those workers' return. In fact, even labor export to Western countries was mentioned as an action point of the employment policy within the Turkey's First Five-Year Development Plan. Nevertheless, it would also be a limited approach to reduce the migration movement to the economic ideals only in the eyes of the Turkish government. In fact, Turkish workers were expected to return their country by adopting European manners as well as representing that their country had left the Ottoman norms and culture and approached western values. As a matter of fact, for this very reason, brochures were distributed to the workers in Turkey who would go to Germany, instructing them how to behave and even how to eat.

Considering the conditions of the period and dynamics of the agreement in the context of Germany, the country was facing with a massive destruction, particularly in economy, after the World War II. The city infrastructure was substantially devastated, while factories were inoperable, and bridges and roads were unserviceable (Okyayuz, 1999). The productivity of the land was substantially slowing down. Yet, even working in a country with such a limited productive land was possible. However, since the onset of industrialization in Germany has resulted in a demand increase and emergence of new branches in parallel, agricultural workers were transferred to the industrial sector for higher wages, which led to labor power deficit up to almost 100.000 in the former one (Okyayuz, 1999).

Moreover, the prolonged vocational training in the country, and the facts that transition to business life was prolonged, and the weekly working hours were reduced to 45 hours as a result of the efforts of the labor unions in the 1950s also paved way for importing foreign labor (Okyayuz, 1999). As another important dynamic, a substantial proportion of the young generation of the country had already passed away due to the war. Concretely speaking, increasing of the proportion of elderly population within the entire population stands out as some data revealing that while the proportion of elderly population within the entire population in Germany was 7.3 percent in 1939, it increased to 11.8 percent in 1965 (Okyayuz, 1999, p.19). Besides, at the beginning of the 1950s, the Federal Government Army has been formed which consisted of 125.000 soldiers in 1957 and had 450.000 in 1965. That is to say, the low population of youth was a reality of that period but even members of that population did not want to do drudge and low works. Instead, those manual labor exerted by the migrants, and mostly just in this way, native workers can have a vocational training and do less tiring but more-waged jobs (Okyayuz, 1999).

In this sense, the argument that receiving countries do not often burden any expense of the education of migrant workers and that these workers are stuck on low-waged drudge works (Pröbsting, 2015, p.330) is also needed a consideration. As Pröbsting defines migration as “*a part of the fundamental process of the super-exploitation of the so-called Third World, i.e., semi-colonial, countries by imperialist monopoly capital*” (Pröbsting, 2015, p.329), Germany, and some other Western countries then such as Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, imported labor power from countries such as Italia, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, Turkey in those years. Also, in specific to Germany, the recruitment agreement with Turkey was neither the first nor the last agreement in this sense. Six years before the agreement with Turkey, in 1955, Germany first signed a recruitment agreement with Italy. Specifically, the country signed agreements with Spain and Greece in 1960, Turkey in 1961, Morocco in 1963, Portugal in 1964, Tunisia in 1965 and Yugoslavia in 1968, respectively (Genel, 2014b). Thus, import of migrant workers provided a huge economic growth to Germany, without inflation during the 1960s in general. Concretely speaking again, migrant workers who constituted 10 percent of the entire labor power in Germany at the beginning of the 1970s, also individually actualized 10 billion German Mark growth in GDP (Martin, 1991, p.77). As if to prove it, when a relevant table provided by Okyayuz is taken into consideration, steady increase in GDP from 1960 to 1972, and again steady increasing proportion of foreigners’ contribution from 0.70 in 1960 to 1.90 in 1972 draw attention (Okyayuz, 1999).



Generally speaking, on the other hand, migrant workers do not contribute to only receiving countries. According to the report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), in 2018, migrants sent estimated 689 billion US dollars remittances to home countries, and 529 of the 689 billion dollars were transferred to only the developing countries ([IOM], 2019). The situation was not different regarding the Turkish experience as well. More specifically, considering the other side of the coin, the Turkish migrant workers were not driven profit by only Germany through labor import but also by Turkey through export, as those migrants were considered as “*Currency Machine*” (Turkish: *Döviz Makinesi*) by the government, and were identified as “*those have money*” by the society (Gezer & Gözler, 2014, p.444). In fact, they were even already recommended to save and send their money to Turkey, invest, and spend holiday in their own country by the governmental officials (Çömlekçi, 2019), as they were also waited by Turkish tradespeople that calls to mind “*the Arabs waiting for pilgrims*” (Gezer & Gözler, 2014, p.444). Nevertheless, benefits of Germany overbalanced to benefits of Turkey in the long term (Okuyuz, 1999), although Turkish workers’ migration provided a short-term profit for Turkey, *e.g.*, through their transfer of currency and the imbalance in question did not change the fact that the migrant workers were exploited by both states. In this sense, Germany’s taking more profit may be interpreted as a consolidation of power structures of the imperialist and semi-colonial countries within the world order.

Considering the perspective of the two countries elaborated so far, it is clear that the duration of stay of Turkish migrant workers in Germany was also a highly crucial issue. In fact, although it is not explicitly stated in the recruitment agreement, labor migration from Turkey to Germany was planned in accordance with the *Rotation Principle* that takes into account needs of the German labor market (Okuyuz, 1999), and migrant workers were considered as guest workers, that is originally *Gastarbeiter* in German language. As a matter of fact, contrary to the agreements made between Germany and other countries, the agreements with Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey included the provision that the residence permits of migrant workers in Germany “*should be limited to two years and this period should not be extended later*” (Ünver, 2012, p.191). However, on the contrary to the two countries’ consistent perspective towards the migration, the perspective of the Turkish migrant workers was not same in 1970s with their perspective in 1960s. More precisely, while workers mostly approached to the issue as a kind of social responsibility in a sense and sent remittances to Turkey to develop their country through their investment as well as provide their families’ livelihood since the first half of the 1960s, they started to consider Germany as their new country of residence later then. That is to say, as migrant workers adopted a more individual perspective relatively from the mid- and late 1950s and 1960s, they began to become settlers in Germany, and started to bring their family in Germany (Okuyuz, 2012, p. 234).

In the context of Turkey, such a change of perspective and situation arose an interruption of remittances and thereby investments. In the context of Germany, it meant an incompatibility with the *Rotation Principle* which assumed migrant workers should be temporarily employed depending on Germany’s market needs and then sent back to their country after they fulfilled their tasks (Okuyuz, 2012) as

mentioned above. This is also because, in Pröbsting's terms again, although a certain amount of imported labor power from semi-colonial countries such as Turkey is a desirable practice in countries like Germany by means of its serving for capitalists' interest, some other dynamics such as a task duration and a saturation point of immigration are also at issue. In that sense, for example, Turkish migrant workers have brought forth an undesired outcome by such a settling down in Germany, as they were initially considered as guest workers.

If the reflection of this change of perspective regarding Turkish workers is to be explained with a concrete data, while there had been only 6700 Turkish in Germany in 1961 (Çömlekçi, 2019, p.3), the number increased to 373000 until 1970 and even 497000 until 1972 (Paine, 1974, p.57). Similarly, the employment participation proportion of the foreign working population to the entire working population had increased from 1 percent to 10.8 percent between the period 1960 to 1972 (Okyayuz, 1999, p.53). In brief, such an increase in migrants' population must bring about new integration policies in Germany as the issue acquired a more "visible" social dimension than before; as Turkish migrants have been started to be regarded as "persons with migration background" rather than "guest workers" starting from 1970s (Okyayuz, 2012, p.237).

As a matter of fact, as mentioned-above, the duration of stay of Turkish workers in Germany was initially determined as only two years in accordance with the Rotation Principle, the immigrant workers were not allowed to bring their families with them to Germany, and those workers were mostly provided with dormitory accommodation called *heim* by German employers (Abadan-Unat, 2017). However, while German employers were satisfied with Turkish workers and did not want them to return, Turkish workers were also showing an attitude in favor of prolonging their stay in Germany. However, with the economic crisis that broke out especially in the German automobile industry in 1966, about 70000 Turkish workers' employment contracts were terminated for the first time, and this incident became a breaking point regarding immigrant workers in Germany (Abadan-Unat, 2017). Followingly, Turkish workers rapidly started establishing and joining trade-unions, as they experienced during that crisis that trade-union membership provides some rights to benefit from unemployment insurance for the fired workers (Abadan-Unat, 2017).

Nevertheless, during the beginning of the 1970s, due to the worsening market conditions, increase in the number of foreign workers and family reunification, and lack of social integration policies, the subject of migrant workers became an issue in the eyes of German government, where it had been already realized that immigrant workers are permanent instead of being guests. In this sense, in the Action Programme for Foreign Employment (German: *Aktionsprogramm für Ausländerbeschäftigung*), the number of foreign workers, which doubled in four years, the extension in workers' duration of stay, increase in family reunification, and need for accommodation and education infrastructure were pointed out (Okyayuz, 1999).

Eventually, the German Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs issued an order on 23.11.1973 that recruitment of workers from countries that are not members of the EU, which at that time meant all sending countries except Italy, would be stopped. Regarding the immigrant workers already in Germany, they were not prevented from working in practice, but were encouraged to return. Thereby, the first phase of the migration from Turkey to Germany, which covers the years from 1955 to 1973, came to an end.

As the second phase of the migration, which can be considered as from 1973 to 1979, Germany, and other immigrant-receiving countries in Europe, started to sign some social security agreements covering from health care of immigrant workers to birth and child allowance and pension and unemployment rights (Abadan-Unat, 2017). On the other hand, this phase, which is called as *Consolidation of Employment* by Okyayuz (Okyayuz, 1999), and in which current workers were encouraged to return, while work permits for new workers were not allowed mostly, the number of Turkish immigrants through family reunification as well as illegal migration boomed. Crucially, two implementations particularly draw attention within this phase. First, as of 01.01.1975, for immigrant workers' children in sending country, the decision came into force not to be paid the same amount of money as is paid to German workers, if those workers do not come from the EU countries or had lived in Germany for at least 15 years and did not spend at least the same amount of child allowance for their children's livelihood (Okyayuz, 1999). In accordance, there had been a dramatic decrease in the amount of child allowance provided up to that date. For example, instead of 50 German Mark for the first child in the sending country, 10 German Mark began to be paid from that time on (Okyayuz, 1999).

However, this attempt also yielded an adverse outcome rather than expected one. Turkish workers, who had a high rate of marriage among foreign workers with a rate of 86 percent and brought their families with them at the lowest rate until that period, with a rate of 46 percent, started to bring their families to Germany, and the fertility rate among Turks drastically increased following this decision (Abadan-Unat, 2017). This way out even reflected through the Turkish cinema. In a movie titled *Gurbetci Saban* starring Kemal Sunal, one of the famous actors of Turkish cinema, a Turkish immigrant worker in Germany, gets custody of tens of children from his village in Turkey and brings them to Germany to get a child allowance. Aside from the fact that the decision in question was found in its bug and even the decision's artistic humor was made, such an implementation based on a discrimination on race was undoubtedly a violation of human rights.

Second, as of 01.04.1975, for foreigners, a residence ban came into effect in cities and districts with a foreign population density of more than 12 percent directly, and in cities and districts with a foreign population density of more than 6 percent with the condition of obtaining permission from relevant federal states' government (Okyayuz, 1999). In this way, the lack of social policies that were not implemented at the beginning of the migration was aimed to be solved through foreigners, without any self-criticism of the German government. Also, it was made difficult for migrant workers to find a job

in practice, although they were not sent back to Turkey forcefully. Thereby, like in the first implementation, this implementation also signifies a violation of human rights due to the infringement on persons' freedoms of movement and residence.

In 1979, which can be considered as the third phase of the migration, a memorandum was written by Heinz Kuhn, the Commissioner of Foreigner Affairs of the German government, demanding a consistent integration policy, as another breaking point. This memorandum, which is particularly remarkable by not basing integration of foreigners on the condition of renouncing their national, cultural, and religious identities, would have also affected the Principles for the Development of Foreigners Policy, which was decided by the Federal Cabinet of Germany in March 1980, as the principles overlapped considerably with the integration point of view in Kuhn's memorandum issued in September 1979. From that time on, integration started to be identified as "*an ability for individual and social action that can be accepted by foreigners only if it does not alienate children and young people from their own culture*" (Okuyuz, 1999, p.127). Nevertheless, consistent steps towards the integration of foreigners in connection with the Kuhn memorandum made some xenophobic segments of the German society worry, and these consistent attempts proved only short-lived. As a matter of fact, even in the beginning of 1981, German government halved the amount of financial support for the education of children of immigrant workers.

In the fourth phase, which lasted until 1991, when the foreigners' law was being discussed and demands for continuation of measures to reduce the number of foreigners increased, topics such as education issues of children, association movements, increase in asylum seeking, shaping of immigration policies of political parties, and laws encouraging return have come into prominence. More specifically, the fact that the implementations in the field of education and culture in the federal system, *e.g.*, education models, vary depending on the federal states, caused an additional confusion for Turkish children, who already do not know the German language for the most part. Also, the lack of any monitoring for the regulation regarding age of 16, which is the legal limit for school attendance in Germany, facilitated to let Turkish girls to be out of school (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p.94). In this way, Turkish children have mostly been deprived of qualified education and work life. Also, a chronic poverty and both economic and social low class have emerged.

Regarding the association movements during this period, Turkish and Kurdish nationalist associations and fundamentalist religious associations increased in Germany, also in conjunction with the political dynamics in the sending country and region. Moreover, due to the strict immigration laws particularly in terms of employment in addition to the incidents such as military coup of 1980, the number of political asylum-seekers boomed during these years. However, since some new measures were taken such as hosting these asylum-seekers in camps without a work permit or any social right as well as the impose of the visa requirement on Turkish citizens caused a decline in the asylum-seeking applications over time.

In the context of the shaping of immigration policies of political parties, although the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), which was in power in some part of that period, defended intercultural dialogue and democratic values in the education system and carried out some efforts in this sense, with the takeover of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU), the Heidelberg Manifesto was released, which advocated that Europe should send immigrant workers to their countries in order to preserve its western values, and the initiative in question by SPD ended in failure.

Finally, during these years, laws encouraging return were also quite prominent. In this sense, preventing foreigners from coming to Germany and sending back those foreigners were some of the main propaganda topics during the 1982 federal election campaign. Eventually, on 28.11.1983, the German government enacted a law to encourage foreigners to return. Accordingly, if foreigners, and migrant workers, as originally intended, return to their country, they would be paid 10500 German Mark in addition to 1500 German Mark for each child for certain conditions, and the pension deductions of these people would be reimbursed immediately (Abadan-Unat, 2017). Nonetheless, while this incentive provided a decrease of only about five percent in the Turkish population to the German government, it did not contribute to the Turkish side as expected, since most of returnees were “*unhealthy*”, “*old*”, or “*unskilled*” (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p.99).

With the enactment of the new foreigners law, that is, the fifth and final phase, which started as of 01.01.1991, corresponds to an important step by means of the concretization of four areas: residence permit, right of residence, residence consent and residence authorization (Okuyuz, 1999). In this sense, the new law can be seen as an acquisition regarding the immigration policies in Germany. With the new law, at least, it has been eased for the young generation to obtain German citizenship. However, this term has been limited only in theory, as there are approximately 500 thousand dual Turkish citizens in Germany today, although the new law also stipulates that those who want to obtain German citizenship must renounce their other, *e.g.*, Turkish citizenship (Gemici, 2021). Aside from the acquisitions mentioned here, there are also negative sides of the new law. Some of these are the termination of the right of residence due to the prolonged unemployment and the deportation of those who receive social assistance for at least three years for their livelihood.

In the context of the current implementation and trends, the obtainment of German citizenship for those who have lived in Germany for at least eight years or attended school for six years until the age of 23, according to the law in 1991, has been updated through a dual citizenship right with the law amendment made in 2014. Accordingly, for those who have lived in Germany for at least eight years or attended school for six years until the age of 21 instead of 23 can obtain German citizenship by not renouncing their other citizenship. However, there is also an additional criterium here in question: those who want to have dual citizenship must born after 1990. Also, with the Skilled Immigration Act in Germany enacted as of 01.03.2021, Germany has opened its border for the skilled foreigners, as the German government has made changes in the job seeker visa conditions and aimed to make it easier for people

to find a job in Germany. Nevertheless, although the form of the new act is different than the formal labor recruitment initiatives of 1960s, it is clear that the country has been still aiming to meet its market needs in the same way.

Considering the current population, the migration movements since the 1950s became the basis of a dense Turkish population in its current form, as third and even fourth generation Turks are living in Germany today. Concretely speaking, according to the data of 1960, while the number of Turks working abroad was 2700, this number reached 6700 in 1961 with an increase of 300 percent, due to the freedom of travel granted to Turkish citizens by the 1961 Constitution and the bilateral agreement signed with Germany in the same year (Abadan-Unat, 2017). In specific to Germany, as an outcome of such an increase, as of 2019, 12.5 percent of the population is of foreign origin, and the most crowded foreign citizen group is Turks with 13.1 percent (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung, 2019), which indicates that there are around 1.4 million Turkish citizens in Germany, which has a population of 83.2 million according to 2019 data (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2019). In addition, when the 1.4 million Turkish citizens in Germany include German citizens of Turkish origin and dual Turkish citizens in Germany, there is a Turkish population of 2.8 million in the country as of 2020 (Deutsche Welle Türkçe, 20.07.2020), according to the annual household survey data. Moreover, the fact that 43.4 percent of around 1.4 million Turkish citizens have been living in Germany for 20 years or more (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung, 2019) is statistically proving the density of the Turkish population in the country.

As a conclusion, the migration movement from Turkey to Germany is a significant topic to understand status quo in economic, social, and political processes in both Turkey and Germany. To understand current realities, it is crucial to look at past. In this context, the role of the media is beyond any doubt, as it always reflects, latently or manifest, the conjuncture in its time. Thereby, since this thesis work will investigate media coverage about labor migration from Turkey to Germany for the years 1961, 1962, and 1963, the historical background of the migration was strived to elaborated here. While doing so, studies by Mehmet Okyayuz and Nermin Abadan-Unat were mostly considered in addition to several scholars' studies. Within the historical investigation in this chapter, not only the dynamics of and conditions in Turkey as the sending country and in Germany as the receiving country were dealt with, but also migration process was handled in a holistic way. More specifically, the migration was detailed in this chapter by considering five main phases, from the very beginning of the migration corresponding to 1950s to present. Accordingly, the first phase is from 1955 to 1973, the second one is from 1973 to 1979, the third one is from 1979 to 1980, the fourth one is from 1980 to 1991, and the five and last one is since 1991. Finally, by providing current data, it was aimed to draw attention to the concrete visibility of labor migration, which started with individual initiatives in the 1950s and later became official. Given general perspective toward labor migration in eyes of both Turkey and Germany then, it is clear that labor migration was considered as a commodity, and this perspective was adopted by Turkish media not only in 1960s but also today.

## CHAPTER 4

### NEWSPAPERS: MILLIYET AND CUMHURIYET

As the previous chapter dealt with the historical background of labor migration to understand the basis of analysis within this thesis work, this chapter will provide an overview of the two newspapers, Milliyet and Cumhuriyet, with the same purpose. Thereby, this chapter aims to deliver general information about the two newspapers within a historical integrity again in to make sense of analyses in the subsequent chapters. Also, one of other purposes through this chapter is to deliver the social and political stance and importance of the two newspapers and their significance for the analysis, although there are almost no studies on the newspapers. In this way, when analyzing the approach to labor migration from Turkey to Germany in both newspapers and discourse in published articles, having at least a general knowledge about the newspapers' position will be useful in making sense of the findings. Nevertheless, this chapter will mostly compile some information from a few articles due to limited number of relevant sources.

Given some general information about the emergence of the newspapers, Cumhuriyet is the earliest mainstream Turkish daily newspaper, which currently position itself in the center-left. It has been established by Yunus Nadi, Nebizade Hamdi and Zekeriya Sertel with the support of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, in 1924. In this sense, the newspaper experienced foundation of the new republic, has had the “*mission*” of making establishing and adopting the new regime, and has espoused a political position in this line (Emre-Kaya, 2010, p.85). More specifically, as the republican regime was criticized by some circles and the reforms brought by the republican regime did not spread to the society at the desired pace, the need to establish a newspaper arose to advocate for the new regime and create a public opinion (Emre-Kaya, 2010). Thereby, Cumhuriyet started to be published on 7 May 1924; and identified its social and political stance:

Our newspaper is neither a government nor a party newspaper. With the more explicit and inclusive expression of Cumhuriyet, Cumhuriyet is only the defense of democracy. It will struggle with any force that violates, destroys, and tries to destroy the ideas and principles of the republic and democracy. Our newspaper will work with all its existence to establish a true democracy and a genuine republic in every sense in the country. The rule of the people in the country, by the people, for the people is our notion, and we are only captives of this vision, not of any other force (Emre-Kaya, 2010, pp. 76-77).

It is the fact that Cumhuriyet has remained loyal to its mission of defending the principles of the republic since its establishment in 1924. On the other hand, it has intertwined with political conjuncture,

influenced it but showed some inconsistencies in the editorial policy by period. Also, Cumhuriyet that played a role in spreading the republican revolutions, such as the transition to the Latin alphabet and the surname law, received financial aid from the government until the 1940s as its unofficial media organ of the government of period. (Emre-Kaya, 2010). Nevertheless, the newspaper and the ruling party, the Republican People's Party (RPP), was on strained terms during World War II, as the newspaper adopted a right-wing tendency and supported Germany and Italy (Kızıldağ, 2016).

With the transition to the multi-party system in 1945 through the establishment of the National Development Party (NDP), Turkish politics has transited to a new era. In conjunction, the newspaper, which has always engaged with Turkish politics, experienced a shift in its administration and stance. More specifically, due to the demise of Yunus Nadi in 1945, who was the sole shareholder of the newspaper after Nebizade Hamdi's and Zekeriya Sertel's withdrawing from the partnership in the 1930s, Nadir Nadi took over his father Yunus Nadi's share. Instead of supporting the secular RPP exclusively like before, Nadir Nadi chose to remain close to both ruling and opposition parties.

Nevertheless, Nadir Nadi sympathized with the conservative Democrat Party (DP) in due course, which has been established in 1946, and his sympathy was "*even evaluated as a support for DP*" (Emre-Kaya, 2010, pp.77-78). As the ruling RPP did not like this sympathy, both the newspaper and Nadir Nadi were subjected to several judicial cases between 1946 and 1950 (Emre-Kaya, 2010). However, with the DP's coming to power in 1950, Nadir Nadi even got a seat in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey as an independent deputy of the DP list between 1950 and 1954. Indeed, the newspaper did not experience a fundamental shift depending on Nadir Nadi's stance. Although some columnists resigned from the newspaper because of Nadir Nadi's stance, some others, such as Cevat Fehmi Başkut, nominated under the RPP list and continued writing. On the other hand, Nadir Nadi started to criticize the DP after 1954 with the argument that the discourse on rights and freedoms after the party came to power does not match those of its opposition period (Emre-Kaya, 2010).

Also, in the beginning of 1950s, Milliyet began printing life, following the emergence of commercialism and mass journalism in Turkey in the 1940s. Unlike Cumhuriyet, the newspaper has been established in a multi-party atmosphere, which had been transited in Turkey in 1946. However, this information also applies to Milliyet in its current sense. Indeed, the establishment of the newspaper dates back even further and corresponds to the single-party period. More specifically, Mahmut Soydan, the deputy of Siirt from the RPP, established a newspaper under the name of Milliyet with the financial support of İsbank, founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in 1926 (Karaca, 1995, p.18). Not surprisingly, the initial Milliyet had parallelism with the RPP in its stance.

In 1935, Ali Naci Karacan was assigned to the head of the newspaper by the General Director of İsbank, and the name of the newspaper was changed to *Tan* (Erdem, 2016). However, the leftist newspaper *Tan* was plundered by some right-wing groups on 4 December 1945. Due to this incident, a new newspaper



with the same name but far from any leftism was initiated to print; however, the new Tan could not reach high sales figures (Erdem, 2016). Thus, with the name and logo of the initial Milliyet, Ali Naci Karacan has established again Milliyet in its current sense in 1950 (Karaca, 1995).

Although the initial Milliyet had positioned itself in center-left and had close ties with the RPP as understood from the involvement of the deputy of Siirt from RPP and of İsbank in the establishment and administration of the newspaper, current Milliyet established in 1950 had a more conservative stance and supported the DP. More specifically, the new, or late, Milliyet received financial support from the DP during its establishment, and it explicitly remarked that it would support the DP in the general election of 1950, which has ended the single-party era (Kolođlu, 1994). With the victory of the DP in the elections, Milliyet became, so-to-say, the voice of power in the press.

In 1954, Ali Naci Karacan assigned Abdi İpekçi to the editor in chief of Milliyet. With this new role, the newspaper has come into prominence even more and reached high sales figures. After the demise of Ali Naci Karacan in 1955, his son Ercüment Karacan took over the newspaper administration; however, the newspaper was mainly shaped and administrated by Abdi İpekçi (Erdem, 2016). In this sense, İpekçi is the first figure who “*has opened a road for newspaper’s gaining identity with a professional manager more than the owner during the industrialization in Turkey*” (Erdem, 2016).

Returning to Cumhuriyet again, on the other hand, the newspaper started to strive for bringing the RPP power again after 1957 (Emre-Kaya, 2010) as it considers the party its *raison d’être* (Genel, 2014). Also, the newspaper attempted to “*legitimize the military coup of 1960*” in its lines (Genel, 2014, p.336). On the other hand, the support for the coup and the new ruling of the country did not last for long. Cumhuriyet opposed the National Unity Committee after a short while and entered several protests, *e.g.*, by suspending newspaper printing. Since the 1960s, the leftist stance has gained weight in the newspaper. The column *The only salvation for Turkey: Socialism* written by Şadi Alkılıç in 1963 was evaluated as “*communist propaganda*”, and the newspaper faced with trials and resignments (Emre-Kaya, 2010, p.81). During the 1970s and 1980s, Cumhuriyet entirely identified with leftism. Nadir Nadi explained the position of the newspaper at that time with the following words:

In the period approaching 12 March, Cumhuriyet became a newspaper read by all leftists of Marxist origin with its underground and public organizations [...] Cumhuriyet became a newspaper where the leftists communicate with each other and convey messages to the public (Emre-Kaya, 2010, p.81)

Considering Milliyet, Abdi İpekçi, the editor in chief of the newspaper, was assassinated in 1979, while Turkey was experiencing intense political and economic instability. In this period, Milliyet was taken over by Aydın Dođan and it “*came under the control of capital ‘directly’*” (Erdem, 2016, p.307). More specifically, Ercüment Karacan had sold the newspaper the Dogan Group, owned by Aydın Dođan, in 1979. As the Dogan Group has become one of the largest corporations in Turkey, it has had a wide

range of business activities from real estate to energy. On the other hand, with the purchase of Milliyet, the group articulated in and rapidly penetrated the media market. By running jointly with international media corporations as well as individually, the group operated, then, eight national newspapers, 24 magazines, eight printing facilities, three national TV channels, several radio channels, a digital platform, a telecom division, a news agency, a music company, two publishing houses, film production, advertising, merchandising, and distribution companies (Bayazit, 2016, p.391).

From the side of Cumhuriyet, the newspaper got into a bund with the increase in paper prices in 1980. Hereafter, backing of capital owners and taking advertisements have gained importance in order to sustain printing activities. In the same year, the newspaper released a notice and declared that Cumhuriyet would “*advocate for the liberal economy*”; however, it also adopted Kemalist as well as a socialist discourse in columns (Emre-Kaya, 2010, p.82). Also, it published both “*luxury consumption*” ads as well as revolutionary leftist organizations’ ads (Emre-Kaya, 2010, p.82). Like in the military coup of 1960 and the military memorandum of 1971, the newspaper had initially supported the military coup of 1980 but withdrew its support then.

Returning to Milliyet again, as the ideological position of the Dogan Group is secularism (Bayazit, 2016, p.391), this stance could be readily observed in Milliyet, the first media trademark of the group. As the newspaper was sold to the group just before the military coup of 1980, the newspaper became one of the most prominent newspapers with praises for the coup. Similarly, during the military memorandum of 1997, Milliyet, and particularly Hürriyet, which was also purchased by the Dogan Group in 1994, positioned itself in line with the military. On the other hand, as the conservative Justice and Development Party (JDP) has come to power in 2002, the Dogan Group, which controlled approximately half of the Turkish media through high circulation rates of newspapers such as Milliyet, Hürriyet, Radikal, and Posta, and high ratings of TV channels such as Kanal D and CNN Türk, had several conflicts with the ruling party.

In addition to several trials, the group was fined a record amount, approximately 826 million Turkish Lira in 2009, and the group lessened its “*secularist tones and became more in line with the conservative and pro-Islamist view of the government*” in its media (Bayazit, 2016, p.391). In 2011, two newspapers of the group, namely, Milliyet and Vatan, was purchased by DK Gazetecilik ve Yayıncılık A.Ş., which is a joint initiative of Demiören and Karacan groups. With the sale of all the media outlets owned by the Dogan Group and DK Group to the Demiören Group in 2018, Milliyet is currently printed by the Demirören Group. As the Demirören Group has been articulated into the political hegemony entirely, Milliyet has positioned itself in center-right, and adopted a pro-government stance.

In 1990s and 2000s in consideration of Cumhuriyet, after the demise of Nadir Nadi in 1991, the newspaper has started to be published by a new company, namely Yenigün Haber Ajansı Basın Yayıncılık ve AŞ., in which newspaper employees also hold shares, and which administrated by Berrin

Nadi on behalf of Cumhuriyet Foundation. Although different voices have continued to distinguish in the newspaper, the newspaper did not abandon its leftist stance and supported the military memorandum of 1997. After 2002, when the JDP has come to power, Cumhuriyet has started to position itself in opposition even more. The anti-government campaign in the presidential elections, the Ergenekon trials, and the MIT trucks scandal have thoroughly opened up between the newspaper and the ruling party. Followingly, Cumhuriyet has subjected several judicial cases, and the newspapers' some journalists have been arrested.

This thesis work will analyze media coverage about labor migration from Turkey to Germany in Cumhuriyet and Milliyet in 1961, 1962, and 1963. To understand approaches of the newspapers, providing general knowledge about the newspapers is vital. Thereby, two newspapers were comparatively reviewed in terms of their social and political stance within their historical background in this chapter. However, since only some exceptional studies focus on the newspapers, this chapter could take a few articles as its basis. Given the two newspapers, as Cumhuriyet is the first mainstream Turkish daily newspaper, it has been established with the support of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1924. Although the newspaper experienced some shifts in its stance, *e.g.*, it supported the conservative DP from the early period of the transition to the multi-party system to the second half of the 1950s, it has never abandoned the fundamental principles of the new republic and the RPP. In this respect, it can be said that Cumhuriyet has kept its position from the very beginning, and it has been mostly positioning itself in left, despite some exceptional periods such as in conservatism between 1945-1957. In specific to the timeframe of this thesis work, Cumhuriyet distinguishes by left and had yearly circulation between 80.000 and 150.000 roughly.

Regarding Milliyet. although its establishment dates back to 1926, the newspaper in the current sense has been established in the multi-party atmosphere in 1950. In this sense, Milliyet also corresponds to the emergence of the commercial and mass media in Turkey. Similarly, although the newspaper initially adopted the fundamental principles of the new republic and RPP, as it had been established by Mahmut Soydan, the deputy of Siirt from the RPP, Milliyet established with its current sense in 1950 has had mostly in liberal tone and relatively close to center-right. Although it also adopted relatively leftist tone in some period, it started to lessen that tone and become closer to the government, particularly after 2009, when the owner Dogan Group was fined 826 million Turkish Lira. Nevertheless, given the stance of the newspaper in general, it has been showing liberal features in its journalistic understanding for most time in history. Thereby, against Cumhuriyet positioned in left, Milliyet distinguishes by liberalism for 1961, 1962, and 1963, in specific to the timeframe of this thesis work. Lastly, although there is no statistical data for yearly circulation between the given years, it is known that the newspaper reached 100.000 daily circulation in 1961, which may suggest that it did not have low circulation rates in general.

In addition to archiving factor mentioned at the beginning of the thesis, the reason for selecting these two newspapers is also their different stances and high circulation rates for the years 1961, 1962, and 1963. Since Cumhuriyet positioned itself in leftism, it has been selected to analyze in this thesis work in comparison with Milliyet, which positioned itself liberalism and center-right for the same years. Also, as these newspapers reached a relatively high number of readers, they may be considered for a general understanding of different views in society. Through these two widespread newspapers on different stances, this thesis work will analyze and reveal divergence and convergence in media coverage about labor migration from Turkey to Germany. Hereafter, details about analysis process, *i.e.*, research methods, will be dealt with in the subsequent chapter, as a basis for the following analysis chapters regarding Milliyet and Cumhuriyet, in turn.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESEARCH METHODS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Until this chapter, the literature which the thesis work is based on and will contribute, the issue of labor migration to Germany, and the newspapers analyzed within the scope of the thesis work were reviewed in detail with a holistic approach in a historical integrity. In this way, the basis of the thesis work, whose analysis parts will be presented in the next two chapters, has been strived to be given. On the other hand, before moving on to the analysis parts, it would be helpful to elaborate the theoretical framework of the thesis work and how the analysis process was carried out through which methods. Thereby, this chapter will provide details about research methods and theoretical framework.

As this thesis work investigates media coverage about labor migration from Turkey to Germany by analyzing Cumhuriyet and Milliyet during the first three years of the official migration, from 1961 to 1963, quantitative and qualitative research methods are combined for analysis. More specifically, in the first stage, in order to understand which topic was mentioned in which newspaper and how often, the content analysis method is employed as a quantitative approach. Then, in order to understand the convergence and divergence between newspapers' attitude towards the issue, discourse analysis method is employed as a qualitative approach. In this section, referring literature regarding each relevant method will provide an understanding for the reason of selecting these methods. Thereby, this chapter will reveal the basis of the selected research methods and theoretical framework of the thesis work as well as elaborating their application process within the study.

Considering the first method, content analysis, there are different approaches for describing the method in the existing literature. In this respect, some scholars argue that it is “*a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication*” (Berelson, 1952, p.18), while some scholars use it “*to mean the scientific analysis of communications messages*” (Cartwright, 1953, p.8) and some others use “*the terms ‘content analysis’ and ‘coding’ interchangeably*” (Barcus, 1959, p.8). On the other hand, Holsti points Paisley's consideration as below:

Content analysis is a phase of information-processing in which communication content is transformed, through objective and systematic application of categorization rules, into data that can be summarized and compared (Holsti, 1969, p.3).

Although there is no consensus on the definition of the content analysis as understood so far, the debate on the method is not limited to the definition. Indeed, the nature of the method is also discussed in

scholarly circles. Given the distinction of the two views regarding if the method is quantitative or qualitative, those who argue that the method is quantitative stress the requirements of *frequency* and being *numerical* (Holsti, 1969). This approach is adopted in this thesis work by analyzing text on account of frequency through considering the method as quantitative through asking that which topic was covered in which newspaper and how often. What is more, the content is also another subject of the debate. More specifically, while some scholars argue that the content analysis cannot exceed the limits of *manifest content*, some others insist on to include latent content which also corresponds to the approach in this thesis work (Holsti, 1969), as the latent text is also analyzed.

Despite all these differences of opinions, the method has some characteristics, on which scholars with different perspectives agree. Indeed, even scholars with quite different approach to the method, *e.g.*, Cartwright focusing on “*symbolic behavior*” and Berelson emphasizing “*manifest content*” (Holsti, 1969, p.3), the method’s objectivity, system and generality are accepted by all. In this sense, the general argument is that objectivity requires that every pace of research process is needed to be conducted on account of clearly developed rules and procedures, while systematic indicates the involvement and elimination of content or categories is run on the basis of applied rules (Holsti, 1969). Lastly, generality necessitates that the findings are needed to be theoretically pertinent (Holsti, 1969).

Considering the second method employed in this thesis work, Fairclough (2003) points out the inherent relationship between language and discourse analysis and assumes that one of the most fruitful ways of social research bases on discourse analysis, as the method deals with language, which is an indispensable pillar of social life (Fairclough, 2003). In this sense, discourse is regarded through its function of signaling “*the particular view of language in use*”, and text analysis is deemed as a key component of the method (Fairclough, 2003, p.3). On the other hand, he also underscores that the method is rooted by Foucault’s work, followers of this school focus little on linguistic elements (Fairclough, 2003). In line with Fairclough’s approach, language is considered as the main axis of the method in this thesis work.

Similarly, Bolin (2018) supposes that discourse analysis deals with linguistics, and it mostly engages with the analysis of written texts. However, this does not mean that the method is closed to other communicative texts. In fact, discourse analysis is employed by different fields, and it has several approaches, methods, and frameworks (Bolin, 2018). One of these fields is sociolinguistics, as sociolinguistics deems the idea that language is “*socially constructed*” and employed empirical data “*within the social context*” (Bolin, 2018, p.56). Bloor & Bloor (2007) remark that the method did not include a distinct critical approach until the twentieth century, and it shaped by three major objects: to clarify how people benefit from language to communicate, to build up ways of analysis in order to find out diversity of discourse with their key characteristics, to bring on theories on how communication occurs (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). They draw attention that some scholars, whose number has been rising constantly, approach the method with a broader perspective, and argues the discourse analysis is “*both*

*as a product of society and also as a dynamic and changing force that is constantly influencing and re-constructing social practices and values, either positively or negatively” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p.12).*

On the other hand, the critical form is much more difficult than the mainstream form in terms of determining its objectives (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p.12). In general, one can say that it engages with both macro, *e.g.*, international, and micro, *e.g.*, individual, topics (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). However, Van Dijk (1993), who is recognized as the father of the critical form, approach the critical discourse analysis (CDA) through a large-scale perspective. He assumes that there are links between discourse and social concepts such as power, dominance, and social inequality; and the form focuses on “*the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance*” (Van Dijk, 1993, p.249). In other words, CDA mainly deals with “*the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context*” (Van Dijk, 2001, p.352). As *dominance* and *reproduction* are particularly key concepts of the definition, Van Dijk emphasizes:

Dominance is defined here as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality. This reproduction process may involve such different ‘modes’ of discourse-power relations as the more or less direct or overt support, enactment, representation, legitimation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance, among others. More specifically, critical discourse analysts want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction (Van Dijk, 1993, pp.249-250).

In light of the key concepts of the discourse analysis, this thesis work endeavors to find out both manifest and latent messages in articles in the selected newspapers within the political context of the investigated time period. On the other hand, as the articles are approached through a mixed-method, discourse analysis is applied after the first step, *i.e.*, content analysis, due to the fact that the former one yields numerical values regarding the articles, which provides a systematic basis for the second step. Accordingly, online archives of the newspapers Milliyet (<http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/>) and Cumhuriyet (<https://egazete.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yayinlar>) were used for the two newspaper’s issues of 1961, 1962, and 1963. Within the scope of the content analysis, to find out relevant articles on labor migration, the following two keyword combinations were employed during the analysis: (1) “Germany” and “Turkish”, and (2) “Germany” and “worker”. Also, a multi-step analysis was employed to obtain the most relevant findings in this regard.

More specifically, after detecting articles containing the keyword combinations first, the articles were skimmed to determine if they are related to the research topic in their content. Then, related articles were deeply read to understand their relevance to the research topic in their context. In this way, irrelevant articles were excluded from further analysis, while the remaining, *i.e.*, relevant, articles were subjected to further analysis, *i.e.*, content and discourse analyses. For the second keyword combination, the same process was also applied. However, since some articles detected in the second search

duplicated with the articles detected in the first search, due to the same context and similar keyword combination, the duplicated articles were also excluded from the analysis and not counted. However, any new article that includes even a single sentence mentioning labor migration were included in the analysis.

Lastly, all the final articles were classified by genre, including news, columns, and ads, grouped under the three categories and nine subcategories, which were the most common themes within the context. However, the categories were not ordered according to the number of articles they contain. Instead, the transition between categories and subcategories was based on the topics' transitions within themselves. Herewith, the three categories are labor export, social life and integration in Germany, and criminality, in turn. The nine subcategories under the first category labor export are articles with general information, working and living conditions, official processes, expected development, appreciation and praise for Turkish immigrants, Turkish representation in Germany, duration of stay, private agencies, and benefits and losses of the labor export, respectively. On the other hand, the first category labor export does not include any article in itself; instead, it is an umbrella section of the nine subcategories in general. This whole process so far was applied for each newspaper.

For the discourse analysis, the articles, which had been deeply read to group under the given categories and subcategories, were investigated considering the social and political stance of each newspaper. To understand the newspapers' position against the dominance and which ideology is reproduced or resisted in the given newspaper, it was aimed to reveal what structures and strategies had been used in articles about labor migration, or what were the issues talked about in a manifest or latent way – which words were used or not used in the text. While doing so, inner dynamics of each newspaper were also taken into consideration, as in conjunction with political processes, changes can be observed in attitudes of the newspapers in Turkey historically. Particularly, as Milliyet positioned itself in liberalism and Cumhuriyet in leftism, the analysis processes were carried out considering their position.

As the unit of analysis of the thesis work is articles in general, including news, columns, and ads, published in the two national newspapers, those articles are analyzed in light of all mentioned above. On the other hand, although most articles are without any photo or image, photos and images were also analyzed in addition to text in articles. Thus, for Milliyet, 2360 articles were initially detected through the two keyword combinations, and 286 of the 2360 findings have been selected for the final analysis. For Cumhuriyet, 1066 articles were initially detected through the two keyword combinations, and 158 of the 1066 findings have been selected for the final analysis. In addition to relevant citations from the articles, the number of articles given through figures is 76 for Milliyet, 34 for Cumhuriyet, which means that 105 articles were given within discourse analysis. in total. A list of figures demonstrating the name of newspaper, figure number, headline and subhead of articles in given figure number, category or subcategory of articles, and articles' being with or without image is given in Table 1.



**Table 1. List of figures used in the text**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Figure Nr.</b>	<b>Headline and Subhead</b>	<b>Category / Subcategory</b>	<b>With/Without Image</b>
Milliyet	1	Turkish workers will be sent to Switzerland, too	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	2	200 Turkish workers will crush stones in Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	3	There are 18,376 Turkish Workers in Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	4	Workers will go to Germany nonstop	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	5	600 workers have gone to Germany last week	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	6	980 more workers went out	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	7	500 Turkish farmers go to Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	8	5986 Workers were sent to West Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	9	Two thousand Turkish agricultural workers will go to Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	10	Germans are hesitant to bring in workers from Turkey: Tailor instead of mason, barber instead of constructor goes in	Articles with General Information	With
Milliyet	11	Such an example	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	12	Turkish doctors are now going to West Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	13	Workers and technicians wanted from Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	14	Those who will go to Germany and are learning German	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	15	I am going to Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	16	17 tailors have gone to Germany to work yesterday	Working and Living Conditions	Without

**Table 1 (cont'd). List of figures used in the text**

Milliyet	17	Ten thousand workers every year	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	18	West Germany seeks for female worker	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	19	Guarantee agreement has been made for workers going to Germany	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	20	Equal rights for Greek workers in Germany	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	21	Greek workers in Germany have the same rights as German workers	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	22	Most Turkish workers in Germany are miserable	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	23	An injustice	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	24	The Federal Minister of Interior of Germany has visited in	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	25	Turkish worker with 23 children cannot find a job in Germany	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	26	Turkish – German recruitment agreement has been put into effect yesterday	Official Processes	Without
Milliyet	27	New bureau is established for employee referral to Germany	Official Processes	Without
Milliyet	28	A Criminal record office is established under the Attorney Generalship	Official Processes	Without
Milliyet	29	28 thousand workers have gone to Germany so far: Worker dispatch is bound to a new shape	Official Processes	Without
Milliyet	30	They went to the ordnance course	Expected Development	With
Milliyet	31 (a and b)	Gürsel and İnönü sent a message to workers in Germany	Expected Development	Without
Milliyet	32	Tourism staff will be trained in Germany	Expected Development	Without
Milliyet	33	Norway has requested 10 thousand sailors	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	Without
Milliyet	34	Norway has requested 10 thousand sailors	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	Without

**Table 1 (cont'd). List of figures used in the text**

Milliyet	35	Turkish workers in Germany are appreciated	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	Without
Milliyet	36	German Factories want Turkish workers	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	Without
Milliyet	37	A quarter of the workers of a factory in Germany are Turkish: Canteen's German cook completely removed pork from the menu because the Turks do not eat	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	Without
Milliyet	38	What our champions in Germany do, and how they live: Sille earns 791 marks a month	Turkish Representation in Germany	With
Milliyet	39	What our champions in Germany do, and how they live: Bozkurt, wrestling, working, and studying	Turkish Representation in Germany	With
Milliyet	40	The first party to Germany	Turkish Representation in Germany	With
Milliyet	41	They have gone to work	Turkish Representation in Germany	With
Milliyet	42	A Turkish from Istanbul has become famous because of the restaurant he opened in West Berlin	Turkish Representation in Germany	With
Milliyet	43	150 workers are sent to Germany	Duration of Stay	Without
Milliyet	44	Germany wants to 500 thousand workers	Duration of Stay	Without
Milliyet	45	2-3 thousand workers will 77 more Turkish Workers have gone to Germany be sent to Germany	Duration of Stay	Without
Milliyet	46	77 more Turkish Workers have gone to Germany	Duration of Stay	Without
Milliyet	47	The residence restriction of Turkish workers in Germany is lifted	Duration of Stay	With
Milliyet	48	Some workers who want to go to Germany are deceived	Private Agencies	Without
Milliyet	49	Turks who go to Germany to look for a job are in a difficult situation: Turks who do not have a work permit are not given employment	Private Agencies	Without
Milliyet	50	Six office owners who send workers to Europe, have been turned to the prosecution	Private Agencies	Without

**Table 1 (cont'd). List of figures used in the text**

Milliyet	51	Attention to those, who will go to Germany	Private Agencies	Without
Milliyet	52	The bureaus that send workers abroad will be struggled	Private Agencies	Without
Milliyet	53	Companies sending workers cannot be prevented	Private Agencies	Without
Milliyet	54	Difficulty for Turkish Tourists in Germany	Private Agencies	Without
Milliyet	55	32 thousand workers applied to go to Germany	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	Without
Milliyet	56	Complaints of Tailors Going to Germany	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	Without
Milliyet	57	261 workers were sent to Germany	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	Without
Milliyet	58	Turkish workers in Germany will be able to send money by mail	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	Without
Milliyet	59	Workers, who does not care for her or his family, will leave Germany	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	Without
Milliyet	60	Turkish girls were offered for German bars	Social Life and Integration in Germany	With
Milliyet	61	A Quran with a gold-embroidered cover was issued in Germany	Social Life and Integration in Germany	Without
Milliyet	62	Turks in Germany held an acquaintance meeting	Social Life and Integration in Germany	Without
Milliyet	63	West Germany Radio will stream in Turkish	Social Life and Integration in Germany	Without
Milliyet	64 (a and b)	The Frankfurt streets have been overcrowded by Turkish workers	Social Life and Integration in Germany	Without
Milliyet	65	Frankfurt has become a Turkish city	Social Life and Integration in Germany	Without
Milliyet	66	The best gift to your friends in foreign countries is an annual subscription of Milliyet	Social Life and Integration in Germany	With

**Table 1 (cont'd). List of figures used in the text**

Milliyet	67	A Turkish Newspaper is published in Germany	Social Life and Integration in Germany	Without
Milliyet	68	A Turkish stabbed a German because of the match	Criminality	Without
Milliyet	69	Two Turkish workers were caught smuggling opium in Germany	Criminality	Without
Milliyet	70	A Turk caught his wife committing adultery in Germany	Criminality	Without
Milliyet	71	A Turkish worker was killed in Germany	Criminality	Without
Milliyet	72	Turkish murder suspect wanted in Cologne	Criminality	With
Milliyet	73	A Greek-origin Turk killed his lover in Germany	Criminality	Without
Cumhuriyet	74	German labor office has entered into service	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	75	4,254 of our workers went to West Germany in 5 months	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	76	1321 workers have been sent to Germany in the last 10 days	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	77	Germany is paved with gold!	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	78	Zurna and Peshrev	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	79	2000 Turkish agricultural workers will soon go to West Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	80	500 farmers are sent to Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Milliyet	81	500 Turkish farmers go to Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	82	Except 35 old men, men from a village have applied to go to Germany	Articles with General Information	Without

**Table 1 (cont'd). List of figures used in the text**

Milliyet	83	103 People from a village have wanted to go to Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	84	The Sports Palace is losing its hardworking director	Articles with General Information	With
Cumhuriyet	85	Radio City - Export-Import Hikmet Taskent	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	86	Would you like to work in Germany?	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	87	I am going to Germany	Articles with General Information	Without
Cumhuriyet	88	Insurance for 40,000 Greek workers in West Germany	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Milliyet	89	Equal rights are provided for Greek workers in Germany	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Cumhuriyet	90	The director of the Employment Agency has gone to Germany yesterday	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Cumhuriyet	91	The situation of insured workers in Germany is based on a new basis	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Cumhuriyet	92	The number of our workers who had a work accident in Germany is nearly 50	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Cumhuriyet	93	Turkish Workers' Associations are established in Germany	Working and Living Conditions	Without
Cumhuriyet	94	Turkish-German Labor Recruitment	Official Processes	Without
Milliyet	95	The Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement has been put into effect yesterday	Official Processes	Without
Cumhuriyet	96	Ford Factory will bring 250 workers from Izmir	Official Processes	Without
Cumhuriyet	97	Radio and television agreement with Germany entered into force	Official Processes	Without
Cumhuriyet	98	Criticism of RPP	Expected Development	Without

**Table 1 (cont'd). List of Figures used in the text**

Cumhuriyet	99	Help of workers abroad	Expected Development	Without
Cumhuriyet	100	A Turk in Germany	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	With
Cumhuriyet	101	West German Minister of Internal Affairs has visited	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	Without
Cumhuriyet	102	They have gone	Turkish Representation in Germany	With
Cumhuriyet	103	Turkish students in Germany are developing the German basketball	Turkish Representation in Germany	Without
Cumhuriyet	104	Workers going to Germany are allowed a maximum of 3 years	Duration of Stay	With
Cumhuriyet	105	Workers going to Germany are allowed a maximum of 3 years	Private Agencies	Without
Cumhuriyet	106 (a and b)	A lawsuit was filed against 40 bureaus that send workers to Europe with the promise of finding job	Private Agencies	Without
Cumhuriyet	107	German labor bureau has started its operations	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	Without
Cumhuriyet	108	What does a Turkish worker want: 4	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	Without
Cumhuriyet	109	Turkish newspapers are expensive in Germany	Social Life and Integration in Germany	Without
Cumhuriyet	110	Misbah Uras: Detention warrant has been cut for Misbah Uras regarding fraud of 5 million	Criminality	With

Finally, regarding the theoretical framework of the thesis work, labor migration is analyzed within the historical process by taking into consideration of structural dynamics since migration is one of the major imperatives of accomplishing economic globalization. On the other hand, since combining different approaches yields more fruitful understanding of issues, this thesis work is based on a perspective claiming that segmented structure of the labor market is one of the most decisive motivations of labor migration due to devaluation of labor, but this motivation is also an outcome of economic globalization.

As a conclusion, this thesis work aims to reveal media coverage about labor migration from Turkey to Germany by analyzing two Turkish newspapers, namely, Cumhuriyet and Milliyet, during the first three years of the official migration, from 1961 to 1963. After reviewing relevant literature on labor migration and media studies regarding labor migration from Turkey to Germany, historical background of labor migration from Turkey to Germany, and the two newspapers within the historical integrity again, this chapter amplified the details about research method and analysis processes as well as theoretical framework to make more meaningful the analysis parts. Thereby, in this section, the employed mixed method, including content analysis and discourse analysis, was elaborated through relevant literature for both method and their application processes particularly. In addition, the theoretical perspective was given, as it was fed by different approaches and theories. Hereafter, the analysis chapters will present the application of the analysis in light of those mentioned in the previous chapters so far.



## CHAPTER 6

### MEDIA COVERAGE IN MILLIYET IN 1961, 1962, AND 1963

As the previous chapters have delivered the basis of the analysis so far, this chapter will demonstrate analysis findings drawn from the Milliyet's online archive (<http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/>) for the newspaper's issues of 1961, 1962, and 1963, considering the historical background of the migration as well as newspaper's overall position that were reviewed in the previous two chapters, respectively. To find relevant articles on labor migration and labor migrants, the following two keyword combinations were employed during the multi-step analysis here: (1) "Germany" and "Turkish", and (2) "Germany" and "worker". Herewith, the analysis was conducted in the way mentioned in the third chapter.

Accordingly, in the 1961 archive, 470 articles were detected through the first keyword combination "Germany" and "Turkish" in the first place. However, only 71 of the 470 articles were considered for further analysis, as they are related to the research topic in the context. In the second step, 17 of the 71 articles were also excluded due to irrelevancy in the content. Through the second keyword combination "Germany" and "worker", 286 articles were detected in the first step, and 45 of the 286 articles were related to the research topic in the context, and one of the 45 articles was excluded in the second step place due to irrelevancy in the content. Also, only 14 of the remaining 44 articles were different from the findings with the first keyword combination, which means the remaining 30 articles had already been included in the analysis after encountering during the first search. Thereby, 68 articles have been deeply analyzed in total finally, as of the 54 for the first combination and 14 for the second one. The analysis process of *Milliyet's* issues of 1961 is demonstrated step by step in Table 2 below. The share of the number of articles published in *Milliyet* in 1961 by genre, including news, columns, and ads, is also demonstrated on a monthly basis in Table 3 below.

**Table 2. The analysis process of Milliyet's issues of 1961 step by step**

	Archive Search Results	Relevancy in the Context	Relevancy in the Content	Non-Duplication	Content and Discourse Analysis
First keyword combination: "Germany" and "Turkish"	470	71	54	54	54

**Table 2 (cont'd). The analysis process of Milliyet's issues of 1961 step by step**

Second keyword combination "Germany" and "worker"	286	45	44	14	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>756</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>68</b>

**Table 3. The share of the articles published in Milliyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T.
<b>News</b>	2	8	1	6	1	10	7	1	2	1	5	9	<b>53</b>
<b>Column</b>	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	<b>7</b>
<b>Ad</b>	1	-	1		1	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	<b>8</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>68</b>

In the 1962 archive, 486 articles were detected through the first keyword combination "Germany" and "Turkish" in the first step. However, 90 of the 486 articles were related to the research topic in the context. In the second step, 21 of the 90 articles were excluded due to irrelevancy in the content. Through the second keyword combination "Germany" and "worker", 161 articles were detected first. However, only 55 of the 161 articles were related to the research topic, 3 of the 55 articles were excluded in the second step due to irrelevancy in the content. Also, 10 of the 52 articles were different from the findings from the first keyword combination. Thereby, 79 articles have been deeply analyzed in total finally, as of 69 for the first keyword combination and 10 for the second one. The analysis process of *Milliyet's* issues of 1962 is demonstrated step by step in Table 4, and the share of the number of articles published in *Milliyet* in 1962 by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a monthly basis in Table 5 below.

**Table 4. The analysis process of Milliyet's issues of 1962 step by step**

	Archive Search Results	Relevancy in the Context	Relevancy in the Content	Non-Duplication	Content and Discourse Analysis
<b>First keyword combination: "Germany" and "Turkish"</b>	486	90	69	69	69
<b>Second keyword combination "Germany" and "worker"</b>	161	55	52	10	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>647</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>79</b>

**Table 5. The share of the articles published in Milliyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	7	8	8	6	3	3	9	5	1	3	7	5	<b>65</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	2	3	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	3	<b>13</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>79</b>

In the 1963 archive, 701 articles were detected through the first keyword combination. 126 of the 701 articles were related to the research topic in the context, and 8 of the 126 articles were excluded due to irrelevancy in the content. Through the second keyword combination “Germany” and “worker”, 256 articles were detected first. However, while 96 of the 256 articles were relevant in the context, all the 96 articles were relevant in the content. On the other hand, only 21 of the 96 articles were different from the findings of the first keyword combination. Thereby, 139 articles have been deeply analyzed in total finally, as of 118 for the first combination and 21 for the second one. The analysis process of *Milliyet*’s issues of 1963 is demonstrated step by step in Table 6, and the share of the number of articles published in 1963 by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a monthly basis in Table 7 below.

**Table 6. The analysis process of Milliyet’s issues of 1963 step by step**

	Archive Search Results	Relevancy in the Context	Relevancy in the Content	Non-Duplication	Content and Discourse Analysis
<b>First keyword combination: “Germany” and “Turkish”</b>	701	126	118	118	118
<b>Second keyword combination “Germany” and Worker”</b>	256	96	96	21	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>957</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>139</b>

**Table 7. The share of the articles published in Milliyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	4	4	9	7	11	5	6	6	12	11	16	10	<b>101</b>
<b>Column</b>	2	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	3	2	1	-	<b>12</b>
<b>Ad</b>	3	1	-	1	3	-	-	3	8	3	2	2	<b>26</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>139</b>

Thus, 2360 articles were initially detected through the two keyword combinations for this chapter, including 756 for 1961, 647 for 1962, and 957 for 1963. After a multi-step analysis, 286 of the 2360 findings have been selected for a further analysis for the final study, as of 68 for 1961, 79 for 1962, and 139 for 1963. Given the newspaper's stance toward the labor export, it can be said that Milliyet did not remain indifferent to the issue but did not also deal with it comprehensively. More specifically, the vast majority of the relevant articles, especially those published in 1961, are news without details. These news were generally reported through an affirmative language for whole labor export process by the Turkish government. Exceptionally, news about private agencies are negative as they emphasize the illegality of the companies and claim those who go through these companies are victims. Such a negative language also emerges while reporting those who did not meet the Turkish government's expectation from emigrant workers in terms of Turkey's representation. In addition to news, there are also a few relevant columns and ads in the newspaper. While the ads were also affirmative, unlike in the news and ads, labor migration was, however, dealt with in a relatively critical way in the columns in patches. Remarkably, the contrast between the news and columns approaching benefits and losses of the labor export is striking. Lastly, the newspaper's stance was gradually shifted from affirmation to moderate criticism in 1962 and 1963. In those years, articles questioning the implementations are relatively visible compared to 1961.

In order to discuss the findings briefly mentioned above, a categorization is employed. Although most of the articles are intertwined with each other in their content, an examination through categories and subcategories would provide a clearer understanding of the coverage concerning labor migration and labor migrants. These categories are *Labor Export*, *Social Life and Integration in Germany*, and *Criminality*. Also, the first category *Labor Export* includes nine subcategories. The subcategories are *Articles with General Information*, *Working and Living Conditions*, *Official Processes*, *Expected Development*, *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants*, *Turkish Representation in Germany*, *Duration of Stay*, *Private Agencies*, and *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*, respectively. The share of the number of the articles published in *Milliyet* by category, and subcategory, is demonstrated on a triennial basis in Table 8 below.

**Table 8. The share of the articles published in Milliyet by category, and subcategory, on a triennial basis**

		1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>1. 1</b>	<b>Labor Export</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>209</b>
1.1.1.	Articles with General Information	23	26	41	90
1.1.2.	Working and Living Conditions	9	12	15	36
1.1.3.	Official Processes	4	2	8	14

**Table 8 (cont'd). The share of the articles published in Milliyet by category, and subcategory, on a triennial basis**

1.1.4.	Expected Development	3	1	4	8
1.1.5.	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	3	4	5	12
1.1.6.	Turkish Representation in Germany	4	10	7	21
1.1.7.	Duration of Stay	3	1	1	5
1.1.8.	Private Agencies	3	1	5	9
1.1.9.	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	4	3	7	14
<b>1.2.</b>	<b>Social Life and Integration in Germany</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>1.3.</b>	<b>Criminality</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>44</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>286</b>

### **6.1. Labor Export**

Since the official labor migration from Turkey to Germany started through bilateral negotiations between the two countries, and it was systematized with the Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement in 1961, the analysis' starting date has been chosen as that year. In *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963, most of the articles have been grouped under the category *Labor Export*. However, there is a relative but a slight decrease in the number of articles under the category in 1962 and 1963 compared to 1961. Such a decrease stems from the fact that Turkish immigrants in Germany for one to two years at that time started to be involved in social life and integration, and crime issues there.

That is to say, unlike the first year of the official migration in 1961, issues different than the labor export began to come into prominence in 1962 and 1963. As the social life and integration and criminality are the other two categories within this analysis, relevant articles have been analyzed under these two categories. In this way, the number of articles in the two categories increased in 1962 and 1963, which has reduced the percentage of the articles in the first category *Labor Export* in 1962 and 1963 compared to 1961. During the analysis of the articles about the labor export, it was seen that the topic was very often dealt with in a way that is intertwined with some other topics. Also, the link between the topics did not allow us to examine them entirely per se. Given additional links within the articles themselves, this section consists of nine topics but not chronologically, as they are subcategories of the category *Labor Export*, which already were mentioned several times so far.

Particularly, in 1961, 56 of the 68 articles have been identified under the category *Labor Export* through the multi-step analysis. Accordingly, two news, one column, and one ad were published in January, six news and two columns in February, one news and one ad in March, three news and one column in April, one news and one ad in May, nine news and two ads in June, six news in July, one news and one ad in August, two news and one ad in September, one news in October, three news and one column in November, and eight news and one ad in December. Table 9 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1961.

**Table 9. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Milliyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	2	6	1	3	1	9	6	1	2	1	3	8	<b>43</b>
<b>Column</b>	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	<b>5</b>
<b>Ad</b>	1	-	1		1	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	<b>8</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>56</b>

In 1962, 60 of the 79 articles have been identified under the category *Labor Export* after the multi-step analysis. Accordingly, six news were published in January, six news and one ad in February, seven news and three columns in March, five news in April, three news and one column in May, three news in June, six news and one column in July, two news and one column in August, two news in October, five news and one column in November, and four news and three columns in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for September 1962. Table 10 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1962.

**Table 10. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Milliyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	6	6	7	5	3	3	6	2	-	2	5	4	<b>49</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	-	3	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	3	<b>10</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>60</b>

In 1963, 93 of the 139 articles have been under the category *Labor Export* after the multi-step analysis. So, three news, one column and three ads were published in January, three news, one column and one ad in February, four news in March, three news, one column and one ad in April, nine news and two ads in May, five news and one column in June, three news in July, five news and three ads in August, six news, two columns and five ads in September, ten news, two columns and three ads in October, five news, one column and two ads in November, and six news and two ads in December (Table 11).

**Table 11. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Milliyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	3	3	4	3	9	5	3	5	6	10	5	6	<b>62</b>
<b>Column</b>	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	2	1	-	<b>9</b>
<b>Ad</b>	3	1	-	1	2	-	-	3	5	3	2	2	<b>22</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>93</b>

Given the share of the articles under the category *Labor Export* published in Milliyet, it is evident that the articles constitute the vast majority of all the published articles in the selected three years. However, there is a consistent but less than ten percent decrease in articles’ share in the total of the three categories in 1962 and 1963 compared to each years’ previous year. As the total number of the articles published in Milliyet in 1961 is 68, 56 articles constitutes 82,3 percent in all the articles published in 1961, *i.e.*, the 68 articles. The percentage of the 60 articles is 75,9 in all published 79 articles in Milliyet in 1962. The percentage of the 93 articles is 66,9 percent in all the published 139 articles in Milliyet in 1963. Thereby, the percentage of the articles under the category *Labor Export* consistently decreased in all the published articles, although the decrease is 6,4 percent, as from 82,3 percent of 1961 to 75,9 percent of 1962, and 9 percent as from 75,9 percent of 1962 to 66,9 percent of 1963.

Given the total 286 articles analyzed in Milliyet for 1961, 1962, and 1962, the percentage of the total 209 articles under the category *Labor Export* is 73, and the mean percentage is 75 percent, which means that the articles under the category constitute the vast majority of the articles published under three categories in total. The reason for the consistent decrease is most likely that in 1961, the first year of the labor migration from Turkey to Germany, labor export in a general sense, including the issues such as official processes, duration of stay, and private agencies, was almost the only issue on the agenda. However, integration and criminality began to find more coverage in daily life and the media in the following years. In the context of the articles’ genre, news stands at first place with the number of 154 in total, while ads at second with the number of 31, and columns at third and last with the number of 24. The share of the articles under the category *Labor Export* published in Milliyet by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the category *Labor Export* in all the published articles in the newspaper are given in Table 12 below.

**Table 12. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Milliyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the category “Labor Export” in all the published articles in the newspaper**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>News</b>	43	49	62	<b>154</b>

**Table 12 (cont'd). The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Milliyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the category “Labor Export” in all the published articles in the newspaper**

<b>Column</b>	5	10	9	<b>24</b>
<b>Ad</b>	8	1	22	<b>31</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>% in the three categories</b>	<b>82,3</b>	<b>75,9</b>	<b>66,9</b>	<b>73</b>

One of the other features of the articles published in Milliyet in the selected three years is that news were mainly employed to cover the issue, followed by ads and columns, respectively, although their share are not consistent triennially. Indeed, the dominancy of the news coverage is not unexpected. On the other hand, it is needed to note that the number of ads is more than the number of columns under this category in Milliyet because a sector for migrant workers was also formed at that time. In this sense, companies selling German-language books or products, such as white appliances and electronics, were giving advertisements to the newspaper, targeting to migrant workers and their relatives that will also be touched upon under the first subcategory followingly.

#### **1.1.1. Articles with General Information**

The vast majority of the articles in the first three years of the official migration in Milliyet are far from reporting the labor export in detail. Instead, the general approach is to briefly share some general information, as only application numbers, the number of emigrant workers, workers' occupation, and their destination city were mentioned in the articles. Since sectors targeting workers emerged in conjunction with the labor migration, relevant ads were also published in the newspapers. Although some of these ads have been counted under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* because of their content, most ads are counted under the category Labor Export, and mainly under the subcategory Articles with General Information.

Given the brief and undetailed reporting approach of Milliyet, in addition to the ads in question, this subcategory constitutes the most crowded one, with 90 articles. In Table 13 below, the share of the articles under the subcategory *Articles with General Information* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Articles with General Information* to the upper category *Labor Export* are given. Accordingly, there is a consistent increase in the number and percentage of the articles, as of 23 articles and 41 percent in 1961, 26 articles and 43,3 percent in 1962, and 41 articles and 44 percent in 1963, while the total number of articles under the upper category *Labor Export* is 209 for the 56 articles in 1961, 60 in 1962 and 93 in 1963. The total number of articles under the subcategory is 90, and the percentage of the total number of the articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 43, while the mean percentage is 42,7.



**Table 13. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Articles with General Information” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Articles with General Information” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Articles with General Information</b>	23	26	41	<b>90</b>
<b>% in the Category Labor Export</b>	41	43,3	44	<b>43</b>

In *Milliyet*'s issues of 1961, it is possible to encounter many examples of the articles with some general and brief information. For instance, in one of the news, it was reported that Turkish workers would be sent to Switzerland after Germany. However, the news was contented with the information about the formal initiatives for the new labor export, and the supply and demand numbers for the labor export to Germany, as of 26 thousand applications for 10 thousand vacancies until that time (Figure 1). Similarly, in another news published about the workers who would go to Germany to crush stones, it was stated that the applications made up to that time reached 40 thousand (Figure 2). Although the number of applications is not frequently given in the news, such occasional news giving numbers demonstrate an intense demand to go to Germany.



**Figure 1. İsviçre'ye de Türk işçisi Gönderilecek**  
**Milliyet, 13 June 1961.**

**\*Turkish workers will be sent to Switzerland, too**

*Efforts have been made to send Turkish workers to Switzerland after Germany.*

*Our Swiss ambassador sent a draft and a report stating the qualifications of the requested works to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The report has been submitted to the Prime Ministry.*

*In return for 10 thousand workers to be sent to Germany, the number of those who applied to the Employment Agency has reached 26 thousand so far.*



**Figure 2. Almanya'da 200 Türk İşçisi Taş Kıracak**

**Milliyet, 31 July 1961.**

**\*200 Turkish workers will crush stones in Germany**

*The first group of workers will be sent to Germany tomorrow. 200 railway workers, who will go with this group, will work in stone crushing in Germany.*

*The number of workers who applied to the Employment Agency to go to Germany has reached 40 thousand.*

Apart from reporting the number of citizens desiring to work in Germany, the two articles have a notable common feature. More specifically, it seems in the first news that the supply is more than two and a half times the demand of Germany (“İsviçre’ye de Türk işçisi gönderilecek”, 1961). In the second news, although a certain number was not given for the total demand, the fact that the number of workers to go for the railway work is 200, and the number of applicants “has reached 40 thousand” suggests that the demand is higher than the supply again (“Almanya’da 200 Türk İşçisi Taş Kıracak”, 1961). Nevertheless, none of the two news mentions dynamics and reasons for such a high supply exceeding Germany’s demand in a common approach. In other words, the two news did not refer to issues at all that were causing the workers to emigrate from Turkey so willingly. Instead, both news are limited to giving the number.

Similarly, brief and undetailed news were frequently published in 1962, too. In this sense, the 3-sentences news is one of these examples, as it did not go beyond reporting the numbers of workers in a different context than the application numbers (Figure 3). More specifically, only the total number of foreign workers in Germany and the number of Turkish and Greek workers were given in the news. However, there is no information about the rank of these workers among all foreign workers in terms of density. Or it was not clarified why only the number of Greek workers is shared in addition to Turkish workers, although there were also foreign workers from other nationalities such as Spain or Italy.



**Figure 3. Almanya'da 18,376 Türk İşçisi Var**  
**Milliyet, 6 November 1962.**

**\* There are 18,376 Turkish Workers in Germany**

*In West Germany, 704820 foreign workers are working. Among them, the number of Turkish workers is 18376. On the other hand, the number of Greek workers is 80371.*

In 1962, very interesting news were also published about the workers' going to Germany. According to one of these news, the Turkish Employment Agency arranged two wagons on the Turkish train line directly going from Istanbul to Munich on the summer schedule ("İşçiler Almanya'ya Aktarmasız Gidecek", 1962). However, the wagons were reserved as "one Turkish and one German wagon". Besides, according to the continuation of the text, Federal German Railways would reserve one wagon for Turkish workers for the same direction on the winter schedule (Figure 4).



**Figure 4. İşçiler Almanya'ya Aktarmasız Gidecek**  
**Milliyet, 17 July 1962.**

**\* Workers will go to Germany nonstop**

*A Turkish and a German wagon have been allocated to the workers to be sent to Federal Germany by the Turkish Employment Agency, to be able to take them directly from Istanbul to Munich by the State Railways administration.*

*These wagons will be operated according to the summer schedule until the end of September. In the winter schedule, between October 1962 and May 1963, a direct transfer of workers will be carried out by a wagon of the Federal German Railways to Munich.*

As understood from the news, Turkish workers were aimed to be isolated from Germans even from the very beginning, *i.e.*, during their travel to Germany. By arriving in Germany with the wagons allocated only for them, they would not contact Germans even on the train. Such a lack of contact would probably continue in Germany, Turks would be even closer into themselves, and they would meet the Germans at a minimum level even in the public sphere. In this way, migrant Turkish workers would not integrate into German society, and not think of settling down in Germany. In this way, from the Turkish government's perspective, the workers would return to and benefit their country through foreign exchange, investment, and professional and personal development as expected initially. From the German government's perspective, Turkish workers would not stay in Germany and not disrupt the cultural and religious integrity of German society. Consequently, Turkish workers would fulfill their short-term assignment in Germany and develop both sending and host countries, as the workers are isolated from German society from the very first moment. Nevertheless, in the news, there is no reference of any of these reasons for the allocation of separate wagons to Turkish workers. Instead, the issue was conveyed in only two sentences with a neutral language. In this sense, the news is far from any criticism, as it is limited to a superficial description.

Covering brief and superficial news, the reporting style in the newspaper did not subsequently change in 1963 compared to 1961 and 1962. Expectedly, similar news with the previous two years, was revealed in the newspaper. For instance, like the above-mentioned news about the wagons reserved for Turkish workers and German passengers separately, the news published in 1963 also pointed out the issue of workers' transportation to Germany in the same vein. According to the news, 600 workers had been dispatched to Germany in the last week, and 9000 workers more were aimed to be sent. On the other hand, since the Turkish State Railways' current implementation was not sufficient, as twelve compartments are shared for Turkish emigrant workers, such a collective dispatch was not applicable. Thereby, the allocation of a special train for the workers was allegedly conferred (Figure 5).



**Figure 5. Almanya'ya Geçen Hafta 600 İşçi Gitti**  
**Milliyet, 18 September 1963.**

**\* 600 workers have gone to Germany last week**

*In the last week, 600 Turkish workers have been sent to West Germany to work.*

*96 Turkish workers have also left for West Germany by train yesterday. Another 9000 workers will be dispatched in the next months. Emphasis is placed on the allocation of a special train for sending*

workers collectively. Once this opportunity is provided, it will be possible to send the workers in large groups. The State Railways allocate 12 compartments per train for workers going to work in western Germany.

The difference between this news published in 1963 (Figure 5) and its similar one published in 1962 (Figure 4) is that the reason for the necessity of a special wagon allocation was attributed to the collective dispatch in the news in 1963, while the reason for the separation of the Turkish and German wagons was not mentioned in the news in 1962. Also, with the sentence “*emphasis is placed on the allocation of a special train for sending workers collectively.*” in the news in Figure 5, the above-mentioned Turkish-German contactlessness and isolation were aimed to justify in the news through pointing out the notion “collectiveness”.

With its following sentence “once this opportunity is provided, it will be possible to send the workers in large groups”, the justification message was also ensured in other words in the news. Besides, as the special train allocation was regarded as an “opportunity”, the allocation in question would take a positive imagination in readers’ mind due to the attribution of a positive word “opportunity” to the implementation “special train allocation”, and their interchangeably usage within the text. As there was no criticism in the news toward the current implementation of the twelve special wagons for emigrant workers and the implementation draft for the special train allocation based on its negative effect on integration and social cohesion, a potential criticism of the readers was also precluded by a discursive strategy in this way.

For another example of the brief news in 1963 under the subcategory, the two-sentence news is also notable in its reference to the workers’ transportation but in a special train again. As the news revealed the number of emigrant workers to Germany, it was also mentioned that the workers had dispatched through a special train (Figure 6). Although the news is quite short, it also shared the number of female emigrant workers in the second and last sentence that is not the usual approach, as the number of female workers was not mentioned even in longer articles in the newspaper generally. On the other hand, there was no information on why the workers were sent by the special train or the dynamics and reasons for the significant minority of the female workers, as of 60 women in a total of 980 workers.



**Figure 6. 980 İşçi Daha Gitti**  
**Milliyet, 4 November 1963.**

**\* 980 more workers went out**

*Yesterday, 980 Turkish workers went on a special train to work in West Germany. 60 of the workers are women.*



In the selected three years, the number and professions of migrant workers were also frequently mentioned in the newspaper. Accordingly, migrant workers were usually in groups of up to hundreds of people to work in the farms, mines and railways, construction, or carpentry. The news published in 1961 about 500 “literate” farmers to be sent to the Bavaria region is one of these examples (Figure 7).



**Figure 7. 500 Türk çiftçisi Almanya'ya gidiyor. Milliyet, 12 June 1961.**

**\*500 Turkish farmers go to Germany**

*According to the Agreement between Turkey Agricultural Development and Production Cooperative and the Bavarian Farmers Association from Germany, 500 literate farmers from Turkey will be sent to Germany.*

*The farmers' travel fee will be paid by the Association. The farmers will specialize, learn German language, and work in agricultural training farms in Germany based on their wishes.*

*In these agricultural training sessions, the farmers will be paid Mark equivalent to 300-800 Turkish Lira.*

Accordingly, the news shared information about the workers' travel expenses, and opportunities and salaries that would be available to them there. Indeed, it is often possible to come across such news in *Milliyet* that briefly gives information about the number of migrant workers, their job, their destination, and the conditions to be provided to them. However, the general approach in the newspaper is that a particular group of workers, e.g., farmers, is focused on in an article, instead of mentioning workers of different professions together in the same articles. Exceptionally, comprehensive news was published in the newspaper in 1962. In the news, the total number of workers who went to Germany until two days before the reporting of the news, the occupation groups the workers belong to, and the regions they would arrive in were given separately (Figure 8). Although the news does not address the issue at length too, it partly diverges from *Milliyet's* other articles on the same subject in those years, through the detailed numerical information it shared. However, this news is not entirely different from other similar news in the newspaper, as the news is limited to some general information and does not attach any comment about the numbers.



**Figure 8. Batı Almanyaya 5986 İşçi Gönderildi**  
**Milliyet, 22 June 1962.**

**\* 5986 Workers were sent to West Germany**

*A total of 5986 Turkish workers were sent to West Germany until 20 June. 2146 of these workers were auxiliary, 702 mine, 445 construction, 335 leveling, 324 metal, and 104 textile workers.*

*Of the 5,986 workers, 65 percent work in the Ruhr basin, 15 percent in Hamburg, 5 percent in Munich, and 15 percent in factories in various regions of West Germany. 60 percent of the workers sent to Germany are professional, 40 percent are unemployed.*

In 1963, similar news with those in 1961 and 1962 were also visible in the newspaper. For example, according to the one-sentence news published in that year, 2000 Turkish agricultural workers would be sent to Germany soon (Figure 9). As the news is far from reporting any other information, the information delivered was abridged by all means. Also, because of the quality of the information, the news is classified as descriptive as most of the other articles published in *Milliyet* in the selected three years. On the other hand, it is remarkable that the news was reported from Nuremberg in Germany, and the news was given with the verb “come” instead of “go” which means that the newspaper administration attached importance to the labor migration, as a reporter was assigned to follow-up the relevant agenda in Germany.



**Figure 9. Almanya'ya iki bin Türk tarım işçisi gidecek**  
**Milliyet, 28 March 1963.**

**\* Two thousand Turkish agricultural workers will go to Germany**

*According to the Nuremberg Employment Office, 2000 Turkish agricultural workers will come to Germany soon.*

Nevertheless, an unusual article in every sense was published in the newspaper in 1963. In this exceptional news released in 1963, the newspaper gave a wide coverage and approached the workers'

profession through negative words. Although the relevant articles encountered since the beginning of the analysis were limited to reveal the profession of the emigrant workers within the context through a neutral or even an optimistic approach, the news in question covers that German employees have anxiety about importing Turkish workers since Turkish workers' professions and their initially promised professions do not match with each other (Figure 10).



**Figure 10. Almanlar, Türkiye'den işçi getirmekte çekingen: Duvarcı yerine terzi, inşaatçı yerine berber gidiyor**  
**Milliyet, 06 March 1963.**

*\* Germans are hesitant to bring in workers from Turkey: Tailor instead of mason, barber instead of constructor goes in*

In this respect, the news constitutes an entirely different example compared to other articles under the same subcategory and reporting the same issue. Indeed, this news mainly dealt with some other issues, such as the disorganized and slow emigration process to Germany and the number of foreign workers of different nationalities in Germany. However, the reluctance of the German employees was chosen as the subject of the headline, in which the issue was pointed out explicitly through huge and bold letters: “Germans are hesitant to bring in workers from Turkey: Tailor instead of mason, barber instead of constructor goes in”.

Besides, the message of the headline was strengthened with an image of a man making a stop sign with his hand that suggests a halt for the workers' coming through his gesture. Supporting the message of the image, one of the remarkable expressions in the news is also:

Authorities are on the opinion that the need for foreign workers is not as high as it was in the previous years, and this year many companies have started looking for only qualified workers, and the need for foreign workers will decrease significantly since 1964 (“Türkiye'den işçi getirmekte çekingen: Duvarcı yerine terzi, inşaatçı yerine berber gidiyor”, 1963).

In this way, it may be predicted by referencing the *authorities* that the labor export would not last in the same velocity at least for those who are not *qualified* enough. The newspaper also revealed in patches that the labor migration from Turkey was not limited to those who work in mining, construction, or farm. Even some doctors, sportsperson, and those in more artisanal professions, such as tailoring or art teachers, also emigrated from Turkey. This fact demonstrates that the migration of more educated



people to the West, which has started to accelerate in the 1990s and reached serious numbers in Turkey currently, was visible on the agenda at that time. Herewith, it can be technically said that the labor migration of that period was even beyond the betterment migration, which is defined as a migration to improve living conditions. Instead, the brain drain was also one of the migration dimensions during the early 1960s.

In this respect, Abadan-Unat has already revealed through her research, which was conducted in 1963 and is considered the first empirical study dealing with the problems of Turkish workers, that a significant portion of the Turkish workers who emigrated to Germany had quit their “*socially respectable*” careers such as teaching and accounting (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p . 134). Besides, it was consistently pointed out in *Milliyet*’s articles that Turkish workers did not go to Germany just for working. Instead, sometimes either a single or an additional motivation, they would develop themselves professionally through vocational training and examination. This point of view also indicates a complex based on the belief in the lack of facilities in self-development in Turkey regardless of the profession.

In line with all these facts, it was frequently mentioned in the articles that workers going to Germany could specialize there. The Turkish government’s expectation from migrant workers was already in this direction, so that they could transfer their development to Turkey when they return. However, people who had already improved and proven themselves, already quitted their socially respectable careers and emigrated to Germany, as mentioned above. In parallel, articles reflecting those people’s emigration or their intention to emigrate were revealed in *Milliyet*. In this sense, the news sharing the statement of a player of Turkey’s one of the most prominent soccer teams is remarkable. Accordingly, the soccer player Şükrü from *Fenerbahçe FC* said, “I want to play in Germany” just after his outstanding performance in a match in Germany (“Nürnberg Maçının Yıldızı Şükrü Almanya’da Günün Adamı Oldu”, 1961). The player’s wish is noteworthy because it shows that not only those who need or want to improve themselves but also those who believe they are in a good position in self-improvement want to emigrate to Germany.

Like the news about the Turkish soccer player in question, news series about some Turkish wrestlers, who had migrated from Turkey to Germany, were published in the newspaper in 1962. In the news series, the wrestlers’ lives in Germany were the common subject, and it was frequently emphasized what kind of success they achieved in Germany and how much Germans like them. Strikingly, all the wrestlers interviewed complained that they had not got enough value in Turkey, that they could not earn enough money there. Nevertheless, they all stated they are proud of being Turk and hope to return to Turkey if their expected conditions would be provided to them in their country. In this sense, the interview with the national wrestler, namely *Muzahir Sille*, exemplify the overall situation:

Sille, who continues to wrestle and coach with a completely new discipline and under perfect conditions in Witten Ruhr, West Germany, spends his days abroad very active. [...] Sille says <I am comfortable and satisfied

with my job. I get offers from all the German clubs.> and answer the question <Do you want to participate in the World Championship with the Turkish national team?> as: <Of course, the national duty cannot be escaped. I will wrestle until I have stiff wrists. However, I have some conditions to return home to prepare for the world championship. This work cannot take less than three months. I have to come with my family. I want my debts (installments) to be paid to the stores where I shop in installments and my 3-month house rent. When they supply these, I am ready to depart. No, if the federation will not accept them, I will do my training here. Then, they send me my flight ticket, and I come. [...]> Sille desire to stay in Germany for four or five years more. [...] (“Almanya’daki Şampiyonlarımız Ne Yapıyor Nasıl Yaşıyorlar: Sille, ayda 791 mark kazanıyor”, 1962).

Given the conditions he demands, it is evident that the wrestler’s pragmatist approach outweighs the wrestler’s national feelings, although it is mentioned in the news that “*Turkish wrestler*” Sille carries “*the same excitement with the previous days when he had competed together with the Turkish national team*”. On the other hand, the wrestler, who is “*comfortable*” in Germany because of experiencing utterly new discipline and having perfect conditions which were not provided to him in Turkey, is presented in the newspaper as he is still a Turkish patriot enough to wrestle for his country until he has “*stiff wrists*”. In the continuation of the news, a perception is created that the wrestler’s demands from his country are plausible and independent of his national feelings because German people have embraced him as they do not even accept money from him during his shopping. With the subhead “*Sille earns 791 marks per month*”, the opportunities provided to the Turkish wrestler in Germany, unlike in Turkey, are already highlighted in the very beginning. For another case, a column published in 1962 again is also remarkable. The subject of the migration is not a worker or a sports person this time. Instead, the column deals with a civil servant’s migration in the Turkish State Railways (Figure 11).



**Figure 11. Misalin Böylesi**  
**Milliyet, 24 May 1962.**

**\* Such an example**

*Most of the civil servants in the State Railways organization could not be promoted due to a lack of staff. Upon complaints, the General Director, Seyfi Çöpür, summoned his deputies. Informing about the*

opening, he said, "I will give an example. Our friend named Vedat Güzelülke have been promoted. I congratulate him".

Vedat Güzelülke, whom the General Director congratulated on his promotion, had resigned from the State Railways four months ago and gone to Germany.

Accordingly, while the agency's most of the officers could not be promoted due to the lack of tenure, an officer whose promotion was decided by the General Directorate had already resigned and chosen to emigrate to Germany. The emigrated civil servant was promoted as soon as the tenure was possible, and he reported as an example to other employees who complain about the lack of tenure, demonstrating that the civil servant was likely to be a prominent employee with his job among other employees. Eventually, he was promoted in such a competitive environment due to limited tenure. On the other hand, he preferred to quit his public job and go to Germany to look for probable better conditions.

Turkish doctors were also choosing to work in Germany, although the labor agreement did not cover their migration. In parallel, the news about the Turkish emigrant doctors emerged in *Milliyet* even in 1961. Moreover, the migration of Turkish doctors abroad was not a new issue either. Instead, Germany became a following choice of the doctors after their colleagues emigrated to some other Western countries, such as the United States. In this sense, the news published in *Milliyet* in 1961 constitutes a clear example. Accordingly, Turkish doctors resigned from hospitals one by one to work in Germany, where they receive better salaries than those in their country. On the other hand, because Turkish doctors are qualified and well-educated, they can easily find job in Germany (Figure 12). However, although the news about Turkish doctors' emigration is mostly descriptive by covering details such as the number of doctors, who left the country, and their wages in Turkey and Germany, a commentary was exceptionally added in the last paragraph that reason of the demand for Turkish doctors abroad.



**Figure 12. Türk Doktorları Şimdi de Batı Almanya'ya Gidiyor Milliyet, 18 December 1961.**

**\*Turkish doctors are now going to West Germany**

After the United States, West Germany has begun to attract doctors from Turkey. Until now, more than one hundred doctors have found jobs in various hospitals and gone to West Germany.

*Two doctors from the Diyarbakir Workers' Insurance Hospital and three doctors from another hospital have resigned to work in Germany last week. West Germany will supply 2000 doctor it needs from abroad. The salary of 1500 Mark previously given to the Turkish doctors per month, has been increased to 2000 Mark. On the other hand, the salaries of doctors in Turkey have been frozen at 1200 Turkish Lira.*

*In West Germany, Turkish doctors are preferred, and they find a job because of their skills.*

The coverage about the Turkish doctors' emigration was not limited to the *Milliyet*'s issues in 1961. In 1963, e.g., Turkish doctors' emigration was comprehensively discussed in a column with the headline "Why do Turkish doctors prefer Europe?", of which some of the most striking lines given below:

Rather than touching this alarming issue for the future, the opposition party is making heated speeches about the minister who does not deem it necessary to open more İmam-Hatip schools due to his interests. The emigration of the Turkish doctors, which cost millions of liras, to Europe and America does not worry them (opponents) at all. They should not forget that those who exacerbate Turkey's health problem will be darned soon ("Düşünenlerin Düşünceleri: Türk doktorları niçin Avrupa'yı tercih ediyor?", 1963).

Here, comparing the education systems in Turkey and Germany with each other, as the first step into the professional life and working conditions, and adding the average number of Turkish emigrant workers, the columnist forecasted a pessimistic scenario for the Turkish health system. Also, the columnist directed a political criticism that was quite sharp through both the words chosen and reference to the political power and opposition. Given the newspaper's general stance as descriptive and noncritical in the articles, such a criticism seems crucial. The columnist, namely Dr. Vural Dagtekin, referred to the conflict between the power and opposition about the İmam-Hatip schools<sup>2</sup>, which have been controversial Islamic vocational institutions since the beginning of the new republic, as the schools have been being criticized in terms of secularity. Using the words "exacerbate" and "darn", the columnist severely concluded his column with a prediction about a future anathema for the politicians, who were not intervening in the loss of the qualified emigration of the Turkish doctors.

As one of the other dimensions of the labor migration from Turkey, related commercial activities also emerged to target immigrant workers in Germany or emigrant-to-be workers in Turkey. In this sense, companies were established in both Turkey and Germany. These companies in Turkey targeting the migrant workers in Turkey were mostly selling German-language books, maps, and information documents, while Those in Germany were selling electrical appliances, such as radio, television, and white goods at import and export prices in Turkey. In this way, for example, workers who would go to Germany would have a relatively slight language barrier there, thanks to the German-language books they had bought in Turkey, and meet their electronic needs at a low price, thanks to the export companies established in Germany by the Turks.

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<sup>2</sup> İmam-Hatip schools are vocational secondary education institutions that aim to provide an official organization of preachers and imams in Turkey.

To reach more customers, these products' ads were being released by those companies in the newspaper. However, those ads were not limited to publicize their service of selling products. Even the ads of German establishments seeking Turkish workers were published in the newspapers from time to time. One of the most notable ads among them is the one published in *Milliyet* in 1961. Accordingly, the German company "Dortmunder Brückenbau C.H. Jucho" would hire many workers, some of whom would be "qualified masters and workers". However, the most striking detail in the ad is, perhaps, the application address shared: The Turkish Employment Agency's office in Tophane, Istanbul (Figure 13). Herewith, it is understood that even the official intermediary instead of the companies preferred to employ newspaper coverage to reach more candidate for the labor migration. Besides, the institution contradicted itself by calling the "qualified masters and workers", although Turkish authorities mainly pointed out that qualified Turkish workers are not sent to Germany that will be elaborately mentioned under the subcategory of the *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*.



**Figure 13. Almanya'dan İşçi ve Teknisyen aranıyor**  
**Milliyet, 1 December 1961.**

**\* Workers and technicians wanted from Germany**

*Dortmunder Brückenbau C.H. Jucho in Dortmund, Germany, needs many technicians, painters, constructors, and qualified artisans and workers to be employed in its factory.*

*Applications to the Employment Agency in Istanbul, Tophane.*

Also, for example of the companies established to meet migrant workers' needs, the ad in Figure 14 is noteworthy, too, as the ad on German-language book with vocabulary and pictures explicitly targeted the emigrant-to-be workers with the call "Those who will go to Germany and are learning German". Moreover, readers, who encounter news in the same newspaper conveying that those who have no German language skills face difficulties in Germany, were aimed to convince the necessity of such language books. In this sense, the news with the headline with capital letters "Attention...Attention...Attention...Do not go without knowing" is highly crucial ("Dikkat...Dikkat...Dikkat...: Bilmeden Gitmeyiniz", 1962), which suggest that these ads are underpinned with further reportings in the newspaper.



**Figure 14. Almanya'ya gidecekler, Almanca öğrenenlere Milliyet, 12 February 1962.**

**\* Those who will go to Germany and are learning German**

*Easy German New Edition - German-Turkish Pronunciation Dictionary - Illustrated Practical German - German Method*  
*Search in Bookstores. Sent with Payment.*  
*Öğretim Publishing*

In 1963, similar ads were also visible and even given by several book publishers. For example, in the ads published every week and almost year-round, a book was advertised, as the book containing information about the so-called goals through the labor export, such as “*formulas for purchasing foreign currency and going as a worker*” and “*customs-free goods list on the way back*” (Figure 15). Through a marketing strategy, the ad was intended to address readers directly, and establish an identification, with the headline “*I am going to Germany*”.



**Figure 15. M. H. Egeli Almanya'ya Gidiyorum Milliyet, 23 February 1963.**

**\* I am going to Germany**

*A guide for those who will travel to Germany - Formulas for purchasing foreign currency and going as a worker - Schools to be attended as students and application methods - 1390 German phrases for those who do not speak any German: Pronunciation and Translation - Customs-free goods list on the way back - 4-colors Germany road map - Explanation about cities, and hotels etc. fees and addresses*  
*Price: 10 Liras*  
*İnkılap ve Aka Bookstores*

During the search results' analysis, it was revealed that most articles published in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963 associate with the subcategory *Articles with General Information* because of their content. Accordingly, it constitutes the most crowded subcategory with 90 articles in total and a 43 percent average of the selected three years, as it is also under the most crowded category *Labor Export*. Particularly, 23 articles were published in 1961, 26 in 1962, and 41 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 41 percent in 1961, 43,3 in 1962, and 44 in 1963. In this respect, a consistent increase both in the number and percentage of the articles is evident. The main issues dealt with in the articles are application numbers to emigrate to Germany as a worker, the number of emigrant workers, workers' occupations, and their destination city. In addition, the ads targeting emigrated and emigrate-to-be workers and released in the newspaper in parallel with the labor migration were also counted under this subcategory.

Given the newspaper’s general stance, which is visible in the articles, the articles were mostly descriptive, brief, and undetailed, particularly those released in 1961. It is almost impossible to reach more than superficial information about the issues covered, as even one or two-sentence news were released. Expectedly, the language in the articles was mostly neutral or even optimistic. On the other hand, in the articles published in 1962 and 1963, a relative critical stance emerged from time to time. In this sense, a gradual but slight shift in the newspaper’s approach to the labor migration may be discussed. Under the subcategory *Articles with General Information*, it has been strived to give examples for all the relevant issues covered in *Milliyet* from each of the three years, *i.e.*, 1961, 1962, and 1963, to include as many different approaches, such as neutral or critical, as possible.

### 6.1.2. Working and Living Conditions

The topic working and living conditions was also frequently covered in the newspaper both between the lines and directly. In fact, the articles with general information deliver information about wages paid to workers in Germany in patches. On the other hand, the articles mainly focusing on the conditions, including wages, were also published in the newspaper. Some of the subjects mostly dealt with in this sense are working hours, accommodation, insurance, and bilateral agreements. With 36 articles in total, the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions* is the second most crowded one with 17,2 percent within its upper category *Labor Export*. In Table 14 below, the share of the articles under the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions* to the upper category *Labor Export* is given. Accordingly, there is a consistent increase in the number of the articles, as of 9 articles in 1961, 12 in 1962, and 15 in 1963. On the other hand, the percentage of the articles under the subcategory to the upper category is inconsistent, as of 16 percent in 1961, 20 percent in 1962 and 16,1 percent in 1963, as the total number of articles under the upper category labor export is 209 for the 56 articles in 1961, 60 in 1962 and 93 in 1963. The total number of articles under the subcategory is 36. The percentage of the total number of articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 17,2, while the mean percentage is 17,3.

**Table 14. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Working and Living Conditions” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Working and Living Conditions” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Working and Living Conditions</b>	9	12	15	<b>36</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	16	20	16,1	<b>17,2</b>



Given the common features of the articles under the subcategory, they deliver relatively specific information about the working and living conditions in general. On the other hand, while the newspaper is more inclined to represent the conditions with a more neutral or optimistic perspective in its issues of 1961, it mostly released critical articles in 1963. Comparing 1961 and 1962, although the neutral or optimistic articles like those published in 1961 were visible in 1962, too, it also started to frequently stress the adverse facts in 1962. In this sense, the articles released in the selected three years became less descriptive but more realistic every year than each previous year. For example, in the news released in *Milliyet* in 1961 about Turkish tailors who went to Germany to work, details such as the number of tailors, destination city, weekly working hours, wages, and salary increase were shared (Figure 16).



**Figure 16. 17 Terzi Çalışmak İçin Dün Almanya'ya Gitti**  
*Milliyet*, 25 October 1961.

**\* 17 tailors have gone to Germany to work yesterday**

17 Turkish tailors have gone to Germany to work yesterday. 25 of the 30 tailors that West Germany requested from the Turkish Employment Agency have been selected from Istanbul. 17 of them have departed by train to Germany at 18 o'clock yesterday, as their visa procedures were completed.

Turkish tailors who will work in Minden, Germany, will work 45 hours a week. They will be given 2 marks 15 pfennigs per hour and 17.5 percent rest for 3 weeks. After 3 weeks, this amount will be increased to 2.5 marks. Other tailors will be able to send them to Germany gradually after their visa procedures are completed.

In the other news released in 1961 again, in addition to the information that the German Employment Agency would cover workers' travel and other expenses, the statement of an official from the German agency was referred that Turkish workers would have equal wages and conditions for German workers in Germany (Figure 17).



**HER YIL 10 BİN İŞÇİ**  
 Onbin işçiye Sevk Büroları'nı kurduktan sonra Türkiye'den göçecek işçileri Alman işverenleri adına angaje edecektir. Her yıl Almanya'ya gönderilecek 10 bin Türk işçisini İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu tesbit edecek ve «Alman Sevk Büroları»na bildirecektir. Alman İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, göndereceği işçilerin yol ücretleri ve diğer masraflarını ödeyecektir.  
 Mr. Wolfgang, «Almanya'da her sahada kalifiye işçiye ihtiyaç olduğunu ve Türkiye'den çok işçi alacaklarını» belirtmiş ve «İşçiler, Alman işçilerine tanınan ücret ve haklardan istifade edeceklerdir. Türk işçileri Almanyanın sanayi merkezlerine gönderilecektir. Sevk Büroları, ilgililerle temas ettikten sonra Türk İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumundan, ihtiyaç nisbetinde işçi isteyecektir.» demiştir.

**Figure 17. Her Yıl 10 Bin İşçi**  
**Milliyet, 18 July 1961.**

**\* Ten thousand workers every year**

After establishing referral offices, the leading committee will engage workers will go from Turkey, on behalf of German employers. "Employment Agency" will detect 10 thousand Turkish workers to be sent to Germany every year, and inform the "German Referral Bureaus". German Employment Agency will pay the travel and other expenses of the workers to send.

Mr. Wolfgang stated that in every field in Germany will be a need for skilled workers and they will take many workers from Turkey, continue by saying "Workers will benefit from the wages and benefits available to German workers. Turkish workers will be sent to industrial centers of Germany. After contacting those respected, the referral offices will ask for workers from the Turkish Employment Agency in case of need.

In 1962, similar news was released again, but different from the previous ones, in which a direct all for women workers was shared. In the news, details such as cities the workers selected from, destination city and the workplace, wages, accommodation facilities, and household goods were shared (Figure 18). The common feature of these above-mentioned three news is that they are all descriptive by conveying general information about the conditions neutrally or optimistically instead of directing any criticism of or adding a commentary on *de facto* conditions.

**BATI ALMANYA**  
**KADIN İŞÇİ**  
**İSTİYOR**

Münih'te kurulu bir telefon fabrikası mekanik işlerde yetiştirmek üzere 59 Türk kadın işçisini temin için İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumuna müracaat etmiştir.

Telefon fabrikası yardımcı işçi olarak istihdam edeceği Türk kadın işçilere saatte 1,78 mark ücret vereceğini, içinde televizyon, halıyer ve buzdolabı bulunan pansiyonlar temin edeceğini bildirmiştir. Ayrıca bu işçilere yılda 200 mark prim ile ücretsiz öğle ve akşam yemekleri temin edilecektir.

Kadın işçilerden 25 i İstanbul ve 25 i taraafiki İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu büveleri tarafından müracaat sahipleri arasından seçilecektir. Batı Almanya, Türk İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumuna müracaat ederek 1100 Türk işçisi, tesviyececi, elektrikçi, frezeçi talebinde bulunmuştur. Sanat Enstitüsü mezunları ile taleplerin bir kısmı karşılanmıştır. Sanat Enstitüsü mezunlarından askerliğini yapmamış olanlara Almanyada çalışma münasafesi verilmesi kararlaştırılmıştır.

**Figure 18. Batı Almanya Kadın İşçi İstiyor  
Milliyet, 10 February 1962.**

**\* West Germany seeks for female worker**

*A telephone factory established in Munich applied to the Turkish Employment Agency to recruit of 59 Turkish female workers to be trained in mechanical works.*

*The telephone factory reported that it will pay 1.78 marks per hour and provide hostels with televisions, radiators, and refrigerators to Turkish female workers, who will be employed as auxiliary workers. Also, these workers will be provided free lunch and dinner in addition to a contribution of 200 marks per year.*

*Female workers will be selected among the applicants by the Turkish Employment Agency branches in Istanbul and the provinces, as of 25 for both. West Germany has requested 1100 Turkish turner, finisher, electrician, and milling mechanic to apply to the Turkish Employment Agency. Some of the demands have been met with the Art Institute graduates. It has been decided to give a work permit in Germany to those among the graduates of the Art Institute but who have not completed their military service.*

Nevertheless, those so-called equal and optimistic conditions for immigrant workers need to be questioned. For example, *Milliyet* did not report about even a single work accident regarding Turkish workers in Germany during the selected three years. However, relevant research shows that 24 percent of Turkish workers in Germany had a work accident by 1963 (Abadan-Unat, 2017, pp. 138-139). More specifically, since workers were signing the employment contract and going to Germany in a very short time, the number of workers who could not find an opportunity to thoroughly check the job contract was notably high. Some of those who would work in the mines learned that they would be miners only when they came to the workplace, and this situation became very challenging for their mental health, especially for those coming from rural areas. However, recognition and assessing an exact number of those with a mental disorder is not easy because their illness is mostly in psychosomatic character in reports through symptoms such as stomach and lung diseases in Germany (Castles & Kosack, 1973, p. 336). Perhaps, this fact has led to the workers' ignored psychological problems in question became utterly invisible.

Although it was never covered such work accidents or mental diseases faced by Turkish immigrant workers in Germany, the articles in 1962 started to present *de facto* conditions relatively. Unlike the neutral or optimistic stance toward the conditions in 1961, adverse facts gradually started to be shared during the following two years. In this sense, shortcomings in bilateral agreements and discrimination against immigrant Turkish workers were given coverage in *Milliyet* in 1962 in patches and 1963 frequently. For example, the news released on 14 December 1961 reports that a guarantee agreement had been signed between Turkey and Germany regarding the conditions of Turkish workers in Germany. According to the agreement, the workers would never be subjected to “worse” conditions than German workers in their workplace. Instead, they would benefit from the same right and wages as native workers (Figure 19).

**Almanya'ya  
Gidecek işçilerle  
İlgili garanti  
Anlaşması yapıldı**

İşçiler hiçbir şekilde o iş  
yerinde çalışan Alman iş-  
çilerinden daha kötü şart-  
lara tâbi tutulamayacak

**Figure 19. Almanya'ya Gidecek işçilerle ilgili garanti Anlaşması yapıldı  
Milliyet, 14 December 1961.**

**\* *Guarantee agreement has been made for workers going to Germany***

*Workers will be subjected in no way to worse conditions than German workers at that workplace.*

Although there were many Turkish workers in Germany at that time, the address for potential migrant workers in the headline “*Guarantee agreement has been made for workers going to Germany*” suggests that well conditions in Germany have been ensured even before the workers leave from Turkey. Besides, by presenting the agreement, officially *the Turkish-West German Labor Recruitment Agreement*, as a “guarantee agreement”, assurance for those well conditions was underlined one more time. With a highlight on the word “*never*” in the subhead “*workers will never be subjected to worse conditions than German workers at that workplace*”, readers are aimed to convince of the rigidity and determination of the parties in meeting the conditions. However, it needs questioning why it is emphasized so that Turkish workers will not be subjected to “*worse conditions*” than German workers? Alternatively, why is it underscored the Turkish workers will not work under “*worse*” conditions, instead of expressing that the Turkish workers will work under conditions as well as German workers? Also, referring to the conditions in the subhead is thought-provoking because other issues such as official processes, eligibility, and duration of stay are focused on until the last paragraph of the news, while the conditions are touch upon at the end of the news.

Similarly, articles about the so-called guaranteed conditions for Turkish workers in Germany were also revealed in 1962. On the other hand, unlike the newspaper's stance in 1961, it started to be mentioned about adverse conditions faced by Turkish workers in Germany even in relatively optimistic articles in 1962. In other words, difficulties experienced by Turkish workers in Germany were mentioned in patches in the articles published in 1962, instead of presenting all conditions impeccable, as in the articles published in 1961. For example, in the news published on 24 March 1962, a headline was used as “*German Federation will protect Turkish workers' rights*” (“Alman Federasyonu, Türk işçilerinin Hakkını koruyacak”, 1962). In this way, it is implied again that the official channels would ensure fair conditions for Turkish workers. However, with the statement “*the difficulties faced by Turkish workers in many aspects*” within the text, the news differs from those published in 1961, in which it is almost impossible to encounter with any implication that Turkish workers face any difficulties (“Alman Federasyonu, Türk işçilerinin Hakkını koruyacak”, 1962).

In the given news published in 1962, two other statements also draw attention, although they are within the scope of the following subcategories, as of *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* and *Duration of Stay*. First, it is referred “*Turks proved that they deserve all kinds of help with their hard work*”. Second, it is continued that the German government is “*determined to make an effort possible to ensure that Turkish workers take a good reputation with them while leaving from Germany to return to their homeland*” (“Alman Federasyonu, Türk işçilerinin Hakkını koruyacak”, 1962). These two expressions have a clue of the mentality of Germany’s Foreigner Decree of 8 August 1938. Accordingly, foreigners were subjected to prove that they deserve German hospitality if they would like to apply for a residence permit. Yet, a new term was replaced with the emphasis on the “*interests of the Federal Republic of Germany*” in the Aliens Law of 1965 (Okyayuz, 2012, p. 233). However, the implication of the “*interests*” associates with the labor market as migrant workers were aimed to recruit as guest workers to fulfill their tasks in Germany and return to their homeland without any social integration in Germany.

In addition to some articles published in 1962 that are both neutral/optimistic and partially critical, the vast majority of the articles in 1962 engages with that Turkish workers work and live under harsh conditions, which do not comply with the conditions in the signed agreements, and which are sometimes due to lack of some agreements. For example, the news released in 1962 focused on the violation of the agreements signed, both through the headline and the interview and way of reporting. Accordingly, ten Turkish workers, who had been deported from Germany due to striking for better conditions, claimed that they “*went to work in a concentration camp, not in a workplace*” (“Almanya’dan dönen işçiler ‘Haksızlığa uğradık’ diyorlar”, 1962). Besides, according to the workers, most German employers did not abide by the contracts, and there was no authority to protect Turkish workers’ right there. In this sense, the interview of one of the workers to the newspaper is remarkable:

[...] Five months ago, we were sent to work in the Essen mines in Germany, with a daily fee of 18 marks 20 pfennigs, through the Turkish Employment Agency. According to the relevant article in the contract, our salary would be increased to 26 marks after five months, excluding social benefits. Although five months passed, there was no change. We reminded the employer of the situation and said that our wages were not paid on time and full. Nobody paid attention to this. According to the contract, we had to get almost 500 marks after the deductions; however, we could only receive 300 marks a month. Although many of our friends were sick and injured in the mines where we were alone with the danger of death every day, they did not benefit from insurance. We notified the situation to the German Employment Agency in Essen. They reported that we are right, but they cannot make any intervention (“Almanya’dan dönen işçiler ‘Haksızlığa uğradık’ diyorlar”, 1962).

As it is clear from the worker’s statements, labor contracts were being breached by employers in terms of both salaries and work safety. According to the same news, the lodgings, where the workers were staying in and seeking their rights, were also “*cordoned*” by the German employer and police officers in the early morning hours. Then, workers were thrown into custody and beaten. Besides, workers, who

were released on the condition of returning to their country, were also threatened with stigmatizing in their passport holders and preventing from entering Germany again (“Almanya’dan dönen işçiler ‘Haksızlığa uğradık’ diyorlar”, 1962).

Sharing such an oppressive and separatist practices in the host country is a revolutionary approach, considering the reporting in the relevant articles published in *Milliyet* in the previous years. On the other hand, such a practice of the German employer and officers demonstrates the general consideration about migrant workers in Germany. While migrant workers are expected to be less demanding and more obedient in terms of wages and conditions, a possible organization among them and pursuit of their rights would be contrary to the interests of the host country, *i.e.*, Germany, and the mentality of “*guest worker*” recruitment. Nevertheless, the news also delivers a striking detail about the stance of the workers against the given consideration. Accordingly, Turkish workers, who were exposed to such discrimination in Germany, preserved their sense of nationalism enough to sing the national anthem in unison on the police cordon (“Almanya’dan dönen işçiler ‘Haksızlığa uğradık’ diyorlar”, 1962).

The stance of the Turkish official side was not also very concerning to migrant workers. While the workers could not get a response from a relevant Turkish authority to remedy their difficulties, neither news nor a column was released in *Milliyet* in particularly 1961 on Turkish migrant workers who had a work accident or whose rights were violated in Germany until that time. In this respect, two similar reports published in *Milliyet* in 1961 and 1962 on the rights granted to Greek migrant workers in Germany are significant in terms of both absence and presence of the Turkish migrant workers’ situation in reporting. Although the subject of both news is the rights granted to the Greek workers in Germany, a comparison with the Turkish workers was made in the news published in 1962, as it was referred that the Turks are often in a difficult situation because they are deprived of those rights (Figures 21). On the other hand, there is no reference to Turkish workers in the quite similar news published in 1961 (Figure 20). The difference between the two news demonstrates the shifted approach in the newspaper, even in itself, from neutral and optimistic in 1961 to more realistic and critical in 1962.



**Figure 20. Almanya’da Yunan işçilerine eşit hak tanınıyor**  
**Milliyet, 2 June 1961.**

\* *Equal rights for Greek workers in Germany*

*A new agreement has been signed between West Germany and Greece regarding 40 thousand Greek workers working in Germany. Accordingly, Greek workers in Germany will have the same rights as German workers and will be included in unemployment insurance.*

## Almanyada çalışan Yunan işçileri Alman işçileri ile aynı haklara sahip oldu

MENH, M. E. AYDIN'dan

Alman Parlamentosu Yunan işçilerine Alman işçilerinin aynı haklarını tanıyan bir anlaşmayı tasdik etmiştir. Böylece Yunanlı işçiler sosyal kolaylıklardan ve hastalık tazminatından faydalanacakları gibi, Yunanistanda olsalar bile, işsizlik tazminatı veya emeklilik maaşı da alacaklardır.

Bu haklar henüz Türk işçilerine tanınmadığından, Almanyada çalışan Türkler birçok hallerde mağdur duruma düşmektedirler.

**Figure 21. Almanyada çalışan Yunan işçileri Alman işçileri ile aynı haklara sahip oldu Milliyet, 4 July 1962.**

### **\* Greek workers in Germany have the same rights as German workers**

*The German parliament ratified an agreement granting Greek workers the same rights as German workers. Thus, Greek workers will benefit from social facilities and sickness compensation, as well as unemployment compensation and pension even if they are in Greece.*

*Since these rights have not yet been recognized for Turkish workers, Turks working in Germany suffer in many cases.*

It is possible to increase the number of such examples from 1962 about the harsh conditions Turkish workers were exposed to in Germany. Some of these examples with their topics are: fifteen Turkish workers fired due to allegedly demonstrating and carrying a poster of the Khrushchev (“Almanya’da 15 Türk işçisi işten çıkarıldı”, 1962); German workers, who have an antipathy toward Turkish and Italian workers, had made the communist propaganda which was attributed to Turkish workers initially (“15 Türk işçisinin Nikita Kruşçev’in resmini taşıdıkları yalanlandı”, 1962); Turkish workers are mistreated in terms of social assistance, sickness compensation and wages compared to German, Greek, Italian and Spanish workers, and if they object, they are either ignored or deported (“Almanya’daki Türk işçileri sigortalarla ihtilaf halinde”, 1962); Turkish workers, who had gathered in front of the Turkish consulate and disputed with German police, returned to Turkey because they are unemployed and poor in Germany (“Almanya’da aç kalan işçiler döndü”, 1962); a Turkish worker in Germany complained that Italian workers can do their own profession thanks to their state’s claim to their rights, while Turkish workers are supposed to work, *e.g.*, as “*farmhand*”, other than their professions and they are like “*poor birds*” in Germany (“Olaylar & İnsanlar: Almanya’daki Bir Türk işçisinden Mektup var”, 1962); and the spokesperson of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs stated that guest workers from Turkey and Italy live in shanty-type dwellings, as this news is also the first news encountered with the use of “*guest workers*” within the analyzed articles in the selected three years (“Almanyadaki Türk işçileri gecekonduda oturuyor”, 1962).

All the news mentioned in the previous paragraph demonstrates the change in the newspaper’s reporting in 1962 compared to 1961. The common message is that Turkish workers suffer in Germany due to the Turkish government’s indifference to their rights. On the other hand, though not intensely, immigrant

workers started to look for their solution through union membership against unjust practices in Germany. In this sense, two relevant articles were also published in the newspaper in 1962. Accordingly, an organization, namely *the Turkish Workers Solidarity Organization*, would be established in Hamburg and Stuttgart to mediate in disputes that may arise between Turkish workers and German employers in Germany. Besides, the organization would serve to find jobs for unemployed workers, provide all kind of social assistance, and coordinate with trade unions in Turkey (“Almanya’da Çalışan Türk İşçilerinin Birçok Derdi Var!.”, 1962).

Similarly, the previously established *Cologne Region Turkish Workers Association* held an emergency meeting lasting for four hours with 400 delegates, as Turkish workers had not been granted equal rights (“Almanyadaki Türk İşçileri Eşit Haklar İstiyor”, 1962). Nevertheless, a striking contradiction in the two articles is that Turkish workers are presented through lack of their knowledge of the German language. In this sense, it is mentioned in the second article that the delegates criticized Turkish workers for listening to a radio streaming “*Turkish style*” (Turkish: *Alaturka*) every day. However, it is indicated in the first article that the organization planned for Turkish music and movie sessions, Turkish news bulletin sessions, and Turkish cuisine events for workers, although it also aimed to provide German language courses.

Thereby, even the administration that set out these plans to improve the conditions of Turkish workers had a condescending view toward the workers in terms of workers’ engagement with the German language. Instead of criticizing integration policies and the German and Turkish states’ approach to (not) teaching the German language to workers, the administration of the associations contented themselves with an accusation of workers with staying close in their own culture by, *e.g.*, listening to a Turkish style radio. Alternatively, even if they had proposals such as German language courses, Turkish-focused activities outweigh their proposed agenda.

In *Milliyet*’s issues of 1963, finding any neutral or optimistic article under the subcategory is almost impossible. As the newspaper took a more critical and realistic stance in this year, the articles mostly dealt with the difficulties faced by Turkish immigrant workers in their working and daily life in Germany. Yet, some brief and undetailed articles were also released in 1963. However, the content and discourse were almost entirely different than those in the articles in 1961. For example, the news released on 23 February 1963 was given through the headline: “*Most Turkish workers in Germany are miserable*” (Figure 22).





**Figure 22. Almanya'daki Türk işçilerinin çoğu perişan Milliyet, 21 February 1963.**

**\* Most Turkish workers in Germany are miserable**

*The chairperson, Muzaffer Kemal Aykut, of a solidarity association established by Turkish workers in Germany, stated that 60 percent of 20000 Turkish workers in Germany are wretched and miserable.*

Given both the headline and content of the news, it contradicts the articles published in 1961, in which so-called equal conditions provided to Turkish workers in Germany were pointed out. As the word “*miserable*” was employed to emphasize Turkish workers’ suffering in Germany per se, the word was redelivered with another word “*wretched*” within the text. As it is mentioned in the news that sixty percent of the Turkish workers are “*wretched and miserable*”, it is also understood the adverse conditions were being experienced by the majority of Turkish workers. Besides, the news source, *i.e.*, the chairperson of a solidarity association formed by Turkish workers in Germany, is noteworthy by indicating the closing of the Turkish workers within themselves rather than acting with solidarity with workers from Germany and other nations.

Nevertheless, an exact isolation was not also in question. For instance, Turkish workers participated in the German Metal Workers’ Union strike in 1963. In the relevant news reported in *Milliyet* in 1963, the subhead “*An injustice*” is also remarkable due to overtly indicating Turkish workers’ suffering (Figure 23). Accordingly, an employer had made reductions in the wages of thirteen Turkish workers on the grounds of the “*unsatisfactory work*”. Like the subhead pointing out the injustice is written as bold, the “*unsatisfactory work*” is also written as bold and inverted commas. Since only the subhead and the “*unsatisfactory work*” are written bold, readers were aimed to comprehend at first glance what the injustice faced by the workers is.



**Figure 23. Bir Haksızlık Milliyet, 27 April 1963.**

**\*An injustice**

*An application was made to the labor court for 13 Turkish workers working in the textile industry in Münchengladbach. The reason for the case is the reduction in the wages of these workers. The lawyer presented to the court the certificates of appreciation and bonus received by the same workers a month ago, in response to the employer who had alleged the reason for “unsatisfactory work”.*

Although there was a solidarity between workers from different nations in Germany, it was quite limited, as exemplified above. In other words, some occasions like the German Metal Workers’ Union strike that brought together the immigrant Turkish workers with the German and other immigrant workers were not enough to claim that workers of different nationalities were always organized in all



matters. Instead, the situation in Germany was proving the argument that while the vast majority of migrants belong to the lower strata of the working class, some migrants have a particular position in the petty bourgeoisie (Pröbsting, 2015, p. 331). In other words, the working class is segmented, as native workers are at the top of the hierarchy, while migrant workers are also segmented in the lower or lowest strata of the bottom. In this way, the ground for deeper exploitation is prepared by preventing workers from developing class consciousness.

In line with this argument, the otherization and even the xenophobia within the workers were also revealed in some articles. For example, according to the news in *Milliyet* in 1963 again, despite their sincere support, Turkish workers cannot receive any help from their German colleagues. Besides, even one of the German Metal Workers' Union authorities explicitly stated that they cannot help “foreign workers”, and suggested workers borrowing from the Aid Organization for the Poor or the factories they work in by an application. As the news was released with the headline “3000 Turkish workers in Germany have to get into a scrape”, and transferred the on-site observation of the reporter assigned in Germany, the adverse conditions of the Turkish immigrant workers were explicitly mentioned:

Our Munich correspondent, Mustafa E. Aydın, reports the following after examining the incident on the spot: Although Turkish workers sincerely support German workers, many of them are in financial difficulties because they do not get the help they expected. The workers have dire straits and do not know how to pay the weekly installments of the various items they have bought. One of the directors of the German Metal Workers' Union said that they could not help foreign workers, and that workers who were in trouble could apply to the Aid Organization for the Poor in Germany or to the factory where they work and ask for borrowed money (“Almanya’da üç bin Türk işçisi zor duruma düştü”, 1963). As an exact opposite in discourse but with a similar mentality with the union’s authority, the statements of the Minister of Interior of West Germany at that time are also striking. According to the relevant news, the Minister said, “Nazism has been eradicated in Germany” (Figure 24).



**Figure 24. Alman İçişleri Bakanı Geldi**  
**Milliyet, 4 April 1963.**

\* *The Federal Minister of Interior of Germany has visited in*

*The Federal Minister of the Interior of Germany, Hermann Hocheck, has come to our country yesterday to make an official visit.*

*The Minister stated, "we are satisfied with the Turkish students and workers in Germany, and Nazism has been eradicated in Germany.*

The Minister's indication is crucial because he referred to "the eradication of the Nazism" after presenting Germany's satisfaction with the Turkish immigrants, during his official visit to Turkey. In this respect, forming a compound sentence, consisting of the satisfaction firstly and the emphasis on the eradication of Nazism secondly suggests a conditional approach, in which the object of the first sentence, *i.e.*, the Turkish immigrants, are rewarded with the second situation, *i.e.*, a non-xenophobic atmosphere. On the other hand, the stress on the eradication of Nazism indicates more than those expressed in the sentence, as Althusser pointed out through the symptomatic reading that posing an unexpressed question is possible by expressing the concept given in an unexpressed form in the gap in the answer (Assiter, 1984, p. 289). In this respect, even needing such an indication of a non-xenophobic atmosphere demonstrates the existence of the xenophobia against the workers. Given the way of reporting of the newspaper, there was not any questioning about the statements within the text. Instead, the news is descriptive and brief, with two sentences under two paragraphs each.

Nevertheless, Turkish workers also abused some exceptional "fair" from time to time. Specifically, Turkish workers received the same amount of child benefit as German workers until the child benefit regulation dated January 1, 1975 (Okyayuz, 1999, p. 112). However, some workers appealed to have more children to receive extra money. According to the news, a Turkish worker with 23 children cannot find a job in Germany due to German employers' reluctance to pay child allowance (Figure 25). The reporter also sarcastically revealed the worker's situation by saying, "He had as many children as two soccer teams and a referee from his three wives". Besides, an Islamophobic comment of a German newspaper was added within the text without any criticism against intertwining being Turk and Muslim each other: "Our advice to the German Railways to avoid such difficulties: Too many night shifts for Muslim workers!". The giant headline of the news in *Milliyet* is given below.

**23 Çocuklu Türk işçisi  
Almanya'da iş bulamıyor!**

Demiryolları İşletmesi,  
bu Türke iş verdiği tak-  
dirde çocuk zammı olarak  
ayda 3 bin lira ödemesi  
gerekıyor ! . . .

**Figure 25. 23 Çocuklu Türk işçisi Almanya'da iş bulamıyor!  
Milliyet, 18 December 1963.**

**\* Turkish worker with 23 children cannot find a job in Germany**

*If the Turkish State Railways employ this Turkish worker, they have to pay 3 thousand Liras per month as child allowance.*

During the search results' analysis, it was found out that a subsequent number of articles released in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963 associate with the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions* because of their content. Accordingly, it constitutes the second most crowded subcategory with 36 articles in

total and a 17,2 percent average of the selected three years, as it is also under the most crowded category *Labor Export*. Particularly, 9 articles were published in 1961, 12 in 1962, and 15 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 16 percent in 1961, 20 in 1962, and 16,1 in 1963. Thereby, a consistent increase occurred in the number of articles every three years, although the share of the articles is inconsistent.

Given the newspaper's general stance, the working and living conditions were mentioned through neutral or optimistic language in the articles published in 1961. On this point, the official agreements were frequently referred to as a guarantee for providing equal rights to Turkish workers with their colleagues in Germany. Besides, issues facing by Turkish workers were never mentioned in this year. In the articles published in 1962, the change in the newspaper's stance is explicit, as the articles are more realistic and critical by indicating Turkish workers' suffering in Germany due to the absence or failure of necessary agreements. Nevertheless, some optimistic references also continued to be given in patches in 1962. The issues pointed out in 1962 were also dealt with in the articles in 1963, and encountering an optimistic text is almost impossible in this year. In this sense, one can say that a critical stance gradually soared from 1961 to 1963. On the other hand, even in 1963, when the most critical articles were released relatively, even a single work accident news was not published. Thus, the critical stance of the newspaper needs to be questioned as well. Under the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions*, it has been strived to exemplify all the issues covered in *Milliyet* from each of the three years, *i.e.*, 1961, 1962, and 1963, to demonstrate neutral, optimistic, and critical stances in the newspaper.

### **6.1.3. Official Processes**

The application and departure processes to Germany were also dealt with in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963. Indeed, these processes were frequently mentioned in the articles under different subcategories, such as *Articles with General Information* and *Working and Living Conditions*. On the other hand, it is also possible to come across articles directly focusing on the process through referencing official agreements. With 14 articles in total, the subcategory *Official Processes* constitutes the fourth most crowded subcategory, same with the other fourth most crowded subcategory Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export with the same number of articles.

In Table 15, the share of the articles under the subcategory *Official Processes* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Official Processes* in the upper category *Labor Export* is given. Accordingly, both the number and the percentage of the articles in the upper category are inconsistent. More specifically, the number of articles is 4, and the percentage is 7,1 in 1961, 2 and 3,3 in 1962 and 8 and 8,6 in 1963. The number of the articles under the subcategory is 14 in total, and the percentage of the total number of the articles under the subcategory in the total number of articles in the upper category is 6,7, while the mean percentage is 6,3. The reason for the decrease in the number

and percentage of the articles in 1962 may be that while 1961 was the first year of the official migration, some new implementations emerged in 1963 in conjunction with the course of the migration, as the first three years of the guest working expired.

**Table 15. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Official Processes” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Official Processes” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Official Processes</b>	4	2	8	<b>14</b>
<b>% in the Category Labor Export</b>	7,1	3,3	8,6	<b>6,7</b>

In one of the examples of the articles published in 1961 under the subcategory, the sending process was reported, as the Turkish Employment Agency would determine 10 thousand people to send to Germany by evaluating applicants. Accordingly, the Turkish agency would notify eligible applicants to the German Employment Agency’s referral offices in Turkey. These offices would make contracts with workers to be sent on behalf of employers in Germany, and inform the successful applicants about working and living conditions in Germany. Also, food and travel expenses of the workers from Istanbul to their destination city would be paid by German parts (“İşçilerle ilgili Anlaşma hazırlandı”,1961). Moreover, news reporting bilateral negotiations between the two states to guarantee these conditions were published in the newspaper. On the other hand, the Turkish-West German Labor Recruitment Agreement, which aimed to make the workers’ departure to Germany systematic and ordinate it in cooperation between the Turkish and German states, was reported through brief news in the newspaper on 2 November 1961 (Figure 26). The common feature of these two articles is their descriptive reporting again.



**Figure 26. Türk-Alman işçi anlaşması dün yürürlüğe girdi**  
**Milliyet, 2 November 1961.**

**\* Turkish – German recruitment agreement has been put into effect yesterday**

*Turkish-German recruitment agreement has been put into effect yesterday.*

*With the signature of the agreement to send workers to Germany, the new labor force needed by the German industry finds the opportunity to increase their knowledge, manner, and specialization by working in German factories equipped with the latest innovations of science.*

*Authorities state that our workers, who will go to Germany, will certainly be a very positive factor for our economic development, and that they will be used widely in various industries.*

In 1962, similar news was also apparent. Like in the other topics, the newspaper dealt with the issue relatively deeper than its approach in 1961. For example, in the news reported that a new office had been opened to work under the coordination of the Turkish Employment Agency and the referral office of the German Employment Agency for sending workers to Germany, the number of applicants until that day were given separately as for men, women, and the total (Figure 27).



**Figure 27. Almanya'ya işçi sevki için yeni büro kuruluyor**  
**Milliyet, 28 March 1962.**

**\* New bureau is established for employee referral to Germany**

*A special office affiliated with the Turkish Employment Agency's branch in Istanbul, responsible for dispatching Turkish workers to West Germany, will be operational in a new building within a week.*

*The second director of the Turkish Employment Agency, namely Can Üstündağ, has been appointed as the managing director of this new office, where the Turkish Employment Agency and the West German Labor and Unemployment Insurance Agency's referral office in Istanbul will work jointly.*

*So far, 5175 men and 102 women have been sent as workers to western Germany. On the other hand, the number of applications to the Turkish Employment Agency has reached 57 thousand. The General Director, namely İhsan Tanrıöver, notified that Turkish workers comply with the application order, the most appropriate qualifications for the employer's requests are selected and sent to Germany.*

Although *Cumhuriyet* shared the number of woman applicants in 1961, *Milliyet* preferred to report only the total number of applicants until 1962. In this respect, this news is the first example in *Milliyet*. In the context of the process, it was also pointed out that workers would be sent depending on application order but through selecting “*the most appropriate qualifications for the employer's requests*”. On the other hand, the fact that the number of male workers sent is more than 50 times the number of female workers sent was not attached importance within the text. Instead, the numbers were shared superficially. Besides, the answer to the question of how the selection of candidates with the most appropriate qualifications would be implemented was not given in the news.

In 1963, the number of articles under the subcategory doubled the number of those in 1961. Also, the percentage of the articles in the upper category increases, as of 1,5 percent more than 1961 and 5,3 percent more than 1962. On the other hand, the articles in 1963 are particularly remarkable because they mainly mentioned new implementations in the official processes. For example, according to the news published in that year, a criminal record office would be established within the Istanbul Office of the Attorney Generalship because the execution office carrying out the criminal records of workers who will go to Germany was poor in service (Figure 28). As the news is limited to descriptions, it only delivers within the text why the new office established is and what is the current implementation then.



**Figure 28. Savcılıkta Adli Sicil Bürosu Kuruluyor**  
**Milliyet, 23 September 1963.**

**\* A Criminal record office is established under the Attorney Generalship**

*In the Istanbul Office of the Attorney Generalship, a criminal record office is established in parallel with the criminal record office in Ankara. Preparations are being completed for the office that will operate entirely independently.*

*Until today, the criminal record was done under the Execution Office. Recently, it has not been possible for the Execution Office to meet the applications, especially made by the workers who will go to Germany for the registry. Since the enforcement prosecutors did not have the means to read and examine court orders and files, the establishment of a new office was proposed, and the ministry has accepted.*



As one of the turning points, the way was opened for immigrant workers' families, kin, and immediate surroundings to go to Germany as workers upon the workers' request in 1963. The process would be exerted as *nominal recruitment* by notifying the immigrant workers to the Turkish Employment Agency. Since the beginning of the labor migration, concrete legal regulations about family reunification were not formed in Germany. Immigrant workers' spouses and children under the age of 21 could only go to Germany under the condition of staying in a suitable accommodation. On the other hand, it was almost impossible for immigrant workers to rent housing, because workers were not given legal accommodation compensation as well as experiencing discrimination in society. Instead, they stayed in dormitories, *i.e.*, *heim*. In this sense, the new implementation on the recruitment of the workers' families suggests a pre-curb of the family reunification, by giving them jobs and having cheap labor more in number, instead of allocating a budget for education and health for family members who are likely to come. In the news, the family reunification was not pointed out, and the new implementation was not considered with its implications mentioned here. However, *Milliyet* gave a wide coverage to the issue with an article through the headline "*worker dispatch is bound to a new shape*". Besides, "*the new shape*" is clarified under the subhead "*workers whose kin and immediate surroundings are in Germany will be able to go on request. Ten thousand more workers are sent*" (Figure 29).



**Figure 29. Almanya'ya şimdiye kadar 28 bin işçi gitti: İşçi sevki yeni şekle bağlanıyor**  
**Milliyet, 22 October 1963.**

**\* 28 thousand workers have gone to Germany so far: Worker dispatch is bound to a new shape**

*Workers whose kin and immediate surroundings are in Germany will be able to go on request. 10 thousand more workers are sent.*

*Turkish workers in West Germany will be able to request their relatives and families, and those they are closely related to, nominally from the Turkish Employment Agency through the West Germany liaison office.*

*It will be possible to request for relatives of workers in West Germany bearing their surnames, and the German companies' re-invitation of those who had worked in Germany previously but returned to Turkey.*

Given the details of the news, a referral office in Ankara would be established in addition to the first and unique office in İstanbul. Besides, from the beginning of 1964, those who have the same surname with Turkish workers in Germany could be invited and sent to Germany upon request. The contradiction is that although the “*immediate surrounding*” was mentioned within the scope of the nominal recruitment in the subhead and the first paragraph of the news, the emphasis of the “*same surname*” mentioned in the continuation of the news indicates that the condition of the surname may not allow to immediate surroundings included in this process, as friends may be also immediate surroundings.

Although the above-mentioned news in Figure 29 also delivers that ten thousand more Turkish workers would be sent to Germany by providing some conveniences, such as the nominal recruitment depending on the surname, the labor migration would start to become complicated in process. More specifically, the migration process would consist of an interview and a two-day seminar process since the beginning of 1964. The new implementation was also widely covered in *Milliyet*, through a news with six paragraphs in total on two different pages. As the news was released with the headline “*Workers to be sent out will be selected*” and the subhead “*Workers going abroad will be interviewed and attend a two-day seminar*”, the news content is quite explicit even at first glance. In other words, the new and more selective practice distinguishes from the word “*selected*” in the headline and the explanation in the subhead already. Besides, the new practice was clearly expressed in the news with the emphasis “*new requirements*”: “*Sending workers to foreign countries has been subjected to new requirements*”. Although those requirements were not attributed to something overtly, the reason for the new requirements was implied in the last paragraph: “*It has been calculated that there will be a hundred percent increase in the number of workers sent to West Germany in 1964 compared to 1963. It is foreseen that the amount of demand will be more than 40 thousand*” (“*Dışa Gönderilecek İşçiler Seçilecek*”, 1963).

The official labor migration process was mentioned in articles in patches under the different categories in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963. On the other hand, articles mainly focusing on the issue were counted under a particular subcategory. The subcategory *Official Processes* is the fourth most crowded subcategory with 14 articles in total and a 6,7 percent average of the selected three years, as it is also under the most crowded category *Labor Export*. Particularly, 4 articles were published in 1961, 2 in 1962, and 8 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 7,1 percent in 1961, 3,3 in 1962, and 8,6 in 1963. In this respect, both the number and percentage of articles are inconsistent in the selected three years. Nevertheless, the inconsistency may stem from the fact that there was not a new relevant implementation in 1962, while 1961 was the first year of the official migration and some new implementations emerged in 1963 in conjunction with the course of the migration, as the first three years of the guest working expired. Given the newspaper’s general stance, the articles were mostly descriptive again. However, unlike articles under the previous subcategories, they were relatively detailed. Also, the language in the articles was mostly neutral in the three years. In this sense,



encountering an article deals with the lack or failure of the processes is almost impossible. Instead, the official implementations were covered through clear sentences. Under the subcategory Official Processes, it has been strived to give examples for all the issues covered in *Milliyet* from each of the three years, *i.e.*, 1961, 1962, and 1963, inclusively.

#### 6.1.4. Expected Development

Beyond just working, one of the primary purposes of sending workers to Germany was to pave the way for improving workers there in terms of technical expertise and manners to contribute to their country when they return. This expectation from workers was also reflected in the articles in *Milliyet* between the lines or directly from time to time. With 8 articles in total, the subcategory *Expected Development* constitutes the seventh most crowded one. In Table 16 below, the share of the articles under the subcategory *Expected Development* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Expected Development* in the upper category *Labor Export* is given. Accordingly, both the share and the percentage of articles in the upper category are inconsistent. More specifically, the number of articles is 3, and the percentage is 5,3 in 1961, 1 and 1,6 in 1962, and 4 and 4,3 in 1963. The total number of articles under the subcategory is 8, and the percentage of the total number of the articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 3,8, while the mean percentage is 3,7.

**Table 16. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Expected Development” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Expected Development” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Expected Development</b>	3	1	4	<b>8</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	5,3	1,6	4,3	<b>3,8</b>

In this respect, it is clear that the newspaper gave a narrow coverage to the issue of the expected development directly, although the issue was encountered in the articles under the other subcategories in part. Nevertheless, because the development of workers, and thereby Turkey, was one of the most prominent motivations of the labor export, the articles mainly about the expected development are counted and categorized particularly. Considering the historical background of the expected development concerning the labor migration, even in the 1950s, Turkish workers were already sent by some private individuals to Germany to improve their vocational knowledge. More specifically, in 1956, Dr. Bade from Kiel University proposed a project to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany, based on the internship invitation of a certain number of artists from Turkey to take part in future investments. With the Art School Alumni Association of Turkey's interest, the first twelve people went to Germany

in 1957 to receive vocational training (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p. 83). Thereby, the basis of the labor migration at least in the professional development context had been established from the very beginning.

Given the coverage in Milliyet concerning the development in question, it was already explicitly mentioned in the newspaper while reporting the official recruitment agreement in 1961. According to the relevant news, Turkish workers would find a chance to increase their knowledge, manner, and specialization by working in high-tech factories or job sites in Germany (“Türk-Alman işçi anlaşması dün yürürlüğe girdi”, 1961). Also, as stated in a column in the newspaper on 28 February 1961, if the migrant workers “*even learned not to speak while working, they would have made a great profit for the country*” (“Öğretmen mi, Öğrenci mi?”, 1961). In fact, in the 1960s, even the Turkish army officers were sent to Germany for an ordnance course that became the topic of news released in 1961 (Figure 30). Accordingly, “*12 officers of various ranks and various grades*” were sent to Germany to train. In this sense, it is understood that the training was not considered as a need for the junior level officers only. Instead, even the superior officers were aimed to train in the west with the western norms. Nevertheless, as the giant photo shared with the news delivers the Turkish officers with modern uniforms, it is implied that the Turkish officers already match with the western norms.



**Figure 30. Ordonat Kursuna Gittiler**  
**Milliyet, 26 March 1961.**

\* *They went to the ordnance course*

*Turkish army officers attend various courses opened in Germany.*

*Twelve officers of various ranks and various grades have left our city yesterday to attend the Army Equipment course to be opened in Frankfurt, West Germany, in the coming days. In the photograph, the officers board a plane to depart for Germany at Yesilkoy airport.*

Although workers' development was attached great importance by the Turkish state, the relevant articles were released very briefly. In 1962, it is not easy to find even an article devoted entirely to the topic. Nevertheless, the news series about Turkish wrestlers settled in Germany can be referred due to their content's engagement with the wrestlers' personal and professional development in Germany.

Particularly, one of these news has been considered under this subcategory because the Turkish wrestler, namely Burhan Bozkurt, was working, studying, and wrestling in Germany at the same time. Ideally, he can also speak German and English, *i.e.*, two western languages. However, the news points out that he was desiring to return to his country as soon as he would be prepared. As the worker's development and desire were shared in the news, he was, thereby, set as an example for others, in terms of the expected development. The relevant parts of the news is given below:

While the young wrestler continues to work under excellent conditions, he has begun to prepare the future of his mother, father, and siblings. [...] Since he knows English, he has learned German quickly and enrolled in a school. After graduating in May, he will start to work in the editorial office of the institution he works for. [...] Bozkurt, who considers our national team lucky in the world cup, ended his words as follows: We must work hard. I, personally, wish to participate in the selection in both styles. I will come prepared to my homeland ("Almanya'daki Şampiyonlarımız Ne Yapıyor Nasıl Yaşıyorlar: Bozkurt, güreşiyor çalışıyor ve okuyor", 1962).

In 1963, both the number and the percentage of articles were increased compared to the previous two years. Also, the articles in 1963 show a variety in their content within the subcategory. More specifically, the officials' statements about their expectations were also covered, while there was some news similar to the one about the ordnance course in Figure 30. For example, according to the news reported on 1 August 1963, Cemal Gürsel, the Turkish President of the period, addressed to immigrant workers through a newspaper published for Turks in Germany, and stated: "*the country expects a lot from them to quickly close the gap between us (Turkey) and Europe*" (Figure 31 b). Also, İsmet İnönü, the Prime Minister of the period, implied in his message in the same newspaper that Turkish workers would not be let alone by the Turkish government in Germany, although he did not stress the expectation straightforwardly like the President Gürsel. In this way, the workers, who are embraced by their homeland abroad, would enhance their solidarity even more, not lose their "Turkish identity", and aspire to contribute to their country in their return. *Milliyet* shared three paragraphs on two different pages for the relevant news, and covered the news with a clear headline: "*Gürsel and İnönü sent a message to workers in Germany*" (Figures 31a and 31b).



**Figure 31a. Gürsel ve İnönü Almanyadaki işçilere mesaj gönderdiler**  
**Milliyet, 1 August 1963**

**\* Gürsel and İnönü sent a message to workers in Germany**

*In Federal Germany, the President Gürsel and the Prime Minister İnönü sent a message to the workers through the <Anadolu> newspaper, which is published by the International News Agency Social Unity Committee.*

*Continued on page 7 at column 3*



**Figure 31b. Gürsel ve İnönü Almanyadaki işçilere mesaj gönderdiler**  
**Milliyet, 1 August 1963**

**\* Gürsel and İnönü sent a message to workers in Germany**

*In his message, Gürsel advised that the workers represent the Turkish nation abroad and that they should keep their earnestness and diligence in their hands like a torch, and stated that the country expects a lot from them in order to close the distance between Europe and us rapidly.*

*On the other hand, the Prime Minister İnönü heralded that the government is closely interested in the workers and that a large and sufficient organization abroad will be established in a short time.*

Like the articles in 1961, the issue regarding training of people with different professions was also covered in 1963. In the same vein with the news about the ordnance course in Figure 30 above, there was also news about tourism workers' training in 1963 (Figure 32). Accordingly, with the joint funding of Turkish and German private sectors, Turkish tourism staff would be trained in Germany and return to work in affordable Turkish tourism facilities to be established that would meet the minimum comfort expectations of German tourists. In the news, the staff to be trained were referred as "interns", which exactly complies with the previously mentioned project proposal of internship invitation for future investments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany by Dr. Bade in 1956. In this sense, it is seen that similar applications were lasting in the 1960s as well, instead of being limited to the 1950s initially. As the relevant news in *Milliyet* is quite descriptive through conveying the general information about the training and investment, the headline is also clear: "Tourism staff will be trained in Germany". On the other hand, how long the training in Germany would take is not specified in the news (Figure 32).



**Figure 32. Turizm personeli Almanya'da Eğitim görecek  
Milliyet, 14 October 1963**

**\* Tourism staff will be trained in Germany**

*It has been decided that the personnel who will work in Turkish tourism establishments will be trained in Germany. Accordingly, a partnership with 60-million-mark capital was established with the participation of Turkish and German private sectors. The interns, who will receive training by benefiting from this partnership, will serve in the facilities that have started to be established. These facilities will have the minimum comfort that European tourists are looking for, and prices will be low.*

*On the other hand, the determination of the facilities that do not fulfill the necessary conditions even though they have a <touristic tariff> has been accelerated. They will be banned from work at the beginning of 1964, and tourist documents will be taken away from them.*

Considering the news structure, it consists of two paragraphs, and the training was dealt with in the first paragraph. Unrelatedly, or indirectly linked with the first paragraph, the news also shared in the second last paragraph that touristic facilities that do not meet the necessary conditions even though they have a touristic tariff could no longer operate in 1964. Given the expression “*minimum comfort that European tourists are looking for*” in the first and relevant paragraph, the stress of “*necessary conditions*” makes sense in terms of the initiative for attracting tourists from Germany, which reflects an inner complex in front of the German society.

The labor export was not limited to the economic concerns of the Turkish government. Instead, it is also associated with social and professional development expectations. The emigrated Turkish workers would increase their technical knowledge in Germany while also learning manners and western norms in the country. Although this expectation was frequently touched upon in articles in *Milliyet* in the selected three years, a few articles directly focused on the issue. On the other hand, articles with the main emphasis on the expected development were counted under a particular subcategory *Expected Development* because of its significance, as it was one of the most prominent motivations of the labor migration.



With 8 articles in total, the subcategory is the seventh most crowded one. Particularly, 3 articles were published in 1961, 1 in 1962, and 4 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 5,3 percent in 1961, 1,6 in 1962, and 4,3 in 1963. In this respect, an inconsistency is evident in both the number and percentage of the articles. Given the newspaper's general stance, the articles comply with the official expectation. More specifically, the expectation of the government from workers to develop themselves in many ways was also adopted in articles, and it conveyed both between the lines and through direct advice and examples, such as the example of Turkish wrestlers. On the other hand, even relevant statements of the state officials, such as the President and Prime Minister of the period, were shared. Herewith, no critical attitude of the newspaper was encountered in the articles published in all three years. Under the subcategory *Expected Development*, it has been strived to give examples for all the issues covered in *Milliyet* from each of the three years, although the number of articles is very few.

#### **6.1.5. Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Workers**

The fact that migrant workers were expected to develop themselves and their homeland on their return in various ways thanks to what they would learn in Germany was investigated under the previous topic. One of the related messages in articles about the expected development was that Turkish migrants were, indeed, not unqualified “*students*”. More specifically, when those German employers and society compare Turks with other immigrants, Turks are allegedly more admirable and preferable than others, as Germany and even other western countries were already requesting more and more Turkish workers. For example, like in the previously mentioned news about migrant Turkish doctors, Turks were preferred in Germany because of their quality (“*Türk Doktorları Şimdi de Batı Almanya’ya Gidiyor*”, 1961). So, given the content and discourse, the appreciation and praise for Turkish immigrants by German employers and society is visible in several articles in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962 and 1963.

With 12 articles in total, the subcategory *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* constitute the fifth most crowded subcategory. Table 17 below shows the share of articles under the subcategory *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* in the upper category *Labor Export*. Accordingly, both the share of the articles and the percentage of articles in the upper category are inconsistent. However, the share and percentage are also inconsistent with each other. More specifically, the number of articles is 3 and the percentage is 5,3 in 1961, 4 and 6,6 in 1962 and 5 and 5,3 in 1963. Thereby, while the largest number of articles were published in 1963, the percentage of the articles in the upper category is highest in 1962 proportionately. The total number of articles under the subcategory is 12, and the percentage of the total number of the articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 5,7, while the mean percentage is also 5,7.

**Table 17. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants</b>	3	4	5	<b>12</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	5,3	6,6	5,3	<b>5,7</b>

For example of the articles under the subcategory, news released in 1961 is fruitful in conveying different Western countries’ demands for Turkish workers. Accordingly, it is mentioned in the first paragraph that Norwegian Maritime Lines asked for ten thousand Turkish workers. By pointing out that Ford company also asked for two thousand Turkish workers as company officials mentioned their “*satisfaction with the Turkish workers*” given in the second paragraph, the news was aimed to give a message that the motivation in Norway’s demand is due to Turkish workers’ well-qualification and success in Germany (Figure 33).



**Figure 33. Norveç 10 bin Denizci istedi Milliyet, 31 December 1961.**

**\* Norway has requested 10 thousand sailors**

*Norwegian Maritime Lines have requested about ten thousand marine workers from Turkey. This demand has been met positively. The employment agency will dispatch sea workers from Istanbul.*

*In Germany, Ford has demanded two thousand more workers in addition to the Turkish workers it employs and has declared satisfaction with the Turkish workers.*

In similar news published in 1962, it was reported that after Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Belgium “*also*” requested for a large number of workers, and a delegation visited Turkey in order to ensure workers’ coming “*as soon as possible*” (Figure 34). In this news, the expressions “*after Germany*” and “*also*” imply that the demand for Turkish workers has not been limited to Germany, which is probably because of Turkish workers’ qualifications and success again. Besides, the expression of “*as soon as possible*” suggests that the demanding country, *i.e.*, Austria, is in a hurry to get those qualified and successful Turkish workers.



**Figure 34. Avusturya'ya 40 Bin İşçi Gönderilecek**  
Milliyet, 9 July 1962.

**\* Norway has requested 10 thousand sailors**

*After Germany, the Belgian, Swiss, and Austrian governments have also informed the relevant authorities that they wanted many workers to employ.*

*Austria, which has 40000 workers, has sent a delegation to contact the Turkish Employment agency to send the workers as soon as possible.*

*According to the Turkish Employment Agency, the number of people who want to work in foreign countries has increased to 65000 so far.*

There were also articles reporting the appreciation for Turkish workers in Germany without any reference to some other countries' demands. For example, some relevant statements of the manager of "one of the largest factories in the Ruhr area" were published in the newspaper with the headline "Turkish workers in Germany are appreciated" in 1961. As the headline is quite clear to convey its message by involving one of the implications of the word "appreciation", the statement "one of the largest factories in the Ruhr area" emphasized that the workers were not appreciated in an ordinary establishment. Besides, as the manager said that he appreciated Turkish workers "more than any other foreign workers", Turkish workers were represented as superior to their colleagues by comparison. Yet, these statements belong to the manager, instead of being comments of the reporter. However, it is notable that this comparison was given within the last sentence of such brief news (Figure 35).



**Figure 35. Almanya'da çalışan Türk işçiler takdir ediliyor**  
Milliyet, 1 May 1961.

**\* Turkish workers in Germany are appreciated**

*Turkish workers working in Germany are appreciated in the establishments they work for.*

*The manager of one of the largest factories in the Ruhr area said that he appreciated the 500 Turks at the factory more than any other foreign workers.*



In 1962, similar news was published stating that two different factories in Germany want to recruit thousands of Turkish workers. Although the word “*appreciation*” was not particularly used in the headline this time, the statements “*asking for*” Turkish workers by “*German factories*” implies the appreciation again. Besides, the sentence about that the factory administration in Cologne decided to hire Turkish workers is followed by a second sentence delivering the number of Turkish workers in the same factory then. In this way, such an appreciation was latently emphasized again because readers may suggest that factory administration demand more Turkish workers based on satisfaction with the present Turkish workers (Figure 36).



**Figure 36. Alman Fabrikaları Türk işçisi istiyor**  
**Milliyet, 3 February 1962.**

**\* German Factories want Turkish workers**

*The managers of the Ford factory in Cologne have decided to employ 2000 Turkish workers. 200 Turkish workers are still working in the factory. Volkswagen factories have also decided to recruit 4000 foreign workers. These workers are thought to recruit from Turkey and Italy.*

Also, for the second factory mentioned in the news, it is noted that its administration decided to employ foreign workers as well (Figure 36). On the other hand, it is understood from the statement “*are thought*” that there is no certainty about the potential workers’ nationality. Even if the factory administration would recruit Turkish and Italian workers, as mentioned in the last sentence of the news through the word “*want*”, the headline excludes the possibility of recruiting Italian workers and focuses on the Turkish workers. By writing the phrase “*German factories*” in entirely capital letters and the phrase “*want Turkish workers*” in lowercase letters, the news establishes an inferior and superior relationship, in which Turks were positioned inferior this time, as they also seek for an appreciation of the capital-lettered-superior.

In 1963, articles covering the appreciation and praise for Turkish immigrants continued to be published. In this sense, even some news regarding the issue with a wide coverage were reported. For example, the newspaper shared on 29 January 1963 that one-quarter of the workers in a factory in Germany consists of Turks (Figure 37). According to the news, the factory administration is “*very satisfied with the Turkish workers*”, and the employer stated that he “*highly appreciates Turkish workers’ humanitarian side and working skills*”. It is mentioned in the subhead and within the text that even the

cook had removed pork from the menu because the Turkish do not eat pork. On the other hand, beyond the praise and so-called tolerance of the factory administration for the Turkish workers, there are some striking details in the news, which were never put a point in the reporting (Figure 37).

## Almanyada bir fabrikanın işçilerinin dörtte biri Türk Kantinin Alman ahçısı, Türkler yemediği için listeden domuz etini tamamen çıkardı

LANGENFELD (Almanya), DAD

Kolonya ve Düsseldorf şehirleri arasındaki küçük Langenfeld şehrinde bir fabrikanın işçilerinin dörtte birini Türkler teşkil etmektedir.

Sayıları 97 yi bulan Türk işçilerinden fabrika idaresi çok memnun olduklarını açıklamışlardır. İnşaat vinçleri ve ekskavatörler imal eden bu fabrika, Almanya'nın en fazla Türk işçisi çalıştıran müesseseseldir. Çalışmaları bittikten sonra Türk işçileri sporla, özellikle güreş ve futbolle uğraşmaktadırlar. Kantinin Alman ahçısı, listeden domuz etini çıkarmıştır. İşveren, Türk işçileri hakkında şunları söylemiştir:

•Türk işçilerin, insanlık taraflarını ve iş kabiliyetlerini çok takdir ediyorum. Kendileri misafir olarak buldukları Almanya'nın adet ve an'anelerine uymak hususunda büyük bir hassasiyet gösteriyorlar. Hepsi çok çalışkan, öğrenme heveslisi insanlardır.

**Figure 37. Almanyada bir fabrikanın işçilerinin dörtte biri Türk Milliyet, 29 January 1963.**

**\* A quarter of the workers of a factory in Germany are Turkish**

**Canteen's German cook completely removed pork from the menu because the Turks do not eat**

*Turks make up a quarter of the workers of a factory in the small city of Langenfeld between Cologne and Düsseldorf.*

*The factory manager declared that he is very satisfied with Turkish workers, whose number is almost 97. This factory, which manufactures construction cranes and excavators, is Germany's largest employer of Turkish workers. After their work, Turkish workers are engaged in sports, especially wrestling and football. The German cook of the canteen removed pork from the menu. The employer said the following about Turkish workers:*

*<I highly appreciate the humanitarian side and work skills of Turkish workers. They show great sensitivity to comply with the customs and traditions of Germany where they are guests. All of them are very hard-working and eager to learn.>*

More specifically, after sharing the administration's high satisfaction with the Turkish workers and just before mentioning the removal of pork from the menu, it is pointed out that the Turkish workers spare time for sports after their working shift. That is to say, the workers' choices to spend time are in line with the modernity and versatility expected by the Turkish government from Turkish migrant workers. So, the workers deserve the appreciation and praise in question by means of their sophistication, beyond just working there. The complimentary statements of the employer who stressed on "*the great sensitivity the workers show in complying with the customs and traditions of Germany*" with the emphasis on the

workers' being "guest in Germany" were also quoted within the text, as of three sentences. The first, and the third and last sentence demonstrate the employers' appreciation through the words such as "high appreciation", "hard-working" and "eager", while the second and middle sentence stipulates the terms of the appreciation in question, as the terms are the adaptation of the Turkish workers to the German customs and traditions and the awareness of the workers on their "guest" status.

Like in the previous two years, appreciation and praise for Turkish immigrants in Germany were also directly highlighted in the headlines and subheads in 1963, too. For example, although the news has been counted under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* because of the main focus in the news, the news with the subhead "The German Ministry of Labor praised the Turkish workers in his statement to the first issue of the newspaper 'Anadolu'" is remarkable in terms of conveying an official satisfaction ("Almanyadaki ilk Türkçe günlük gazete çıktı", 1963).

Similarly, in another news, which has been counted under this subcategory because of its main content, the headline started with the sentence "The Federation of German Industries is very satisfied with Turkish workers". On the other hand, the news mostly dealt with information such as the number of foreign workers in Germany, the number of foreign workers needed, and the number of unemployed in Germany. Only in the last paragraph of the news, the satisfaction mentioned in the headline is referred through one sentence. Nevertheless, the relevant sentence is a compound sentence, in which the positive sentence about the satisfaction is compounded with a negative sentence about the worker dispatch's challenges. In this sense, the given headline reflecting the satisfaction seems to be used strategically in order to create a positive perception in the readers' minds, although there are some negative sides of the issue. The compound sentence of the shared paragraph is below.

The Federation of German Industries expresses its satisfaction with the way of working of Turkish workers; however, it behaves timidly due to the long formalities and the shortage of dispatch ("Alman Endüstri Birliği Türk işçilerinden çok memnun: Batı Almanya yapı işçisi istiyor", 1963).

The approach in the newspaper toward the appreciation and praise essentially veils a more in-depth issue regarding the positioning of Turks themselves against the Europeans. Indeed, feeling proud of being a subject of a comparison is an implicit expression of this positioning. As Erdogan (1995) states, relatedly, colonial discourse roughly positions the West as its center and identifies other countries or cultures as the West's peripheries. More specifically, this discourse, which is visible in *Milliyet's* issues in the given three years, reflects a historical conflict between those who advocate the necessity of returning to "essence" by attributing the reason for the social depression experienced since the last periods of the Ottoman Empire to the westernization efforts, and those who advocate of adopting the western norms in order to reach the level of "contemporary civilizations" (Erdogan, 1995, p. 182). In this sense, on the one hand, Turkish society is positioned against the Western world as Turks are the subject that needs to develop by the Western norms. On the other hand, Turks are portrayed as superior to the Westerners as competent to gain the Westerners' admiration. This perspective that contains the

resonance of seeing itself inferior or superior to the Westerners contains another resonance. More specifically, even the self-admirable and superior point of view secretly determine the “Westerners” admiration as the object of desire. The colonial discourse reflected through the news positions itself in comparison with the West in any case.

It is possible to extend the examples of the articles representing Turkish immigrants as appreciated and praised in the issues of *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963. As mentioned above, it constitutes the fifth most crowded subcategory with 12 articles in total and 5,7 percent average of the selected three years, as it is also under the most crowded category *Labor Export*. Particularly, 3 articles were published in 1961, 4 in 1962, and 5 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 5,3 percent in 1961, 6,6 in 1962, and 5,3 in 1963. In this respect, there is a consistent increase in the share of articles, while the percentage is inconsistent. The general argument in the news is that Turkish workers are demanded from Germany and other western countries more and more, as the workers get compliments and promotions. However, the common feature of all the articles is that there is no question in the news regarding the appreciation and praise. In other words, instead of any reference that there may be some other reasons for such a demand for Turkish workers, such as cheap and less demanding labor, this situation was regarded as merely gratifying and proud.

Nevertheless, the newspaper’s considering this issue through such a romantic view seems problematic because the demand at stake indicates the pragmatist stance of the German government then, if the state’s immigration policies based on the rotation principle are taken into account. In this context, appreciating and praising for cheap and less demanding labor to employ for a pre-determined two or three years maximum is quite rational. Similarly, it is very functional to support this demand with compliments and promotions for existing workers. Given the colonial discourse mentioned above, it can be suggested that *Milliyet* also has traces of the discourse by covering the appreciation and praise for Turkish workers as the object of desire. Herewith, the newspaper is again far from dealing with the issue multidimensionally.

#### **6.1.6. Turkish Representation in Germany**

Turkish migrant workers were expected to represent Turkey and Turkish society in the best way in Germany. They were expected to be attentive to their dressing and manner in order to demonstrate the “*real*” lifestyle of Turks abroad. More specifically, one of their tasks was to prove there that Turkish society had broken its Ottoman ties and has adopted a modern lifestyle in the western sense. The expectation of such a representation was also reflected through the media, particularly through the articles in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963 here. With 21 articles in total, the subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* constitutes the third most crowded subcategory. In this respect, it is clear that the newspaper attached great importance to the issue in parallel with the official expectation. Table

18 below shows the articles under the subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* in the upper category *Labor Export*. Accordingly, both the number and the percentage of articles in the upper category are inconsistent. More specifically, the number of articles is 4 and the percentage is 7,1 in 1961, 10 and 16,6 in 1962 and 7 and 7,5 in 1963. The total number of the articles under the subcategory is 22, and the percentage of the total number of the articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 10, while the mean percentage is 10,4.

**Table 18. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Turkish Representation in Germany” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Turkish Representation in Germany” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Turkish Representation in Germany</b>	4	10	7	<b>21</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	7,1	16,6	7,5	<b>10</b>

As Turkish workers in Germany were aimed to set an example of the Turkish society there by their dressing like the Westerners, they would convince the Westerners that Turkish men do not live in a harem life with more than one wife. This expectation was also implied or directly reminded in articles frequently. Unlike the topics in other subcategories, the issue of representation was not mainly mentioned in news but was frequently mentioned in columns and even in readers' letters shared in columns. For example, in a letter published in the column on 16 January 1961, a reader complains that German society believes that Turkish men wear fez<sup>3</sup> and have five or six wives (“Turizm hakkında”, 1961). In another reader’s letter in the column dated 4 November 1961, the reader complains similarly that Turks are still known with the Ottoman norms in Germany, such as wearing shalwar and ferace<sup>4</sup>. The reader also adds, “*Yes, there was one time in such an outfit in Turkey, but it fell into disuse after Atatürk and it is forbidden to wear such clothes now. This outfit is unique to the Arab countries, and Turks wear entirely modern and live so*” (“Yine turizm babında”, 1961). By using “one time” and “after Atatürk”, it was underlined that Turkey abandoned its previous norms in dressing since the beginning of the new regime. Besides, by pointing out the uniqueness for the “Arab countries” and “modern” style of the new Turks, attention was drawn to the difference between Turkey and Arab countries.

This situation likewise points to the above-mentioned inner colonial conflict. On the one hand, it is believed that Turkish people have superior features to the Westerners; on the other hand, they feel

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<sup>3</sup> Fez is a cone-shaped red hat that was worn by some Muslim men like those in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>4</sup> It is a long-sleeved, collarless, loose, and blacktop reminiscent of the overcoat worn by women in the Ottoman Empire.

inferior to the westerners enough to need to prove their superior qualities and seek praise. In this sense, the photographs of the news series about the Turkish migrant wrestlers are remarkable. More specifically, the series of five news about the Turkish wrestlers' lives in Germany was published in *Milliyet* in 1962. The common feature of all the five news was to convey at length how successful the wrestlers in Germany were and how they were embraced by German society. Besides, all the five news were given with huge photographs showing the wrestlers, who teach German children and youth wrestling, or defeat the western rivals. For example, in one of the five news published on 2 March 1962, the Turkish wrestler Müzahir Sille was presented, while he was suplexing to his "German rival" (Figure 38). Similarly, in another news published on 3 March 1962, the Turkish wrestler Burhan Bozkurt appears "after defeating the Polish wrestler Leslaw" (Figure 39).



**Figure 38.** Almanya'daki Şampiyonlarımız Ne Yapıyor Nasıl Yaşıyorlar: Sille, ayda 791 mark kazanıyor

**Milliyet, 2 March 1962.**

*\* What our champions in Germany do, and how they live: Sille earns 791 marks a month  
Sille is suplexing to his German rival.*



**Figure 39.** Almanya'daki Şampiyonlarımız Ne Yapıyor Nasıl Yaşıyorlar: Bozkurt, güreşiyor çalışıyor ve okuyor

**Milliyet, 3 March 1962.**

*\* What our champions in Germany do, and how they live: Bozkurt, wrestling, working, and studying  
After beating the Polish Leslaw, Bozkurt finished third in Yokohama and in his new club's swimsuit.*



Nevertheless, Turkish people, who have inherent virtues praised by Germans, could be entirely admirable if Turks would show that they can behave in a modern dressing like them. Thus, perhaps, another version of the brochures introducing Turkey, which were also requested by the readers whose letters shared in the columns, was even handed out by the Turkish Employment Agency among migrant workers to teach them how to behave in Germany. Leaving aside the so-called necessity to hand out the brochures to teach workers how to behave, the content and the discourse in the brochures need to be contemplated, although the newspaper did not pose any question in this sense. For example, the brochures published by the Turkish Employment Agency for emigrant workers were covered in a column in *Milliyet* in 1963, and the issue was given with the subhead “The Advice”, which makes a positive connotation. On the other hand, the paragraphs listed under the heading “the Advice” are far from advice. Instead, they were given through the imperative, structurally different from the auxiliary *should* and *should not* (-meli and -malı suffixes in Turkish).

In addition, the paragraphs are oppressively instructive by latently giving the message that the recipients of the brochures should learn and change even the most basic behavioral practices, such as eating and personal hygiene. More specifically, the advice was started with “Bathe often”, and ended with “Hold your waistband”, which belittle workers’ hygiene habits and sexual behavior, respectively. Besides, the rude and humiliating words used, such as “slurp” and “stoop over”, and the stress of the shamelessness by the advice of decency reflect the top-down instructions explicitly. Instead of any criticism, the columnist evaluated the advice as “very interesting paragraphs”, which also attributed a positive sense with the word “interesting”. The paragraphs of the brochure are shared in the column below:

- Bathe often.
- Cut your nails at least once a week.
- Do not dip your bread into the water dish. Do not slurp. Chew the bite with your closing lips. Do not stoop over the table. Do not lean your elbows. Don't touch the table above your wrist.
- Do not be stingy.
- Do not be molested to women. Be decent.
- Hold your waistband (“Olaylar&İnsanlar: Orta-Doğuda bir ihtilal daha”, 1963).

One of the most significant features of the articles about representation in *Milliyet* in the selected three years was that only the articles covering an “ideal” representation practice were given with photographs. More specifically, while the articles dealing with the misbehavior of the Turkish immigrants in Germany or sharing the expected behaviors were given as a written text, the articles covering the success of the Turks in Germany were published with photographs. In addition, articles reflecting the western images of the workers were released with giant photographs but brief written texts from time to time. For example, the news about the first party of migrant workers going to Germany seems notable with a giant photograph conveying the workers' modern image with shirts, ties, fedoras, and clean shave (Figure 40). For a 6-lines text, the message of the news overall distinguishes in the photograph, and it even outweighs the written text. With the strategy of using such a giant photograph representing modern and well-dressed migrant workers, the ideal worker image was reminded one more time. As it is

mentioned within the written that the workers were explicitly recommended to represent themselves, and in this way, Turkey and Turkish society in a “real sense” in “foreign lands”, it is emphasized the necessity of the representation of the new and modern Turkey in order to make recognize those countries other than us. In this way, a contradiction emerges by both declaring those countries as foreigners and implying the importance of proving the adoption of a culture similar to them.



**Figure 40. Almanya'ya İlk Kafile**  
**Milliyet, 26 February 1961.**

*\*The first party to Germany*

*The first group of Turkish workers who have signed a contract to work in Germany has departed yesterday by bus. The director of the Turkish Employment Agency gave some advice to the workers who have gone to Germany and asked them to represent Turkish workers in a real sense in foreign lands. In the photo, workers who have moved to Germany yesterday are seen waiting on their bus.*

In similar news in 1963, the photo of modern Turkish women who were going to work in Germany was shared (Figure 41). Like in the news in Figure 40, this news was also given in a descriptive and very short written text with four sentences, but with a giant photograph. What draws attention to the photograph at first glance is the smiling and hand waving women, who have a quite modern and secular image with their short hair and shirts on, in the compartment covered with three Turkish flags. Given the patriarchal codes in Turkey, which were even more adopted than today, the photograph is notable by representing the modernization in Turkey because it was a relatively new step with the new republic then that women go to work in another country, not even in their own countries. The highlighted headline “They have gone to work” is another supportive element of the representation. Although the news text mostly focuses on the female emigrant workers, it shares the number of male emigrant workers, as the latter is six times more in number than the former. In this sense, the fact that the news concentrates on the female workers, whose number is very low compared to the male workers, both in



the text and photograph shared is not only striking in terms of the representation of the image of modern Turkey but also it is a kind of positive breakthrough in the context of the newspaper's general attitude in gendered discourse. Yet, the breakthrough in question may stem from the content of the issue, *i.e.*, the representation, because such a positive, or at least a neutral attitude, is not encountered on issues such as crime and integration in the newspaper in 1963.



**Figure 41. Çalışmaya Gittiler**

**Milliyet, 27 August 1963.**

**\*They have gone to work**

*93 workers have gone to West Germany yesterday to work. 12 of the workers who will work in various factories in Germany are women and 81 are men. Women workers will work in apparel, and factories that manufacture electric vehicles. The picture shows a group of women who were seen off by their relatives.*

As the Turkish Constitution of 1961 has enacted the freedom of travel abroad for the first time in Turkey (Sezer, 2002, p. 53), many Turkish citizens who wanted to issue a passport flocked to the police headquarters in that year. According to the news published in *Milliyet* on 16 June 1961, a chief from the Miscellaneous Authority in the Istanbul Police Department exhorted the crowds "attacking" the police station to line up, as the people in the crowd would represent Turkey abroad. This news not only points to the Turkish authorities' expectation of Turkish representation from migrant workers and those

others going abroad. The word "attack" also expresses the authorities' perspective finding inadequate and dislike toward the subject that would represent Turkey abroad. In other words, the news implied through its reporting with an elitist discourse that Turks should learn manners abroad, as they proved this even through their behavior in the passport application phase.

[...] The noise created by the questions made the civil servants prevent them from working despite their best efforts. It was not going to work like that. It was hoped that the crowd can be invited to calm down in a very polite manner by a police officer of the Miscellaneous Authority. It did not happen again. The front of the branch was requested to be evacuated. It did not give any results again. Finally, two majors working in the police department who were members of the Martial Law could see no other choice but to fix the job with the help of military. Truly, everything was in order. Meanwhile, those who have started queuing up were nodding to confirm what a police chief of the right tone said with great excitement. The chief from the Miscellaneous Authority < My fellow citizens, he was saying, you will go abroad. You will represent Turkey there. How you have to queue here>. [...] (“Dün Emniyet Müdürlüğünde: “Pasaporta hücum!..”, 1961).

The same elitist discourse also stands out in the articles in 1962. However, the number of articles humiliating migrant workers was even more than those in 1961. Besides, the volume of humiliation was intensified in patches. For example, in the news published on 31 March 1962, Turks' and the Westerners' confrontation was mainly set over smell from their first encounter. Besides, Turkish workers were positioned as poor and idle against the westerners, as the former was represented as an admirer of the latter, within the text:

They were forty people. It was impossible to know the color of the pants of all the forty and even the number of patches of their pants. Some of them were sitting, some others leaning against the wall waiting for their flight in the transit passenger hall at Yeşilköy Airport. There was a sharp smell of dirt and oil that turns the stomach in the huge waiting lounge. People from all over the world transferring planes to go elsewhere were entering the hall for a minute, and then they came out, stuffing their noses with their hands. One of ours was staring absently at a woman smelling Ma Griffe and smoking his second kind of cigarette. Then he poked his friend next to him with his elbow. He said with his accent <Hey. Look at that woman. I am tickling...> (“<Hiii> dedi. <Gariya baksana, içim gıcıklanıyor...>”) Ma Griffe scented woman was a stenger. She did not understand what our man was saying, but she was disturbed by his gaze. She walked towards the door with rapid movements. Ours continued with an accent: <Let me dive to you> (“<Bir dalayım saga...>”). The microphone spoke first in Turkish, then in English, then in French. The last call was given to passengers. Our guys got into the gleaming Caravelle plane by glistening with a joke at each other. They were being sent to Germany in order to represent Turkish workers by the Worker's Insurance Institution (“Kırk kişiydiler kırkı da birbirinden...”, 1962).

It is clear that the news, with every sentence, belittles Turkish workers in various ways and places them in a subordinate position to the westerners, particularly to the woman smelling Ma Griffe. Besides, in the last sentence of the news, the author clearly expressed the expectation on Turkish representation

abroad, but she or he implied with irony that the workers did not conform to the ideal representation, based on what she or he reported throughout the news. Indeed, even from the beginning, *i.e.*, the headline of the news, the author gave the message: “They were forty people, the forty from each other...”. The headline sentence was left open with the triple dots. However, it can be predicted that the sentence would not continue with a positive adjective. Or even if a positive adjective is predicted at the first step, after reading the news, readers’ minds would automatically complete the sentence with negative adjectives related to the smelling at least. The stress on the smelling points to a deeper issue in the encounter between the Turkish worker and the German women, as the smelling carries a social meaning in the construction of identity and identifying of different classes (Pirvu, 2011. p.544). Since the bourgeoisie class identifies itself with cleanliness, and it identifies to working class with stink, by overlooking the fact that workers exert their labor with limited access to cleaning, the class codes are also established through the notion of smell. In line with the bourgeois view, the author did not consider the fact of “labor smell”, and dealt with the encounter in these terms.

For example, the author presented the workers as stinky by pointing out “a sharp smell of dirt and oil that turns the stomach” prevailed in “the huge waiting lounge”, immediately after the sentence about workers’ being at the airport. Also, as the author mentioned that “people from all over the world” could stay just “for a minute” before leaving there by “stuffing their noses with their hands”, it was once again underlined latently how so-called sickening workers are. In this way, while the Turkish workers were positioned as disturbers, “people from all over the world” were represented as those disturbed. Similarly, the discomfort of the “Ma-Griffe-scented foreign woman” was clearly conveyed with the statement “but she was disturbed by his gaze”, as the woman also “walked toward the door with rapid movements” in order to leave there. On the other hand, the worker, who could speak Turkish with an accent instead of modern Istanbul Turkish, was presented with his admiration for the woman stared at. Lastly, unlike the 6-lines-news with a giant photograph in Figure 40, in which well-dressed Turkish workers are presented with their all modern appearance, no photo was shared for this relatively long news about the “stinky” workers.

There were also some articles about the discrimination against Turkish migrants abroad, but by supporting and trying to justify the discrimination, instead of any criticism. For example, in 1962, according to a column, native people established the "Association for Protection from Turkish Workers" in Dinslaken in Germany in order to protect themselves from Turkish workers, who allegedly molested German women and caused people’s discomfort by bullying and exerting brutal force (“Olaylar & İnsanlar: Doğru olduğuna inanmak istemiyoruz”, 1962). Far from criticizing the establishment of such an association, or discrimination against Turkish workers, the columnist even seems to support the establishment and discrimination by stating that she or he wrote the column “with embarrassment to put it mildly and curse in the heaviest terms”. The columnist underlined that the establishment of such an association was not, however, against the Turkish workers. Instead, it was established against the Turkish workers that embarrassed the columnist and made the columnist cursed. To exemplify and

justify the reason for such an association, the columnist also referred to the grievances of the people of Dinslaken. In this sense, a shopkeeper's complaints were shared, as the shopkeeper claimed that "Turks bought sixty knives at once" from the shop and left no knives in the shop. Thus, Turkish workers, who purchased bulk knives, which are a crime tool, were criminalized in the article.

On the other hand, there was no question or criticism of why this shopkeeper sold the sixty knives to the Turkish workers at once, although the shopkeeper discomfited with the workers. Instead, the columnist took a one-sided point of view in favor of native people in Dinslaken and against Turkish workers. Similarly, the columnist quoted the relevant news in a German newspaper, as Turkish workers were proclaimed as the executors of "terror": "...but those like them cause an atmosphere of terror to the whole neighborhood". By saying "we do not want to believe that it is true" in the headline, what the columnist means is not the fact that such an association may have been established. Instead, the columnist generalized her of himself in Turkish society, and meant that we do not want to believe in the discomfort due to the Turkish workers. In addition to the use of "we" in the headline, the columnist also guided readers' reaction by saying, "I feel that you all want to throw the newspaper on the ground, saying God damn it". ("Olaylar & İnsanlar: Doğru olduğuna inanmak istemiyoruz", 1962).

As mentioned before, articles about satisfaction with Turkish migrants in Germany contain giant photographs and salient headlines. On the other hand, the situation is the opposite in negative representations. Unlike the above-mentioned column about the "Association for Protection from Turkish Workers" with no photograph in the newspaper in 1962, a remarkable and large-font-sized headline and a huge photograph were used in the news about the representation in *Milliyet* in the same year (Figure 42). As the news dealt with a success story of a Turkish man, who had raised his status from a waitress to a restaurant owner, he was mentioned, and his restaurant's photograph was presented in the newspaper proudly. Besides, the emphasis of "from Istanbul" in the headline is notable in terms of the sociocultural position of the city in the western sense compared to the traditional Anatolia with the Ottoman norms. In the continuation of the news, positive features attributed to Turks such as "hospitality" were used to describe the restaurant owner, namely Ahmet. One of the statements is also remarkable in terms of a positive attribution and proud: "When Bob Kennedy, who is the brother of the U.S. President John F. Kennedy, was in Berlin, he frequently visits to Ahmet's restaurant, as Ahmet shows Turkish hospitality". According to the news, "it is very strange not to know Ahmet in Berlin" ("İstanbul'lu bir Türk Batı Berlin'de açtığı lokanta ile ün yaptı", 1962). Thereby, the restaurant owner was covered someone who is well known for introducing the features of the Turkish society in Germany and is as someone introducing the characteristics of the Turkish society in Germany thoroughly, because of these virtuous characteristics, someone known by everyone, including celebrities.



**Figure 42. İstanbul'lu bir Türk Batı Berlin'de açtığı lokanta ile ün yaptı Milliyet, 14 December 1962.**

**\* A Turkish from Istanbul has become famous because of the restaurant he opened in West Berlin**  
*An outside view of the nightclub that Ahmet from Istanbul has opened in his name in Berlin*

It is possible to expand the examples of such humiliating articles about Turkish representation abroad. The subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* is the third most crowded subcategory, with 21 articles in total and a 10 percent average of the selected three years, as it is also under the most crowded category *Labor Export*. Particularly, 4 articles were published in 1961, 10 in 1962, and 7 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 7,1 percent in 1961, 16,6 in 1962, and 7,5 in 1963. In this respect, both the number and percentage of the articles are inconsistent. While the highest number of articles were published in 1962 in number and percentage, 1963 ranks second, and 1961 is the third and last. Unlike the inconsistency in the number and percentage of articles, the general approach in *Milliyet* on this issue was consistent. More specifically, the discourse is based on implicitly recommending the expected ideal representation through ideal and bad examples. While Turkish migrants who represent their country in compliance with the official expectation were mentioned proudly, others who do not were covered through a top-down perspective and as a warning issue. On the other hand, humiliating articles with the top-down perspective are particularly prominent in 1962 and 1963 rather than in 1961. The common feature in these articles was that Turkish migrants were mentioned through negative features compared with extolled westerners. Also, while salient photographs were used in the articles reporting the success of or praise for Turkish immigrants, the articles about Turkish migrants' dissatisfied way of representation did not contain even the smallest photograph.

#### **6.1.7. Duration of Stay**

One of the other main topics in the articles is how many years Turkish workers would stay in Germany. The established duration of stay for Turkish workers, *i.e.*, two to three years, was not frequently referred to in the articles published in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963. Instead, some exceptional articles directly reminded the duration. Nevertheless, as the issue is quite significant in reflecting the Turkish and German governments' approach to labor migration, the relevant articles have been counted under a subcategory. With 5 articles in total, the subcategory *Duration of Stay* constitutes the least crowded

subcategory at the eighth and last place among all the subcategories. Table 19 below shows the share of articles under the subcategory *Duration of Stay* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of articles under the subcategory *Duration of Stay* in the upper category *Labor Export*. Accordingly, there is a consistent decrease both in the share and percentage of the articles. More specifically, the number of articles is 3 and the percentage is 5,3 in 1961, 1 and 1,6 in 1962 and 1 and 1 in 1963. In this sense, it is clear that the newspaper attached even less importance compared to each previous year. The total number of articles under the subcategory is 5, and the percentage of the total number of articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 2,3, while the mean percentage is 2,6.

**Table 19. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Duration of Stay” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Duration of Stay” in the upper category “Labor Export**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Duration of Stay</b>	3	1	1	<b>5</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	5,3	1,6	1	<b>2,3</b>

The foreign workers' employment policy in the 1960s was latently determined by the law, including only economic criteria and a short-term and precarious integration within the economic criteria, and excluding a humanitarian aspect. In this way, the German government attempted to prevent the imported workers' possible permanency, especially from some countries such as Turkey, Tunisia, and Morocco. Given labor immigrants' duration of stay in Germany, as the third- and even fourth-generation exist in the country, the attempt, however, seems to fail. Without its humanitarian aspect, this approach also stands out in articles' brief and content. As working places in Germany were already determined from the outset by German employers according to their needs, the German Hamborn Mining Company was only one example of importing labor in line with its market needs (Figure 43). According to the news, 150 Turkish workers were particularly dispatched from the Zonguldak mining zone to work in the Hamborn mining company by the Turkish Employment Agency. Beyond this information, the news does not deliver any other detail. As understood from the news, workers were not sent in response to a general sectoral demand. Instead, they sent upon the request from a specific firm. In this way, it would be easier to monitor immigrant workers and prevent their possible stay in the country.



**Figure 43. Almanya'ya 150 işçi gönderiliyor  
Milliyet, 20.04.1961**

**\*150 workers are sent to Germany**

*150 workers will be sent to Germany again.*

*The agreement was made between the general manager of the German Hamborn Mining Company and the officials of the Turkish employment agency. The workers will be dispatched from the Zonguldak mining worker district.*

Similarly, Abadan-Unat revealed in 1964 that only 17 percent of Turkish workers lived with their families in Germany at that time. On the other hand, 84 percent of the workers stayed in housing called *heim* provided by their employers, and 1 percent in the shared flat with other workers (Abadan-Unat, 2002, pp. 134 – 137). Immigrant workers were not allowed to bring their families with them, and most of the workers aimed to return to Turkey until the mid-60s. However, German employers' ever-increasing demand for the foreign employee, labor surplus in Turkey, and workers' desire to improve their living conditions were accelerating and extending the labor migration. Besides, immigrant workers, who often aim to start their own business and develop their country on their return, wanted to extend their contracts whenever possible. Nevertheless, according to a survey conducted in 1971, the share of Turkish workers, who deposited their savings to start a business after returning to Turkey, was only 35 percent (Paine, 1974, p. 115). In the context of German employers, they did not want to give up their workers for that period. For the benefit of German employers and the state economy, immigrant workers produced more production and made lower demands than domestic workers in reality. Thus, the number of Turkish workers in Germany, which was 2,700 and constituted 0.4 percent of the population in 1960, reached 469,200 as constituted 15.8 percent in 1970 (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p. 81).

On the other hand, Turkish authorities also expected the workers to stay in Germany for a minimum of one to a maximum of three years. Such a time was considered sufficient for workers to develop themselves in many ways to benefit their country with their quality when they return and develop their country economically through remittances and investments from Germany. In 1963 alone, Turkish workers' foreign exchange to their country was around 700 thousand dollars per month. Even more, this amount increased to 28 million dollars per month until 1965 (Castles & Kosack, 1973, p. 417). These amounts in such a short-period reveal how migrant workers mean for Turkey in the long run. As the labor export is not a specific issue for Turkey, it is estimated that an average of 67 billion dollars is sent to their countries each year by migrants, second to the oil trade, considering the world trade statistics (Okyayuz, 2005, p. 241). In the Turkish government's eyes, the exported workers would, thereby, make a significant contribution to the national income. While doing this, they would improve themselves to generate more income in the long term. Thus, Turkey and Germany considered those workers as "Gastarbeiter"<sup>5</sup> as they would, so to say, fulfill their task in Germany and return to Turkey to start to fulfill their task in Turkey as well. In other words, because both states regarded the workers as a

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<sup>5</sup> The English equivalent of this German word is "Guest worker", which refers to migrant workers who had officially moved to West Germany between 1961 and 1973 within the *Gastarbeiterprogramm* to work there for a particularly short period.



development tool, those exported and imported workers would not exceed the time determined for them. To guarantee workers' abidance to such a fixed working period, the terms were already guaranteed under the Turkish-West German Labor Recruitment Agreement.

In *Milliyet* in 1961, although the concept of "guest worker" was never encountered in the analyzed issues, the articles frequently reveal this expected and ensured working period in Germany. However, the articles shared in the newspaper have some contradictions on this issue. For instance, while the news in Figure 44 states that the workers will stay in Germany for one or two years, the other one in Figure 45 shares the information that migrant workers can stay for a maximum of three years. Nevertheless, all the news coincides that the workers' length of stay was certain and not more than three years.



**Figure 44. Almanya 500 Bin İşçi İstiyor**  
**Milliyet, 19.07.1961.**

**\* Germany wants to 500 thousand workers**

*The "German Employment Agency Office" to be established in our city will start its work next Monday. The office director, Hans Mayer, has come to our city yesterday, and told the journalists, "Germany needs 500 thousand workers. If your government allows, we will supply these workers from your country."*

*Workers will go in August first, and stay for a minimum of one or two years.*





**Figure 45. Almanyaya 2-3 bin işçi gönderilecek  
Milliyet, 18.02.1961**

**\* 2-3 thousand workers will be sent to Germany**

An agreement has been reached between Turkish and German employment agencies to send 2000-9000 workers to Germany each year to work in various business lines. The Turkish and German governments will ratify the agreement in the coming days.

The Turkish Employment agency will deal with all rights and legal situations of the workers who will work in Germany for a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 3 years. As the type of employment contract has been prepared, efforts will be exerted to make Turkish workers earn more than the minimum wage in Germany in each line of business.

On the other hand, it was not also welcomed if the workers' stay was shorter than expected. In this sense, the Turkish Employment Agency officials' complaints were published in the newspaper. The complaints were about immigrant workers, who return to Turkey as soon as saving enough money to buy white appliances like refrigerators that were quite expensive in Turkey at that time.

[...] The Employment Agency sends weekly 190 workers from various branches to Germany. Workers returning from Germany say that they are satisfied with the working conditions there. On the other hand, the agency complains that workers return quickly from Germany. An official said <workers return to Turkey after saving enough money to buy a refrigerator>. The Employment Agency has decided to establish a <Referral Bureau>. This bureau will deal with the situation of workers going to Germany. ("Mesken kredisi 5 yıllık sigortalı işçiye verilecek", 1961).

In 1962, the duration of stay of the immigrant workers was not precisely mentioned as two or three years in the articles in *Milliyet*. In this respect, one can claim that the emphasis on the stay is relatively visible in the previous year, *i.e.*, 1961. Nevertheless, the duration of stay was referred to in two articles in 1962, although one of them is counter under another subcategory *Working and Living Conditions*, because of its primary focus. Unlike the strict determination and reporting of the duration for two or three years in the articles in 1961, the first article is notable because of the stress on the extension of the duration. Accordingly, 77 Turkish workers went to Germany for a year. However, what is new is that workers could sign a new contract for a further two years if they would make a bargain with German employers at the end of the first year (Figure 46).



**Figure 46. Almanya'ya 77 Türk İşçisi Daha Gitti  
Milliyet, 31.03.1962**

**\* 77 more Turkish Workers have gone to Germany**

*77 Turkish workers, who will work in the mines in West Germany, have flown yesterday.*

*The workers, who will work in the mines in Dusseldorf, were selected from those who aspired from Zonguldak and Kayseri regions. German employers will pay workers with a one-year contract, 398 marks per month for single and aboveground workers, and 429 marks per month for married ones. The amount will reach 427 marks for single workers and 505 marks for married workers at the end of the six months.*

*If the workers and employers reach an agreement, they will be able to make a new two-year contract.*

Although the workers' duration of stay was determined as one year initially, and it would be three years in total after an additional two-years extension, it is understood from the news that the initial strict conditions on the duration of stay started to evolve in a more flexible approach. The second news, which has not been counted under this subcategory, is also notable because of the expression "foreign guest workers" within the text. As mentioned above, no articles with the "guest worker" expression were encountered during the analysis of the 1961 issues of the newspaper through the selected keywords, although Germany recruited Turkish workers as guest workers based on the rotation principle. On the other hand, in the given article in 1962, a German official spokesperson described immigrant workers in Germany as "foreigner" and "guest workers". The spokesperson's statements hint in the German government's perspective then that it refuses to accept immigrants socially integrated. However, the newspaper did not cite the spokesperson. Thereby, it is unknown whether the statement is the newspaper's interpretation or directly belongs to the spokesperson. Followed by the news about the extension for a further two years in Figure 46, the introductory sentence of the article containing the expressions in question is below:

The spokesperson of the Ministry of Labor of the North Rhine-Westphalia state made a statement about the increasing number of foreign guest workers, and stated that it is difficult to find a solution to the housing problems of these workers ("Çalışma Bakanlığı sözcüsü, Türklerin para biriktirmek yüzünden bu yolu tuttuklarını söyledi", 1962).

Following the extension of the duration of stay mentioned in the news published in 1962 in Figure 46, it was decided to conditionally abolish the two-year limitation set for the duration of stay in Germany in 1963, as a turning point. The news decision was reported in the newspaper through a clear headline: "The residence restriction of Turkish workers in Germany is lifted". In addition, it was heralded in the news that the Ministry of Labor of Germany would accord new rights for Turkish workers, such as child allowance. According to the news, an attaché from the Ministry of Labor of Turkey shared the information during the meeting organized by the Turkish Workers' Association of Cologne and Neighborhood, and almost two thousand workers "reacted with cheer". One of the most notable details in the news is German employers' alleged satisfaction with Turkish workers. More specifically, it is pointed out both in the headline and within the text that Turkish workers are praised in Germany, and even the Ford Company would set Turkish cookery for the Turkish workers employed. Nevertheless, the satisfaction and so-called cooking facility were not linked with abolishing the duration of stay, or

the abolishment was not attributed to the employers' pragmatist approach, as Turkish workers are cheap and less-demanding workers who reacted even to the abolishment with cheer. Instead, the newspaper shared a wide coverage, delivered it through a giant headline stressing the abolishment, a subhead about the child allowance, and a photograph of the well-dressed workers in the meeting (Figure 47).



**Figure 47. Almanya'da Türk işçilerinin ikamet tahdidi kalkıyor**  
**Milliyet, 07.03.1963**

\* *The residence restriction of Turkish workers in Germany is lifted*

*It was announced at a meeting that Turkish workers will be granted rights such as child allowance.*

*Turkish workers gather at their meeting in Cologne. In this meeting, German employers declared that they are satisfied with Turkish workers.*

The subcategory has been created because the duration of stay constitutes one of the basic principles of labor migration to Germany. More specifically, immigrant workers from particularly some countries, such as Turkey, Tunisia, and Morocco, were subjected to a determined stay in Germany, which could not exceed two or three years. Although the issue has such a significant implication, there were very few relevant articles in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963. In this sense, the subcategory *Duration of Stay* is the least crowded subcategory at the eighth and last place, with 5 articles in total. Particularly, 3 articles were published in 1961, 1 in 1962, and 1 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Duration of Stay*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 5,1 percent in 1961, 1,6 in 1962, and 1 in 1963. Thereby, a consistent decrease both in the number and percentage of the articles is evident. In the context of the change in the implementation of the duration of stay and visibility of the implementation in articles, the strict principle about the duration of stay as two to three years was covered in 1961.

On the other hand, the duration of stay was stretched in 1962, as can be seen from the example of the two-year extension opportunity for Turkish workers, who went to work in the Dusseldorf mines for a year initially. In 1963, Turkish workers' residence restriction was decided to abolish conditionally,

which means that the two- or three-year limitation would be lifted if the necessary conditions would be met. On the other hand, the necessary conditions are the mutual satisfaction of German employers and Turkish workers but indeed the satisfaction of the former. Given the articles published in three years, it is understood that the initial strict implementation became more flexible gradually, and the newspaper shared the new implementations in conjunction. Nevertheless, the newspaper's critical or questioning stance on any issue was not encountered in any article. For example, there was no reference in the articles on who would benefit from an extension and the extent to which the so-called necessary conditions relate to the beneficiary. Instead, *Milliyet* reported the duration of stay in descriptive articles in 1961, and the flexible implementations of 1962 and 1963 as “heralds”. Under the subcategory *Duration of Stay*, it has been strived to give examples for all the issues covered in *Milliyet* from every three years as soon as possible.

### 6.1.8. Private Agencies

One of the biggest challenges of the official labor migration was the private agencies in terms of the interests of both Turkey and Germany. In fact, Turkey established a referral office in Germany to ensure that Turkish immigrants work under equal and decent conditions within the expected duration of stay. On the other hand, the number of people appealing to private agencies to go to Germany was substantial, and these people were suffered from the private intermediaries in several senses in Germany. As the Turkish government struggled with those private intermediaries, particularly private offices, the issue was also being covered in *Milliyet* in the selected three years. With 9 articles in total, the subcategory *Private Agencies* constitutes the sixth most crowded subcategory. Table 20 below shows the share of the articles under the subcategory *private agencies* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Private Agencies* in the upper category *Labor Export*. Accordingly, both the share and percentage of the articles are inconsistent. Also, the percentage of the articles in the upper category is the same in 1961 and 1963, but decreased in 1962 compared to 1961 and 1963. More specifically, the number of articles is 3 and the percentage is 5,3 in 1961, 1 and 1,6 in 1962 and 5 and 5,3 in 1963. The total number of the articles under the subcategory is 9, and the percentage of the total number of the articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 4,3, while the mean percentage is 4.

**Table 20. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Private Agencies” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Private Agencies” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Private Agencies</b>	3	1	5	<b>9</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	5,3	1,6	5,3	<b>4,3</b>

The articles under the subcategory mainly dealt with that private agencies suffer those who want to go to Germany. Accordingly, the workers-to-be could not find a job and live in “disastrous” conditions in Germany. In fact, the departures to Germany, which had started for reasons such as vocational training in the 1950s and historically took place through private intermediaries, accelerated with Turkish citizens' freedom of travel in 1961. Thereby, the number of firms under the name of translation offices increased rapidly. Many people applied to these firms to go to Germany to find jobs or improve their living conditions. However, to systematically control these individual migrations, bilateral negotiations between Turkey and Germany started, and Germany established a referral office (*Deutsche Verbindungsstelle* in German) in Istanbul initially. Following these developments, the private agencies' activities, mostly under the name of translation offices, were banned.

In the relevant articles, the unlawfulness of the agencies and victimization of workers are distinctive. For example, one of this news in 1961 represented those workers as victims through its headline: “Some workers, who want to go to Germany, are deceived”, (Figure 48). By pointing out that the only authorized institution is the Turkish Employment Agency, the news exemplified the aggrievement of workers by the case of 9000 workers, 16 of whom allegedly “turned to prosecution with the claim that they had been deceived”. As the news shared such a high number of victims, it clearly delivers the grievances created by the private agencies. Also, the news is relatively long and detailed compared to most of the articles published in *Milliyet*, even the fees charged by the agencies were mentioned within the text.



**Figure 48. Almanya'ya gitmek isteyen bazı işçiler aldatılıyor**  
**Milliyet, 20 August 1961**

**\* Some workers who want to go to Germany are deceived**

*The Turkish Employment agency has been informed that 9000 Turkish workers seeking work in Germany by applying to special bureaus were rejected.*

*Although special bureaus are prohibited from mediating to find a job for Turkish workers in Germany, it is reported that some bureaus under the name of translation offices are still active. Although the authorized institution for worker placement is only the Turkish Employment Agency, these bureaus receive 300-400 Turkish Liras from the applicants under the name of translation fees.*

*Yesterday, 16 people applied to the prosecution office, claiming that they have been deceived with the promise of finding a job in Germany.*

Similarly, in another news in 1961 again, the headline “Turks who go to Germany to look for a job are in a difficult situation” and the subhead “Turks who do not have a work permit are not given employment” were used to stress the difficulties faced by Turkish workers appealed to private channels than the official agency (Figure 49). Although a private agency was not referred to in the news, it was pointed out that “those without the permission issued by the German consulates in Turkey in their passports” are subjected to the “work and residence ban” and they “fall into awful situations” (“İş aramak İçin Almanya'ya Giden Türkler Güç durumda”, 1962). With the reference of “ban” and “awful situations”, the news seems to disincentive through an implicit warning for those who have an intention to use private channels such as private agencies.



**Figure 49. İş aramak için Almanya'ya Giden Türkler Güç durumda**  
**Milliyet, 16 December 1961**

**\* Turks who go to Germany to look for a job are in a difficult situation**

**Turks who do not have a work permit are not given employment**

*In recent weeks, many of our citizens have come to Germany with a tourist passport and seek work by applying left and right. Because the work and residence ban for those without the permission issued by the German consulates in Turkey in their passports has been strictly enforced in recent days, Turkish citizens who come here hoping to earn money fall into awful situations.*

In addition to articles revealing some Turkish workers' suffering due to their choice of private agencies, the newspaper also gave publicity to the legal sanctions against private agencies. For example,



according to another news published on 19 January 1961, the six agency owners were turned to the prosecution, as they caused thousands of Turkish workers' misery. With a clear headline summarizing the news, and details within the text, such as the relevant law number and the Turkish Employment Agency's role, the news also reminded the legal dimension of the issue (Figure 50). In this sense, the news has a similar meaning with the news about workers' suffering, in terms of warning readers.



**Figure 50. Avrupaya işçi gönderen altı büro Sahibi Savcılığa verildi Milliyet, 19 January 1961**

**\* Six office owners who send workers to Europe, have been turned to the prosecution**

*Six bureau owners operating to send workers to Europe have been turned to the prosecution yesterday by the Employment Agency. It has been determined that thousands of Turkish workers, who were particularly sent to Germany through the intermediary of the special bureaus, became miserable.*

*In accordance with the provisions of the Labor Law No.2008, the governmental agency, i.e., the Employment Agency, is authorized to act as an intermediary between the employee and the employer. Labor law does not recognize the right of intermediation to individuals and legal persons other than this organization.*

On the other hand, claiming that the newspaper took a consistent stance, at least in 1961, would not reflect the truth. More specifically, given the above-mentioned piece of news, it may be argued that the newspaper aimed to deter readers appeal to private agencies. However, it also published ads of private agencies to reach more people to appeal. According to an ad published with the headline “Attention to those, who will go to Germany” just a day ago from the news in Figure 49, on 18 January 1961, it was pointed out: “there is no need for money or any mediators for this job”. As understood from the ad, workers could find a job in Germany through the agency advertised. Besides, the ad even comprises an address and payment details to apply (Figure 51).



**Figure 51. Almanya'ya Gideceklerin Dikkatine  
Milliyet, 18 January 1961.**

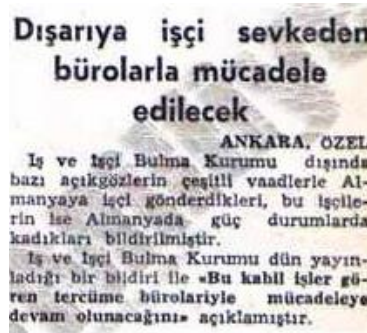
**\* Attention to those, who will go to Germany**

*There is no need for money or any mediators for this job.*

*You can find yourself a job in Germany according to your situation.*

*In return for 5 Liras you send to the address, P.O. box 109 BESIKTAS, the necessary German documents and various workplace addresses, extensive information on working and living conditions and workers' wages in Germany needed for this, is immediately posted to your address.*

In 1962, *Milliyet* published only one article about private agencies. According to the article, the Turkish Employment Agency expressed its determination to fight against those agencies through a declaration published (Figure 52). With its content, and brief and undetailed reporting, the news is usual. On the other hand, when the news is scrutinized, it draws attention that the private bureaus and the word “shrewd” (*açıkgöz*<sup>6</sup> in Turkish) were used interchangeably. More specifically, while the reporter describes the bureaus as “shrewd” in the first sentence of the news, the reporter used rather “the translation bureaus” in the same meaning in the following sentence. In this way, deliberately or not, the bureaus, which were illegal and needed to be struggled, are positioned as intelligent and strong in front of “workers under challenging situations” due to the bureaus.



**Figure 52. Dışarıya işçi sevkeden bürolarla mücadele edilecek  
Milliyet, 14 January 1962.**

**\* The bureaus that send workers abroad will be struggled**

*Apart from the Turkish Employment Agency, it has been reported that some shrewd people sent workers to Germany with various promises, and these workers were under challenging situations in Germany.*

*The Turkish Employment Agency announced in a statement yesterday, <It will continue to fight against translation bureaus that work in this manner>.*

In 1963, a revolutionary step, so-to-say, was taken to struggle with the private agencies. Accordingly, the Turkish Employment Agency decided to liberalize the application process of the labor migrants. More specifically, unlike the previous implementation of the agency, candidates would follow up their applications themselves. The decision of the agency aimed to prevent private agencies from deceiving those who want to go to Germany. In the relevant news in *Milliyet*, no detail was shared about a clear difference from the previous implementation or how to follow up the applications according to the new

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of the word in Turkish is that someone who knows how to use opportunities cunningly and takes advantage of the opportunities by acting vigilantly.



implementation. Instead, the new implementation and its justification were superficially shared in the first paragraph of the four-paragraph news. In the following paragraphs, the fraud due to the bureaus was pointed out independent from the implementation. The rest of the text was dealt with the number of workers to go to different countries such as Austria and Switzerland in addition to Germany. In this sense, the main focus in the news is the applicant numbers to work abroad, instead of the new implementation of the Turkish Employment Agency. Nevertheless, the news was covered with the headline “Workers going to foreign countries will follow the treatment in person”. Thereby, the main focus of the news is suggested to the new implementation by summarizing the information shared in only one paragraph. The relevant paragraph summarized in the headline: “*Applicants to the Turkish Employment Agency will be able to follow their service. Thereby, it will be prevented those translation bureaus and intermediary agencies from deceiving citizens*” (“Dış memleketlere Gidecek işçiler Muameleyi bizzat Takibedecekler”, 1963).

Only three months after the above-mentioned news about the new implementation, another news published in *Milliyet*, which points out even in its headline that the private bureaus sending workers cannot be prevented (Figure 53). Accordingly, workers still emigrated from Turkey to abroad but not to Germany and Australia, without any application to the Turkish Employment Agency but through the private agencies. In the news, the illegality of such emigration was underscored with a highlight of the relevant law enforcement: “No one other than the Turkish Employment Agency can mediate”. Thus, in addition to the fact that appealing to those intermediaries constitutes a crime, the lack of authorization of the private intermediaries is reminded readers by drawing attention at first glance. Also, the seriousness of the situation is implied in the following sentence by sharing the information that some of those bureaus had been turned to the prosecution, although it is also acknowledged in the news that the sanctions are inadequate to deter. With the stress on law enforcement and the practice of the prosecution, the news was aimed to deter the bureaus and its applicants per se. In this sense, it is also remarkable that while the above-mentioned news shared one paragraph to convey the information about the liberal implementation to struggle with the bureaus, this news concentrates on the deterrence in full text.



**Figure 53. İşçi gönderen firmalara mani olunamıyor  
Milliyet, 15 October 1963.**

**\* Companies sending workers cannot be prevented**

*Workers who receive invitation letters from countries other than Germany and Australia can leave our country after completing the necessary travel procedures without applying to the Turkish Employment Agency. This process is often carried out by private companies, despite the explicit provision of the law that <No one other than the Turkish Employment Agency can act as an intermediary>.*

*The Turkish Employment Agency notified some companies operating in this way to the prosecutor a while ago, and they were prosecuted. However, it is stated that because the sanctions are very light, intermediaries cannot be prevented.*

The attitude of German officials toward Turkish workers going to Germany by private agencies corresponds to the other side of the coin. According to news in 1963, in order to prevent people from going to Germany to work on a tourist visa without a work permit, the German customs police strictly controlled tourists. Thus, “many Turkish citizens” could not enter Germany, as the citizens were being forced off the train in the customs. In this sense, the police allegedly expected passengers to arrive in Germany with enough money, and if passengers did not meet their expectations, the police did not allow those they wanted to enter the country, at their discretion. Also, the police did not speak any language other than German, and they did not allow people who could not speak German to enter the country from time to time. Given the implementation of the German police, it seems that xenophobic applications against Turkish migrants emerged structurally in Germany even during the third year of the official Turkish labor migration because although applications were deemed to prevent the unpermitted work, the police rather focus on the language and prosperity of the Turkish migrants.

Besides, the German police’s attitude was not general, according to the news. Instead, only the trains departed from Turkey and the Balkans were subjected to such control. The newspaper shared a wide coverage of the news. Also, the expression “control the tourists” was written bold that makes available to readers to distinguish the news content and the seriousness of the implementation in question at first glance. The newspaper exceptionally took a critical stance that is understood from several expressions within the text. For example, in the expression “many Turkish citizens were not admitted to Germany unjustly”, the emphasis on the “Turkish citizens” implied the separatism against the Turks, and the stress on “unjustly” criticized the implementation. Similarly, the statement “at their discretion” in the news points out the arbitrariness of the implementation, and “*customs police who do not speak other languages than German*” implies the incompetency of the German police. The news was also given through a clear headline and subhead, which deliver the content on their own (Figure 54).

## Almanyada Türk Turistlerine Zorluk çıkarılıyor

Alman Gümrük makamlarının «Turistleri kontrol usulü», birçok Türkleri zor duruma sokuyor

**Figure 54. Almanyada Türk Turistlerine Zorluk çıkarılıyor  
Milliyet, 18 May 1963.**

**\* Difficulty for Turkish Tourists in Germany**

*<The procedure of checking< tourists by German customs authorities puts many Turks in a difficult position.*

The private agencies were one of the biggest challenges of the official labor migration because they both posed an obstacle to the two countries' efforts to systematize migration, and suffer workers appealed. Although the issue was quite significant thereby, *Milliyet* did not share wide coverage of the issue. Nevertheless, the subcategory *Private Agencies* is the sixth most crowded subcategory, with 9 articles in total and a 4,3 percent average of the selected three years. Particularly, 3 articles were published in 1961, 1 in 1962, and 5 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 5,3 percent in 1961, 1,6 in 1962, and 5,3 in 1963. Thereby, both the share and percentage of articles are inconsistent. Given the newspaper's general stance, it played a warning role in all the three years. On the other hand, the variety of articles increased gradually from 1961 to 1963, regardless of the number of articles. More specifically, the fraud of private agencies and suffering of candidates were the central theme in the articles in 1961, while the issues such as liberalization of the Turkish Employment Agency in the application process and separatist practices of the German police against Turkish people with tourist visa were also covered in 1962 and 1963, respectively. Under the subcategory *Private Agencies*, it has been strived to give examples for all the issues covered in *Milliyet* from every three years, i.e., 1961, 1962, and 1963, inclusively as soon as possible.

#### **6.1.9. Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export**

The labor migration from Turkey was aimed to yield several benefits both for Turkey and Germany. As the issue of benefit and losses is multifaceted, it has several dimensions. In this sense, emigrant workers were expected to send remittances to and invest in Turkey. They would develop both their profession and manner, and contribute to Turkey's modernization in all terms in their return. They would also become cheap and less demanding labor for Germany, and develop the post-war country. On the other hand, the labor migration, which was expected to bring benefits, caused many losses, too. Some qualified workers permanently deserted Turkey and settled down in Germany, contrary to what both countries expected. In parallel with the labor migration, *Milliyet* shared relevant articles. To understand the perspective toward such a significant dimension of the labor migration, the relevant articles counted under a subcategory.

With 14 articles in total, the subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* constitutes the fourth most crowded subcategory, like the other fourth most crowded subcategory *Official Processes* with the same number of articles. Table 21 below shows the share of the articles under the subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of articles under the subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* in the upper category *Labor Export*. Accordingly, both the

share and percentage of articles in the upper category are inconsistent. More specifically, the number of articles is 4 and the percentage is 7,1 in 1961, 3 and 5 in 1962 and 7 and 7,5 in 1963. As the total number of articles under the subcategory is 14, the percentage of the total number of articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 6,7, while the mean percentage is 6,5.

**Table 21. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export</b>	4	3	7	<b>14</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	7,1	5	7,5	<b>6,7</b>

Although there are some critical comments about the benefits of the labor export in some columns, the newspaper’s general tendency is that labor export is not a loss for Turkey. Instead, this yields many opportunities for economic and social development. However, such an insistent need to underscore these opportunities suggests a need to prove something. Thereby, *Milliyet*’s approach may be considered sufficient to demonstrate a factual suspicion toward the benefits. On the topic, the newspaper released many articles focusing on the quality of migrant workers in 1961, and mainly reporting their lack of quality between the lines and directly. In 1962 and 1963, articles about remittances, investments and tourism became more salient. Unlike most articles dealing with the other topics such as the duration of stay or private agencies, the newspaper allocated a relatively larger place for articles about this issue.

For instance, on 3 June 1961, the subhead “It is stated by those respective that Turkey will not be any weakening of the labor force because most of these workers are not qualified employees” distinguishes through its clear implication on the workers’ qualification and reference to the authorities (Figure 54). Given the length of the news, it is evident that the newspaper shared a wide place for the issue. According to the news, the demand for going to Germany was high, as 32 thousand people applied by then. However, this would allegedly not lead to a substantial loss in Turkey’s labor force because most applicants are manual workers instead of those with qualifications. In this sense, the statements of the officials from the General Directorate of the Turkish Employment Agency were referred to, as they emphasized: “*the applicants are not <qualified> workers, rather they are strong and manual workers*”. Strikingly, as if highlighting, the word “qualified” was cited in the less- and greater-than signs ‘< and >’, which were employed instead of the inverted comma in the newspaper. In this way, the main focus of the news was stressed. Besides, the reporter followingly added her or his comment: “*the outflow will not cause a weakening of the skilled labor force in Turkey*”. Thereby, the officials’ statements and the reporter’s forecast about the loss of qualified labor were given supportively to each other (Figure 55).



**Figure 55. 32 bin işçi Almanya'ya gitmek için müracaat etti Milliyet, 3 June 1961.**

**\* 32 thousand workers applied to go to Germany**

*It is stated by those respective that because most of these workers are not qualified employees, Turkey will not be any weakening of the labor force*

*The number of workers applying to go to Germany has exceeded 32 thousand.*

*The officials from the General Directorate of the Employment Agency stated that the applicants are not <qualified> workers; instead, they are strong and manual workers. Thereby, the outflow will not cause a weakening of the skilled labor force in Turkey.*

*Within the next week, a new delegation will arrive from Germany, and a large number of workers will begin to be sent to Germany followingly.*

In contradiction, only fifteen days after this news, the newspaper also published the statements of the Workers' Training Expert, namely *Mr. Betzler*. According to *Betzler*, there is a need for qualified workers in Germany in every field, and they will "take" many workers from Turkey ("Almanlar işçi sevki için bir büro kuruyorlar", 1961). Supporting *Betzler's* statements, some columns also mentioned in patches that exported workers are "the cream of the workers" factually. In this sense, two different columnists' addressing the issue four days apart may be particularly worth noticing. According to the first column, Turkish emigrant workers are not unemployed in Turkey; instead, they are "skilled craftsmen", whom Turkey is "dependent on". Moreover, the first column indicated, Turkey dispatched its skilled labor, or "the cream of the working class", even the country's industry "lacks qualified personnel" then ("İşçi İhracatı!", 1961). Similarly, the second column also identified Turkish emigrant workers as "the cream layer of workers". The column complaint that unlike Germany, Turkey does not give an opportunity to even those self-confident in the national job market ("Türkiye'den göç edenler", 1961). The relevant parts of the columns below:

If we could consider the issue of placing unemployed people in Turkey to jobs in Germany, we could be pleased since the unemployment situation in our country has started to worsen in recent years. However, as we can

determine, our workers who go to Germany are not unemployed people in Turkey; on the contrary, they are skilled craftsmen that we are very dependent on. While all of our industrial enterprises lack qualified personnel today, and while we are preparing to make big industry moves, delivering the cream of the working class to Germany would not at all pleasing for the country in terms of its results (“İşçi İhracatı!”, 1961).

There is no job for the man without self-confidence in the West. In Turkey, there is no job for those with self-confidence. We have not been able to establish the medium to make this distinction anyway... What will happen if you are confident or unconfident with yourself... However, Germany makes this distinction and attracts the cream layer of our workers (“Türkiye’den göç edenler”, 1961).

The contradiction within the newspaper’s articles is evident in its issues in 1962, too. On the one hand, *Milliyet* reported that workers sent are not qualified; on the other hand, it shared complaints and criticism about the shortage of qualified workers in Turkey due to the labor export. For example, according to the news published on 19 January 1962, Turkish tailors complaint about the emigration of qualified workers to Germany that had caused fewer aesthetic works in Turkey (Figure 56). In reporting, the newspaper referred to the complaint of the tailors through the verb “to complain” with the phrase “the departure of the qualified workers” explicitly.



**Figure 56. Terzilerin Almanya’ya Gidişi Şikayet Edildi**  
**Milliyet, 19 January 1962.**

**\* Complaints of Tailors Going to Germany**

*Tailors complained about the departure of skilled workers to Germany.*

*Speaking at the congress of the association with 161 members held yesterday in the Chamber of Commerce, the tailors mentioned the danger of losing the beauty of the sewing due to the departure of qualified workers.*

Similarly, the example of the emigration of a qualified civil servant in the Turkish State Railways, who was intended to promote after his leaving from Turkey, was mentioned above under the topic of the *Articles with General Information* (“Olaylar&İnsanlar: Bakan Mı Olursunuz, Yoksa Büyük Elçi Mi”, 1962). Nevertheless, *Milliyet* shared in the same year that 261 Turkish workers from different parts of Turkey had gone to Germany within the last two weeks (Figure 57). In the concluding sentence of the two-sentence news, two workers were identified this time with the depending clause “*Most of whom are artless*”, which means that the emigrant workers are craftless.





**Figure 57. Almanya'ya 261 işçi gönderildi**  
**Milliyet, 31 July 1962.**

**\* 261 workers were sent to Germany**

*261 workers were sent to Federal Germany within two weeks. The workers, most of whom are artless, were selected from Adana, Ankara, Bursa, Eskişehir, Mersin, Mersin, Zonguldak, Samsun, Denizli, Sakarya, Kayseri, İzmit, Sivas, Erzincan, Malatya, Trabzon, Konya, Erzurum, Edirne, İzmir, and Balıkesir*

The qualification of the Turkish migrant workers is certainly a significant dimension of the benefits and losses of the labor export. However, as mentioned above, the issue indicates a multifaceted process, as the emigration would bring about social and economic development for Turkey. To facilitate and maximize the benefits from the labor migration and migrants, Turkey took several steps in different contexts. The traces of these steps can be easily followed in *Milliyet* in those years. For example, one of the articles under the subcategory covered the coordination between the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Finance of Turkey regarding the economic interests from the migrant workers. Accordingly, the two ministries conferred about the exemption or reduction to a symbolic amount of the customs and other taxes for the vocational tools brought by workers returning from Germany to Turkey. Besides, they initiated to reduce the minimum livelihood index of the migrant workers from 386 marks to 200 brands, making the workers save their remaining earning, buy vocational tools, and bring the tools to Turkey. In this way, with the exact sentences of the newspaper, “*They will be beneficial to Turkey and the national industry sector*” (“78 Bin İşçi Almanya'ya Gitmek İçin Müracaat Etti”, 1962).

To achieve economic and social development, the representation of the Turkish workers in Germany would also play a significant role because it would introduce the modern Turkish republic in Germany and attract the attention of Germans to Turkey as a new destination for their touristic activities. In parallel, there were many articles regarding German tourists' willingness to visit Turkey in *Milliyet* in 1962. One of these articles explicitly attributed the new tendency of German society to the labor migration and Turkish workers. More specifically, as the news published in the second year of the official labor migration, the news remarkably forecasted that the number of German tourist would increase 30 percent in 1962 compared to the previous year. Besides, the news attributed to the fact that European people are anxious about visiting Turkey, to Turkey's “not yet being recognized in Europe

thoroughly”. In this way, the expectation of the representation from the Turkish workers in terms of both the new republic and touristic activities was underlined by intertwining the two dimensions of each other. The news also pointed out in the penultimate sentence that the Turkish workers’ and students’ effect on the increasing demand to travel to Turkey among German people. The following and last sentence implicitly reminded the Turkish workers and students of their role, emphasizing the necessity of making informed propaganda toward the Germans, who were deciding their travel routes during the period when the news was published. The relevant parts of the news below:

[...] The number of those wishing to travel to the Balkans and Turkey is forecasted to rise to at least 30 percent this summer compared to last year. [...] According to many people, travel to Turkey adumbrates almost a little fearful adventure due to both the remoteness of Turkey and not yet being recognized in Europe thoroughly. [...] The desire to travel to Turkey among those in contact with the Turkish workers and students in Germany has increased considerably. Since the Germans who want to spend their holidays in foreign countries have already decided and prepared accordingly, informed propaganda to be made these months will greatly benefit tourist calls (“Alman Turisti Bu Yıl Bize Gelmek İstiyor”, 1962).

In 1963, the central axis of the debates about the benefits and losses of labor migration was financial acquisitions. In this sense, the articles frequently dealt with the issues such as money transfer from Germany, foreign exchange, and customs clearance. For example, according to a news published on 8 August 1963, problems related to the customs clearance were covered. The news particularly referred to Turkish immigrant workers as the complainers. More specifically, the migrant workers allegedly complain about the strictness and time-consuming customs clearance, as well as multiple charges. The positioning of the workers as complainers is understood from the subject position of the word “workers” and the verb “complain about” in the same sentence. With the headline “*It is difficult for workers to pass through customs with goods*”, the news also delivered the migrant workers as the unique victims of the customs procedures. On the other hand, there is no mention of the earnings of the state, which is one of the dynamics of the customs procedures that the workers have to pay twice at customs for the goods. Similarly, the news did not mention the state’s benefit or loss based on the new technology that the country’s industry would be deprived of if the workers cannot bring the goods into the country. In this sense, the news is one-dimensional by attributing all the outcomes of the process to the workers. The most relevant paragraphs of the news are below:

Turkish workers, who bring goods with them from Germany, have complained about the heavy customs clearance. The workers have said that they spend three or four days of their twenty-day leave to get their goods from customs. Some workers have also claimed that customs duties were paid for the same goods in Edirne and Istanbul (“Gümrükten eşya Çekmek, işçiler için güç oluyor”, 1963).

In 1963, the newspaper also covered foreign exchange and money, to remind the mission of sending remittances burdened to workers. For example, in the very brief news published on 26 October 1963, the headline “*And in Germany*” was used in the news, which delivered that the foreign value of the



Turkish currency had remained stable for the week of the news, with the example of "Currently, two 50 Lira banknotes or one hundred Lira banknotes are bought from 32 marks and sold at 38.70 marks" ("...Ve Almanyada", 1963). In a similar sense, the newspaper released a new convenience of sending remittances. Accordingly, the German government had taken a new decision that Turkish migrants would send money by mail from Germany to Turkey. Given the way of reporting, the news presented brief but concise information, with details such as the option of sending money multiple times and the amount of money that can be sent at once. In the same vein, the news delivered the information even at first glance, through the headline, "*Turkish workers in Germany can send money by mail*" (Figure 58). Nevertheless, there is no contemplation on the reason for providing such a convenience by Germany. In other words, there is no question in the news that Germany could have made such an initiative, perhaps because the Turks were afraid of investing in Germany with the intention of becoming permanent. In this sense, the news is expectedly far from being critical again; instead, it seems to be about teaching and urging a new method of sending money in detail latently.



**Figure 58. *Almanya'daki Türk işçileri posta ile para gönderebilecek***  
**Milliyet, 12 November 1963.**

**\* *Turkish workers in Germany will be able to send money by mail***

*A decision by the German government, since 1 December 1963 has allowed money to be sent by mail to the Turkey.*

*The amount of money that can be transferred at once has been determined as 1300 marks. Those who wish will be able to transfer money several times within a month.*

Relatedly, *Milliyet* revealed in the same year that the German court and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey had jointly decided to cancel residence permit in Germany of the Turkish immigrant workers, who does not send money to their dependents in Turkey. The news also has a clear and giant headline: "*A worker, who does not care for her or his family, will leave Germany*". Besides, the subhead delivered the joint initiative and praxis of the Turkish and German governments (Figure 59). Within the text, the decision taken by the Court of Appeal in Munster, "*Residence ban in Germany can be issued for a foreigner who does not provide support for her or his family in the homeland*", was the only part written boldly. In this sense, and through the remarkable heading and wide coverage, the news seems to convey the seriousness of the issue by reminding the "duties" of the migrant workers. On the other hand, the news dealt with the issue through a one-dimensional approach because there is no inquiry about the

sensitivity of the German authorities toward the workers' dependent in Turkey. In other words, the news never mentioned or implied that one of the possible dynamics of the decision taken may be perhaps the German authorities' anxiety about workers, who discarded her or his family in Turkey, did not send money, and may become permanent with an attempt to establish a new family in Germany. The reason for the lack of criticism in *Milliyet* may be based on the fact that workers' sending money was a vital component of the labor migration because it means unbroken social and financial bonds between emigrant workers and Turkey, while it has a meaning of guarantee for the impermanence, *i.e.*, guest situation, of the immigrant workers for Germany.



**Figure 59. Ailesine bakmayan işçi Almanya'dan çıkacak**  
**Milliyet, 17 July 1963.**

**\* Workers, who does not care for her or his family, will leave Germany**

*The German Appeal Court has ruled on those who did not care for their family. Our foreign minister also takes action to deal with complaints.*

The labor migration from Turkey to Germany was approached by the two countries with the motivation of maximum benefit and minimal loss. In this sense, Turkish workers would send remittances to and invest in Turkey; represent their country and society well in Germany to introduce the modern republic, and attract German tourists; and develop themselves both technically and in their manner to contribute to their country. In the eyes of the German government, Turkish workers would provide cheap and less-demanding labor in order to develop the post-war country by serving according to the market needs based on the rotation principle. In *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963, the issue of benefits and losses of the export was dealt with in its different dimension. The articles published in 1961 mainly focus on the qualification of workers, while the remittances, investments, and representation became prominent in 1962 and 1963. The subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* is the fourth most crowded subcategory, as it is also under the most crowded category *Labor Export*.

Particularly, four articles were published in 1961, three in 1962, and seven in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 7,1 percent in 1961, 5 in 1962, and 7,5 in 1963. In this respect, an inconsistency is visible both in the number and percentage of the articles. Given the newspaper's general stance towards the issue, the articles show a clear parallelism with the motivation of benefits of the two countries. More specifically, the articles in *Milliyet* have an affirmative discourse about the implementations mentioned;

instead of any criticism. Under the subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*, it has been strived to give examples for all the issues covered in *Milliyet* from every three years inclusively.

## 6.2. Social Life and Integration in Germany

The category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* is the least crowded category among the three categories in the average of the three years. The reason for the few coverages of the issue may be perhaps that the selected three years, *i.e.*, 1961, 1962, and 1963, are the first three years of the official migration, which means that the social life of immigrant workers was quite limited due to the lack of integration in the public sphere. Supporting this argument, the number of articles more than doubled in 1963 compared to the previous two years that have the same number of articles with each other. Thereby, it is understood that after the first two years of the official labor migration, the social integration of Turkish immigrant workers started to be more visible, as the workers were involved in social life in Germany more, at least within their own social group. On the other hand, in conjunction with the transition from only working life to the social life, the crime rates among the workers also increased, the dynamics of which will be examined in detail under the next category. Although the number of articles under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* was more than those under the category *Criminality* in 1961, the number of articles under the category *Criminality* outnumbered those in the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* in 1962 and 1963. Also, as the percentage of the articles under the category *Labor Export* started to decrease in total articles of all the three categories since 1962, the percentage of those under the categories *Social Life and Integration in Germany* and *Criminality*. Thus, following the category *Criminality*, the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* stands at the third and last place with the overall number of articles published in the selected three years.

In 1961, a few exceptional articles about social life and integration in Germany have been encountered in *Milliyet*. As mentioned above, this fact is probably because the labor migration to Germany officially started in 1961, and there was a relatively small Turkish population in Germany at that time. Specifically, 8 of 68 news have been identified under the category. Accordingly, two news were published in February, three news in April, one news in June, one news in July, and one column in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for January, March, May, August, September, October, and November 1961. Table 22 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1961.

**Table 22. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in *Milliyet* in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	2	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	<b>7</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<b>1</b>

**Table 22 (cont'd). The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Milliyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>

Similarly, in 1962, only 8 of the 79 articles have been identified under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany*. Given the less increasing number of the articles in 1962 compared to 1961, one can say that the percentage of the relevant articles even decreased compared to the 7 articles out of the total 68 articles in 1961. Nevertheless, the first examples of the issues such as ghettoization, polarization, and Islamophobia can be traced in the newspaper’s issues of 1962. In 1962, two news and two columns were published in February, two news in July, one news in August, and one column in September. No news, column, or ad was detected for January, March, April, May, June, October, November, and December 1962. Table 23 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1962.

**Table 23. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Milliyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	<b>5</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	<b>3</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>

In 1963, the number of articles under the category more than doubled of those published in the previous two years. It can be suggested that two years had passed in 1963 since the official labor migration started; and therefore, Turkish immigrants became more integrated into social life in 1963 compared to the first two years. On the other hand, the most significant reason for the increasing number of the articles is the national soccer match between Turkey and Germany, which took place in Germany in September 1963, and the articles about the Turkish community in Germany flock to the stadium to watch the match. Thus, 17 of the 139 articles have been identified under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany*. Accordingly, one column was published in January, one news in March, two news and one column in April, one ad in May, two news in July, five news, one column and three ads in September. No news, column, or ad was detected for February, June, August, October, November, and December 1963. Table 24 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1963.

**Table 24. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Milliyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	<b>10</b>
<b>Column</b>	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	<b>3</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	<b>4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>17</b>

Given the share of the articles under the category in *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963, the articles constitute a few portion of all the published articles in the selected years, Table 24 demonstrates. Although there is a similarity between the percentage of the articles in each year, the least articles were published in 1962 proportionally. More specifically, the 8 articles under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* constitute 11,7 percent in all the 68 articles published in 1961; the 8 articles constitute 10,1 percent in all the 79 articles published in 1962; and the 17 articles constitute 12,2 percent in all the published 139 articles in *Milliyet* in 1963. Considering the 286 articles in total analyzed for 1961, 1962, and 1962, the percentage of the total of 33 relevant articles under the category is 11,5, and the mean percentage is 11,3 percent. Given the genre of the articles published, news stands at first place with the number of 22 in total, while columns at second with the number of 7 and ads at third and last with the number of 4. Table 25 below shows the share of the articles under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* published in *Milliyet* by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles in the given years.

**Table 25. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Milliyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>News</b>	7	5	10	<b>22</b>
<b>Column</b>	1	3	3	<b>7</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	4	<b>4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>% in the three categories</b>	<b>11,7</b>	<b>10,1</b>	<b>12,2</b>	<b>11,5</b>

Among the eight articles of 1961, two news are especially notable. The first one reports that Turkish girls were offered German bars by an unknown person (Figure 60). The news referenced to the previous news published in the German newspaper *Hamburger Morgenpost* with the headline “A Women for

300 Marks – Turkish Girls were offered for German Bars”. According to the news, a nightclub owner in Hamburg had advertised in a German newspaper that he is looking for women for his bar. Then, he allegedly received a letter signed “Certified Merchant Z.”, saying that he could send him Turkish girls immediately if he is interested.



**Figure 60. Alman barları için Türk kızları teklif edilmiş Milliyet, 26 February 1961.**

**\* Turkish girls were offered for German bars**

*The headline of the newspaper, Hamburger Morgenpost, states that Turkish girls were offered German bars.*

This news is notable because it is one of the exceptional articles mentioning female Turkish migrants. On the other hand, the way of presentation of the female migrants is striking. More specifically, Okyayuz (2005) argues that migrant women are suffered even more discrimination than other migrants. Apart from the gender discrimination in social, economic, political, and many other contexts, women constitute the reality of how much globalization makes people commodities as women are migrated to be employed in the prostitution sector globally (Okyayuz, 2005, p. 242). In line with Okyayuz’s argument, in the continuation of the news, the migrant women and, so-to-say, ‘the trade initiative’ were reported as if the women are commodities. For example, the ad of the nightclub owner in the newspaper as “Women wanted for a night club” which suggests a call for tender, and the letter signed “Certified Merchant Z”, which approached the issue as a trade, not only with its signature but also with its content, e.g., “let me know if interested”, were not questioned in the news. Instead, the news gave publicity to such a trade initiative through a wide coverage. Far from criticizing the news source German newspaper, *Milliyet* took a similar stand with that newspaper, i.e., *Hamburger Morgenpost*, and it even shared the picture of the relevant issue of that newspaper within its coverage. In this way, considering the



traditional family structure of the Turkish society then, the migration of Turkish women to Germany and the fate of women there would once again become controversial in readers' minds, while their migration was already a very challenging situation at that time, as it can be understood from the share of female migrants compared to men mentioned previously.

One of the other prominent news in 1961 is about a Quran issued in Germany with a gold cover. Accordingly, Turkish migrants prepared an issue of the Quran, and introduced it in Cuxhaven, Germany (Figure 61). Although Turkish migrants made up only one percent of the population in Germany in 1961, most of them firmly adhered to their religious beliefs. In addition to obeying religious orders such as fasting and not eating pork, the news demonstrates that they have started activities like religious publishing and association even at the beginning of the migration. Besides, the news is meaningful because it indicates the intensity of future religious activities from the very beginning of the Turkish labor migration, although there is no explicit reference to the future within the text. The stress on "Turkish calligrapher" in the subhead is also notable. In a sense, the subhead and the headline, which contain the word "Quran" and does not the word "Turkish", suggest a Turkish-Islamic image together because of the "Turkish" emphasis within the text.



**Figure 61. Almanyada kabı Altın işlemeli bir Kur'an basıldı  
Milliyet, 27 July 1961.**

**\* A Quran with a gold-embroidered cover was issued in Germany**

*A new version of the Quran was introduced in the city of Cuxhaven, 100 km from Hamburg. The 611-page work is covered in a gold-embroidered green, 234 suras are printed in black, red, and gold letters on a dark yellowish paper. The black ones are written by the famous Turkish calligrapher Mustafa Nazif Kadırgarlı. The corrections of the work were made by Aziz Bozkurt and İbrahim Berkalp, who were also Turkish.*

In connection with the aforementioned issue of representation and colonial discourse, the news published within the "Events & People" article series of 1961 also needs to be pointed out. Specifically,

the news covered that a Turkish man as an “oriental customer” entered into a store in Munich, and tried to be understood confidentially by the smiling and beautiful lady working there. However, he broke his Turkish to be understood instead of trying to learn and speak German. Then, “as a good coincidence”, a Turkish student who can speak German came to the store, and saved the “naive” (*saf* in the original Turkish text) citizen from his “troubled” (*müşkül* in the original Turkish text) situation but by introducing himself with his Turkishness first (“Münih’ten Yassıada’ya”, 1961). As the news described two Turkish figures, the main difference in how they are presented is related to their German language knowledge. Accordingly, the man, who even found the door with difficulty and expressed himself with an incomprehensible Turkish instead of German, was identified as an “oriental customer”. In this way, the newspaper implied the ideal representation expected from Turkish migrants. Alternatively, how Turkish migrants should not represent their country and society was again recommended in a sarcastic language. Besides, the expression in the news “*admiration of the oriental customer whose mouth opened a little more after seeing the shop assistant ‘Fraulein’ (Miss)*” seems to be a micro-representation of the Turkish-Western encounter of the colonial discourse through the “admiration” relationship.

The relevant articles in 1962 are particularly remarkable in terms of their constituting the first examples of the reported ghettoization, polarization, and Islamophobia. In this sense, the news released on 6 February 1962 sets a remarkable example (Figure 62). According to the news, Turkish citizens in Germany came together for solidarity. Besides, Turkish workers, who are not a part of the German Metal Workers’ Union, would not participate in the prospective strike, intended for a wage increase. The significance of this news emerges in two aspects. In other words, the whole two paragraphs of the news are striking both separately and together in terms of transferring the Turkish migrants’ being close in themselves in Germany. More specifically, the first paragraph indicated the emerging ground of the ghettoization within the Turkish immigrants in Germany, particularly through the expression of “*organized a meeting to strengthen the ties within them*”. In the second paragraph, Turkish workers’ not being involved in organizational behavior in Germany was mentioned. In this sense, the implication of ghettoization in the first paragraph was supported with another implication of isolation, and ergo polarization. Starting with the conjunction “on the other hand” to the second paragraph, these isolation and polarization were also put against the ghettoization in the first paragraph.





**Figure 62. Almanya'daki Türkler, tanışma toplantısı yaptı  
Milliyet, 6 February 1962.**

**\* Turks in Germany held an acquaintance meeting**

*As a first step to strengthening the ties within Turkish citizens in Germany, an acquaintance meeting was held by the Munich Turkish Students Association the day before. Men and women, who came from Turkey to Germany in order to study and work, participated in this friendly meeting.*

*On the other hand, it has been heard that Turkish workers, who are not included in the German Metal Workers' Union, will not participate in the possible strike this week. The union is demanding a 10 percent increase in wages.*

In fact, the ghettoization and isolation tendency of Turkish migrants was not independent of the host and sending countries' liberal initiatives. To ensure that Turkish migrants do not sever their ties with the homeland, the Turkish government took several steps, which were welcomed by the German state, as those steps were supporting the non-integration policies in the public sphere under the silhouette of a facilitator of Turkish immigrants' living conditions in Germany. In this sense, Germany also provided some media opportunities for immigrant Turks in their mother language. In *Milliyet* in 1962, the examples of such initiatives are visible through relevant articles. According to one of these articles, the national German radio would start to the Turkish streaming on a daily basis. The brief news did not cover anything more than the streaming details such as airing time and wavelength (Figure 63). However, it is a notable detail that although the reporter delivered from Bonn, Germany, and the target audience of the streaming is the Turkish immigrants in Germany, the airing time was given in the news according to the Turkish time zone as if the Turkish immigrants were living in Turkey or not living in Germany.



**Figure 63. Batı Almanya Radyosu Türkçe yayınlar yapacak  
Milliyet, 29 July 1962.**

**\* West Germany Radio will stream in Turkish**

*The Federal German Radio will start streaming in Turkish every day from 1 August.*

*Turkish broadcasts will start at 19.55 in the Turkish summertime and continue until 20.35. Broadcasts will be made over short wave with 16.84 meters 17 815 kilocycle or 13.85 meters 21 705 kilocycles.*

Nevertheless, all these close-in have had a social reaction inevitably. Turkish immigrants, who were not cohering or integrated socially due to the lack of relevant policies, maintained their living and working activities within the boundaries of their ethnical and cultural milieu as soon as possible, staying alienated to the German culture increasingly, and suffering from the isolation and disconnection more and more. On the other hand, German society was considering those culturally, ethnically, and religiously

'inharmonious' people as aliens day by day even more. Thus, polarization, xenophobia, and Islamophobia started to emerge in both workplace and the rest of life. In parallel, the conflict in the unharmonized society became visible in the newspapers. Considering the articles in *Milliyet*, most articles under the category in 1962 dealt with the polarization and the related concepts.

For example, according to one of these articles, which has been counted and mentioned under the topic *Working and Living Conditions in Germany* but also closely associated with this issue, a German magazine reported that fifteen Turkish mineworkers had made communist propaganda", and carried Nikita Khrushchev's poster. On the other hand, *Milliyet* added that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey denied the allegations in the magazine ("15 Türk işçisinin Nikita Kruşçev'in resmini taşıdıkları yalanlandı", 1962). Leaving aside whether making a communist propaganda is an accusatory matter or not and the question about the need for denial, the following sentences of the news are striking. Just after referring to the initiative of the Ministry to reveal the "innocence" of the Turkish workers, it was mentioned: "As stated by the authorities, there is a hostility among German workers against Turkish and Italian workers in Germany". In this way, the allegations of the communist propaganda, and the carrying of the poster are attributed to the German workers' so-called slender, as they are hostile to the Turkish workers.

Then, pointing out, "According to the information from our Embassy in Bonn, it is German workers who make communist propaganda", the Turkish workers are vindicated through a counter-testimonial in the *Milliyet*'s news. As a matter of fact, even the headline of the news was aimed to reflect the innocence and denigration of the Turkish workers by itself: "It has been denied that fifteen Turkish workers carried a picture of Nikita Khrushchev". With the presentation of the conflict between German and Turkish workers, the news clearly constitutes an example of the social polarization between the host and immigrant communities. On the other hand, according to the news, Turkish workers are not only those who suffer from native workers. Instead, the Italian workers were also subjected to similar discrimination.

More strikingly, on 27 February 1962, a relevant column mentioned a campaign, whose slogan is "Do not marry the Muslims", had been started in Germany in those days ("Olaylar & İnsanlar: Mutedil, Müfrit, Müfrit, Mutedil...", 1962). In fact, the marriage rate between the Germans and the Turkish immigrants in Germany was low in the first years of the official labor migration. Abadan-Unat (2017) revealed that Turkish male immigrants had a negative attitude toward marriage with foreigners, and they were even ranked last in marriage, although one of every thirteen weddings in Germany in the 1960s held with Italian, Greek, and Spanish men. On the other hand, most of the Turkish immigrants were single or left their families in Turkey, and they could attempt to stay permanently by getting married there. Thereby, the German authorities, who were aware of this possibility, and the media that is the spokesperson of the authority by nature, needed to restrain the potential of the integration of the Turkish-German, and Muslim-Christian in a sense, by marriage even from the beginning.

In this sense, presenting a negative image of the Islam and Muslim community is a salient strategy, and reflects one of the first signs of Islamophobia in Germany, as it is the first example of the relevant articles referenced in *Milliyet*. In the original news referred to in *Milliyet*, German girls, who are the potential spouse of Turkish immigrant men, and German families were warned by “*Attention*” thrice. Besides, as well as exemplifying the negative experiences from the past, the prison-harem allegory was employed to deter future marriages. In this way, the warned and intimidated readers would not accede to marry a Muslim, and a religious and ethnic unification would not carry out. One of the other striking details in the news is also that Turkishness and Islam had intertwined each other. In other words, the concepts of religiosity and ethnicity were considered interchangeably. Yet, the news did not completely target the Turks as a marriage partner. Instead, it focused on Muslim men in general. However, after pointing out the drawbacks of a possible marriage with the Muslim men in general, the Turkish men were specifically mentioned as they have the same features as people from the Middle Eastern countries, even though it has been “*relatively westernized*”. The column in *Milliyet* only referred to the news published in the German newspaper. However, while the details of the campaign and interviews in the German magazine were mentioned and quoted in *Milliyet* elaborately, there was no criticism or even an additional comment rather than the introduction sentence: “*An entirely new campaign has started in Germany recently*”. The relevant part of the column is below:

An entirely new campaign has started in Germany recently: <Do not marriage the Muslims!> An article was published in a German newspaper a few days ago: <Mother and Fathers, attention! Young German girls find Muslim men too jealous and want to marry them. However, if a German girl marries a Muslim man, she will lose all her liberty and get lost in the women's prison called the harem. Attention!> [...] Even in Turkey, a relatively westernized country compared to the other Middle Eastern countries, men still do not leave women to the streets alone. The role of the woman is always second in both family and community. Daughters are not esteemed, and every man desire to have a son. [...] German girls, attention! Those who married in this manner were never happy, and will never be> (“*Olaylar & İnsanlar: Mutedil, Müfrit, Müfrit, Mutedil...*”, 1962).

In 1963, although the percentage of the articles under the category did not substantially increase only 2,1 percent compared to 1962, the number of articles published in this year is more than double of those published in 1962. The reason for such an outnumbering is, on the other hand, the national soccer match between Turkey and Germany took place in Germany in September 1963. As 10 of the 17 articles published in 1963 in total were revealed in September, most of the 10 articles in September dealt with the national match. The main emphasis in the articles was the emergent “superiority” of the Turks in Germany. In the articles, messages such as Germany becoming a Turkish homeland and Turkish flags hanging everywhere stand out.

For example, in one of the relevant articles published on 23 September 1963, it was mentioned “*Turkish workers overcrowded Frankfurt*” to watch the match. Also, the articles pointed out both within the text and in the subhead that “*the Turkish Workers' Association in Germany*” would welcome the Turkish

national team “with a great ceremony” (“Milli Futbol Takımımız Frankfurt’ta bekleniyor”, 1963). In the article, with the verb “overcrowd”<sup>7</sup>, attention is drawn to the density of Turkish workers in Frankfurt, a German city. Besides, it is understood from the expression “with a great ceremony” both within the text and in the subhead that the Turkish crowd has the power to organise a great ceremony there. From the implication “the Turkish Workers’ Association in Germany”, the article suggested that Turkish workers could widely organize in Germany, indicating the close structure of the Turks in Germany, as they were living in their own group instead of integrating into the German society.

In fact, the overcrowding of Turkish immigrants was even pointed out in headlines in the newspaper from time to time. For example, in another relevant article, a giant headline “The Frankfurt streets have been overcrowded by Turkish workers” and a subhead “Frankfurt has become a Turkish city” were used, as if aiming to represent the workers’ populational existence and tangible effect in a German city (Figures 64a and 64b). Illustrating that the reporter encountered Turkish immigrants “every step of the way on the street”, and heard Turkish words “from all sides”, the article aimed to convince readers why Frankfurt is a Turkish city.

## Frankfurt sokakları Türk işçileriyle doldu

**Figure 64a.** Frankfurt sokakları Türk işçileriyle doldu  
Milliyet, 25 September 1963.

\* *The Frankfurt streets have been overcrowded by Turkish workers*



**Figure 64b.** Frankfurt sokakları Türk işçileriyle doldu  
Milliyet, 25 September 1963.

\* *The Frankfurt streets have been overcrowded by Turkish workers*

*German television took action in the face of the interest shown. The match will be broadcasted on TV.*

<sup>7</sup> In the news, the Turkish verb *doldurmak* was used. The Turkish verb derives from the noun *dolu*, whose equivalent in English is *full*. The exact translation of the verb *doldurmak* in English is *make full of*.

### **Frankfurt has become a Turkish city**

*Here, I come across Turkish students and Turkish workers every step of the way on the street. Turkish words from all sides express their thoughts about the match and their concern about not being able to find tickets. This interest already visible indicates that the Wald stadium will gather an estimated 20 thousand Turks on Saturday.*

Similarly, in a relevant column, the headline “*Frankfurt has become a Turkish city*” was used again but in all capital letters this time. The column also pointed out, “*the arrival of the Turks to Frankfurt has affected the whole atmosphere of the city and the traces of Turks has begun to be seen everywhere*”. Adding the information in the last paragraph that a Turkish movie was presented in a cinema named “*Alemania*”<sup>8</sup>, the column implied that the Turkish effect in the German city was not limited to the match. Instead, it is visible in the whole cultural area, and in a place, whose name means Germany (Figure 65). Thereby, Turkish workers were represented as having a considerable power of impression in the whole atmosphere in a German city, through a remarkable headline and a supporting text.



**Figure 65. Frankfurt Türk Şehri Oldu  
Milliyet, 28 September 1963.**

**\* Frankfurt has become a Turkish city**

#### **Reporting from Frankfurt:**

*Turkish workers in Germany have been preparing for days for the match that will be played in Frankfurt today. Preparations have increased as the match day approached. However, most of our workers will come to Frankfurt today. Rather, Turkish workers in Munich, Essen, and Bonn circles have moved to Frankfurt, taking advantage of the weekend break.*

*Hearing that there will be thousands of Turkish spectators in the stands has greatly increased our football players' morale.*

<sup>8</sup> Turkish equivalent of the word *Germany* is *Almanya*, which has the same root as the word *Alemania*.

*The fact that our workers have started to come to Frankfurt has affected the atmosphere of this huge city, and its traces have begun to be seen everywhere. In the meantime, it was a surprise to our workers and other Turkish citizens that cinema <Alemania> showed the Turkish movie <Sweet Sin>.*

The turning of a German city into a Turkish city was exemplified by some components that are sacred to a nation. For example, in one of the relevant news again, it was mentioned in the introduction sentence that Turkish workers are very excited to see “*the living star and crescent*<sup>9</sup> *streaming above the green grass of the Wald stadium*”. (“Almanya’daki işçilerimiz Frankfurt’ta toplandılar”, 1963). Putting the words “*Wald stadium*” and “*Star and Crescent*” in inverted commas, and writing them in all capital letters, the focus of the sentence is drawn attention. On the other hand, writing the words “*Star and Crescent*” in contrast to the words “*Wald stadium*”, the former is suggested to preponderate to the latter. Thus, “*the living star and crescent*” were implied as to the conquerors of the “*Wald stadium*”.

In a similar article, the columnist introduced that Frankfurt had become a Turkish city because of the Turkish national anthems recited and Turkish flags streamed in the city. In addition, the columnist stressed the density of the Turkish-speakers. As the national language, national anthems, and national flag have a divine meaning for a place’s belonging, the message on Turkish conquest was supported. Besides, the columnist strengthened his discourse by exemplifying that one can suggest being in Turkey instead of Germany if one closes her or his eyes. In this way, and with the references to a Turkish district *Mithatpaşa*, and some Turkish slogans such as “*Long live the national team*”, the column represented the German city Frankfurt as a Turkish homeland, while Turkish immigrants were covered as conquerors of Germany again. The introduction of the column is below:

In the morning in the streets of Frankfurt, the anthem “*The mountain top has been in smoke*”<sup>10</sup> was being recited. The Turkish flags were streaming. Turkish students and Turkish workers from all over Germany filled the streets. The stadium was a whole new ball game. If you close your eyes, you will think you are in Mithatpaşa, not Frankfurt. While those in front of us speak Turkish, so are those behind us. Turkish flags and endless “*Long live the national team*” tempo in the opposite stand (“12 Numaralı adam”, 1963).

Unlike 1961 and 1962, there were also ads under the category *Social life and Integration in Germany* in 1963. For example, with the headline “The best gift to your friends in a foreign country”, *Milliyet* published its own ad to persuade emigrants’ relatives and potential emigrants, to save their relatives and friends from loneliness in abroad by buying a newspaper subscription for them (Figure 66).

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<sup>9</sup> The Turkish flag is a red flag with a white star and crescent at the center.

<sup>10</sup> The anthem, which was allegedly recited by the founder of the Republic of Turkey, namely Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and his friends on the way to Samsun to struggle for the independence of the homeland against the occupation of the Allied Powers, has been later accepted as “The Anthem for Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports day” or “The Youth Anthem”.



**Figure 66. Yabancı ülkelerdeki dostlarınıza en güzel hediye Bir Yıllık Milliyet Abonesidir Milliyet, 04 September 1963.**

**\* *The best gift to your friends in foreign countries is an annual subscription of Milliyet***

*To save your friends and your relatives abroad starved kilometers away from Turkey, from loneliness and to make them aware of what is happening in the world, the best solution is to subscribe these people you love to Milliyet as soon as possible.*

However, liberal practices of 1962, such as providing media in mother language for Turkish immigrants in Germany was also continued to implement in 1963. In this sense, a Turkish language newspaper, namely *Anadolu*<sup>11</sup>, had been decided to release, and the decision was covered in *Milliyet*. In the news, the name of the Turkish language newspaper was mentioned twice within the text. Strikingly, the name was given in all capital letters and inverted commas in both usage, unlike other words. Also, the name was written boldly in the second usage in the last paragraph. Thereby, the name became the main focus, readers' attention was drawn to the word. More strikingly, as the Federal German government had decided to release the newspaper, the name *Anadolu* was probably chosen by the decider.

Although the name preference may suggest that the government had made such a choice to protect Turkish immigrants' ties with their homeland, the name suggests that Turkish immigrants were given a chance to have cultural autonomy in Germany by having a newspaper named "*Anadolu*". In the eyes of the German government, Turkish immigrants' having cultural autonomy means a sort of guarantee of non-integration of Turks into Germany because of the protected ties with the homeland. On the other hand, the name "*Anadolu*" may symbolize a Turkish conquest of Germany for Turkish immigrants, by creating a homeland-named cultural sphere, in a similar vein of the conquest implication in the articles about the national match. Nevertheless, as if reminding that Turkish immigrants in Germany are temporary there, the news mentioned in the last sentence that the Turkish language newspaper would strengthen the ties of workers both with "*both in their homeland and in Germany, where they are guests*" (Figure 67).

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<sup>11</sup> The English equivalent of the Turkish word *Anadolu* is *Anatolia*.





**Figure 67. Almanya'da bir Türkçe gazete Yuyinlanıyor  
Milliyet, 10 March 1963.**

**\* A Turkish Newspaper is published in Germany**

*The Federal German government has decided to publish a newspaper addressing the Turkish people in Germany. The newspaper, namely <Anadolu>, will give political, economic, cultural, and sports news about both countries, and deepen the interest of 25 thousand Turks, who are still working in Germany, both in their homeland and in Germany, where they are guests.*

*Among the citizens who cannot follow the German press due to lack of language knowledge, the news about the publication of a Turkish newspaper in Germany has created great satisfaction.*

*The first issue of the newspaper <Anadolu> will be published in mid-April.*

With 33 articles in total and 11,5 percent average, the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* is the least crowded category among the three categories, according to the average of the selected three years. However, the number of articles under the category was more than those under the category *Criminality* in 1961, contrary to the situation in 1962 and 1963. In this sense, the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* is the second most crowded category in 1961. Particularly, 8 articles were published in 1961, 8 in 1962, and 17 in 1963. In the total number of articles published in all the three categories, including the nine subcategories, in *Milliyet*, the share of the articles under the category is 11,7 percent in 1961, 10,1 in 1962, and 12,2 in 1963. In this respect, an inconsistency among the three years is evident, as the least share is in 1962, although the number of articles published in this year is the same as in 1961.

Besides, the share of the articles in 1963 is only 2,1 percent more compared to 1962, although the number of articles published in 1961 is more than double of those published in 1962. The reason for fewer number of articles may be perhaps that the selected three years are the first years of the official labor migration from Turkey to Germany. Thereby, participation in social life and integration into German society just started to emerge in those years. This emergence is also evident from the number of articles in 1963, although the articles about the Turkish-German national football match in September 1963 affected the doubling of the number of articles compared to the previous year. The issues mainly dealt with in the articles under the category are liberal implementations for Turkish immigrants, such



as publishing newspapers or streaming and broadcasting in the mother language. Also, Turkish immigrants' activities, such as solidarity meetings, were reported. In this sense, it is understood that Turkish immigrants in Germany maintained a close life in Germany, as they had no or minimal contact with Germans. From the other side of the coin, *Milliyet* also referred to some articles published in the German press with anti-foreigner, and particularly anti-Turkish discourse, as it was exemplified above. Given the newspaper's stance, *Milliyet* used affirmative language in the articles about the liberal implementation and did not pose a criticism against the anti-foreigner articles in Germany. Under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany*, it has been strived to give examples for all the issues covered in *Milliyet* from every three years, i.e., 1961, 1962, and 1963, inclusively.

### 6.3. Criminality

In *Milliyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963, the category *Criminality* is the second most crowded category on average. However, the category is the least crowded category in 1961 due to the very articles, in contrast to the exponential increase in 1962 and 1963. Such an increase may stem from the fact that Turkish immigrants, who were in Germany for one to two years at that time, started to be visible in social life more but were not integrated into society. More specifically, as Turkish immigrant workers were oriented to close themselves by the isolating liberal policies, the tension between host society and immigrants escalated due to the contactless, and crime issues soared more. In conjunction, relevant articles started to be published in *Milliyet*, and unlike 1961, the category *Criminality* became the second most crowded category due to the increasing number of articles published.

The analysis findings show that very few articles was published under the category in 1961. Accordingly, 4 of the 68 news have been identified as relevant to the criminality because of their content. In this sense, two news and one column were published in November, and one news in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for the remaining ten months. Table 26 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1961.

**Table 26. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in *Milliyet* in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	<b>3</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	<b>1</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>

In 1962, 11 of the 79 articles have been identified under the category *Criminality*. Considering the percentage of the relevant articles published during the year to the total number of the articles in 1962, there is less than one percent increase compared to 1961, although the number of relevant articles in 1962 seems as it is almost three times more than the number of those in 1961. Given the genre of the articles in 1962, one news was published in January, one news in March, one news in April, one news in July, two news in August, one news in September, one news in October, two news in November, and one news in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for February, May, and June 1962. Table 27 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1962.

**Table 27. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Milliyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	2	1	<b>11</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>

In 1963, 29 of the 39 articles have been identified under the category *Criminality*. The number of relevant articles in 1963 also seems almost three times more than the number of those in 1962. Considering the genre of the articles in 1962, one news was published in January, one news in February, four news in March, two news in April, two news in May, one news in July, one news in August, one news in September, one news in October, eleven news in November, and four news in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for June 1963. In this sense, unlike 1961 and 1962, there was no relevant publication in only one month of the year for the first time in 1963, while the other eleven months have an article published. Table 28 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1963.

**Table 28. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Milliyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	1	1	4	2	2	-	1	1	1	1	11	4	<b>29</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>29</b>

Given the share of the articles under the category *Criminalization* published in *Milliyet*, there is a consistent increase in the articles' number and percentage in the percentage and the total number of the articles of all the three categories in the selected years compared each previous year. More specifically, as the total number of articles published in *Milliyet* in 1961 is 68, the 4 articles under the category constitute 5,8 percent in all the articles published in 1961, *i.e.*, the 68 articles. The percentage of the 11 relevant articles is 13,9 percent in all the published 79 articles in *Milliyet* in 1962, and of the 29 relevant articles is 20,8 percent in all the published 139 articles in *Milliyet* in 1963. Considering the 286 articles in total analyzed for 1961, 1962, and 1963, the percentage of the 44 articles in total under the category is 15,3, and the mean percentage is 13,5 percent. The share of the articles under the category *Criminality* published in *Milliyet* by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles in the given years are given in Table 29 below.

**Table 29. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in *Milliyet* by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
News	3	11	29	44
Column	1	0	0	1
Ad	0	0	0	0
Total	4	11	29	44
% in the three categories	5,8	13,9	20,8	15,3

In 1961, even the three of the four articles do not engage with Turkish labor migrants. More specifically, the first two news are about two bank robbers, who fled from Turkey to Germany, and Turkish police were sent to Germany to find them. In the column published the following day, Turkish police are criticized as “*they only roamed there five or ten days instead of bringing money or criminals to Turkey*” (“Kedi kenesi gibi pürüzler”, 1961). On the other hand, the first exact example of Turkish workers' criminality in Germany was published in December. Accordingly, Turkish workers “*made noise*” due to the Fenerbahce – Nuremberg match, and one of them stabbed a German, who attempted Turks “*to calm*” (Figure 68). With its one-sided representation of the Turkish and German encounter, the news represented Turks through adverse behavior such as making noise in contrast to Germans through constructive actions such as attempting to calm. Besides, Turks were classified as “*Turkish workers*” and “*General Turks*”, although both behave in the same way.



**Figure 68. Nürnberg'teki maç yüzünden bir Türk bir Alman'ı bıçakladı Milliyet, 10 December 1961.**

**\* A Turkish stabbed a German because of the match**

*After Fenerbahçe was defeated in Nuremberg, 6 Turkish workers still in the city of Fürth made a noise in a local, and a 19-year-old German who was trying to calm the dispute was stabbed by one of the general Turks in Nuremberg. The German youth, who was seriously injured in his back in four places, was taken to the hospital, and the Turkish man who pulled out the knife was arrested.*

In 1962, the articles under the category are mainly associated with the Turkish immigrants' criminal activities, although the percentage of the relevant articles was not substantially increased. In addition, there were particular articles reporting car accidents had by Turkish immigrants. For example, in the context of criminality, the news about two drug trafficker Turkish workers is notable because the news is the first example of the organized crime carried out by Turkish workers from the beginning of the analysis of the selected years. Accordingly, the two workers had got arrested due to smuggling eleven kilograms of opium worth 200 thousand German Marks (Figure 69). Although the news did not deliver detailed information about the workers and process, the headline of the news clearly reflects the content per se: "Two Turkish workers were caught smuggling opium in Germany". However, the most striking detail in the news is that the smuggling was implied twice as a crime ring. In this sense, first, the reporter identified the criminal activity as a "massive smuggling incident". Second, it was mentioned that the police considered the workers to belong to "an extensive smuggling network". Thereby, it is understood that the dimension of the criminality of the Turkish immigrants had reached to form a crime ring by organizing then.



**Figure 69. Almanya’da afyon kaçırın iki Türk işçisi yakalandı  
Milliyet, 13 November 1962.**

**\* Two Turkish workers were caught smuggling opium in Germany**

*Two Turkish workers were caught in Schwarzbach, while smuggling 11 kilograms of opium worth 200,000 Marks in a car with a German license plate. Immediately after the customs officials had identified this massive smuggling incident, the police began investigations.*

*The names of the two Turks are not disclosed. However, police reported that they belong to an extensive smuggler network. However, the police did not want to give information about their accomplices.*

In the news about criminality in *Milliyet* in 1962, a gendered discourse is also salient in patches. On the other hand, as the media determines the public opinion, it has a significant role in popularizing an ideology and the construction of social reality about a particular category of people (Narlı, Özaşçılar & Ipek, 2019). In this sense, the representation of migrants, and particularly female migrants, is crucial. To demonstrate the double-standardized approach of the newspaper about female and male migrants, two news published in 1962 is comparatively exemplified here. Accordingly, the first news reported that a female Turkish immigrant worker was beaten by his husband, who visited Germany to make a surprise for her wife (Figure 69); and the second news revealed that a male Turkish immigrant worker was killed by a German man (Figure 70). The common feature of the two news is that the main dynamic of the crime is a “third-relationship”, which means having a sort of intimacy with some other person other than a present partner. Although the main dynamic and the outcome were quite similar, especially in the first two cases, representing the female and male migrants was strikingly different.

For example, although the first news dealt with a female worker beaten by his husband, the headline stressed the aggressive man rather than the victim woman: “*A Turk caught his wife committing adultery in Germany*”. Attributing the commitment of the “*adultery*” to the woman, the beating was also even intended to justify by implying being cheated of the husband. In this way, the aggressive husband is suggested to be the real victim of the story, instead of the beaten wife (Figure 70). On the other hand, although the second news dealt with the murder of a worker, a male worker, the headline stressed the victim man, unlike the first news, in which the aggressive man was focused instead of the victim woman (Figure 71). However, unlike the first news again, in which the aggressive man was justified by pointing out “*adultery*” of the beaten woman, the killed man was victimized in this news and the murdered woman was mentioned through the words “made love with Ibrahim” this time. That is to say, while the first news emphasized the aggressive man in its headline “*A Turk caught his wife committing adultery in Germany*”, the second news also emphasized the man but as murdered in its headline “*A Turkish worker was killed in Germany*”. Also, the first headline aimed to whitewash the attacker by highlighting the adultery had his wife, while the second headline underscored the victimization of the man by not mentioning the adultery he involved.

## BİR TÜRK, KARISINI ALMANYA 'DA ZINA YAPARKEN YAKALADI

MÜNİH, M. E. Aydın'dan  
Stuttgart yakınlarında bir fabrika-  
da çalışmakta olan evli bir Türk ka-  
dını, bir Türk erkekle zina yaparken,  
İstanbul'dan habersiz olarak gelen ko-  
cası tarafından yakalanmıştır.  
İstanbul'da bir devlet müessesesinde  
şef olan S., hem çocuğunu Almanya'da  
okutma imhânlarını araştırmak, hem de  
alışveriş yapmak üzere, Stuttgart'a  
«sürpriz» bir ziyaret yapmış, fakat ka-  
rısını, İstanbul'dan tanıdığı bir Türk-  
le sevişirken görmüştür. Karısını ve  
aşığını adamakıllı hırpalayan S., ço-  
cugunu alarak İstanbul'a dönmüştür.

**Figure 70. Bir Türk, Karısını Almanya'da Zina Yaparken Yakaladı**  
**Milliyet, 24 April 1962.**

**\* A Turk caught his wife committing adultery in Germany**

*A married Turkish woman working at a factory near Stuttgart was caught by her husband, who came unannounced in Istanbul, while she was committing adultery with a Turkish man.*

*S., a chief in a state institution in Istanbul, made a surprise visit to Stuttgart to explore the possibilities of studying his child in Germany and do shopping; however, he saw his wife making love with a Turkish man he knew from Istanbul. S. took his child and returned to Istanbul, after thoroughly battered his wife and lover.*

## Almanya'da bir Türk işçisi Öldürüldü

ALMANYA Muhabirimiz  
MUSTAFA E. AYDIN'dan  
Batı Almanya'daki Herten şehrinde  
bulunan Türk işçilerinden İbrahim  
Acar, Willi Lampe adında bir Alman ta-  
rafından tabanca ile öldürülmüştür.  
Cinayete, aynı evde oturan ve hâlen  
kaatil Lampe'den boşanmış bulunan 47  
yaşındaki Iluschka'nın, İbrahim Acar  
ile sevişmesi sebep olmuştur.

**Figure 71. Almanya'da bir Türk işçisi Öldürüldü**  
**Milliyet, 20 July 1962.**

**\* A Turkish worker was killed in Germany**

*İbrahim Acar, one of the Turkish workers Herten in West Germany, was killed with a gun by a German named Will Lampe.*

*The reason for the murder is that the 47-year-old Iluschka, who lived in the same house and was still divorced from her killer, made love with İbrahim.*

Strikingly, the women were represented in the two news as the main and active subject of the practice of making love, instead of both women and men. More specifically, while it was mentioned in the first news “however, he saw his wife making love with a Turkish man he knew from Istanbul”, it was indicated in the second news “The reason for the murder is that the 47-year-old Iluschka, who lived in the same house and was still divorced from her killer, made love with İbrahim”. That is to say, the

women were implied as to the main reason for the crime in both news, but as a provocative element in the first one and as a reason for the victimhood in the second one. Besides, while the woman was the provocative element, the incident was elaborated. In the first news, even it was stated that the husband “*thoroughly*” (*adamakilli* in the original Turkish news) beat his wife that is crucial because the word “*adamakilli*” consists of two words as “*adam*” means man and “*akilli*” means smart in Turkish, as the two words together mean thoroughly.<sup>12</sup>

Comparatively again, unlike the first news, while the woman was the reason for the victimhood, *i.e.*, while a Turkish male worker made love with another man’s wife, the second news was limited to only one sentence mentioning the adultery, *i.e.*, far from delivering details. Indicating that the man had visited Germany to make a “*surprise*” for his wife and look for educational opportunities for their child, the innocence of the husband was implied once again in the first news. Also, boldly writing the word “*surprise*” in inverted commas, the image of innocence was highlighted. In contrast, while the wife was referred to as a woman “*committing adultery*”, the man was identified as “*a chief in a state institution*”. In this way, the reputable role of the man was compared to the immorality of the woman. Lastly, the name of the aggressive husband was not given in the news (Figure 70). On the other hand, the newspaper’s approach was quite different in the second news. More specifically, as the so-called ‘victim’ was the Turkish man this time, the names of the man and so-called seductive German woman were given in the news. However, although no details were given about the Turkish man, who was killed due to adultery, the details of the woman, such as age and marital status as a widow, were shared in the news (Figure 71).

In the articles published in 1963, the theme of violence against women was also visible through the same gendered discourse. In these articles, the male violence was continued to justify by a strategy of pointing out particular features of victims. For example, one of these articles shared that a suspected Turkish murderer wanted in Cologne. The subhead pointed out that the suspected murderer had strangled a woman, who was working in a brothel, in order to death at the hotel. Besides, a giant photograph of the woman was given in the news at full length. Instead of focusing on the details about the murderer, the murder is, thereby, justified latently by giving the profession of the murdered woman as “*brothel woman*” in the subhead. In addition, even the German police were represented as anti-Turkish and “*rude*” due to their behavior while checking identity in the street to find the killer.” As most parts of the wide-coverage two-pages news are about the rude applications of the police, the news is far from even reporting the murder. Besides, as the central focus is the details about the murdered woman in the paragraphs dealt with the issue, there is a salient gendered discourse both in language and sharing an image in the news (Figure 72).

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<sup>12</sup> The original Turkish word is *adamakilli*.





**Figure 72. Köln'de katil zanlısı bir Türk aranıyor**  
**Milliyet, 8 December 1963.**

**\* Turkish murder suspect wanted in Cologne**

*The murderer who strangled a brothel woman named Ursula Grote to death at the hotel was reported on radio and television.*

*It was around 22 o'clock at night. I was returning home. When I veered into one of the alleys of Cologne, a police officer in a green leather jacket appeared before me, and made a "Stop!" sign. I thought that it is ordinary traffic control, and I stopped.*

*The police asked in a very rude language what my nationality is. His eyes glowed, and he shouted into the dark, when I said, "I am Turkish!"*

*He said, "He is Turkish!"*

*A lantern burned, and Three more police officers jumped out of the dark. They have guns in their hands. One of them turned the barrel on me, and said, "Take your identity card with you and walk. A crowded police squad also caught my eye just a short distance away.*

In November 1963, the number of articles under the category is more than in other months of the same year. However, given the eleven articles published in November 1963, there is no shared content. Instead, the articles are similar to articles published in the other months of the selected three years. However, some articles approached similar issues with different dimensions. For example, although a gendered discourse was employed in the articles about violence exerted by the Turkish male immigrants in Germany, the news published in 1963 also revealed an ethnic dimension. More specifically, the news reported a murder again through a headline pointing out the origin of the murderer man, as a Greek-origin Turk (Figure 73). In his sense, a perception that the murder is not a pure Turk was created, as if an additional element is necessary to consider Turkishness and murder together.

Nevertheless, while the murder commitment was associated with the origin of the murderer, the murderer was justified by giving details about the murdered woman's marital status. Accordingly, the woman was married but had two more boyfriends, one of whom is the murdered man, who realized the woman was cheating on him with a third man. With this information, the news draws attention to the disloyalty of the murdered woman. Besides, although the murderer man killed both his girlfriend and



the third man, only the murder of the woman was mentioned in the headline. However, the murder was not represented as totally innocent, as it is understood from the information about his marital status as well. Just as a relation is latently established between the origin of the murderer and his crime, the reasons for the murder are presented throughout the report in the same way, and the murderer was tried to justify.



**Figure 73. Rum asıllı bir Türk Almanya'da sevgilisini öldürdü**  
**Milliyet, 16 November 1963.**

\* *A Greek-origin Turk killed his lover in Germany*

*A Greek-origin Turk, namely Yorgo Astriadis, killed a German woman due to love.*

*Astriadis, who is married and has two children, made love with the German wife of an English soldier in Dortmund. A woman, namely Braun, who was the mother of a child, applied to the court to divorce from her husband. Astriadis, who was waiting at the door of a local, in where he saw the woman alone with another English man, stabbed them in the middle of the road, then attempted suicide with gas. The woman died; the British were seriously injured. Astriadis, who survived, was arrested.*

Since 1963 is the third year of the official labor migration, the first part of emigrant workers should have started to return to Turkey, based on the previously determined working period in Germany for two or three years, articles about the returning workers started to emerge in 1963. On the other hand, these articles were quite exceptional, and most of them associated with the crime issues of the returning workers, such as bringing about contrabands into Turkey. For example, one of these articles delivered that two brothers were taken into custody in Turkish customs due to smuggling 20 thousand lira worth of clothing. According to the news, the brothers had gone to Germany to work three years ago, and they were then on their return way to Turkey ("Almanyadan kaçak eşya getiren iki işçi kardeş yakalandı", 1963). Similarly, according to another one, six Turkish workers were founded out, while the workers were trying to enter Turkey with several contrabands on their returning ("Almanyadan gelen işçiler birbirlerini itham ettiler", 1963). Although these articles do not have significant discursive features, as they are far from conveying some general information, the articles are notable since they are exceptional examples of articles about returning workers but all referring to the criminality at the same time.

The fact that the number of articles in 1963 was almost triple of those in its previous year was also reflected through the content of some articles published in 1963. As demonstrated above, different issues from murder to organized crime and smuggling were revealed in the articles in the selected years. One of the articles published in 1963 is crucial by delivering a sum of all of these crime issues mentioned in the three years. In the article, the issues, which Turkish immigrants had engaged, were taken into a frame and presented remarkably, as the issues are smuggling, molestation, loans, fighting, and drunkenness respectively (“Kaçakçılık, Sarkıntılık, Borçlar, Kavga-Döğüş, Sarhoşluk: Almanya’daki Türkler suçta 3 üncü geliyor”, 1963). Also, the new content was overtly expressed in the headline: “*Turks in Germany rank third in crime*”.

After listing the given issues within the text elaborately, the rank of the Turkish immigrants was given again. Indeed, the stance of the newspaper in the articles under the category *Criminality* is consistent with its stance in the articles under the category *Turkish Representation in Germany*. Similar to the stance in dealing with well-educated and modern Turks in a positive way in articles, Turkish students as those well-educated in Germany were mentioned proudly in this article. More specifically, the article classified Turkish immigrants within themselves. Although the “*Turks*” are used as the subject of the headline, it was mentioned within the text that the crime rank belongs to “*Turkish workers*”. On the other hand, it was also mentioned in the following and last paragraph that “*Turkish students*” are almost the best students compared to other foreign students in Germany. Thereby, while Turkish workers were represented as the crime agent, Turkish workers are set aside. The relevant last paragraphs of the news are below:

Among the foreign workers, Italians come first in terms of police cases, followed by the Greeks. Turks are in third place. On the other hand, Turkish students constitute almost the best class among foreign students (“Kaçakçılık, Sarkıntılık, Borçlar, Kavga-Döğüş, Sarhoşluk: Almanya’daki Türkler suçta 3 üncü geliyor”, 1963).

With 44 articles in total and a 15,3 percent average, the category *Criminality* is the second most crowded category. The reason for placing of the category is the exponential number of articles published in 1962 and 1963. According to the number of articles published in 1961, the category is the least crowded one among the three categories. Particularly, 4 articles were published in 1961, 11 in 1962, and 29 in 1963. In the total number of articles published in all the three categories, including the nine subcategories, in *Milliyet*, the share of the articles under the category is 5,8 percent in 1961, 13,9 in 1962, and 20,8 in 1963. In this respect, a consistent increase is evident. The issues mainly dealt with in the articles under the category show variety from molestation to smuggling and organized crime. On the other hand, the number of articles about murders committed by Turkish immigrants significantly increased in 1962 and 1963. In these articles, gendered discourse also distinguishes, as women are represented negatively in contrast to men. Pointing out the increased criminality among Turkish immigrants, as the number of articles demonstrates, *Milliyet* also published notable news, reporting that Turkish immigrants rank third in crime. However, like in the articles under the subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany*, the

newspaper scapegoated less educated Turkish immigrants, while well-educated Turkish immigrants were the exact opposite. Under the category *Criminality*, it has been strived to give examples for all the issues covered in *Milliyet* from every three years, *i.e.*, 1961, 1962, and 1963, inclusively.

#### **6.4. Conclusion**

This chapter investigated media coverage of the period between the years of 1961 and 1963 concerning labor migration from Turkey to Germany through the *Milliyet*'s online archive (<http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/>), by considering the historical background of the labor migration and newspaper's overall position. The articles analyzed in this chapter were derived through two keyword combinations during the multi-step analysis, as the keywords are "Germany" and "Turkish", and "Germany" and "worker". By grouping the most prominent topics in the context of the labor migration, three categories and nine subcategories within the first category have been formed. While these categories are *Labor Export*, *Social Life and Integration in Germany*, and *Criminality*, the subcategories are *Articles with General Information*, *Working and Living Conditions*, *Official Processes*, *Expected Development*, *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants*, *Turkish Representation in Germany*, *Duration of Stay*, *Private Agencies*, and *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*. Considering these categories and subcategories, relevant articles were treated through content and discourse analyses in turn.

According to the findings within the content analysis, 2360 articles were initially detected by the two keyword combinations, as of 756 for 1961, 647 for 1962, and 957 for 1963. After a multi-step analysis, 286 of the 2360 findings have been included for the final study, as of 68 for 1961, 79 for 1962, and 139 for 1963. In specific to the categories and subcategories, the most crowded category is *Labor Export* with the total number of 209 articles published in the three years, as of 56 in 1961, 60 in 1962, and 93 in 1963. The second most crowded category is *Criminality* with the total number of 44 articles published in the three years, as of 4 in 1961, as of 11 in 1962, and 29 in 1963. The third and last crowded category is, so, *Social Life and Integration in Germany* with the total number of 33 articles published in the three years, as of 8 in 1961, as of 8 in 1962, and 17 in 1963.

Given the subcategories, the most crowded subcategory is *Article with General Information* with the total number of 90 articles published in the three years, as of 23 in 1961, as of 26 in 1962, and 41 in 1963. The second most crowded subcategory is *Working and Living Conditions* with the total number of 36 articles published in the three years, as of 9 in 1961, as of 12 in 1962, and 15 in 1963. The subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* is at the third place with the total number of 21 articles published in the three years, as of 4 in 1961, as of 10 in 1962, and 7 in 1963. Both the *Official Processes* and *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* are the fourth most crowded subcategories, with the total number of 14 articles published in the three years, as of 4 in 1961, as of 2 in 1962, and 8 in 1963, for

the *Official Processes*; and with the total number of fourteen articles published in *Milliyet* the three years, as of 4 in 1961, as of 3 in 1962, and 7 in 1963, for the *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*.

The subcategory *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* is at the fifth place with the total number of 12 articles published in the three years, as of 3 in 1961, as of 4 in 1962, and 5 in 1963, and the other one *Private Agencies* is at sixth place with the total number of 9 articles published in the three years, as of 3 in 1961, as of 1 in 1962, and 5 in 1963. While the subcategory *Expected Development* is at the seventh place with the total number of 8 articles published in the three years, as of 3 in 1961, as of 1 in 1962, and 4 in 1963, the subcategory *Duration of Stay* is at the eighth and last place with the total number of 5 articles published in the three years, as of 3 in 1961, as of 1 in 1962, and 1 in 1963. All the articles under these categories and subcategories were also analyzed on a monthly basis and by genre as news, columns and ads.

Given the newspaper's stance toward the labor migration from Turkey to Germany, *Milliyet* frequently covered the issue though not in-detail. More specifically, most of the relevant articles were under the subcategory *Articles with General Information*, particularly in 1961, and those articles mostly consisted of brief and descriptive news without any detail. Also, the labor migration was mainly treated with an affirmative way in those news. That is to say, finding a negative expression or even a comment is almost impossible. Crucially, while reporting those who did not match with the Turkish government's expectation in terms of Turkey's representation, the newspaper adopted a negative discourse. Regarding the other two genre, *i.e.*, columns and ads, while the ads were also given through a positive discourse with the aim of encouraging to the labor migration and easing the process for emigrant workers, the columns were mostly critical to the labor migration, contrary to the news and ads. Nevertheless, even the critical approach in the columns remained limited due to the scope and target of the criticism, as there was almost no reference to the Turkish and German governments. Lastly, it is also needed to note that the newspaper's stance was gradually shifted from affirmation to criticism in 1962 and 1963. In these years, articles questioning the official implementations are relatively explicit compared to 1961.

## CHAPTER 7

### MEDIA COVERAGE IN CUMHURİYET IN 1961, 1962, AND 1963

Similar with the previous chapter which provides the analysis of *Milliyet* in light of contextual chapters on literature, historical background, and newspapers, as well as the chapter about method, which delivers details of the analysis, this chapter will demonstrate the analysis findings drawn from the *Cumhuriyet*'s online archive (<https://egazete.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yayinlar>) for the newspaper's issues of 1961, 1962, and 1963, considering the historical background of the migration as well as newspaper's overall position that were reviewed in turn previously. To find relevant articles on labor migration and labor migrants, the following two keyword combinations were employed during the multi-step analysis here: (1) "Germany" and "Turkish", and (2) "Germany" and "worker". Herewith, the analysis was conducted in the way mentioned in the third chapter.

Accordingly, in the 1961 archive, 245 articles were detected through the first keyword combination "Germany" and "Turkish" in the first place. However, only 32 of the 245 articles were considered for further analysis, as they are related to the research topic in the context. In the second step, 3 of the 32 articles were also excluded due to irrelevancy in the content. Through the second keyword combination "Germany" and "worker", 48 articles were detected in the first step, and 8 of the 48 articles were related to the research topic in the context. On the other hand, only 6 of the 8 articles were different from the findings with the first keyword combination, which means the remaining 2 articles had already been included in the analysis after encountering during the first search. Thereby, 35 articles have been deeply analyzed in total finally, as of the 29 for the first combination and 6 for the second one. The analysis process of *Cumhuriyet*'s issues of 1961 is demonstrated step by step in Table 30 below. The share of the number of articles published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 by genre, including news, columns, and ads, is also demonstrated on a monthly basis in Table 31 below.

**Table 30. The analysis process of Cumhuriyet's issues of 1961 step by step**

	Archive Search Results	Relevancy in the Context	Relevancy in the Content	Non-Duplication	Content and Discourse Analysis
First keyword combination: "Germany" and "Turkish"	245	32	29	29	29

**Table 30 (cont'd). The analysis process of Cumhuriyet's issues of 1961 step by step**

<b>Second keyword combination "Germany" and "worker"</b>	48	8	8	6	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>35</b>

**Table 31. The share of the articles published in Cumhuriyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	5	-	1	7	-	<b>18</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	2	3	<b>12</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	<b>5</b>
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>35</b>

In the 1962 archive, 255 articles were detected through the first keyword combination "Germany" and "Turkish" in the first step. However, 44 of the 255 articles were related to the research topic in the context. In the second step, 13 of the 44 articles were excluded due to irrelevancy in the content. Through the second keyword combination "Germany" and "worker", 74 articles were detected first. However, only 35 of the 74 articles were related to the research topic, and one of the 35 articles were excluded in the second step due to irrelevancy in the content. Also, 12 of the remaining 34 articles were different from the findings from the first keyword combination. Thereby, 43 articles have been deeply analyzed in total finally, as of 31 for the first keyword combination and 12 for the second one. The analysis process of *Cumhuriyet's* issues of 1962 is demonstrated step by step in Table 32, and the share of the number of articles published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1962 by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a monthly basis in Table 33 below.

**Table 32. The analysis process of Cumhuriyet's issues of 1962 step by step**

	<b>Archive Search Results</b>	<b>Relation in the Context</b>	<b>Relevancy in the Content</b>	<b>Non-Duplication</b>	<b>Content and Discourse Analysis</b>
<b>First keyword combination: "Germany" and "Turkish"</b>	255	44	31	31	31
<b>Second keyword combination "Germany" and "worker"</b>	74	35	34	12	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>43</b>

**Table 33. The share of the articles published in Cumhuriyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	1	1	1	4	4	-	4	-	1	6	5	<b>27</b>
<b>Column</b>	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	4	2	<b>10</b>
<b>Ad</b>	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	<b>6</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>43</b>

In the 1963 archive, 352 articles were detected through the first keyword combination “Germany” and “Turkish”. However, 70 of the 352 articles were related to the research topic in the context, and 8 of the 70 articles were excluded due to irrelevancy in the content. Through the second keyword combination “Germany” and “worker”, 92 articles were detected first. However, only 53 of the 92 articles were relevant in the context, 3 of the 53 articles were excluded in the second step due to irrelevancy in the content. Also, 18 of the remaining 50 articles were different from the findings of the first keyword combination. Thereby, 80 articles have been deeply analyzed in total finally, as of 62 for the first combination and 18 for the second one. The analysis process of *Cumhuriyet*’s issues of 1963 is demonstrated step by step in Table 34, and the share of the number of articles published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1963 by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a monthly basis in Table 35 below.

**Table 34. The analysis process of Cumhuriyet’s issues of 1963 step by step**

	Archive Search Results	Relevancy in the Context	Relevancy in the Content	Non-Duplication	Content and Discourse Analysis
<b>First keyword combination: “Germany” and “Turkish”</b>	352	70	62	62	62
<b>Second keyword combination “Germany” and Worker”</b>	92	53	50	18	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>80</b>

**Table 35. The share of the articles published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	5	2	7	3	3	3	2	4	4	4	2	3	<b>42</b>
<b>Column</b>	4	-	2	1	1	1	6	-	1	1	3	1	<b>21</b>
<b>Ad</b>	1	1	1	1	3	-	-	3	1	2	3	1	<b>17</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>80</b>

Thereby, 1066 articles were initially detected through the two keyword combinations for this chapter, including 293 for 1961, 329 for 1962, and 444 for 1963. After a multi-step analysis, 158 of the 1066 findings have been selected for a further analysis for the final study, as of 35 for 1961, 43 for 1962, and 80 for 1963. The reason of why even less than one seventh of the detected articles have been selected for a further analysis for the final study is, like in *Milliyet*, a significant amount of the articles in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 are about different topics than the labor migration. In this sense, for example, the most prominent topic in 1961 was Germany's financial credit to Turkey and bilateral negotiations in that year. More specifically, the Turkish Ambassador's activities in Bonn, Germany, namely *Settar İlksel*, were frequently mentioned in the articles frequently, and these articles were encountered during the search due to the common keywords.

Given the newspaper's stance toward the labor export to Germany, one can say that *Cumhuriyet* did not cover the issue as much as *Milliyet*. This fact is evident from that *Milliyet* covered the issue even more than two times in the number of articles compared to *Cumhuriyet*. Specifically, while 2366 articles had been found through the given keyword combinations during the first archive search on *Milliyet*'s website, the number was 1066 for *Cumhuriyet*. Even more specifically, while 35 relevant articles in total have been detected in 1961, 43 in 1962, and 80 in 1963 in *Cumhuriyet*, 68 articles in total have been detected in 1961, 79 in 1962, 139 in 1963 in *Milliyet* after the multi-step analysis of both newspapers' analyses. Considering the number of articles each year published in each newspaper, there is a constant increase for both newspapers from 1961 to 1963. On the other hand, *Cumhuriyet*'s articles are not as short as those in *Milliyet*. That is, although less in number, *Cumhuriyet* adopts relatively in-depth approach. In this sense, unlike the 8 to 10-line-articles in *Milliyet* that mostly contain general information only, *Cumhuriyet* engages with the labor migration from Turkey to Germany through detailed articles but relatively. Besides, unlike a small number of relevant columns in *Milliyet*, the labor migration was frequently mentioned in columns *Cumhuriyet*.

Comparing to both newspapers with each other again, there were some critical columns in *Milliyet*. However, even in those critical columns, there was not an explicit reference to the government. Instead, the newspaper's general tendency emerges quite affirmative toward the official labor export in the news, which constitutes the majority of the articles. Like *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet* also took a critical stand in columns. However, dynamics such as unemployment and economic bottleneck in Turkey, which had paved the way for the labor export, were frequently mentioned in the columns, unlike those in *Milliyet*. Nevertheless, regarding *Cumhuriyet* with a pure critical stance would not reflect any reality, as it stood almost as affirmative as *Milliyet* in the news, and even it was not more critical than *Milliyet*, in general terms, due to the target of its criticism. That is to say, in columns in the newspaper, the distinguished criticism was still not directed toward the implementation of labor export. Instead, it was focusing on the structures and conditions that led to the labor export. Thereby, by an explicit or implicit criticism that our economy needs workers to be sent because of the previous mistakes, the initiative on labor export was trying to be justified in columns in the newspaper.



Furthermore, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* even converged with each other in their languages while reporting about some particular topics, such as private agencies and representation of and praise for Turkish immigrants. More specifically, *Cumhuriyet* criticized the dynamics of the labor export; however, it mainly emphasized the miserable situation of workers gone through private agencies instead of the official channels currently. Also, a similar sarcastic language with *Milliyet* toward those who do not represent Turkey in Germany by the Turkish state's expectation distinguishes in *Cumhuriyet*. In other words, those who did not represent Turkey in Germany "well" were mentioned negatively. Relatedly, like in *Milliyet*, praise and appreciation for Turks in Germany were reported with pleasure in *Cumhuriyet*. In this way, *Cumhuriyet* also has the features of the colonial discourse regarding Turks as a periphery of the center, *i.e.*, the West. Hence, *Milliyet*, which has been identified with the liberalism and center-right and known to support the Democrat Party, and *Cumhuriyet*, which has positioned in the left and stood out with its support for the secular Republican People's Party founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, converged and even duplicated in places in terms of labor migration.

For discussing the findings briefly mentioned above, the same categorization used in *Milliyet's* analysis will be employed in this chapter again. Although articles in *Cumhuriyet* are mostly intertwined with each other in their content, like in the other newspaper *Milliyet*, an examination through categories and subcategories would provide a clearer understanding of the coverage concerning the labor migration and labor migrants. To repeat in this chapter as well, these categories are *Labor Export*, *Social Life and Integration in Germany*, and *Criminality*. Also, as mentioned in the analysis chapter regarding *Milliyet*, the first category *Labor Export* has been divided into nine subcategories. The subcategories are *Articles with General Information*, *Working and Living Conditions*, *Official Processes*, *Expected Development*, *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants*, *Turkish Representation in Germany*, *Duration of Stay*, *Private Agencies*, and *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*, respectively. The share of the number of the articles published in *Cumhuriyet* by category, and subcategory, is demonstrated on a triennial basis in Table 36 below.

**Table 36. The share of the articles published in *Cumhuriyet* by category, and subcategory, on a triennial basis**

		1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>1.1</b>	<b>Labor Export</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>123</b>
1.1.1.	Articles with General Information	9	14	29	52
1.1.2.	Working and Living Conditions	6	6	8	20
1.1.3.	Official Processes	2	2	4	8
1.1.4.	Expected Development	1	-	3	4

**Table 36 (cont'd). The share of the articles published in Cumhuriyet by category, and subcategory, on a triennial basis**

1.1.5.	Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants	1	3	7	11
1.1.6.	Turkish Representation in Germany	3	1	3	7
1.1.7.	Duration of Stay	1	-	-	1
1.1.8.	Private Agencies	2	2	2	6
1.1.9.	Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export	2	7	5	14
<b>1.2.</b>	<b>Social Life and Integration in Germany</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.3.</b>	<b>Criminality</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>22</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>158</b>

### **7.1. Labor Export**

Since the category of labor export indicates the most general terms of the migration, as it consists of nine subcategories, *i.e.*, subtopics, from working and living conditions to expected development from Turkish migrant workers, most of the articles are grouped under this category in *Cumhuriyet* like in *Milliyet*. As the link between the subtopics did not allow to examine them entirely per se, this section will be investigated under those nine subcategories relatedly but not chronologically. These subcategories are *Articles with General Information*, *Working and Living Conditions*, *Official Processes*, *Expected Development*, *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants*, *Turkish Representation in Germany*, *Duration of Stay*, *Private Agencies*, and *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*.

Particularly, in 1961, 27 of the 35 articles have been identified under the category *Labor Export* through a multi-step analysis, which was elaborately mentioned in the third chapter, research methods and theoretical framework. According to the findings, one news and one column published in February, one ad in March, one news and one column in April, one news in May, three news and one ad in June, one news in July, two news, one column and one ad in August, one column in September, one news and one column in October, four news and two columns in November, and three columns in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for January 1961. Table 37 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1961.

**Table 37. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	2	-	1	4	-	<b>12</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	3	<b>10</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	<b>5</b>
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>27</b>

In 1962, 35 of the 43 articles have been identified under the category *Labor Export* after the multi-step analysis. Accordingly, one column and three ads were published in January, one news in February, one news in March, one news and one column in April, three news in May, three news in June, one column and one ad in July, three news in August, one column in September, four news, four column and one ad in November, and four news, one column and one ad in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for October 1962. Table 38 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1962.

**Table 38. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	3	-	-	4	4	<b>20</b>
<b>Column</b>	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	4	1	<b>9</b>
<b>Ad</b>	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	<b>6</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>35</b>

In 1963, 61 of the 80 articles have been under the category *Labor Export* after the multi-step analysis. Accordingly, four news, three column and one ad were published in January, two news and one ad in February, four news, one column and one ad in March, one news and one ad in April, three news, one column and three ads in May, one news and one ad in June, one news and five columns in July, two news and three ads in August, three news and one ad in September, three news, one column and two ads in October, two news, three columns and three ads in November, and two news, one column and one ad in December. Table 39 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1963.

**Table 39. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	4	2	4	1	3	1	1	2	3	3	2	2	<b>28</b>
<b>Column</b>	3	-	1	-	1	1	5	-	-	1	3	1	<b>16</b>

**Table 39 (cont'd). The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

<b>Ad</b>	1	1	1	1	3	-	-	3	1	2	3	1	<b>17</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>61</b>

Given the share of the articles under the category *Labor Export* in *Cumhuriyet*, it makes up the vast majority of all the articles in the given three years in this newspaper, too (Table 35). More specifically, even in 1963, when the percentage of the articles about labor export is the least compared to 1961 and 1962, the relevant articles constitute 76,25 percent, as it is more than three-quarter of the total number of articles. Considering the fluctuation of the percentage of the articles in the three years, there is a slight inconsistency. More precisely, as the total number of the articles published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 is 35, the 27 articles under the category *Labor Export* constitutes 77,1 percent in all the articles published in 1961, *i.e.*, the 35 articles. The percentage of the 35 articles under the category *Labor Export* is 81,4 in all the published 43 articles in *Cumhuriyet* in 1962. The percentage of the 61 articles under the category *Labor Export* is 76,25 percent in all the published 80 articles in *Cumhuriyet* in 1963. So, instead of a linear increase or decrease, the highest percentage is observed in 1962, while the percentage in 1961 is little more than one in 1963. The share of the articles under the category *Labor Export* published in *Cumhuriyet* by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the category *Labor Export* in all the published articles in the newspaper are given in Table 40 below.

**Table 40. The share of the articles under the category “Labor Export” published in Cumhuriyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the category “Labor Export” in all the published articles in the newspaper**

	<b>1961</b>	<b>1962</b>	<b>1963</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>News</b>	12	20	28	<b>60</b>
<b>Column</b>	10	9	16	<b>35</b>
<b>Ad</b>	5	6	17	<b>28</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>% in the three categories</b>	<b>77,1</b>	<b>81,4</b>	<b>76,25</b>	<b>77,8</b>

Herewith, given the total 158 articles analyzed in *Cumhuriyet* for 1961, 1962, and 1962, the percentage of the total 123 articles under the category *Labor Export* is 77,8, and the mean percentage is 78, 25 percent, which means that the articles under the category also makes up a distinct majority of the articles published under three categories in total. Considering the articles’ genre, news stands at first place with the number of 60 in total, while columns at second with the number of 35, and ads at third and last with

the number of 28 articles. Although it is not surprising that the most prominent genre in terms of numbers is the news, it is needed to remark that the reason why the number of columns and ads are close is based on the parallel sector that emerged in line with the onset of the labor migration and targeted labor migrants. That is to say, companies selling products for facilitating Turkish migrant workers' daily life in Germany started to be established both in Turkey and Germany and give advertisements to newspapers then. Including these ads, the following section will investigate articles with general information published in *Cumhuriyet* in the selected three years.

### **7.1.1. Articles with General Information**

As the subcategory articles with general information includes articles concerning labor export but in a wide sense, which means that it comprises of the labor export in general, relevant ads, and many issues other than specific topics such as working conditions, benefits and losses of migration, the subcategory embraces the greatest number of articles, compared to other subcategories as well as the two categories. In general, the topics highlighted in the articles under this subcategory are the application numbers, the number of workers sent, workers' occupation, and their destination city again. On the other hand, comparing with the same subcategory in *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet* released less number of articles in this context, although it has similar percentages with *Milliyet*. Regarding the features of those articles in *Cumhuriyet*, the articles are mainly ads of the companies that were selling products for Turkish migrant workers, instead of relevant columns and news. However, there are also some striking critical columns in patches.

Considering news, they are relatively longer than those in *Milliyet*. In other words, unlike *Milliyet*'s brief but many-in-number news, there are relatively long, detailed, but less-in-number news in *Cumhuriyet*. Also, these news were supported by interviews with officials or statistical data regarding the number of workers in patches, which was very uncommon in *Milliyet*. Besides, it was observed during the analysis that some of these news mentioned female data depending on the content, unlike *Milliyet* again. Nevertheless, there are also some brief news similar with those in *Milliyet*. Even it was seen that the two newspapers directly released some news even through same sentenced with each other from time to time. Thereby, claiming that *Cumhuriyet* reported the labor export at length and in an exact unique way would not reflect the truth literally. Rather, one may say that it has covered the labor export with a little more in-depth and convergent sometimes, compared to *Milliyet*.

As it is expected due to the scope of the topics here, this subcategory is the one with the most articles compared to the other eight subcategories and two categories. In Table 36 below, the share of the articles under the subcategory *Articles with General Information* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Articles with General Information* to the upper category *Labor Export* are given. Accordingly, the number, and thereby the share, of the articles is higher than each previous year. More specifically, the number of relevant articles is 10 and the share is 37 percent in 1961, 14 and

40 percent in 1962, and 29 and 47 percent in 1963. The total number of articles in this subcategory is 53 for the three years, and the share of the articles in the subcategory to its upper category, *i.e.*, labor export including 123 articles, is 43 percent, while the mean percentage is 41,3 (Table 41).

**Table 41. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Articles with General Information” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Articles with General Information” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
Articles with General Information	10	14	29	53
% in the Category Labor Export	37	40	47	43

As mentioned above, *Cumhuriyet* approached to the issue through relatively detailed news with longer texts and even statistics. In this sense, in the news released in 1961 and about the entering into service of the referral office established by the German government in Turkey, it was mentioned that until August 13, when the news was released, 45 thousand people applied to go to Germany as a worker, and more than one-third of the applications were made within the last month (Figure 74). This news is also noteworthy because it shares data regarding female applicants, unlike similar news in *Milliyet*. Accordingly, 2500 of all the applications of the last month constitute the female data. Besides, 115 of all the 4717 applications in İstanbul were made by women in last month. Considering their occupation, female applicants mostly applied for tailoring and nursing (Figure 73).



**Figure 74. Almanların işçi bürosu faaliyete geçti Cumhuriyet, 13 August 1961.**

*\* German labor office has entered into service*

*The number of workers who want to go to Germany has reached 45 thousand*

*The amount of applications made within a month is 17646, 2500 of them are women*

In addition to female applicants' data, the newspaper shared some statistics regarding the provinces with the highest number of applications in population ratio. Recording some other general information, it is stated in the news that 250 workers will be sent to Ford Factory in Cologne in Germany next month. Considering the way of reporting, the newspaper took a kind of scientific approach by giving such statistics. Also, against the mainstream approach then, *the newspaper* gave a part of visibility, and even

a neutral visibility, to migrant women in its articles like the given news. However, it is still needed to note that in the news, there is no question why there are so many applications to go from Turkey to Germany, female or male (Figure 72).

In 1962, similar news with such statistics and female data were also reported. For example, according to the news published on 02 January 1962, 4252 workers had sent to Germany in the last five months until May 1962 (Figure 74). By giving the female data per se, it was also mentioned in the news that 109 of the workers sent are women, while 4145 of them are men. Also, the news shared that the number of recruited workers in the last four month until the end of April is 5217, although the application number in the same period is 13137. Nevertheless, like in the news above published in 1961 (Figure 73), this news was limited to giving the numbers and does not contemplate on possible dynamics of the fact that almost 3 times more in the number of applications were made to go to Germany, or almost 40 times more in the number of male applicants went to Germany compared to female applicants (Figure 75).



**Figure 75. 5 ayda 4,254 işçimiz Batı Almanyaya gitti Cumhuriyet, 02 January 1962.**

**\* 4,254 of our workers went to West Germany in 5 months**

According to the information sharing by the Istanbul Branch of the Turkish Employment Agency, 4254 people, consisting of 4145 male and 109 female, have been sent to Germany in the last five months until May 1962. On the other hand, 13137 people has applied to the Istanbul branches of the Turkish Employment Agency for several jobs in the last four month until the end of April, and 5217 of those applicants have been recruited depending on their situations.

Proving the newspaper's stability in the selected three years, there was also quite similar news regarding the number of workers sent, including female data, in 1963. For instance, the news released on 14 August 1963 is almost same with the one given in Figure 75 above, from the way of approaching the issue to the length. More specifically, the news delivers the high number of workers sent to Germany

in the last days, with a particular emphasis on the number of female workers sent (Figure 76). By giving some other information regarding the profession of the workers, the news remains limited to such description, Not surprisingly, this new also does not pose any question regarding the high number of outgoing workers as well as less number of female workers among them (Figure 76).



**Figure 76. 10 günde Almanyaya 1321 işçi gönderildi Cumhuriyet, 14 August 1963.**

**\* 1321 workers have been sent to Germany in the last 10 days**

*From the first of August to today, 1321 workers have been sent to Germany. A large part of the outgoing workers are construction and factory assistant workers and workers who will work in the metal industry. About 100 female workers, among 1321 workers, have gone to work in factory as assistant labor, tailoring and apparel worker. Today, 192 people have gone to Germany, 96 of them by train and 96 by air.*

Nevertheless, missing questions concerning the high number of applications in the news, were being posed in columns in *Cumhuriyet* from time to time. In this sense, one of those columns published on 28 October 1961, unlike the approach in *Milliyet*, the government of the period was overtly criticized due to the fact that there are so many people, and even so many qualified people, want to emigrate to Germany to work. More specifically, the columnist criticized a bill on denaturalization of the doctors who live in foreign countries and do not want to return to Turkey and confiscate their assets. In this sense, she/he argued that nobody (no politician) sound against workers' going to Germany, and “*even workers going to Germany had been officially facilitated*” due to the fact “*sand in the sea, worker in us*” (“Yedi Dakika: Zorla güzellik illeti”, 1961). Also, even emigrants were criticized in places, and tried to withdraw from the migration through disappointing cases. In this sense, “*a heartbreaking adventure of a tailor woman*” was exemplified in a column, and potential workers were latently advised to review their expectations (Figure 77).





**Figure 77. Almanyanın taşı toprağı altın!  
Cumhuriyet, 28 October 1961.**

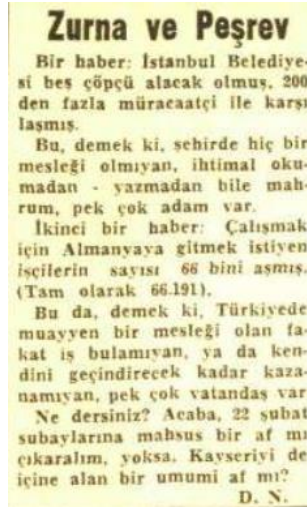
**\* Germany is paved with gold!**

*Let the flow to Istanbul to look for a job from Anatolia continue, another flow with the same purpose is actualized to Germany's cities from here. Trains full of our citizens set off for Germany every day. All of their heads are full of dreams similar to those who run here saying <Istanbul is paved with gold>... All of them say <I work for a year or two, buy a car, a refrigerator, a washing machine, a fur coat, a household item, then I will come back, they are not a case of money there>. Like those who came to Istanbul, their end is a disappointment, necessity, even misery...*

*Is there no job in Germany, there is... But Germans need manual labor, fitter, carpenter, bricklayer, apprentice tailor, errands... Wages of 200-250 marks per month with daily wage accounts of 1.30-1.80 marks per hour... However, in some cities like Munich, the rent alone is 200 marks...*

*They tell a heartbreaking adventure of a tailor woman... Close your workshop in Istanbul to be rich in Germany, sell what you have and what you don't, go to Munich and see that there is no job but a tailor apprenticeship... Now this lady prime in a workshop and the fee she received are not enough for the hotel where she stays. Of course, the consequence is a misery...*

In 1962, another column with the headline “Zurna and Peshrev” seems crucial due to its reference to unemployment as well as an explicit political criticism. More specifically, it was pointed out in the column that the number of applications to go to Germany had exceed the number of 66 thousand until then, as this fact signifies, according to the columnist, the existence of many citizens in Turkey who cannot find a job or earn enough money to support themselves although they have a particular occupation. In the column, by giving another example regarding the number of more than 200 applications for a position of garbage man with five-person quote, the columnist also strengthens the message on the unemployment in the country. After illustrating the scope of the unemployment in Turkey, readers were asked by the columnist about their opinions on the issue of an amnesty for the officers of February 22, sarcastically (Figure 78).



**Figure 78. Zurna ve Peşrev  
Cumhuriyet, 07 April 1962.**

**\* Zurna and Peshrev**

*A news: Istanbul metropolitan municipality was going to recruit five garbage men, it received more than 200 applicants.*

*This means that there are many people in the city who have no occupation, possibly even without literacy.*

*A second news: The number of workers who want to go to Germany to work has exceeded 66 thousand (The exact number is 66.191).*

*This also means that there are many citizens in Turkey who cannot find a job or earn enough money to support themselves although they have a particular occupation.*

*What about? Should we issue an amnesty for the officers of February 22, or a general amnesty that includes Kayseri, too?*

If return to the news again, as also mentioned above, all the news published in *Cumhuriyet* were not detailed. Although there were some articles with statistics like the one given above, brief and descriptive released in *Cumhuriyet*, too. In this sense, the newspaper sometimes just mentioned the number of workers sent to Germany, their destination city, and conditions there briefly and without any criticism or comment. For instance, the news, which reported in only 4-lines that 2000 Turkish agricultural workers would go to Germany, is an appropriate example of those brief and descriptive news at stake. However, although this news delivers the information through one descriptive sentence between a line with some other news, this news has a crucial detail, as the news was reported in Nuremberg. So, it is understood that *Cumhuriyet* attached an importance to the labor migration, as it appointed a reporter even in Germany (Figure 79).



**Figure 79. 2000 Turk tarim iscisi yakinda Bati Almanya'ya gidecek Milliyet, 28 March 1963.**

**\* 2000 Turkish agricultural workers will soon go to West Germany**

*Nuremberg (Bavaria)*

*According to the information by Nuremberg Employment Agency, 2000 Turkish agricultural workers will soon come to West Germany.*

Also, as mentioned above again, there were some news in *Cumhuriyet*, which were reported almost in the same way with *Milliyet*. In this sense, the news about the 500 farmers sent to Germany is a fruitful example to demonstrate to what extent the two newspapers converge despite their ideological difference. Both newspapers presented the report through the same sentences except for a couple of words' usage within the text. More specifically, while *Cumhuriyet* considered workers as those, who "are sent" passively, *Milliyet* regarded the workers with their freewill and use the verb "are going" in the headline (Figure 80 and Figure 81). Although the two news are almost same, even such a difference in the word usage indicates the newspapers' approach to the labor migration, as *Cumhuriyet* took the labor migration on a relatively macro terms, such as the dual labor market theory or the world-systems theory technically, *Milliyet* took it through liberal approaches, such as micro model of the neoclassical economic theory. Yet, *Cumhuriyet* also added a subhead to the news, in which it is pointed out that the workers "will specialize according to their wishes"; however, the first message is already given to readers through the headline (Figure 80).



**Figure 80. 500 çiftçi Almanya'ya gönderiliyor Cumhuriyet, 12 June 1961.**

**\*500 farmers are sent to Germany**

***500 farmers, who will specialize depending on their wishes, will be paid Mark equivalent to 300-800 Liras in training periods.***

According to the Agreement between Agricultural Development and Production Cooperative of Turkey and the Bavarian Farmers Association from Germany, 500 literate farmers from Turkey will be sent to **West Germany**.

The Association will pay the farmers' travel fees. According to their wishes, the farmers will specialize, learn the German language, and work in agricultural training farms in **West Germany**.

In these agricultural training sessions, the farmers will be paid Mark equivalent to 300-800 Turkish Lira.



**Figure 81. 500 Türk çiftçisi Almanya'ya gidiyor**  
**Milliyet, 12 June 1961.**

**\*500 Turkish farmers go to Germany**

According to the Agreement between Agricultural Development and Production Cooperative of Turkey and the Bavarian Farmers Association from Germany, 500 literate farmers from Turkey will be sent to Germany.

The Association will pay the farmers' travel fees. According to their wishes, the farmers will specialize, learn the German language, and work in agricultural training farms in Germany.

In these agricultural training sessions, the farmers will be paid Mark equivalent to 300-800 Turkish Lira.

More specifically, *Cumhuriyet* shared the news with the statement “500 farmers” in its headline with a passive voice through “are sent”, while *Milliyet* gave it through “500 Turkish farmers” with an active voice through “go”. Also, *Cumhuriyet* used “West Germany” twice, while *Milliyet* used “Germany” instead. However, the main difference is that *Cumhuriyet* even highlighted the information through a subhead as “farmers who will specialize according to their wishes will be paid”. Thereby, aside from any criticism, *Cumhuriyet* even served its news in a more affirmative way than *Milliyet* through such an emphasis that workers' wishes will be taken into consideration. In Figure 79 and Figure 80, these differences are already demonstrated with red highlighting and texting.

In 1962, similar news were also released both in *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*. In this sense, the news about the high number of male applicants from a village in Avanos to Germany can be given as an example. However, unlike the news given above, these news contain different information with each other this time. More specifically, while the relevant news in *Cumhuriyet* shared the number of male applicants as of 200, *Milliyet* shared it as of 103. Also, while *Cumhuriyet* emphasized the male-being of the applicants, *Milliyet* mentioned them as “people” and implied that they are male by pointing out

applicants' wives appealing to the mukhtar, which was not mentioned in Cumhuriyet. While the news in *Cumhuriyet* is longer than the one *Milliyet*, the only information given through both news is the name and number of households in the village and the fact that if the applications would be accepted, 35 old men would remain in the village (Figure 82 and Figure 83).

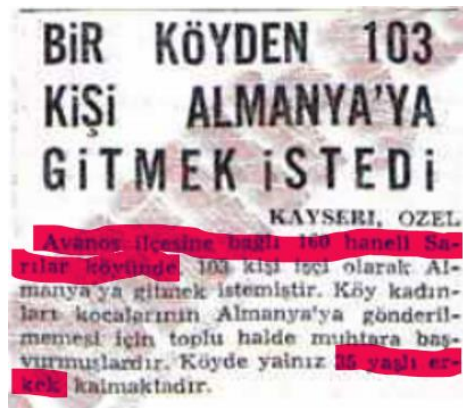


**Figure 82. Bir koyun erkekleri, 35 ihtiyar haric, Almanyaya gitmek icin muracaat ettiler Cumhuriyet, 07 August 1962.**

*\* Except 35 old men, men from a village have applied to go to Germany.*

*200 men from the Sarilar village with 160 households in Avanos have applied to the Turkish Employment Agency to go to Germany. If the departure of these workers to Germany finalized, only 35 old men and children would remain as men in the Sarilar village.*

*On the other hand, it is reported that the number of those who want to go to Germany as a worker by applying to the agency from our province and its surroundings has exceeded 4 thousand.*



**Figure 83. Bir Koyden 103 Kisi Almanyaya Gitmek Istedi Milliyet, 07 August 1962.**

*\*103 People from a village have wanted to go to Germany.*

*103 people in the Sarilar village with 160 households in Avanos have wanted to go to Germany. Village women have collectively appealed to the mukhtar to prevent their husbands from being sent to Germany. Only 35 old men remain in the village.*



Like *Milliyet* again, *Cumhuriyet* also covered not only labor exports in its general meaning, but also the qualified migration. From sports to medicine, emigration of the skilled Turkish labor was given in the articles with criticism and sadness, contrary to the articles regarding the “regular” labor export. For instance, in the column published on 17 January 1963, the columnist explicitly criticized the Turkish Minister of Health of the period due to the emigration of Turkish doctor to Germany, in addition to some other skilled emigrants. Crucially, the columnist isolated workers and skilled emigrants by exemplifying the situation through the words “including even workers”. The relevant parts of the column are given below:

It is said that the number of Turkish doctors working in America and Europe has exceeded two thousand. How many engineers, architects, creative businessmen and artists we have outside, God knows. Let’s be sure that most of the people who leave, including even workers, endure this expatriate journey unwillingly under the pressure of economic reasons (“Rakamlar Uzerine Dusunceler”, 1963).

For another instance, in the news released on 14 June 1963 with the headline “*the sports palace is losing its hardworking director*”, it was mentioned that the director, Fethi Gemuhluoglu, was going to resign and move into Germany, and for this reason, the reporter expressed her or his sadness on behalf of the newspaper (Figure 83). Leaving aside the desire to migrate of those with “socially respectable jobs” as mentioned under the same subcategory in *Milliyet*, the way of reporting the news needs an attention. More specifically, considering the regular above-mentioned news about outgoing workers, it is not possible to come across such an expression of sadness or details such as the names and photographs of those who emigrate to Germany. Instead, those news were given in an exact descriptive way neutrally or even affirmatively, without any comment. However, in this news, the director was given with his name, photograph, information about his qualification and previous success in addition to the reporter’s comments regarding his feeling due to the director’s leaving (Figure 84).



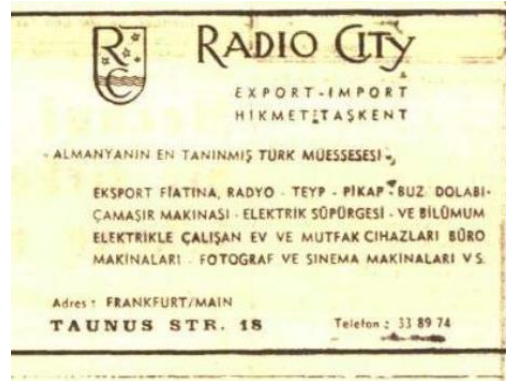
**Figure 84. Spor Sarayı çalışan müdürünü kaybediyor  
Cumhuriyet, 14 June 1963.**

**\* The Sports Palace is losing its hardworking director**

*The Sports Exhibition Palace is about to lose its hardworking director. Fethi Gemuhluoglu, who has been trying to be useful for Turkish sports by combining his night and day with all his efforts for 8 years, will resign from this duty and will go to Germany by train on Monday. Thinking of settling in Germany, Gemuhluoğlu made great efforts to satisfy both sports fans, athletes, and the press members during the 8-year period he worked at the Sports Palace.*

*We wish him success in his work in Germany, while expressing the sadness we feel due to the departure of Gemuhluoglu.*

In conjunction with the labor export, a sector emerged, targeting migrant workers with the claim of meeting their possible needs in Germany from white appliances to language books in lower prices. In this sense, companies under this sector started to mushroom both in Turkey and Germany. To be known by more people and receive more customers, those companies frequently give ads to newspapers. Within this subcategory, those ads are also reviewed due to their scope. However, before analyzing, it is needed to note that *Cumhuriyet* gave a wide coverage of those ads, as 28 ads were released in the three years. In fact, even most of the articles under this subcategory, especially in 1961, are those ads instead of news. One of the clearest examples of those ads in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 is the one given by a Turkish company in Germany, namely Radio City. According to the ad, the company is the “most famous Turkish establishment of Germany”, and it sells white appliances and electronics in export prices in Frankfurt (Figure 85).



**Figure 85. Radio City - Export-Import Hikmet Taskent  
Milliyet, 09 September 1961.**

**\* Radio City - Export-Import Hikmet Taskent**

*The most famous Turkish establishment of Germany*

*Radio, tape, gramophone, refrigerator, washing machine, vacuum cleaner and several electrical home and kitchen appliances, office machines, camera, and cinema machines etc. for export prices*

In 1962 and 1963, in addition to ads introducing companies and products for migrant workers and their relatives, there are also some other news directly related to the labor migration. In this sense, ads for books about methods to go to Germany as well as methods to transfer foreign currency from Germany to Turkey, and even job advertisements for Turkish workers in Germany are striking. For example, in the ad given in *Cumhuriyet* with the headline “Would you like to work in Germany?” on 13 January

1962, workers from different professions such as forging, tinsmithing, and turning were invited to work in a company with “very good wages”, “the best working conditions”, and “comfortable home” in the Southern Germany (Figure 86).

**Almanya'da Çalışmak İster misiniz?**

Güney Almanya'da faaliyette bulunan geniş çapta bir şirket olup, müsait şartlarla makine, vasıta ve uçak fabrikalarında Türk personel için münhal yerlerimiz mevcut bulunmaktadır.

**ARANILAN :**

- Demirciler
- Makine montaj ustaları
- Taşıt makinistleri
- Tenekeci
- Madenî levha işçileri
- Kurşuncular
- Tornacılar
- Frezeciler
- Makinistler
- ve yetiştirilmek üzere acemi işçiler

**TEKLİF EDİLEN:** Çok iyi maaşlar ve en iyi çalışma şartları, konforlu ev, sosyal hizmetlerden faydalanma ve teknik sahada inkişaf sağlamak için imkânlar.

Çalışmak istiyorsanız lütfen aşağıdaki adrese mektupla müracaat ediniz.

ALMAN İRTİBAT BÜROSU: Tophane, Lüleçiler Cad. 24-1, İstanbul TELEFON: 49 29 87.

**WAGGON-UND MASCHINENBAU GmbH**  
Donauwörth/Deutschland

**Figure 86. Almanya'da Çalışmak İster misiniz?**

**Milliyet, 13 January 1962.**

**\*Would you like to work in Germany?**

*It is a large-scale company operating in Southern Germany, and we have vacant positions for Turkish personnel in our machinery, vehicle and aircraft factories under suitable conditions.*

**HIRING:**

*Forgers*

*Machine-Mounting experts*

*Vehicle machinists*

*Tinsmithers*

*Latten workers*

*Lead Experts*

*Turners*

*Milling Cutters*

*Machinists*

*And inexperienced workers to be trained*

*OFFER: Very good wages and the best working conditions, comfortable home, taking advantage of social services and opportunities for technical improvement.*

*If you would like to work, please apply by letter to the address below/*

*GERMEN REFERRAL OFFICE: Tophane, Luleciler St, 24-1, Istanbul. PHONE: 49 29 87.*

The issues of *Cumhuriyet* in 1963 were remarkably rich in terms of ads. Particularly in this year, ads both regarding the above-mentioned companies and issues directly associated with the labor export are many in number. Leaving aside those common ads on companies and products, as it was already exemplified through the issue of 1961 above, *i.e.*, the ad from *Radio City* company, one of the ads given in 1963 was particularly striking. More specifically, with the headline “*I am going to Germany*”, a book was advertised. According to the ad, the book delivers “*a guidance for travelers to Germany*”, “*formulas*



for exchanging foreign currency and going as a worker”, information about “schools to go as a student and ways to apply”, and “a list of items that are exempt from customs when returning”. (Figure 87). It is understood that the labor migration was encouraged and even advertised in the newspaper affirmatively.



**Figure 87. Almanya'ya Gidiyorum**  
**Milliyet, 24 March 1963.**

**\* I am going to Germany.**

*A guidance for travelers to Germany – Formulas for exchanging foreign currency and going as a worker – schools to go as a student and ways to apply – a list of items that are exempt from customs when returning – Germany road map with four colors – description about the cities and prices and addresses of hotels etc.*

*Prica: 10 Lira. İNKİLAP and AKA Publishers.*

As most of the articles published in *Cumhuriyet* in the selected three years are under the subcategory *Articles with General Information* due to the scope of its topic, it makes up the most crowded subcategory with 53 articles in total and a 43 percent average of the selected three years, as it is also under the most crowded category *Labor Export*. Specifically, 10 articles were published in 1961, 14 in 1962, and 29 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 37 percent in 1961, 40 in 1962, and 47 in 1963. In this respect, there is a consistent increase both in the number and percentage of the articles.

Considering the newspaper's general stance, the articles dealt with the issue in-depth relatively. More specifically, although there are some brief and descriptive articles, they covered the issue through longer texts with statistics regarding the workers and even with female data, compared to *Milliyet*. Nevertheless, as it was exemplified above, it was seen that some news are given through almost totally same sentences in *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*. Regarding the approach to the labor migration, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* are converged in the news in patches due to their neutrality and even affirmation. However, in the columns, *Cumhuriyet* took a decisive critical approach by referring the government explicitly. Last but not least, it is also needed to note that *Cumhuriyet* gave a wide coverage to ads from companies targeting labor migrants, as well as ads directly related to the labor export, such as vacancy advertisements. Under the subcategory *Articles with General Information*, it has been strived to give examples for all the relevant issues covered in *Cumhuriyet* from each of the three years, *i.e.*, 1961, 1962, and 1963, to include as many different approaches, such as neutral or critical, as possible.

### 7.1.2. Working and Living Conditions

Although articles with general information share information about conditions provided for Turkish migrant workers in Germany from time to time, it has been deemed more appropriate to investigate this topic in a separate subcategory due to the significance of the topic as well as the existence of articles focusing solely on this topic. Accordingly, those articles under this subcategory mainly deal with working hours, accommodation, insurance and rights, and bilateral agreements. With 20 articles in total, the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions* is the second most crowded one with 16,2 percent within its upper category *Labor Export*. In Table 37 below, the share of the articles under the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions* to the upper category *Labor Export* is given. Although the subcategory is at the second place by means of the number of articles within, there is a consistent decrease in the share of the articles, according to the table. Also, the number of articles remained same in 1962 compared to 1961, while there is a slight decrease in 1963 compared to 1962. More specifically, the number of articles under the subcategory is 6 and the share of the articles is 22,2 percent in 1961, 6 and 17,1 percent 1962, and 8 and 13,1 percent in 1963. As mentioned, the total number of articles under the subcategory is 20, while the share of the total number of articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 16,2, and the mean percentage is 17,4 (Table 42).

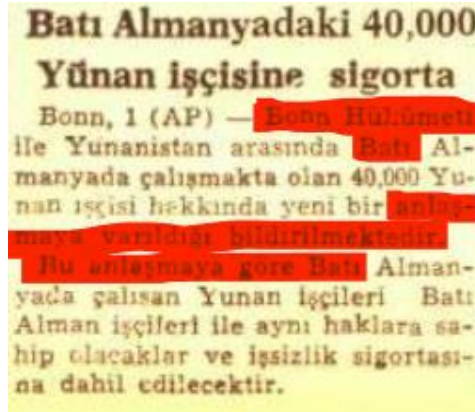
**Table 42. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Working and Living Conditions” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Working and Living Conditions” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Working and Living Conditions</b>	6	6	8	<b>20</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	22,2	17,1	13,1	<b>16,2</b>

Given the newspaper’s attitude regarding the issue of working and living conditions, *Cumhuriyet* published relatively descriptive articles in 1961 in a neutral or even an affirmative way in 1961. In this sense, it has not exactly same but a similar approach to the issue with *Milliyet*. The less articles in this year were also relatively indirect rather than referring the working and living conditions of Turkish workers at first hand. On the other hand, it has been seen during the analysis that adverse conditions and particularly work accidents experienced by Turkish workers in Germany were frequently mentioned in the issues of the newspaper in 1962 and 1963, unlike *Milliyet*, which almost totally ignored the negative side of the labor migration in the relevant articles. Lastly, it is also needed to note that *Cumhuriyet* distinctly covered official initiatives regarding the issue every three years.

In 1961, the newspaper did not devote much space for the issue of working conditions, apart from some exceptional articles. In these articles, although *Cumhuriyet* did not take an exact optimistic approach to the conditions every time, like news in *Milliyet* claiming several times that Turkish workers would have the same rights and wages with their German counterparts, it did not take a critical approach, too. In fact, it would be right to say that *Cumhuriyet* even implied the same optimistic conditions with *Milliyet*, though not directly expressing. In addition, *Cumhuriyet* converged with *Milliyet* in reporting same news with almost all the sentences again in this subcategory. In this sense, the news, which is about the conditions of Greek workers instead the conditions of Turkish workers directly, is a prominent example.

More specifically, like in the previous example of the 500 Turkish farmers, *Cumhuriyet* adopted almost the same language with *Milliyet* while the reporting working conditions. Except for a couple of descriptive words such as “Government of Turkey” in *Cumhuriyet* and “West Germany” in *Milliyet*, both newspapers used even the same sentences again but different headlines. In this respect, the newspapers are more than being a convergent of each other. Instead, they are duplicated by pointing out the “equal” rights and insurance cover of the Greek immigrant workers in Germany. This duplication in the news is demonstrated below by red highlighting and texting the exceptional differences in Figures 86 and 87. However, even beyond that, it is needed to point out that although these news did not directly refer to Turkish immigrant workers in Germany, by exemplifying Greek immigrant workers, the news aimed to create a perception that immigrant workers in general were equally treated with native workers in Germany. Thereby, the above-mentioned optimistic conditions were implied in this way (Figure 88 and Figure 89).

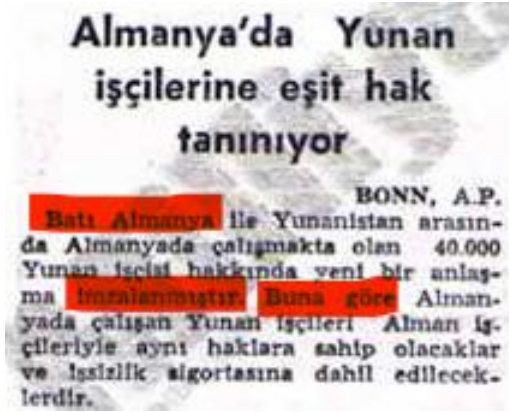


**Figure 88. Batı Almanyadaki 40,000 Yunan işçisine sigorta Cumhuriyet, 2 June 1961.**

\* **Insurance for 40,000 Greek workers in West Germany.**

*It is reported that a new agreement has been reached between the government of Bonn and Greece on 40000 Greek workers working in West Germany.*

*According to this agreement, Greek workers who work in West Germany, will have same rights with German workers and get involved in the unemployment insurance.*



**Figure 89. Almanya'da Yunan işçilerine eşit hak tanınıyor**  
**Milliyet, 2 June 1961.**

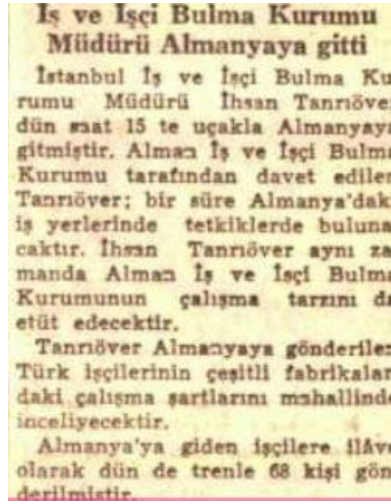
**\* Equal rights are provided for Greek workers in Germany.**

A new agreement has been *signed* between *West Germany* and Greece on 40000 Greek workers working in Germany. *Accordingly*, Greek workers who work in West Germany, will have same rights with German workers and get involved in the unemployment insurance.

Similar to the news about Greek immigrant workers, working conditions in West Germany were dealt with in some columns in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 even in a positive way but without referencing the Turkish workers again. For instance, the columnist, namely *Nadir Nadi*, presented a list of the new Labor Law by stating that the law, including articles such as “no right to strike” had been enacted by East Germany, “not by Nazi Germany or fascist Italy”. Then, he continued by presenting another list of a law including articles such as “right to strike in West Germany” by stating that “now let us look to the West, which they call the Capitalist World; and take West Germany as an example”. In this way, in his column with the headline “Two Different World”, the columnist compared workers’ rights in two different polities in Germany in those years, and so to say, proved that the “capitalist” Germany, where the Turkish workers were going to work, is by far better at the point of working conditions (“İki Ayrı Dünya”, 1961). Thereby, readers would be convinced in decent conditions in West Germany that workers cannot be forced to work in any job other than the terms of the contract and working hours can never exceed a certain level under the human rights as it is independent of states. Thus, workers-to-go and their relatives would have peace of mind of what awaits them there. Besides, the demand for labor migration to Germany would even increase.

Relatedly, labor export from Turkey to Germany would be justified by emphasizing the existence of such a legal guarantee ensuring workers’ well-being in Germany. Moreover, Turkey’s short-term and long-term expectations on investment and foreign currency, and long-term expectations on trained labor force would be entrenched by more people to desire and demand to go to Germany without any hesitation. To prevent any hesitation, the newspaper’s representatives even interviewed some officials. Accordingly, İhsan Tanrıöver, the director of the Istanbul office of the Turkish Employment Agency, stated that thanks to the contracts, it will be possible for Turkish workers to benefit from all the rights granted to German workers in Germany (“Almanya’ya gidecek işçilere en çok 3 yıl için izin veriliyor”,

1961). Moreover, according to other news, İhsan Tanrıöver even went to Germany to investigate the working conditions of Turkish workers (Figure 88). More importantly, the news also indirectly attributed the power of the Turkish director on German officials and Turkey on Germany. More specifically, Tanrıöver will allegedly examine even the German agency. Thanks to such a power implication, migrant workers' relatives and potential migrants would probably feel in confidence (Figure 90).



**Figure 90. İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu Müdürü Almanyaya Gitti Cumhuriyet, 13 November 1961.**

**\* The director of the Employment Agency has gone to Germany yesterday**

*İhsan Tanrıöver, the director of the Istanbul office of the Turkish Employment Agency, has gone to Germany by plane yesterday at 15 o'clock. Tanrıöver, who has been invited by the German Employment Agency, will conduct examinations at workplaces in Germany for a while. He will also examine the working style of the German agency.*

*Tanrıöver will investigate the working conditions of Turkish workers sent to Germany in various factories on site.*

*In addition to the workers going to Germany, 68 people have also been sent yesterday by train.*

Also, news about official visits as well as initiatives for workers' conditions were reported in the next years, too. For instance, according to the news on 17 October 1963, the Minister of Labor of the period, namely Bulent Ecevit, announced that five attache offices would be opened in Germany with a staff of 3 people in order to monitor the social rights of Turkish workers ("Bakanlarla isciler", 1963). According to the other news reported in the same year, the negotiations for the integration of the services included in the insurance in the two countries, for the mutual provision of insurance benefits and also for the Turkish workers in Germany to receive a child allowance, reached the final stage (Figure 91). So, as it is understood from the two news given here, that are far from any comments and limited to some descriptive information, Turkish workers in Germany and their rights and conditions were protected by the Turkish government, according to *Cumhuriyet*.



**Figure 91. Almanyadaki sigortalı işçilerin durumu yeni bir esasa bağlanıyor Cumhuriyet, 10 May 1963.**

**\* The situation of insured workers in Germany is based on a new basis**

*Negotiations between the Turkish and German governments have reached the final stage in order to integrate the services of the insured workers from Turkey to Germany and from Germany to Turkey in both countries, and to provide mutual provision of insurance benefits.*

*In addition, the Federal German government has prepared two decrees to ensure that Turkish workers are also given a child allowance. After these decrees take their final form and come into force, Turkish workers will also be paid a child allowance.*

On the other hand, though some articles about well and equal conditions and official initiatives like given above, *Cumhuriyet* shifted to a more critical approach to the working and social conditions in its issues in 1962 and 1963. In this sense, lots of articles drew attention how severe the situation of Turkish workers in Germany is and even the violation of the German legislation by German employers. In this sense, the news released on 08 May 1962 reported that the Chairperson of the Zonguldak Mining Workers' Trade Union had gone to Germany with the permission of the Turkish government to investigate the working, social and economic conditions of the Turkish workers on site and had written a report to submit to the relevant authorities. Although there were no negative or positive comments provided by the reporter regarding the issue in the news, at least the newspaper did not have an optimistic attitude anymore because the negative statements about the violation of rights indicated by the chairperson of the trade union in the report were referred directly and at length in the news. According to the news, specifically:

Our workers working in various companies and establishments in West Germany are not given tasks against the contract they have signed. However, with the contracts prepared unilaterally by German employers and signed by agents in Turkey without translation, some conflicts arise when people who only plan to go to Germany come across a job other than



their own branch. [...] The first part of miners from Zonguldak were immediately started in the mines with their mining certificates. Since a worker cannot be brought to the mine without receiving 45 days of aboveground training according to the German legislation, with the encouragement and provocation of Turkish students from other regions and lawyers, the workers sued the German company and did not want to work (“Almanyadaki iscilerimizle ilgili rapor”, 1962).

Given work accidents experienced by Turkish migrant workers, like *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet* did not publish even a single news about the issue in 1961. However, almost a quarter of Migrant Turkish workers had a work accident in Germany by 1963, and more than a third of the workers found the labor contracts completely worthless (Abadan-Unat, 2017, pp. 138-139). In this context, the death of five Turkish workers who went to Germany to work in construction is just an example. Because the workers were not told that the construction company was doing underground construction, too, and they went to Germany by supposing to work aboveground, they died due to falling down the steel cable while working underground (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p. 139). In line with the concrete numbers shared by Abadan-Unat and different than its approach in 1961, *Cumhuriyet* reported some work accidents in 1962 and 1963.

According to one of these news in 1963, there were almost 50 Turkish workers in Germany, who were not able to work due to work accidents they had experienced (Figure 90). Crucially, it was mentioned in the news that Turkish workers working in Germany could not receive compensation for the premiums they paid to German insurance institutions in case they had a work accident and returned to the country. Also, it was pointed out that there were many gaps in the point of insurance in the agreement with Germany and Turkish and Turkish workers lost their rights. Considering the articles about optimistic conditions, such a news seems highly important since it does not only share the number of workers suffered from work accidents but also gaps in the agreement as well as violation of the rights (Figure 92). Yet, this news is also quite descriptive and without any comment on the issue. However, even acknowledging the adverse reality regarding the conditions is noteworthy, as it indicates the shift in *Cumhuriyet*'s stance from 1961 to 1963.

**Almanya'da iş kazası geçiren  
işçilerimizin sayısı 50 ye yakın**  
Almanyada çalışan Türk işçileri,  
bir iş kazası sonunda yurda dön-  
üşükleri takdirde Alman sigorta  
kurumlarına ödedikleri primlerin  
karşılığı olan tazminatları alamam-  
aktadırlar.  
Almanya ile yapılan anlaşmada,  
sigorta bakımından bir çok boşluk  
var olduğundan, işçilerimizin  
hakkları kaybolmaktadır. Yapılan  
şikâyetler üzerine Çalışma Bakan-  
lığı harekete geçmiştir. Öğrenildi-  
ğine göre, Almanyada iş kazası so-  
nunda çalışamayacak durumda bu-  
lunan 50 ye yakın işçimiz bulun-  
maktadır.

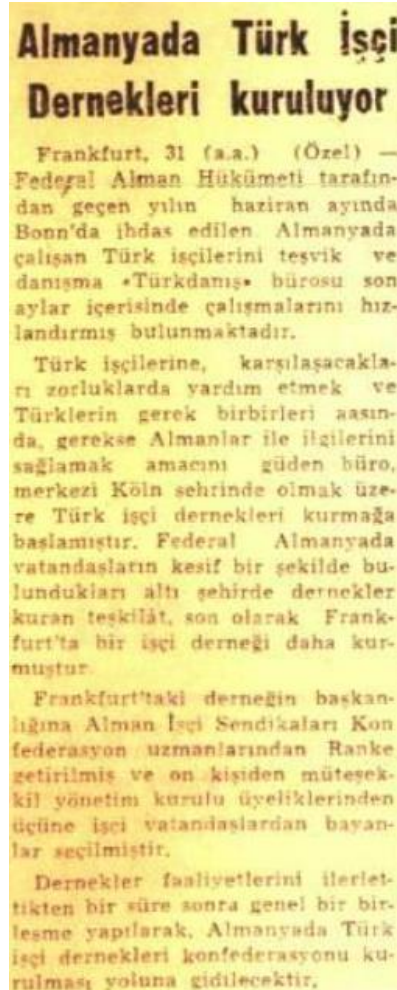
**Figure 92. Almanya’da is kazasi geciren iscilerimiz sayisi 50’ye yakin Cumhuriyet, 25 March 1963.**

**\* The number of our workers who had a work accident in Germany is nearly 50.**

*Turkish workers in Germany cannot receive compensation for the premiums they paid to German insurance institutions if they return to the homeland after a work accident.*

*Since there are many gaps in insurance in the agreement with Germany, the rights of our workers are lost. The Ministry of Labor took an action on the complaints made. As it has been heard, we have nearly 50 workers in Germany who are unable to work due to work accident.*

Lastly, trade unions and associations are one of the other most important issues under this subcategory. More specifically, unlike *Milliyet*, which did not cover such initiatives, *Cumhuriyet* reported trade union and association activities related to Turkish workers in Germany, particularly in 1962 and 1963. For instance, according to the news published on 01 February 1963, the Federal German government established the “*Turkdanis*” office to encourage Turkish workers in Germany, to provide consultancy and help to them in the difficulties they face, and to ensure their integrity both within themselves and with their German colleagues. As the office consisted of associations in six cities of the country, the president of the association in Frankfurt is one of the experts from the German Labor Unions Confederation. What is more, the news pointed out that the next step is to establish a confederation of Turkish workers association (Figure 93).





**Figure 93. Almanya’da Turk Isci Dernekleri kuruluyor Cumhuriyet, 01 February 1963.**

**\* Turkish Workers' Associations are established in Germany.**

*The <Turkdanis> office, which was established by the Federal German Government in Bonn last year, for the promotion and consultation of Turkish workers in Germany, has accelerated its work in recent months.*

*The office, which aims to help Turkish workers in the difficulties they will encounter and to ensure the relations of Turks with each other and with the Germans, has started to establish Turkish workers' associations, headquartered in the city of Cologne. The organization, which established associations in six cities in Federal Germany where citizens are concentrated, has finally established another workers' association in Frankfurt.*

*Ranke, one of the experts of the German Labor Unions Confederation, has been appointed to the presidency of the association in Frankfurt, and among the members of the board of directors composed of ten people, three of them are women from workers.*

*After a while, after the associations have advanced their activities, a general unification will be made, and a confederation of Turkish workers' associations will be established in Germany.*

Nevertheless, although such an establishment may be considered as an obtainment for Turkish migrant workers, it still needs to be questioned. Forming trade unions and associations for Turkish workers during the first years of the official migration was not a totally different initiative to systematize labor recruitment through the official agreement. That is to say, one of the most decisive motivations of the recruitment agreement was to put the labor migration in an order from the side of both Turkish and German official channels. In the similar vein, being an initiative of trade union and association activities before Turkish workers launch themselves would provide a control on their potential activities at the beginning. As expected, Cumhuriyet did not contemplate on the initiative of German parts and covered this initiative in a totally descriptive and neutral way again.

According to the analysis findings, the subcategory Working and Living Conditions constitutes the second most crowded one within its upper category Labor Export, with the total number of 20 articles and the share of 16,2 percent. In specific to the selected years, 6 articles were published in 1961, 6 in 1962, and 8 in 1963. In the total number of articles published under the upper category *Labor Export*, the share of the articles under the subcategory is 22,2 percent in 1961, 17,1 in 1962, and 13,1 in 1963. Thereby, a consistent decrease occurred in the share of articles every three years, number of the articles is inconsistent. Given the newspaper’s general stance, the working and living conditions was treated through neutral or optimistic language in the articles published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961. Also, like in the articles under the previous subcategory *Articles with General Information*, a convergence between *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* was also observed here, as some news were given even through same sentences. In 1962 and 1963, the newspaper took a relatively critical stance. Unlike *Milliyet*, work accidents were particularly covered. Also, articles about trade union and association activities were published in those year. Nevertheless, Cumhuriyet also remained limited in its criticism, although it is relatively more sensitive than *Milliyet*. Under the subcategory *Working and Living Conditions*, it has been strived to exemplify all the issues covered in *Cumhuriyet* from each of the three years, i.e., 1961, 1962, and 1963, to demonstrate neutral, optimistic, and critical stances in the newspaper.

### 7.1.3. Working and Living Conditions

Since the official processes indicate the organization of the labor export in care of the two states, *i.e.*, Turkey and Germany, as such a care gave a different form to migration that started in the 1950s, articles about this issue are investigated under a particular subcategory. On the other hand, though the significance of the issue, the number of articles directly about the official processes in *Cumhuriyet* is almost exceptional. With 8 articles in total, whose also most of them did not directly focus on the official processes, the subcategory *Official Processes* constitutes the fifth most crowded subcategory. In this sense, it is needed to note that *Cumhuriyet* gave the issue even less coverage than *Milliyet*, in which the same subcategory was at the fourth place.

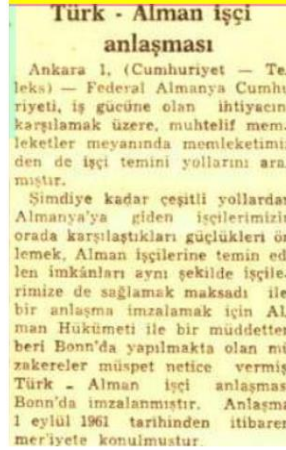
In Table 42 below, the share of the articles under the subcategory *Official Processes* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Official Processes* in the upper category *Labor Export* is given. Accordingly, not only the number but also the share of the articles in the upper category are inconsistent. More specifically, the number of articles is 2, and the percentage is 7,4 in 1961, 2 and 5,7 in 1962 and 4 and 6,5 in 1963. The number of the articles under the subcategory is 8 in total, and the percentage of the total number of the articles under the subcategory in the total number of articles in the upper category is 6,5, while the mean percentage is also 6,5 (Table 43).

**Table 43. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Official Processes” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Official Processes” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Official Processes</b>	2	2	4	<b>8</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	7,4	5,7	6,5	<b>6,5</b>

Regarding the Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement, both *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* published relevant news on 2 November 1961, in a quite similar way (Figure 94). Yet, the way of dealing with the issue differed in the newspapers this time but not the intended message. More specifically, while *Milliyet* pointed out that labor migration would allow workers to increase their knowledge and manners by working in German factories as the workers would contribute to Turkey’s economic development (Figure 95), *Cumhuriyet* implicitly praised the formalization of the migration. By drawing attention that Turkish workers went to Germany via unofficial channels had difficulties since then, it was argued in *Cumhuriyet* that Turkish institutions’ efforts to prevent such difficulties have yielded its result. That is to say, thanks to the agreement, Turkish workers would no longer be victims there as they would even work under the same conditions as the Germans (“Türk-Alman işçi anlaşması”, 1961). In

this way, *Cumhuriyet* converged with *Milliyet* one more time, although the news was not published with the same sentences and even engaged with different aspects of the agreement's expected outcomes.



**Figure 94. Türk-Alman işçi anlaşması  
Cumhuriyet, 2 November 1961.**

**\* Turkish-German Labor Recruitment**

*Federal Republic of Germany has sought ways of recruiting workers from our country in addition to various countries in order to meet its labor force needs.*

*The negotiations that have been held in Bonn for a while with the German government in order to sign an agreement in order to prevent the difficulties that our workers who went to Germany through various ways and to provide the opportunities provided to the German workers in the same way, have been affirmed, and the Turkish-German Labor Recruitment agreement has been signed in Bonn. The agreement has been put into effect as of September 1, 1961.*



**Figure 95. Türk-Alman işçi anlaşması dün yürürlüğe girdi  
Milliyet, 2 November 1961.**

**\*The Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement has been put into effect yesterday**

*Turkish-German recruitment agreement has been put into effect yesterday.*

*With the signature of the agreement to send workers to Germany, the new labor force needed by the German industry find the opportunity to increase their knowledge, experience and expertise by working in German factories equipped with the latest innovations of science.*

*Authorities state that our workers, who will go to Germany, will certainly be a very positive factor for our economic development, and that they will be used widely in various industries.*

In 1962, it is almost impossible to encounter with an article that focuses directly on the official processes. However, a part within a news regarding the news that a German specialist who had come to Turkey to put a large number of candidates to the exam to work in an automobile factory in Germany can be investigated in a sense under this subcategory due to a relatively official implication of the action. Nevertheless, it is needed to note that this news is also quite brief and descriptive, and there is neither positive nor negative comment on the fact of being “selected” of Turkish workers by a German official (Figure 96).



**Figure 96. Ford Fabrikası İzmir'den 250 işçi götürecektir Cumhuriyet, 13 July 1962.**

**\* Ford Factory will bring 250 workers from Izmir**

*A German specialist, who came to our city today to select 250 Turkish workers to be employed at the Ford Factory in Koln, West Germany, has begun to test about 1000 candidates. 100 workers from Izmir, 50 each from Denizli, Aydin and Manisa will be selected.*

In 1963, an article on a different kind of agreement come into prominence. According to this article, or the news specifically, Turkish and German governments had signed a new agreement on radio and television, as the agreement was released in the official gazette. Although the headline of the news suggested that the agreement has a social meaning for Turkish immigrant workers in Germany: instead, it is in another context. More precisely, with the news agreement, German officials would establish a radio station in Erzurum in Turkey, and 12 Turks would be trained in Germany in this respect (Figure 97). Considering the focus of the agreement, it reminds the first migration movements from Turkey to Germany during the 1950s, as they were sometimes based on such trainings of Turks from different professions. Nonetheless, there is no such a reference in the given news, as well as any comment regarding the new agreement. This news is highly brief and superficial in its all terms again.



**Figure 97. Almanya ile radyo ve televizyon anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi Cumhuriyet, 03 September 1963.**

**\* Radio and television agreement with Germany entered into force**

*An agreement on radio between German and the Turkish government has been released in the Official Gazette today.*

*As is known, according to this agreement, Germans set up a radio station in Erzurum. They will establish a vocational training center in Ankara and will also train 12 people on radio and television in Germany.*

Although there were only exceptional articles regarding the official process in *Cumhuriyet*, particularly in 1962 and 1962, they were analyzed under a specific subcategory due to the decisiveness and significance of the topic. As the subcategory consists of 8 articles in total, whose most of them touched upon the issue indirectly, the percentage as well as mean percentage of the total number of the articles under the subcategory in the total number of articles in the upper category is 6,5. Specifically, the number of articles is 2, and the percentage is 7,4 in 1961, 2 and 5,7 in 1962 and 4 and 6,5 in 1963. Given the general stands towards the issue, all the 8 articles were neutral and totally descriptive.

#### **7.1.4. Expected Development**

The expected development from Turkish immigrant workers was explained in detail in both the chapter of historical background and the chapter on the analysis of the other newspaper within this thesis work, *i.e.*, *Milliyet* so far. In addition, it was pointed out in the context of *Milliyet* that the expected development was mainly implied between the lines in the articles, instead of focusing on it directly. For *Cumhuriyet*, there is also a similar approach to the issue. More specifically, the expected development was not explicitly covered in the articles in the newspaper, with a few exceptions. Instead, these expectations were often referred in articles on some other topics. As a matter of fact, the subcategory *Expected Development* makes up the eight, *i.e.*, second least, most crowded one within its upper category *Labor Export*, same with the *Milliyet*. Nonetheless, due to the prominence of the issue as one of the most decisive dynamics of the labor export from Turkey, *i.e.*, import to Germany as well, relevant articles are investigated under a particular subcategory.

Accordingly, four relevant articles with the share of 3,25 percent to the upper category were released in total in *Cumhuriyet* in the given years. More specifically, while only one article was published in 1961 with a share of 3,7 percent, there were three articles with a share of 4,9 percent in 1963. In 1962, no article was even published. The mean percentage of the articles is 4,1. In this sense, both the share and the percentage of articles in the upper category are inconsistent. In Table 44 below, the number of the articles under the subcategory *Expected Development* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Expected Development* in the upper category *Labor Export* is given.

**Table 44. The number of the articles under the subcategory “Expected Development” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Expected Development” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Expected Development</b>	1	-	3	<b>4</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	3,7	-	4,9	<b>3,25</b>

Considering the general stance regarding the expected development in *Cumhuriyet*, the articles were given in a neutral or affirmative way, which means relatively critical approach of the newspaper does not exist in the articles under this subcategory. Though not mentioned directly as stated above, expected development from Turkish migrant workers were implied and even official representatives’ statements were covered in the newspaper. For example, in the news released on 13 August 1961, which can be also considered in the context of the other subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* within this thesis work, statements by Ihsan Tanriovert, the director of the Istanbul Branch of the Turkish Employment Agency then, was referred in the context of critiques towards the labor export.

Accordingly, some circles have concerns about a possible labor shortage in Turkey as a result of en masse departure of skilled workers abroad, and Tanriovert stressed in response to these concerns “*such a risk cannot exist, on the contrary, there are benefits, the people who are sent are generally young and semi-skilled or low-skilled people, and they go abroad both to provide foreign currency to the country and to come back as skilled workers*” (Almanların isci bürosu faaliyeti gecti”, 1961). Although these statements are not the comments of the reporter, sharing them without any criticism or question gives a clue about the perspective of *Cumhuriyet* to the issue. Also, the fact that the newspaper gives these statements directly instead of in quotes creates the impression that these statements cannot be reduced to Tanriovert and may be shared by the newspaper as well.

Though not counted under this subcategory due to the main focus of its content, for another example of the articles related to the expected development, the news released on 29 November 1961 seems crucial that also referred an official representative’s relevant statements. As the statements of one of the deputies within the Republican People’s Party, *Cihad Baban*, in office from 1961-1965, are given in



the news, Turkey would be able to receive skilled workers by means of the labor export. In this sense, Baban said “*it is possible for us (Turkey) to train skilled workers*” thanks to the “*Germany’s need for workers*” (Figure 98).



**Figure 98. CHP lilerin tenkidleri**  
**Cumhuriyet, 29 November 1961.**

**\* Criticism of RPP**

*On the other hand, Fevzi Lütüfî Karaosmanoğlu said that:*

*<The program should have been negotiated in the group before parliament. Do we need a negotiation now? At best, this is being a seminar. This mistake should not be repeated.*

*Cihad Baban, who is from those speak, said: <Germany needs 600 thousand workers. Turkey may export 80-100 thousand workers. With this, we can both earn foreign currency, prevent unemployment, and train skilled workers> by noting the need for workers in West Germany and many countries.*

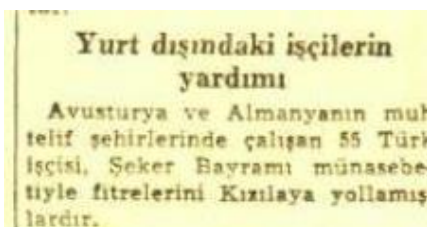
In the news, there is neither positive nor negative comment about Baban’s statements, as the news is quite descriptive and neutral like most of the other articles in *Cumhuriyet*. However, given the historical background of the newspaper, that the newspaper has been being seen as the party’s media organ, it is not difficult to guess *Cumhuriyet*’s agreement with Baban. So, the news demonstrates one more time that the expected development from emigrants was all about the positioning against the west, regardless of the political position of the possessor of the expectation. So, one can deem through the given news that left, *i.e.*, *Cumhuriyet*, converged center-right, *i.e.*, *Milliyet*, in their belief that Turks need to learn the Western technique and norms, and develop themselves by these techniques and norms as well as Turks need to bring these norms and techniques homeland to develop their country.

Though not counted under this subcategory due to the main focus of its content again, the column referring to the expected development is remarkable due to both using a subhead “*expected development*” directly and the categorization of emigrants within the column (Türk işçisi ne istiyor: 4: Almanyaya işçi sevki bizim için zararlı, yoksa faydalı mı oluyor?). In the column, those who want to migrate from Turkey to Germany were given respectively: experienced masters; “*types*” who could not find in Turkey what they seek for and took a hit from life but want to try Germany as a last resort; and “*adventurers*” who put work forward as a guise. The authors claimed that one of the expectations of well-intentioned immigrants in the first category was improving themselves by attending training related to their branches in Germany (Türk işçisi ne istiyor: 4: Almanyaya işçi sevki bizim için zararlı, yoksa faydalı mı oluyor?). So, the columnists argued, when Turkey’s economy is recovered and able to employ migrant workers then, the country would gain experienced, mature and qualified personnel who obey the work discipline. Thereby, the country would develop even further. On the other hand,

considering the cases for the second and third categories, which consist of the so-called “types” and “adventurers”, the columnists hoped that Germany would serve as an internship and a school for those people and make significant investments in them.

As stated before, there were no articles directly focusing on the expected development in *Cumhuriyet* in 1962. On the other hand, the newspaper gave, relatively, the most coverage to the issue by publishing three articles in 1963. Nonetheless, these articles dealt with the issue through only a couple of sentences. In one of these articles, it was pointed out that increasing exports, Turkish workers’ going to Germany, and the idea of Turkey’s membership in the common market strengthen Turkey’s position in the European economy, the following expressions were used in relevance: “...and Turkey, which has traditionally remained attached to the West with its foreign policy understanding, should therefore be expected to attach to the West in economic terms as social classes increasing day by day” (“*Türk demokrasisi*”, 1963). In addition to employing the verb “expect” in the column already, among the striking points of the discourse in the column is the reference to the labor migration as a dynamic in the context of the consolidation of Turkey’s position in the European economy, which is understood to be mentioned with pleasure (“*Türk demokrasisi*”, 1963). In another column, similarly, the common market was referred in relevancy again, but it was also stated that the western countries would make a great social, cultural and financial investment in Turkey, as the columnists are “of this opinion” (*Dis ulkelerde Türk is gucu ve meseleleri*”, 1963). In this way, the expectation for investment to the country by means of the emigrant Turkish workers was explicitly mentioned in the column.

Of all the articles over the selected three years, probably the most remarkable one was published in 1963, although it is brief and very descriptive. According to this news, 55 Turkish workers in various cities of Austria and Germany had sent their alms (Turkish: *fitre*) to the Red Crescent on the occasion of Ramadan fest. Leaving aside the fact that the news consists of a single sentence that shares information, emphasizing the workers’ sending their alms with a positive word “help” in the headline itself can be read as the newspaper presenting this initiative of the workers as an example and aiming to encourage similar initiatives as sending help to the Turkish Red Crescent through subtext in the news (Figure 99).



**Figure 99. Yurt dışındaki işçilerin yardımı**  
**Cumhuriyet, 11 March 1963.**

**\* Help of workers abroad**

*55 Turkish workers in various cities of Austria and Germany had sent their alms to the Red Crescent on the occasion of Ramadan fest*



Although expected development from Turkish emigrant workers was one of the most known issues in the context of the labor migration, and it was frequently implied between the lines of the articles then, there were only a few exceptional articles directly focusing on this issue in *Cumhuriyet*. Considering the general stance of the newspaper, those exceptional articles were brief and descriptive and have no means of criticism. Instead, one can say that *Cumhuriyet* highly supported the attitude of expecting development from workers, as understood from explicitly mentioning this expectation in the relevant columns given above. Considering the number and percentages, the subcategory consists of 4 articles in total, and the percentage is 3,25 while the mean percentage is 4,1. Specifically, the number of articles is 1, and the percentage is 3,7 in 1961, and 3 and 4,9 in 1963. However, no news, column, or ad was detected for the issues of the newspaper in 1962.

#### **7.1.5. Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants**

When it comes to the issue of Turkey's and Turks' positioning against the West, it is seen that the stances of the center-right and left in Turkey, at least their reflection in the Turkish media in specific of *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* newspapers, resembled each other in the selected three years. As the colonial discourse points out, the resonance of the relationship with the West as the West is the object of explicit admiration or social corruption but implicit admiration, some clues of that admiration distinguish in articles in *Cumhuriyet* as well. Leaving aside the frequent emphasis on Turkish workers' need to develop themselves and their country of origin in various aspects in Germany by German norms and technique, the admiration emerged also as a desire in the newspaper. In this way, the newspaper, on the one hand, considered the Turks inferior to the Germans and often emphasized throughout the selected three years that the former should develop by taking the latter as a model. On the other hand, it puts the Turks in a superior position by drawing attention that Westerners admire the Turks and make continuous demands for more Turks to come to their country. However, as the case for the second position, *i.e.*, the superior one, the newspaper essentially put the Turks in an inferior position, too, given its consideration of the admiration of the West as a source of pride.

As can be expected because of the above-given reasons, the subcategory *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* consists of relatively more articles compared to the other subcategories. More specifically, as the subcategory is at the fourth place among the other subcategories, it includes eleven articles in total in the selected three years, with the percentage of 8,9 to the upper category. Particularly, one article was published in 1961 with a share of 3,7 percent, three articles with a share of 8,6 percent in 1962, and seven articles with a share of 11,5 percent in 1963. The mean percentage of the articles is 7,9. Thereby, both the share and the percentage of articles in the upper category are consistent. In Table 45 below, the number of the articles under the subcategory *Expected Development* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* in the upper category *Labor Export* is given.

**Table 45. The number of the articles under the subcategory “Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants</b>	1	3	7	<b>11</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	3,7	8,6	11,5	<b>8,9</b>

Given the general stance on the appreciation and praise for Turkish Immigrants in *Cumhuriyet*, the articles plainly referred how German society and employers are satisfied with the Turkish immigrants in Germany, without any question regarding this satisfaction. That is to say, instead of any criticism towards those appreciation and praise by Germans, only criticizing Turkish side due to losing those praised people in patches, *Cumhuriyet* also covered the issue with satisfaction, as a reflection of the colonial discourse. In this sense, as exemplified in some articles previously, Turkish soccers were also among those who emigrate to Germany then. In this context with the appreciation and praise, there is a noteworthy news released in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 through the headline “*A Turk in Germany*”. According to the news, the German press was releasing “*laudatory articles*” about a Turk who was continuing his education and playing soccer in Germany (Figure 98). This news was also found notable because of the emphasis on the continuation of the Turkish soccer’s education, which was fit for the expectations of the military government in Turkey then, its media organ *Cumhuriyet*. Also, by pointing out the victory of the Turkish player’s team in the last game and the success of the player in this match, that was given with the words “very good game” and supported with a photo during the match, the narrative about the praised Turkish soccer was aimed to strengthen even more (Figure 100).



**ALMANYA'DA BİR TÜRK** —  
Almanya'da tahsiline devam ederken aynı zamanda futbol da oynayan Ferikoy solbeki Yaman Cora hakkında Alman basınında sitemiş-kâr yazılar çıkmaktadır.  
Yaman'ın oynadığı SC Preuben, son yaptığı maçta rakibi Sportfreunde'u 2-1 mağlup etmiş ve bu maçta Yaman çok güzel bir oyun çıkarmıştır.  
Yukarıdaki resimde Yaman, rakibi ile mücadele ederken görülmektedir.

**Figure 100. Almanya’da Bir Türk Cumhuriyet, 31 May 1961.**

**\* A Turk in Germany**

*While continuing his education in Germany, there are laudatory articles in German press about Yaman Cora, who also plays soccer, and was the left-back of Feriköy.*

*SC Prauben, in which Yaman plays, defeated its rival Sportfreunde 2-1 in the last game, and Yaman played a very good game in this match.*

*In the picture above, Yaman is seen struggling with her opponent.*

Although not counted under this subcategory due to its main focus on another issue, for another example of the issues of 1961, a column, which is also prominent on another related issue of *Turkish Representation in Germany*, is remarkable. According to this column, the head doctor of “*the largest hospital*” in Zurich is a Turk who was regarded as “*one of the few authorities*” in Switzerland and whose articles were published in newspapers. Thanks to the Turkish doctor, the columnist Cevat Fehmi Başkut stated, he had “*swelled with pride*”, and continued, he had heard “*long praises about current Turkish ambassador*” as “*an excellent diplomat*” from people from the political circles (“*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Orta Avrupadaki Türkler*”, 1961).

However, although the fact that two fellow countrymen (Turkish: *hemsehri*) serve in such top positions in West made swell the columnist with pride, the columnist also criticized the structural motivation of the labor migration in his column. According to him, ego conflicts, envy, and factionalism in Ottoman madrasahs, which were “*similar to anything but not a science center*”, are also valid for Turkish universities then. Thereby, a very talented Turkish doctor Ahmet Mümtaz Marşan had to emigrate from his beloved country to Germany because of jealousy, just like in “*Ottoman madrasahs*”. More tragically, the columnist continued, when he went to Germany, he had much trouble because it was not suitable to work at the university according to the German law, and eventually he had started to work as a broker by establishing a small venture (“*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Orta Avrupadaki Türkler*”, 1961). With the story at stake, the columnist pointed out that Marşan’s experience suggests current suffering in Turkey. Besides, he apologized to emigrant Turkish doctors due to his previous criticism of their emigration from Turkey. In this way, although the columnist did not refer to any government or policy in Turkey, he criticized the country’s institutions due to losing doctors like Marşan by exemplifying his case.

In 1962, Turkish doctors became the topic of the issue of appreciation and praise again. For instance, in a column published in the newspaper on 19 January 1962, the columnist Sait Arif Terzioğlu pointed out that Turkish doctors “*get a great attention*” in Germany. By giving an example through a Turkish doctor, who had been working in Cologne for two months, the columnist added, “*He was made himself loved in such a short time. Everyone bows to him with great reverence*” (“*Bir yurtdisi seyahatte gorduklerim, isittiklerim*”, 1962). As the columnist used the words “*bow*” and “*great reverence*”, he gives a message of superiority of the Turkish doctor, and Turks in general, at first glance. On the other hand, by emphasizing the doctor’s “*making himself loved*”, he laid bare his consideration regarding and need for the admiration of the West as a source of pride. Thereby, the latent subject of the superiority

in the column is found out (“Bir yurtdisi seyahatte gorduklerim, isittiklerim”, 1962). In fact, even need for emphasizing such an appreciation gives the clues of the colonial discourse in the given news here.

The praise and appreciation for the Turkish immigrants in Germany was also conveyed through official statements in *Cumhuriyet* from time to time. For example, in the news released on 05 December 1962, relevant statements by the General Director of the Unemployment Insurance Institution of the German Employment Agency, namely Anton Sabel, was referred. In this sense, the sentences given below are particularly remarkable:

During his visit to Turkey, the General Director of the Unemployment Insurance Institution of the German Employment Agency, Herr Anton Sabel, especially emphasized that Turkish workers have proved their worth in Germany in a short time and all German employers are very pleased with them (“1963 te Almanya Turkiyeden 10 bin isci daha alacak”, 1962).

Regarding this news, first of all, it is needed to point out the use of the title “*Herr*”, which means *Mr.* in English language. On the other hand, since the news was released in Turkish originally, using a German title, and even using such a title within the news text, reflects an implicit inferior-superior perspective within the colonial discourse, as the reporter used the title within the text unconventionally for reporting, and even in the native language of the mentioned person. Referring to “*Herr*” Anton Sabel’s positive statements about Turkish workers through the words “*especially emphasized*”, the reporter also seems to aim to strengthen the meaning, since the General Director did not mention; instead, he particularly stressed the issue. Lastly, positioning Turkish workers as those who need to prove their worth and be pleased with, the reporter laid bare his consideration regarding and need for the admiration of the West as a source of pride (‘1963 te Almanya Turkiyeden 10 bin isci daha alacak’, 1962), like in the above-mentioned other column in 1962 (“Bir yurtdisi seyahatte gorduklerim, isittiklerim”, 1962).

Similarly, some German officials’ statements were also published in the articles in *Cumhuriyet* in 1963. In this sense, one of these articles is particularly remarkable due to giving the appreciation for Turkish workers in the subheading directly. Accordingly, the Minister of Interior of Germany, Hermann Hoherl, visited to Turkey by responding to the invitation of the Turkish government, and this visit was covered in the newspaper with the subhead “*Hermann Hoherl said that they are satisfied with the Turkish workers and students in the Federal Germany*” (Figure 99). Additionally, in the news where it is stated that a German Minister of the Interior visited Turkey for the first time in history, it was also shared, “*the rate of crime committed by Turkish workers and students in Germany is very low and they (Germans) have no complaints*” in response to a relevant question. Like in the above-mentioned news about the General Director of the Unemployment Insurance Institution of the German Employment Agency in 1963, this news also positioned Turkish immigrants, and Turkish society in general, that need to be satisfied by the West, as such a satisfaction by the West is so-called a source of pride (Figure 101).



**Figure 101. Batı Alman İçişleri Bakanı geldi Cumhuriyet, 04 April 1963.**

**\* West German Minister of Internal Affairs has visited**

**Hermann Hochoerl said that they are satisfied with the Turkish workers and students in the Federal Germany**

*Federal Minister of Internal Affairs of Germany, Herr Hermann Hochoerl, came to our city from Bonn by plane at 21.10 last night, at the invitation of our government. The visiting Minister was welcomed by the Governor, Niyazi Aki, German Consul General, Dr. Gustav von Schmoller, and other interested parties at Yesilkoy Airport. In his speech with the journalists, the Minister said that for the first time in history, a German Minister of the Interior came to Turkey, that his visit had no political reason and that he would exchange ideas with his Turkish colleague. Meanwhile, Herr Hochoerl stated on a question that the rate of crime committed by Turkish workers and students in Germany is very low and they do not have any complaints. The Minister of Foreign Affairs spent the night in a hotel in Yesilkoy. He will go to Ankara by plane this morning. After making contacts with the government officials in Ankara, the Minister will visit Izmir and Bursa and meet with members of the German Archaeological Institute in Bergama. The Minister will depart from our country on April 11<sup>th</sup>.*

As one of the most crucial issues regarding the labor migration is appreciation and praise for the Turkish immigrants due to the internalized perspective on inferior-superior relationship between the Turks and Westerners, the number of articles under this subcategory is more compared to the other subcategories. Considering the general stance of the newspaper, there is a consistency between *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, as *Cumhuriyet* also put appreciation and praise for Turkish immigrants forward in the articles through an affirmative way and without any question. It is also needed to point out that there were some critical articles in *Cumhuriyet*; however, this criticism focused to the Turkish authorities due to losing those praised and appreciated people, instead of questioning the Germans' motivation for such an appreciation and praise. Considering the number and percentages, the subcategory consists of 11 articles in total, and the percentage is 8,9 while the mean percentage is 7,9. Specifically, the number of articles is 1, and the percentage is 3,7 in 1961; 3 and 8,6 in 1962, and 7 and 11,5.

### 7.1.6. Turkish Representation in Germany

Similar with the expected development, one of the most decisive dynamics of the labor migration was the Turkish representation in Germany. Also, as the issue is closely related to the last subcategory, *i.e.*, *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants*, traces regarding the colonial discourse stand out here as well. Not surprisingly, *Cumhuriyet* converged with *Milliyet* in reporting one more time. More specifically, both newspapers supportively reflected the expectation that emigrated Turks would demonstrate their inherent social virtues and modern lifestyle in Germany. In this way, they would prove the modernist norms of the new Turkish republic, be even more “*admirable*”, and receive more praise by the Germans. To achieve all these, the Turkish Employment Agency even prepared and handed out brochures that some readers already requested to distribute them by sending letters to the *Milliyet*’s columns. With these brochures titled “*Working Life in Germany*” and “*Recommendations for Workers*” which were given to workers before leaving from Turkey, workers apparently were aimed to be taught how to represent their country there (“Batı Almanya’ya dün 47 işçi daha gönderildi”, 1961).

On the other hand, such an aim essentially indicates a contradictory stance on account of the emphasis of both Turks being admired abroad, and the idea that they need to be educated with western norms before going abroad and afterward. In fact, even the emphasis of Turks being admired abroad reflects an inner conflict. Because the desire to emphasize on a matter may reveal that there is already a feeling of inadequacy in that matter emphasized. Besides, trying to appreciate which one positioning herself or himself as a subject against and being satisfied when gaining admiration may indicate the same feeling. That is why there is such a contradiction, and migrant workers were treated as they need to develop themselves and well-represent their country.

Despite all that has been mentioned in this regard so far, the articles directly focusing on the Turkish representation in Germany was also not many in number, as the issue is mostly implied between the lines in the articles under other subcategories and as the subcategories are quite intertwined again. Given the relevant numbers, there are seven articles in total under the subcategory, with the share of 5,7 percent to the upper category *Labor Export*. In this sense, the subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* is at sixth place among the other subcategories. More specifically, the number of articles is 3 and the percentage is 11,1 in 1961, 1 and 2,85 in 1962 and 3 again and 4,9 in 1963. The mean percentage is 6,3. Table 46 below shows the articles under the subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* in the upper category *Labor Export*.

**Table 46. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Turkish Representation in Germany” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Turkish Representation in Germany” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Turkish Representation in Germany</b>	3	1	3	<b>7</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	11,1	2,85	4,9	<b>5,7</b>

Considering the table, there is an inconsistency both in the number and share of the articles. The newspaper distinctly gave more coverage to the issue in the first year of the official labor migration compared to the following two years. More specifically, although the number of relevant articles is same in 1961 and 1963, the share of the articles in 1961 are twice as many as those in 63, which is probably since it was the first year of emigration, it was aimed to make internalize this expectation by reminding it frequently. In this sense, different strategies were adopted by *Cumhuriyet*, such as sharing well-dressed workers’ photos in the newspaper. For example, though not counted under this subcategory due to its main focus, *Cumhuriyet* also reported the departure of the first group of Turkish workers to Germany through a brief and undetailed text on the same day with the other news released in *Milliyet* with the headline “*Almanya’ya İlk Kafile*” released in *Milliyet* on 26 February 1961. Besides, like in *Milliyet* again, the news was shared with a giant photo unusually (Figure 102).



**GİTTİLER** — Almanya Hükümeti tarafından, çalışmak üzere Almanya’ya davet edilen Türk işçilerinden kalabalık bir grup dün, kendilerini almak üzere gönderilen hususi bir otobüsle gitmişlerdir. Resim işçileri hareketten önce toplu halde göstermektedir.

**Figure 102. Gittiler Cumhuriyet, 26 February 1961.**

**\* They have gone**

*A large group of Turkish workers invited to Germany to work by the German government have gone yesterday by a private bus sent to pick them up.*

*The picture shows the workers en masse before the departure.*



As the workers in the *Cumhuriyet*'s photo are the same people with those in the photo shared in *Milliyet*, these people draw attention with their modern clothes such as suits, ties, fedoras, and topcoats, and with their clean shaving. In fact, such unusual big photos of emigrant workers dressed in line with the Western norms in both newspapers demonstrate Turkish officials' concerns about Turkish representation in Germany. By supporting the officials' expectations on well-representation abroad through these photos, *Cumhuriyet* converged with *Milliyet* in their approach to this issue as well: The two newspapers presented the ideal Turkish image by showing Turkish workers in their modern clothes. Lastly, with the emphasis on "*private bus sent to pick them up*" within the news text, the newspaper implies that Turkish workers are well-treated by German authorities.

In addition to the news reiterating the expected modern representation, the issue was also discussed in *Cumhuriyet*'s columns. Some of the most mentioned aspects in these columns were Turks involved in bad deeds in Germany, misrepresentation of Turks and Turkey in Germany, and their positive opposites. For example, in the column mentioned earlier with the headline "*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Orta Avrupadaki Türkler*", the columnist, *Cevat Fehmi Başkut*, mentioned the success and dignity of the Turkish head doctor and Turkish ambassador in Switzerland as good examples compared to the previous grievance about Turkish migrants who did not complete their education or were breaking the law abroad:

[...] I've heard very good and bad things about many of them. For example, I learned that Munich is full of wandering Turkish children who have come here for education, but have long since stopped studying and are literally vagrants, who have shocked the German police. I have ascertained that Munich is full of wandering Turkish children who have come here for education, but have long since stopped studying and are literally vagrants, who make the German police feed up. Again, here and in some other German and Swiss cities, I heard that hostel owners strongly refuse to rent rooms to Turkish youth. Despite listening to the stories of Turkish citizens who were involved in some dirty adventures in these countries, they spoke fervently about Turks with many positions and fame and their achievements. [...] ("*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Orta Avrupadaki Türkler*", 1961).

In fact, Başkut devoted a particular place to the migrants' representation in his columns. In another column again, he shared complaints that Turkish workers in Germany are known for their drunkenly taunting women and cursing in Turkish, especially in groups and at night. On the other hand, it is pointed out that there are those who use the name of Turkishness very carefully among the migrant workers. Nevertheless, the columnist continued, even if there are five to ten people included in the first group, this situation cannot be tolerated "*because the Turkish name is mentioned in a foreign country*" ("*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Almanyadaki Türk işçileri*", 1961). In this sense, he also criticized Turkish officials because, though Turkish society was expecting for emigrant workers' returning home as they would increase their knowledge and "*saw the Europe*" (Turkish: *Avrupa görmüş*), the workers were turning into street drunks and womanizer who "*stigmatize the Turkishness name there*" due to the so-



called fact that the Turkish Employment Agency did not take the necessary precautions when the first Turkish worker was emigrating. As the columnist saliently referred “*Turkishness*” in his columns, he reproduced Turks’ position against the Westerners in the aforementioned colonial context. While criticizing those who do not show the Turks’ proper virtues and who draw adverse reactions of Westerners by doing unacceptable things like vagrancy, the columnist contradicted himself by attaching importance to “*seeing Europe*”. In other words, the columnist, like the Turkish government then, was in a conflicting mindset that Turkishness is something worthy of display; however, Turks also need to see Europe, and they need to be approved in European societies.

Apart from covering so-called ideal Turkish migrants in comparison with their opposite, a sarcastic language was also appearing in the articles in *Cumhuriyet*, like in *Milliyet*. For example, the same columnist mentioned what his friends in Germany had wanted to warn Turkish citizens by his column, as his friend wrote him: “*We as Turks in Germany have overtaken Italians in fraud*”, and “*we should take pride in ourselves*”. The columnist sarcastically commented on “*we have so much ingenuity similar with these that we are stuck with which one we will be proud*” (“*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Almanyanın taşı toprağı altın!*”, 1961). In this way, the columnist clearly reflected his actual awareness on that conflicting mindset regarding Turkishness as to be both proud of and shy away.

Although not counted under this subcategory due to its main focus again, the columnist also wrote some columns about the misrepresentation of Turkey abroad. In this sense, he pointed out that letters from outside the country are full of complaints about Turkey’s representative agency. For example, he shared a letter of a reader who is a Turkish citizen in Germany and went an international trade fair “*with her or his German friends to brag about Turkey*”. However, the reader complaint, the exhibitions of “*even the small republics that have just appeared on the world map and whose names are not even known*”, were “*better*” than those of the Turks. In this sense, the columnist also criticized those responsible for such misrepresentation by asking what do those who represent the dignity and pride of the nation and those officials do in the face of this situation (“*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Bir paviyonumuz daha*”, 1961). In this way, Turkey’s center-periphery positioning emerged one more time as Turkey was regarded as the periphery of Europe on account of needing to be the object of brag, and center of the small-republics on account of an expectation of superiority in co-representation.

The reason why *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* told so the same about the representation of Turkish migrants abroad may perhaps stem from their approach to the labor export. More specifically, when the remittances and investments by labor migrants are in question, interests can predominate independent from the ideologies. It is clear that achieving harmony in Germany and being accepted by German society mean the continuity of meeting these interests but within the desired period. Also, when the nationalism is in question, it can be essentially intertwined with even the most opposite ideologies. As it is quite prone to be adjusted in different views, even a leftist newspaper may, not surprisingly, converge a center-rightist one.

In 1962, the unique article focusing on the Turkish representation in Germany was written by Cevat Fehmi Baskut again. In the column, in which the colonial discourse distinguishes even at first glance, stories were told from the disorderly acts of the Turks due to drunkenness to their theft, it was underlined that even Turkish immigrants were advised not to contact with each other, and finally, a criticism was made on the official channels in relation to the topic of the expected development. More specifically, Baskut mentioned that there were a lot of Turkish students in Germany, who had come to the country with scholarship but then left the school. Similarly, he exemplified through a Turkish professor that even Turkish scholars in Germany do not deal with the science. Then, the columnists referred one of his family friend's words by pointing out that the friend was settled in Munich and engaged in trade there:

Our family friend settled in Munich, engage in trade... He strictly recommended, "*never closely contact with Turkish students here... You will meet any of them... You will not visit coffeehouses that they visit*" in the first day when I visited him. I understood that he is right after a while.

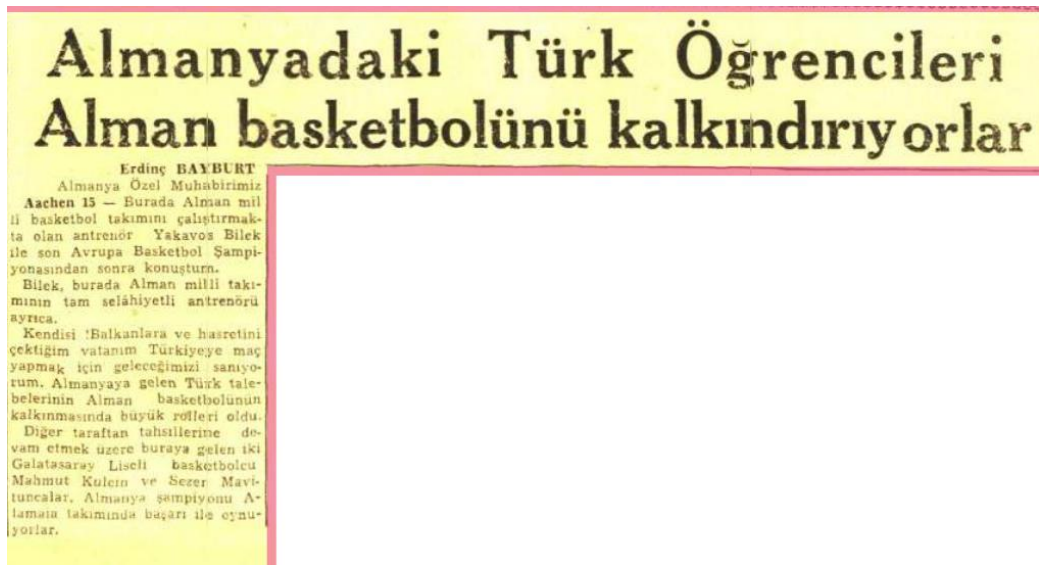
In the last paragraph of the column, official channels were sarcastically criticized:

The most disastrous part of the job is that these students and professors will return to the homeland sooner or later, and we will welcome them as they have been educated in Europe or have deepened their knowledge. Cultural attaches in western countries, inspectors for students and the authorities in Ankara responsible for supervising them can be honored with their whole lives for fulfilling their duties duly ("*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Bu yara sanıldigından derindir*", 1962).

Given the written text in this column, the last paragraph is particularly striking. By using the expression "*have deepened their knowledge*" after the other expression "*have been educated in Europe*" and using "*or*" between these two expressions, the columnist established an identity between being educated in Europe and deepening knowledge. In this sense, colonial discourse emerges one more time, as the Western norms are accepted as superior. Also, the columnist made welcome a condition of being educated in Germany and deepening knowledge, as such an attitude is also closely associated with the expected development. By referring high-level authorities sarcastically, the columnist made a political criticism based on the lack of achievement of the well-representation in Germany as well as expected development. Nevertheless, considering the entire text, it is seen that the criticism by the columnist relatively focused on Turkish immigrants rather than those authorities. Also, the columnist even classified Turkish immigrants in Germany latently, by classifying his family friend who recommended him, with the expression, "*Our family friend settled in Munich, engage in trade...*" ("*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Bu yara sanıldigından derindir*", 1962).

In 1963, although the number of articles is same with the number of articles in 1961, the share of the articles is less compared to 1961, as mentioned before. On the other hand, the three articles published in 1963 are different than those published in the other two years in their focus as well. More specifically,

while the relevant articles in 1961 and 1962 dealt with the well- and mostly misrepresentation of Turkish society by Turkish immigrants in Germany, two relevant articles in 1963 referred the misrepresentation of Turkey in media and in Turkey directly, and one article was about the well-representation of Turkish society by Turkish students in Germany. According to the last article, the Turkish coach of German National Basketball Team pointed out that Turkish students in Germany was developing German basketball (Figure 102). Given the discourse in the news, the well-representation of the Turkish migrants can be seen even from both the headline and the text at first glance. Also, as the reporter mentioned that the coach misses his homeland, Turkey, she or he seems to give a message that the successful Turkish coach did not detach from his country (Figure 103).



**Figure 103. Almanyadaki Türk Öğrencileri Alman basketbolunu kalkındırıyorlar Cumhuriyet, 16 October 1963.**

**\* Turkish students in Germany are developing the German basketball**

*Here, I spoke with coach Yakavos Bilek, who is training the German national basketball team, after the last European Basketball Championship.*

*Bilek is also the fully qualified coach of the German national team here.*

*He said, "I think we will come to the Balkans and to my homeland Turkey, which I miss. Turkish students who have come to Germany have a great role in the development of German basketball.*

*On the other hand, two Galatasaray high school basketball players, Mahmut Kulcin and Sezer Mavituncalar, who have come here to continue their education, play successfully in the German champion Alamata team.*

As the subcategory Turkish Representation in Germany is closely associated with the other subcategory Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants, there were a lot of intertwined articles with each other. Thereby, the number of articles directly focusing on the representation remains relatively less than the other subcategory. On the other hand, one cannot say that *Cumhuriyet* did not give a particular coverage to the issue. Given the general stance of *Cumhuriyet*, the most relevant articles were published in 1961. In this year as well as in 1962, the main concern was well- and misrepresentation by Turkish immigrants in Germany. In this sense, Cevat Fehmi Baskut, who is one of the columnists of *Cumhuriyet*, specifically

focused on the misrepresentation. In 1963, the focus shifted to representation of Turkey rather than Turkish society. In general, *Cumhuriyet* adapted a strategy similar with *Milliyet*, as those who misrepresent Turkey were criticized, while the success and Turkishness of those who well-represent the country were highlighted. Lastly, given the numbers and share regarding the subcategory, it consists of seven articles with the share of 5,7 percent. More specifically, while there were three articles with the share of 11,1 in 1961, the number and share are 1 and 2,85 in 1962, and 3 again and 4,9 in 1963, respectively.

#### **7.1.7. Duration of Stay**

Turkish workers going to Germany were allowed to stay for a minimum of a year and a maximum of three years. However, even after the Turkish-West German Recruitment Agreement entered into force, the Federal Ministry of the Interior raised some objections on the content of the agreement, particularly on the duration of stay, and took a negative but decisive stance on the implementation of the agreement. More specifically, according to the agreement, the residence permits of Turkish workers were not limited to a particular period. However, the Federal Ministry of the Interior insisted that this period should be a maximum of two or three years and not be extended (Ünver, 2012, p.192). In fact, Germany did not limit the duration of stay in any of its labor agreements with other countries apart from Turkey, Morocco, and Tunisia. There were even provisions stating that the employment contracts and residence permits can be extended. In this sense, claiming that Germany took a kind of double-standardized approach then would be plausible.

Given the perspective of Germany, by taking into account the common religious belief, *i.e.*, Islam, and traditional and cultural practices in the three countries, it would be possible to find many clues about Germany's integration policy, particularly on this topic, since Germany did not find it necessary to impose a similar restriction on Italy, Spain, and Greece in where Christianity is the common religious belief and traditional and cultural practices close to German culture. Thereby, Germany was already giving the signals of the xenophobic and Islamophobic atmosphere that have started to intensify in the 2000s. As a matter of fact, Germany's admission of labor migrants from some countries without a limitation in time could not be attributed to anything else than the norms of union of religion, tradition, and culture. For precisely this reason, social integration policies for immigrants were not established and implemented in Germany.

Moreover, the double-standardized approach of Germany was also closely associated with the rotation principle because the most significant drawback of possible social immigration policy was the rotation principle (Okuyuz, 2012, p. 234). As those who are not so "*stranger*" of Germany would naturally integrate into the country, foreigners such as Turks, Moroccans and Tunisians were guest workers who would fulfill their tasks according to the needs of the labor market and return to their countries in the time set for them but not earlier or after. By this rotation principle designated for the guest workers, Germany's religious and cultural integrity and social structure would not deteriorate. Keeping in mind

what has been mentioned above so far and given the perspective of Turkey, the integration of the Turkish emigrant workers into Germany was not a desired situation by the Turkish authorities, too. As it reflected through articles in both *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, migrant workers would increase their technical knowledge and improve their manners in Germany. Besides, they would send remittances to and invest in Turkey. Thereby, Turkey would have a qualified labor force without any investment and economic development through foreign currency. Herewith, it is not surprising that Turkish side would not be glad as well, if Turkish workers would stay in Germany more than two or three years.

This perspective of the Turkish side also distinguishes in *Cumhuriyet* like in *Milliyet*. Nevertheless, in specific to the duration of stay, though the decisiveness of the topic, the subcategory is the ninth and least crowded one among the others, same with the *Milliyet*. More specifically, although there are some articles referring to the issue between the lines but in 1961 only, there is just one article directly focusing on the issue and was published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961. For the issues of 1962 and 1962, no news, column, or ad was detected. So, the share of the article to the upper category is 2,85, considering the number of articles published in 1961. Herewith, the total number of articles under the subcategory is also one, and the percentage of the total number of articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 1,23 due to the total number of 123 articles under the upper category *Labor Export* in the three years. Lastly, the mean percentage is 0,95. In Table 47 below, the number of the articles under the subcategory *Duration of Stay* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Duration of Stay* in the upper category *Labor Export* is given.

**Table 47. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Duration of Stay” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Duration of Stay” in the upper category “Labor Export**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Duration of Stay</b>	1	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	2,85	-	-	<b>1,23</b>

As mentioned previously, since the subcategories are mostly intertwined with each other, investigating articles under totally isolated subcategories would not be possible. So, the articles have been categorized per se as soon as possible within this thesis work; however, references for articles under another subcategory is needed in some cases. Here, though counted under the subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*, the paragraph of a relevant article given below is noteworthy:

[...] The most important issue for our country in this kind of labor export to Germany is that the return of workers after three years was stipulated. In this way, a genuine school has been opened to increase the labor force of our country. So much so that, in this school, our workers both increase their specialization and return to the country with a genuine work discipline by improving their economic conditions (“Türk işçisi ne istiyor: 4: Almanyaya işçi sevki bizim için zararlı, yoksa faydalı mı oluyor?”, 1961).

Since Turkey considered Germany as a “*school*” in which Turkish workers would learn the latest developments and techniques in their profession and earn money instead of paying a fee for it, the country did not object to the duration of stay restriction for Turkish workers, which had not been initially included in the provisions of the agreement but was insisted on implementation by the Federal Ministry of the Interior then. That is to say, such a restriction would already serve the purpose of Turkey as well. Thereby, “*the return of workers after three years*” was assessed as the most essential provision and dynamic of the labor export’s benefit.

On the other side, as the labor migration had a social meaning for the workers as well, they had also aimed to return their country after a couple of years. However, with the migration’s turning into individual perception, most of them looked for ways to stay in Germany. The social meaning was given between the lines in *Cumhuriyet*. Like the column in *Milliyet* pointing out that Turkish workers are in mind to return their country after saving enough money to buy white appliances such as refrigerators, columnist Başkut reiterated this purpose in *Cumhuriyet* as well. More specifically, he wrote in his column, “*they (workers) all say that they work for a year or two, buy a car, a refrigerator, a washing machine, a fur coat, a household item, then I will come back, they are not a case of money there*” (“Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Almanyanın taşı toprağı altın!”, 1961).

Given a particular emphasis on the unique article regarding the duration of stay, *Cumhuriyet* covered the issue with a giant headline “*Workers going to Germany are allowed a maximum of 3 years*” on 21 June 1961 but descriptively (Figure 103). By using the verb “*allow*” in a passive form in the headline, the news gives the message even at first glance, as the duration of stay is predetermined rather than something workers can determine themselves. Also, by reminding through the subheading “*in addition, the contracts to be signed by the workers will be prepared by the Employment Agency*”, the authority of the Employment Agency in this sense was stressed in the news (Figure 104).



**Figure 104. Almanyaya gidecek işçilere en çok 3 yıl için izin veriliyor Cumhuriyet, 21 June 1961.**

**\* Workers going to Germany are allowed a maximum of 3 years**

*In addition, the contracts to be signed by the workers will be prepared by the Employment Agency. Some of the workers who applied to go to Germany*

Although the decisiveness of the duration of stay for the labor migration from Turkey to Germany, Cumhuriyet did not attach a particular importance to the issue in the three years. More specifically, like in *Milliyet*, the ninth and least crowded subcategory is the duration of stay in *Cumhuriyet*. Leaving aside a couple of reference to the issue between the lines within the articles under the other subcategories, there was only one article published in this sense in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961. On the other hand, for the issues of 1962 and 1963, no news, column and ad were encountered. To put in a nutshell the numbers and percentages regarding the subcategory, the share of the unique article in 1961 to the upper category is 2,85, while the percentage of the total number of articles under the subcategory to the total number of articles in the upper category is 1,23, and the mean percentage is 0,95. Lastly, given the general stance of the newspaper, it is clear that it also seems to support the predetermined two to three years between the lines and the descriptive news given above.

#### **7.1.8. Private Agencies**

Even though the Turkish-West German Labor Recruitment Agreement was signed in 1961, labor migration had started during the second half of the 1950s. With the officialization, saying that labor migration took on the feature of “*labor export*” would be sensible. This fact stemmed from the aim of systematizing labor migration and the desire to take an active role by the two countries (Üner, 2012, p. 190). More specifically, as migration from Turkey to Germany had started during the 1950s for training and internship purposes, bringing the migration under state control would benefit both Turkey and Germany because Turkish workers who unrestrainedly immigrated into Germany would affect the labor market. In this sense, German unions had warned the relevant German public institutions to prevent competition from cheap labor caused by unofficial migration (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p. 84). Besides, they would change the German social structure, so-to-say, in an undesired way of the Germans.

On the other hand, from the Turkish government’s perspective, skilled Turkish workers would uncontrolledly flow from the country, which would cause a damage to Turkey’s labor market. However, if the migration would formalize through an agreement, Turkey would have a chance to train its workers for free and get investments and foreign currency as well. At the same time, Germany would be developed by meeting its labor market’s interests and “*save*” its social structure. Thereby, the two countries initiated to control the labor migration with the agreement, which necessitated an implementation process through a limitation in the duration of stay as well as authorized labor agencies by both countries to evaluate and chose workers for sending. For this very reason, the activities of private agencies under the name of, *e.g.*, translation offices, which increased in number with the freedom of travel abroad under the relevant law of the Turkish Constitution of 1961, were considered illegal.

In parallel, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* started to publish some articles about Turks' aggrievement due to going through these offices abroad, with the discourse of victimization or sarcasm. In fact, workers had miserable situations; however, the primary purpose was to prevent a possible damage to the two countries' interests on the official labor migration, *i.e.*, labor export for Turkey and labor import for Germany, rather than forestall the suffering of emigrant workers. Thereby, from time to time, *Cumhuriyet* used its articles as a warning tool that was seemingly concerned about workers' situation in Germany but the Turkish labor market's interests indeed. Given the number and share under the subcategory, which is the seventh most crowded subcategory, there are 6 articles in total with the share of 4,9 percent to the upper category *Labor Export*. More specifically, while the number of articles is 2 for each of the selected three years, the share is 7,4 in 1961, 5,7 in 1962, and 3,3 in 1963, and the mean percentage is 5,5. In this sense, although there is a stability in the number of articles for each year, the share of the articles consistently decreased, which means that the newspaper gave less coverage to the issue in general reporting each year. Table 48 below shows the share of the articles under the subcategory *Private Agencies* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory *Private Agencies* in the upper category *Labor Export*.

**Table 48. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Private Agencies” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Private Agencies” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

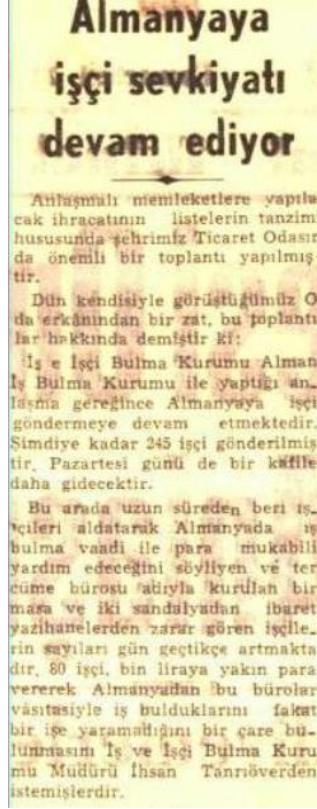
	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Private Agencies</b>	2	2	2	<b>6</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	7,4	5,7	3,3	<b>4,9</b>

Given the relevant articles in 1961, for example, according to the news published on 21 October 1961, the number of workers, who were deceived by private channels under the name of translation office with the promise of finding a job in Germany, was increasing day by day. On the other hand, even if Turkish workers get a job through these offices in Germany, their jobs were mostly useless. In the news, a specific case was also mentioned, as the number of 80 Turkish migrant workers appealed to the Turkish Employment Agency for relief, after losing their almost one thousand Lira for each one to these offices (“Almanyaya işçi sevkıyatı devam ediyor”, 1961).

Considering the discourse in this news, the news has a more meaning than warning workers regarding the difficulties they may face in Germany, through the implication that the official agency is the only authority to trust ultimately if a worker intends to immigrate into Germany. In this way, readers would be suggested that it is not safe to go to Germany without the intermediary of the official institutions. Besides, they would get the impression that even if they did not initially go through the official agency, they would inevitably seek remedies through those official channels. Also, by mentioning the issue regarding the deceived migrant workers after another issue “*export*”, and using the words “*labor*



*dispatch*” in the headline of the newspaper, the reporter revealed the perspective of the newspaper, at least his own perspective as a reporter of the newspaper, to the labor migration in queation (Figure 105).



**Figure 105. Almanya'ya işçi sevkiyatı devam ediyor Cumhuriyet, 21 October 1961.**

**\* Worker dispatch to Germany continues**

*An important meeting was held in the premises of our city's Chamber of Commerce regarding the preparation of the lists of exports to the contracted countries.*

*A member of the chamber, whom we spoke to yesterday, said about these meetings:*

*The Employment Agency continues to send workers to Germany in accordance with the agreement it has made with the German Employment Agency. So far, 245 workers have been sent. Another caravan will go on Monday.*

*In the meantime, the number of workers who have been deceiving the workers for a long time and promising to find a job in Germany for money, and who have been damaged by the offices, with a table and two chairs and set up under the name of translation offices, is increasing day by day.*

*80 workers said the Director of the Turkish Employment Agency, İhsan Tanrıöver, that they got a job in Germany through these offices, by paying almost one thousand Lira, but these jobs are useless; and they asked him to find a solution.*

In addition to the above articles, the newspaper also employed more deterrent way in its reporting between the lines. For example, it was announced that the German employers did not accept the petitions of 9000 Turkish workers who went to Germany through private channels; and the workers were sent back to Turkey (“Almanların işçi bürosu faaliyete geçti”, 1961). In a similar vein, Cevat Fehmi Başkut dealt with the issue in his column by detailing the process implemented by the private agencies. On the

other hand, the most prominent feature of Başkut's column is that while he spoke ill of those offices, he mentioned that the offices deceive workers with newspaper ads. However, he did not criticize those newspapers due to publishing, so to say, illegal calls by the offices. Besides, he looked down on workers who appealed to the offices. More specifically, as he identified the workers with some keywords such as "*miserable aspirants*" (Turkish: *Zavallı talipler*), he also made an impression that the workers are foolish and prone to be deceived.

On the other hand, by attributing a characteristic of "*açıkgöz*<sup>13</sup>" (English: *Shrewd*) to those who allegedly deceive the workers, not only did he provide a relative positive sound to the so-called deceivers with a connotation of the given word "*açıkgöz*", but also presented the deceived "*miserable aspirants*" with a degradation as they are even more impuissant comparatively. It may be assertive to say that the columnist glorified the so-called deceiver per se. However, it is salient that his strategy of positioning the "*miserable aspirants*" against those glorified deceivers was aimed and employed to increase readers' deterrence toward the offices. The translation of the relevant part of the column is also below:

[...] According to the letters sent by my Turkish friends in Germany, some shrewd people have also sprung up, leading their citizens to these pathetic adventures to swindle out of a few piastres in Istanbul. They advertised in the newspapers saying "*First class tailor, carpenter craftsman, motor craftsman etc. are sought from Germany. Apply with your testimonial and other documents to an address in Istanbul*". Of course, hundreds of people who read these immediately rush to the address shown. Copies of these documents are taken and 700-800 lira per person is requested from them in order to follow their work. These shrewd people have a friend (a man) Germany. The documents go into his hand, and he applies to the establishments that advertised in the newspapers of the country to search for workaday workers, saying that those documents' owners are interested in the existing jobs, and took out an invitation letter. The invitation letters arrive to Istanbul, the poor suitors leave their business in Istanbul and sell them and go to Germany with a thousand hopes, and they see with astonishment and sadness that the jobs that await them there are the lowest paid errands or workaday manual labor. Of course, this astonishment and sadness is followed by misery. [...] ("*Hem Nalına Hem Mihına: Almanyanın taşı toprağı altın!*", 1961).

Similarly, in another column in 1962, while those who appealed to these offices were depicted as victims, the so-called deceivers were glorified again. More specifically, in the column published on 28 November 1962, the columnist dealt with the early years of the unofficial labor migration, and the private intermediaries in those years. Accordingly, Turkish workers, who could not receive a material reward for their labor sufficiently, were eager to go to Germany, but some "*shrewd*" people took action and made contacts with German employers as well as opening private offices. On the other hand, the reported claimed, "hundreds of workers were defrauded" and their dreams were shattered. Like in the

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<sup>13</sup> The meaning of the word in Turkish is that someone who knows how to make use of the opportunities cunningly and takes advantage by acting vigilantly.

above-mentioned column published in 1961, it is seen that deceivers were also crucially identified with the word shrewd (Turkish: *Acikgoz*) in this column, too. In a similar vein again, sufferings of the workers due to appealing to those people are also pointed out. Thereby, the similar effect with the above-mentioned column is given. In addition, by pointing out those sufferings, this column also plays a role of warning tool. Last but not least, in the context of the benefits and losses, the systematization of the labor recruitment was aimed to justify by stressing that skilled Turkish workers had left the country in this way, and Germany gained profit during the unofficial process. The relevant paragraph of the column is given below:

At the beginning of 1957, Germany's <labor desire idea> began to be adopted in our country as well. This issue was always talked about in worker circles, and people were looking for ways to go to Germany and work. Our workers were not satisfied with their earnings, they were in a major economic crisis. If they would to Germany, they would get the full reward for their labor, be able to save money, send money to their families, and return to the country by purchasing goods such as refrigerators, electric vacuums, tape recorders, automobiles, which are difficult to buy for a worker in Turkey. Afterwards, their lives would be in order, and their future would be guaranteed. All these thoughts and dreams were occupying the minds of Turkish workers in 1957. Some shrewd people who learned about this tendency of the workers contacted the German industrialists and started to open offices. There were also those who opened offices without making these contacts. Hundreds of workers were defrauded. Police and courthouse started to operate. In short, although Germany wanted unskilled workers at the beginning of 1958, our skilled workers started to go to Germany. They went, they saw, they started to work, but they could not do what they dreamed of. Maybe they earned, but those earnings were never passed to their families in a way that would guarantee their future, our government did not deal with this issue. From this, the German government benefited the most (“Gittiler, gorduler, calistilar”, 1962).

In 1963, Cumhuriyet continued to publish articles that acted as a warning tool against the private agencies. For example, in the news published on 18 January 1963, some actions taken by official parts of the labor migration were stressed not only in the headline and subhead but also within the text. More specifically, the news was given in two pages and with the headline: “*A lawsuit was filed against 40 bureaus that send workers to Europe with the promise of finding job*”, and the subhead: “*From now on, Germany will not accept workers sent by private agencies, and the Consulate General of Austria in Istanbul will not issue visas*” (Figure 106a). In this way, readers are aimed to be convinced in the illegality and usefulness of the private agencies even at first glance to the news. Also, by reiterating the illegality of the agencies through the examples regarding the taken action by Turkey, Germany, Austria and negotiations with Switzerland, the narrative is strengthened (Figure 106b). Crucially, as workers who appealed the private agencies, and their situation were described with the word “*miserable*” twice, similar with the column published in 1961 and mentioned above, the reporter presented the workers as they are foolish and prone to be deceived again (Figure 106a and Figure 106 b).

## İş bulma vaadi ile Avrupaya işçi gönderen 40 büro için dâva açıldı

Almanya bundan böyle hususî müesseseler tarafından gönderilen işçileri kabul etmeyecek, Avusturya İstanbul konsolosluğu ise vize vermeyecek

İlgililerin dün açıkladığına göre, İstanbulda 40 tercüme bürosu, İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu ve Savcılık tarafından mahkemeye verilmiştir.

Bu büroların dış memleketlerde işe yerleştirilecekleri vaadi ile bir kısım vatandaşlardan mühim miktarda para aldıkları ve dışarıya gönderilenlerin Avrupada sefil bir durumda bırakıldığı iddia edilmektedir.

— Arkası Sa. 5, Sü. 1 de —

**Figure 106a. İş bulma vaadi ile Avrupaya işçi gönderen 40 büro için dava açıldı Cumhuriyet, 18 January 1963.**

**\* A lawsuit was filed against 40 bureaus that send workers to Europe with the promise of finding job”**

**From now on, Germany will not accept workers sent by private agencies, and the Consulate General of Austria in Istanbul will not issue visas**

According to the statements of the relevant parties yesterday, 40 translation offices in Istanbul were brought to court by the Turkish Employment Agency and the Prosecutor's Office.

It is claimed that these offices take a significant amount of money from some citizens with the promise that they will be resettled in foreign countries and that those sent abroad are left in a miserable condition in Europe.

### İş bulma vaadi ile Avrupaya işçi gönderen 40 büro için dâva açıldı

— Bas tarafı 1 incede —

Mahkemeye verilen tercüme bürolarından birinin Avusturya İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumunun mühürünü taklid ederek, 30 işçiye Avusturya Konsolosluğundan vize aldı. Sahte belgelerle Avusturyaya gönderilen işçilerin, sahtekârlığın ortaya çıkması üzerine sefil bir durumda kaldığı, neticede Avusturya Hükümeti tarafından Türkiye'ye iade edildikleri ileri sürülmektedir.

Bugün görüştüğümüz İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu ilgilileri bu gibi lere karşı mücadele açıldığını, fakat kanuni müeyyidelerin yetersizliğinin de takibati güçleştirdiğini söylemişlerdir.

Öte yandan, İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumunun teşebbüsü ile Batı Almanya bundan böyle hususî müesseseler tarafından gönderilen işçileri kabul etmemeye karar vermiştir.

Avusturya ise, hususî müesseseler tarafından gönderilmek istenen işçilere vize verilmemesini İstanbul Konsolosluğuna bildirmiştir. İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, bu konuda İsviçre ile de temastadır.

**Figure 106b. İş bulma vaadi ile Avrupaya işçi gönderen 40 büro için dava açıldı Cumhuriyet, 18 January 1963.**

**\* A lawsuit was filed against 40 bureaus that send workers to Europe with the promise of finding job”**

It is claimed that one of the sued translation offices imitated the seal of the Austrian Employment Agency and obtained visas for 30 workers from the General Consulate of Austria, that the workers who

were sent to Austria with fake documents remained in a miserable situation after the fraud was found out, and that they were eventually returned to Turkey by the Austrian Government.

The officials from the Employment Agency, whom we talked with today, said that a struggle was started against such people, but the inadequacy of the legal representatives made the prosecution difficult.

On the other hand, with the initiative of the Employment Agency, West Germany has decided not to accept the workers sent by such private agencies.

Austria, on the other hand, has notified the General Consulate in Istanbul that visas are not granted to workers who want to be sent by private agencies. The Employment Agency is also in contact with Switzerland in this regard.

Given the general stance of *Cumhuriyet* regarding the private agencies, the newspaper used its articles as a warning tool by reporting in the news or discussing in the columns that fraud of the translation offices and suffering of workers who appealed those offices. In this sense, taken legal actions were frequently mentioned in the relevant articles. In addition, by describing those, who run the offices, with some words having positive sounds, like “*shrewd*” (*Acikgoz* in the original Turkish texts), and workers, who appeal those offices, with some words having negative sounds, like “*miserable*”, the newspaper glorified the former, whilst degrading the latter. Given the frequency of the articles in the given years, although there was a stability in the number of articles, the share of the articles decreased in the selected three years consistently, which is most probably due to the decrease in the activities of the private agencies depending on the time after the launch of the official agreement. Lastly, in specific to the relevant numbers and share for this subcategory, there are six articles in total, with the share of 4,9, for two articles in each year and 7,4 percent in 1961, 5,7 in 1962, and 3,3 percent in 1963.

#### **7.1.9. Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export**

As the private agencies was dealt with in the context of their effect in benefits and losses, the issue is considered as a continuation of the previous subcategory, On the other hand, compared to the previous subcategory as well as other subcategories, there is a relatively high number of articles in this regard in *Cumhuriyet* in the given three years. Related to the previous subcategory, it would be also plausible to claim that the newspaper simply functioned as a tool of justification for the official labor migration. If the labor migration is regarded by the two official parts’ perspective, *i.e.*, as labor export for Turkey and labor import for Germany, both parts tried to take a self-interested position. Looking from Turkey’s side, the country had already surplus labor, and such a labor export could lessen the unemployment rates.

More attractively, when exported workers return to Turkey, they would increase the qualified labor force of their country on account of developing themselves professionally in Germany and strengthen the Turkish economy by sending remittances and investing in the country. Thereby, exporting workers but for a specific period would yield several benefits to the country. This period was not less than a year, which can be considered a minimum timeframe for workers to develop themselves and earn more or less money, but it was also no more than three years as its following years can cause to workers to start to seeing Germany as their new homeland and initiate a new life there. Thus, provisions were

guaranteed through a bilateral agreement, and those who appealed private intermediaries, were victimizing in newspapers frequently since these intermediaries were illegal and allegedly swindlers.

Looking from the side of Germany, with the beginning of industrialization in the country in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, a need for labor emerged, especially in the mining sector. Besides, after the second world war, the elderly population ratio in the total population increased due to the losses in the war. This change in population ratio also meant that Germany could not meet the required labor force from its population. Thereby, the country started to seek for foreign labor force to meet its labor shortage. In this sense, systematizing Turkey's migration, which had already started in 1955 would yield benefits for German labor market. Hence, a significant number of foreign workers were accepted to work in mines in Germany. Besides, their duration of stay was limited to a specific period from one year to three years. In this way, the rotation principle could be ensured to implement, as it focuses on the labor market's interests through needs-oriented and temporary recruitment of labor migrants. Expectedly, the integration policy regarding imported labor migrants was also economy-oriented especially since the 1970s, by completely excluding the political and social participation processes of immigrant workers. Thereby, the country's cultural and religious unity would be protected as much as possible, and the inclusion of any threat to the deterioration of the social order would not be allowed. In this sense, upon the request of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, even Turkish workers who want to go to Germany would be examined by German doctors, and it would be detected, if the workers have "*infectious diseases that could threaten German society*" (Ünver, 2012, p. 191).

On the other hand, as with the duration of stay, Germany has not made such a request in agreements with other countries to which it imported workers. This fact proves the double-standardized approach of Germany one more time. However, this is even one of the earliest clues of xenophobic and Islamophobic concerns of the country by considering those who have not common religious beliefs, traditional and cultural practices like Turkish migrants compared to Italian, Spanish, and Greek migrants. Nevertheless, not create a negative reaction in readers probably, the details of the extra and humiliating practices specific to Turkish workers such as the medical examination requested by the Federal Ministry of Interior for Turkish were not mentioned in the newspapers, although the issue of benefits and losses was frequently mentioned.

Considering the place of the subcategory among the other subcategories, it is the third most crowded one with the number of 14 articles in total, with the share of 11,4 to its upper category *Labor Export*. In this sense, the number of articles under this subcategory is same in *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, although it was at the fourth place in *Milliyet*. More specifically, the number of articles is 2 and the share is 7,4 percent in 1961, 7 and 20 percent in 1962, and 5 and 8,2 percent in 1963. Thereby, there is an inconsistency both in the number and share of the articles. Also, it is needed to note that one out of every five articles categorized under the category *Labor Export* was on this topic in the issues of 1962 in *Cumhuriyet*. Lastly, the mean percentage is 11,9. Table 49 below shows the share of the articles under

the subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* on a triennial basis, and the percentage of articles under the subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* in the upper category *Labor Export*.

**Table 49. The share of the articles under the subcategory “Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export” on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the articles under the subcategory “Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export” in the upper category “Labor Export”**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
<b>Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export</b>	2	7	5	<b>14</b>
<b>% in the Category <i>Labor Export</i></b>	7,4	20	8,2	<b>11,4</b>

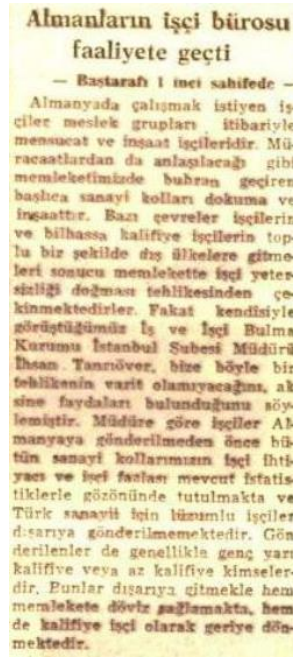
Given some examples on this topic in specific to medical examination mentioned above, a news published in *Cumhuriyet* on 29 November 1961 shared that some medical examinations performed by German doctors after the Workers’ Insurance Institution Hospital caused a delay in workers’ dispatch. To prevent this delay, the health chief of the German Employment Agency would visit Istanbul to make investigations, and accordingly, even a German clinic would be opened in Istanbul, if needed (“Batı Almanya ayda 300 Türk işçisi istiyor”, 1961). In this news, the reporter never shared any question or directed any criticism about why Germany is being so sensitive about the prior inspection of migrant Turkish workers’ health. Instead, the reporter covered the issue through an indifferent and undetailed approach. Needless to say, such sensitivity of Germany to health was related to its concerns about the quality of imported workers as well as the country’s social health and order.

According to Okyayuz, the labor migration at stake does not, indeed, have any significant positive effect on the Turkish economy, at least in the long run, and it is not even possible to compare its effects for Turkey with its positive effects on the German economy (Okyayuz, 1999). For example, the rate of “*expert worker*” lost in Turkey due to the export corresponds to 35 percent of all labor migrants (Okyayuz, 1999, pp. 60-61). On the other hand, since there was a skepticism toward the export with the argumentation that the losses would be more than benefits for Turkey, and Turkey would lose its skilled labor force significantly, *Cumhuriyet* seems to concentrate on the news that drew attention to the Turkey’s expected gains in the long run. In other words, developed-to-be-workers and future investments were drawn attention in the newspaper in order to eliminate doubts and criticisms. While doing so, it was mainly pointed out that the exported workers are not skilled; however, the contradiction is that the newspaper also conveyed statements of some German officials in places that they request for skilled Turkish workers.

For example of this contradictory reporting, the newspaper shared the statements of the director of the German referral office in Istanbul established by the German Employment Agency. According to the



news published on 19 July 1961, the director, Hans Mayer, mentioned that Germany needs for 50 thousand “skilled workers” as the Turkish Employment Agency would find the “requested qualified workers” to refer to the office to make contracts signed with German employers (“İşçi sevkiyatı için Almanlar İstanbulda bir büro kurdular”, 1961). On the other hand, in another news published a month later, the newspaper shared the statements of the director of Istanbul office of the Turkish Employment Agency this time (Figure 107).



**Figure 107. Almanların işçi bürosu faaliyete geçti Cumhuriyet, 13 August 1961.**

**\* German labor bureau has started its operations**

*Workers who want to work in Germany are textile and construction workers in terms of their profession. As it can be understood from the applications, the main industries that have suffered from the crisis in our country are weaving and construction. Some milieus fear that there may be a danger of worker shortages in the country as a result of the collective migration of workers, especially skilled workers, to foreign countries. However, the director of the Istanbul office of the Employment Agency, İhsan Tanrıöver, told us that such a danger could not exist, but that it had benefits, when we interviewed him. According to the director, before the workers are sent to Germany, the need for workers and surplus workers of all branches of industry are taken into account with the current statistics, and the necessary workers for the Turkish industry are not sent outside. On the other hand, those who are sent are usually young, semi-qualified and less qualified people. By going abroad, they both provide foreign currency to the country and return as skilled workers.*

According to the news, the director of the Turkish Employment Agency, İhsan Tanrıöver, said that although some people have worry about the possible loss of labor force due to the mass migration of skilled workers abroad, young, semi-qualified or less qualified workers are sent mostly. The same news referred the director Hans Mayer’s another statement that Turkish workers would be selected between 18 and 35 years old. However, in contrast to Tanrıöver’s argument, exporting youths would not benefit Turkey due to loss in the young labor force.



As the Turkish side considers labor export as a chance of a “*free school*” and a source of foreign currency and investment, this was mentioned even during caucuses. Not counted under this category due to its main focus but for example, the newspaper reported between the lines that a deputy of the Republican People’s Party, namely *Cihad Baban*, pointed out in a meeting that Turkey can export from 80 to 100 thousand workers to fulfill Germany’s need in labor by which Turkey can receive foreign currency, prevent unemployment, and train skilled workers (“Parti Grupları dün programa rey verme işini görüştüler”, 1961). Although it did not add any comments, the newspaper reiterated this statement again as, so-to-say, the party’s media organ. Nevertheless, the expectation from labor export even exceeded all these mentioned so far. Although it was counted under the other subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany*, the column investigated those who migrate to Germany were examined under three categories in is crucial for this subcategory in a sense (Figure 108). According to this column, as mentioned previously, while the first category consists of “*experienced masters*”, the second is “*types who could not find in Turkey what they were seeking for and took a hit from life but want to try Germany as a last resort*”, and the third is “*adventurers who use working as an excuse not find what they seek for in Turkey*”. Interestingly, apart from the first category of workers going to Germany to work, earn money, and return to Turkey, those in the other two categories were also considered beneficial for the first time. The authors M. Beşer, M. Erol, and E. Dalı assessed benefits of their emigration through the sentences below:

[...] There are numerous advantages in the departure of the second and third groups. Germany will serve as an internship, a school for them and will make substantial social investments. Because it is very expensive for an inexperienced worker to become qualified for that country through direct and indirect ways. [...] (“Türk işçisi ne istiyor: 4: Almanyaya işçi sevki bizim için zararlı, yoksa faydalı mı?”, 1961).



**Figure 108. Türk işçisi ne istiyor: 4: Almanyaya işçi sevki bizim için zararlı, yoksa faydalı mı?, Cumhuriyet, 2 December 1961.**

\* *What does a Turkish worker wants: 4*

*Is the dispatch of workers to Germany harmful or beneficial for us? (on page 5)*

As can be understood from the news, regardless of the qualification, motivation, and purpose of the exported workers, labor migration was considered beneficial for Turkey. With a headline asking if the export “*beneficial or harmful*”, the columnists gave a clue that they would reduce the migration to a matter of ultimate benefit or harm. Not surprisingly, they enunciated that the migration is ultimately

beneficial even without the slightest criticism. In fact, this is the general stance of *Cumhuriyet* in the selected three years, as the articles were without any criticism and focused on the benefits and losses of the export but particularly benefits of the export. Given the numbers for the subcategory, the subcategory is at third place with the number of 14 articles and share of 11,4 percent. In specific for the selected years, two articles were published with the share of 7,4 percent in 1961, 7 with the share of 20 percent in 1962, and 5 with the 8,2 percent in 1963. In this sense, one article out of five articles was under the subcategory in *Cumhuriyet* in 1962.

## 7.2. Social Life and Integration in Germany

As the social life and integration was not attached an importance by both official sides of the labor migration, *i.e.*, Turkey and Germany, the topic of social life and integration in Germany was exceptionally dealt with in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 particularly. In this sense, the newspaper took a similar stance with *Milliyet*. More specifically, there were only two columns in this sense in the newspaper, as they were published in July and September, which means neither any other news nor any other column was published under the subcategory during the remaining ten months. However, two articles examined under different subcategories above due to their primary focus will be mentioned in this section as well since they are also related to the issue of social life and integration. Nevertheless, to prevent any duplication in the number of articles, these two articles are not counted under this subcategory. Table 50 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1961.

**Table 50. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	<b>2</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>

In 1962, *Cumhuriyet* also did not share a subsequent coverage for the issue of social life and integration similarly, though a little more number of articles compared to 1961, and the highest percentage of the articles was in 1962, compared to the other two years of this thesis work. Accordingly, one news was published in May, one news in August, one news in November, and one column in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for January, February, March, April, June, July, September, and October 1962. Table 51 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1962.

**Table 51. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Cumhuriyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-		-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3
<b>Column</b>	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	4

In 1963, the number of articles on social life and integration was higher than the previous two years, as seven articles was published in *Cumhuriyet* in this year. This is most probably because of the issues of social life and integration started to be in question with the passing of the time different than the situation in 1961 and compared to the situation in 1962. On the other hand, as the number of articles published under the three categories is more than those in 1961 and 1962, the highest number of articles under this category compared to the other two years does not mean that the share of the articles is the highest as well. Instead, the share of the articles is highest in 1962. Given the specific information for 1963, one column was published in January, one news in March, one column in April, one news in June, one column in July, one column in September, and one news in December. No news, column, or ad was detected February, May, August, October, and November 1963 (Table 52).

**Table 52. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
<b>Column</b>	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	4
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<b>Total</b>	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	7

Considering the share of the articles under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961, 1962, and 1963, category is the third and least crowded category with thirteen articles in total and the share of 8,2 percent to the other two categories. Although there is a consistent increase in the number of articles, the share of the articles is inconsistent, as the share is the highest in 1962. More specifically, while the number of articles is two and the share is 5,7 percent, the number of articles is 4 and the share is 9,3 percent in 1962, and 7 and 8,75 percent in 1963. For this category, the mean percentage is also 7,9. Table 53 below shows the share of the articles under the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* published in *Cumhuriyet* by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles in the given years.

**Table 53. The share of the articles under the category “Social Life and Integration in Germany” published in *Cumhuriyet* by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles**

	1961	1962	1963	Total
News	-	3	3	5
Column	2	1	4	7
Ad	-	-	-	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>% in the three categories</b>	<b>5,7</b>	<b>9,3</b>	<b>8,75</b>	<b>8,2</b>

As the labor migration from Turkey to Germany started at the second half of the 1950s through private intermediaries, and in 1961 officially, there were not many articles about this issue during the first year of the bilateral agreement. Until then, and in those first years, Turkish immigrants lived a more isolated life since they were mostly single, and Germany did not develop any social integration policy for these people. As mentioned previously, migrant workers were not allowed to bring their family with them. Only 17 percent of Turkish workers lived with their families in Germany even in 1961, while 84 percent stayed in the housing called *heim*, and one percent in the shared flat with other workers (Abadan-Unat, 2017, pp. 134 – 137). Thereby, Turkish workers were closing in on themselves and not encountering their German counterparts in the public sphere. Like a vicious cycle, they were continuing to remain unfamiliar with German culture and lifestyle due to their self-closing, and they were even more closing in due to their unfamiliarity. However, such a lack of integration was precisely what the German state expects. As German officials determined workers’ duration of stay between one and three years, they already considered Turks as guest workers who would complete their economic tasks in Germany and return to Turkey. Thus, isolation was tried to be ensured not only for a determined period but also for, *e.g.*, through accommodation conditions.

From another dimension of the issues, migrants experience discrimination concerning their language in all public areas, such as public authorities, the media, and schools (Pröbsting, 2015, p. 331). Although the onset of the migration from Turkey to Germany dates back more than 60 years, German media consumption among Turkish migrants is still at low levels due to the language barrier that needs to be contemplated if it has been intentionally set. In this sense, a relevant letter was mentioned in a column in *Cumhuriyet*, as the letter was by a sister or brother of a Turkish citizen living in Germany. Accordingly, no Turkish newspapers are sold other than *Cumhuriyet* in Germany, and this newspaper is also both late arriving and very expensive and even sold on the black market (Figure 109). By demonstrating the demand for Turkish migrants on newspapers in their native language, this column seems notable. Yet, it would not be scientific to generalize a request from an individual in all migrant workers. However, immigrants’ media consumption data of that period explains the reason and

generalizability of this demand. As the Turkish migrants were isolated from the German society from the very beginning, they could not find an opportunity, and also rejected, to integrate linguistically as well as culturally.



**Figure 109. Almanyada Türkçe gazeteler pahalı Cumhuriyet, 23 July 1961.**

**\* Turkish newspapers are expensive in Germany**

*M. Kaya from Antalya writes:*

*I have a brother in Frankfurt, Germany. In the letters he wrote to me: he complains bitterly that only <Cumhuriyet> newspaper receives there, and it is sold for a very expensive price like 60 pennies (official rate 1.20 lira, black market 2.40 lira). Moreover, the newspapers were receiving too late.*

*I would like you to inform us about this issue.*

Tragically, *Cumhuriyet* did not raise any criticism of Germany's integration-free approach. Instead, it presented, so-to-say, the isolation as a positive condition which may be perhaps due to Turkey's similar reluctance on emigrant workers' integration as they would return to the homeland. For example, according to news reported in *Cumhuriyet* by one of its journalists who met with İhsan Tanrıöver, the director of the Istanbul Branch of the Turkish Employment Agency, to discuss the details of the worker migration process, the following statements were shared: "*our workers who do not speak German language will be provided with the opportunity to work collectively and stay in the same way in workplaces in West Germany*" ("Almanyaya gidecek işçilere en çok 3 yıl için izin veriliyor", 1961).

Any criticism aside, the reporter even shared this information in a positive sense but latently. More specifically, she or he did not add any comments on the information. Rather, she or he quoted what İhsan Tanrıöver said. However, the journalist conveyed the director's statement after sharing a condition that the interests of workers and Turkey: "*Our workers' departure fares will be paid by employers in Germany*" ("Almanyaya gidecek işçilere en çok 3 yıl için izin veriliyor", 1961). By adding the statement in question after the information about fares, the reporter was tried to ensure that the two information together make a positive connotation. On the other hand, it was complaint in another article between the lines that Turkish workers in Germany stroll around the streets in groups of three to five people at night and disrupt the social order ("Hem Nalina Hem Mihına: Almanyadaki Türk işçileri", 1961). Considering this column, too, one can claim that *Cumhuriyet* did not criticize Germany's reluctance in implementing any social integration policy toward migrant workers. Contrary, it presented this fact in a positive tone, raise its criticism of socially excluded migrant workers.

Nevertheless, although not counted under this category due to its main focus, a German woman's letter was shared in another column published in the newspaper two months later. Accordingly, the woman married a Turkish man, and they came to Turkey for vacation. However, since the woman has a German passport and stayed for more than a month in Turkey, Turkish police demanded a fine. Thereby, the woman complained about such a demand and asked whether this demand is legal or not ("Okurlarla Başbaşa: Türk polisinden şikayet", 1961). The significance of this letter is that although the migration from Turkey to Germany had a recent five or six years of history at that time, and social integration of Turkish migrants was being prevented through isolation practices, it seems that marriages had begun between Turks and Germans even since then.

Since the first three years of the official labor migration is investigated through the newspapers in this thesis work, and both Germany and Turkey were avoided from developing social integration policies focusing on Turkish immigrants in Germany, the number of articles is the least under this category, compared to the other two categories. Accordingly, there were thirteen articles in total and 8,2 percent share to the other two categories. Specifically, the number and share of the thirteen articles is 2 and 5,7 percent, 4 and 9,3 in 1962, and 7 and 8,75 in 1963. Considering the genre of the thirteen articles, most of them were written as column. On the other hand, instead of any criticism toward the lack of social integration policy, the column relatively criticized Turkish immigrants in Germany, who could not adapt in the country socially. For news, descriptive and brief reporting is salient, as the reports mainly covered issues such as opening Turkish radio in Germany, or Turkish meeting in Germany.

### **7.3. Criminality**

Although a small number of articles under the category *Criminality* in *Cumhuriyet* in the first two years of the official labor migration, *i.e.*, 1961 and 1962, like in *Milliyet* in 1961, the issue was started to be more discussed in 1963 particularly, which is most probably due to the lack of integration policies and the time-related consequences of isolation in social life for Turkish migrants. On the other hand, all the articles under this category were not exactly related to crimes, such as murder, theft, or abuse. Instead, there were also articles about the accidents, which were relatively associated with this category, compared to the other two categories.

Given the number and share of the articles in specific to the category *Criminality*, which is the second most crowded category, there were 22 articles in total with the share of 13,9 to other two categories. Given the number of articles by genre for each year, in 1961, More specifically, The analysis findings show that very few articles was published under the category in 1961. Accordingly, 6 of the 35 news have been identified under the criminality because of their content in relevant to a case. In this sense, three news were published in August, and three news in November. No news, column, or ad was detected for the remaining ten months. Table 54 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1961.

**Table 54. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet in 1961 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	6
<b>Column</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<b>Total</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	6

In 1962, 4 of the 43 articles were under the category *Criminality*. Considering the genre of the articles in 1962, one news was published in January, one news in March, one news in April, one news in July, two news in August, one news in September, one news in October, two news in November, and one news in December. No news, column, or ad was detected for February, May, and June 1962. Table 55 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1962.

**Table 55. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet in 1962 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	4
<b>Column</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
<b>Total</b>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	4

In 1963, though the half of those in *Milliyet*, both the number of the articles under this category increased in *Cumhuriyet*, depending on the relatively passing of the time since the starting of the official labor migration and the emerging negative outcomes of the lack of integration policy as well as exclusion in social life. Accordingly, 12 of the 80 articles were published under the category *Criminality*. Considering the genre of the articles in 1963, one news was published in one news in January, two news and one column in March, two news in April, one news in June, one news in July, two news in August, one news in September, and one news in October. No news, column, or ad was detected for February, May, November and December 1963. Table 56 below demonstrates the share of the articles under the category by genre, including news, columns, and ads, on a monthly basis for 1963.

**Table 56. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	T
<b>News</b>	1	-	2	2	-	1	1	2	1	1	-	-	11

**Table 56 (cont'd). The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet in 1963 by genre on a monthly basis**

<b>Column</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>12</b>

Considering the share of the articles under the category *Criminality* published in *Cumhuriyet* in the selected three years, the category is the second crowded category with twenty-two articles in total and the share of 13,2 percent to the other two categories. Given both number and share of the articles, there is an inconsistency. Crucially, although the number of the articles is the lowest in 1961, the share of the articles is the highest in this year. The reason of such a contradiction is that the total number of articles published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1961 was already the lowest compared to the other two years, and under this category, there were only one cases dealt with in 1961, as all the six news were published for this case. However, those news were not exactly on the topic of criminality regarding labor migrants; instead, they were relatively associated with the issue in a sense.

On the other hand, the articles published in 1963 were mainly on the topic of criminality of labor migrants. Given the particular numbers for each year, while the number of articles is six and the share is 17,1 percent, the number of articles is 4 and the share is 9,3 percent in 1962, and 12 and 15 percent in 1963. Lastly, the mean percentage is also 13,8. Table 57 below shows the share of the articles under the category *Criminality* published in *Cumhuriyet* by genre, including news, columns, and ads on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles in the given years.

**Table 57. The share of the articles under the category “Criminality” published in Cumhuriyet by genre on a triennial basis, and the percentage of the relevant articles in all the published articles**

	<b>1961</b>	<b>1962</b>	<b>1963</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>News</b>	6	4	11	<b>21</b>
<b>Column</b>	-	-	1	<b>1</b>
<b>Ad</b>	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>% in the three categories</b>	<b>17,1</b>	<b>9,3</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13,9</b>

As mentioned above, claiming that even the number of news published under this category in 1961 are precisely related to the migrant workers would not be plausible because they all dealt with two bank robbers who flew from Turkey to Germany after robbing in Turkey, and allegedly robbed another bank in Germany with an assumed name *Vural Bedenli*. In this sense, in addition to some reporters of *Cumhuriyet*, who investigate the case, three Turkish police went to Germany to cooperate with the



German police while looking for the robbers. One of the most notable details in these news is that the crime ring's leader's father was allegedly living in Germany. Besides, the father, namely *Misbah Uras*, was a former city councilor of the Democrat Party, the opposite party of the Republican People's Party supported by *Cumhuriyet* (Figure 110). In this sense, it seems that the newspaper aimed to characterize the party's opposite through intertwining with crime via the bank robbery case. Moreover, the newspaper shared another information that the crime ring's leader was also in Germany ("Sahte dekontla bankadan 5 milyon çeken şebeke mensupları yakalandı", 1961).



**Figure 110. Misbah Uras: 5 milyonluk dolandırıcılıkla ilgili olarak Misbah Uras için de tevkif müzekkeresi kesildi**

**Cumhuriyet, 5 November 1961.**

**\* Misbah Uras: Detention warrant has been cut for Misbah Uras regarding fraud of 5 million (on page 5)**

On the other hand, it was mentioned in another news in this context that the Munich police interviewed by the newspaper's representatives and said that no Turks had received in the Munich prison since then. Also, "crowded Turkish colonies" living in Munich said that they had never heard of a robbery similar to the one allegedly involved in the past ("Münih zabıta ve adliyesi Vural Bedenli'yi tanımıyor" 1961). Thereby, readers suggest that Turkish migrants are not involved in crime in Germany. However, the country serves as a kind of port of criminals to escape from the police and hide. Also, describing Turkish migrants as "crowded Turkish colonies" indicates the newspaper's looking down on the Turkish migrants one more time ("Münih zabıta ve adliyesi Vural Bedenli'yi tanımıyor" 1961).

#### **7.4. Conclusion**

In this chapter, media coverage of the period between the years of 1961 and 1963 concerning labor migration from Turkey to Germany through the was investigated through the *Cumhuriyet*'s online archive (<https://egazete.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yayinlar>), by considering the historical background of the

labor migration and newspaper's overall position. The articles analyzed in this chapter were derived through two keyword combinations during the multi-step analysis, as the keywords are "Germany" and "Turkish", and "Germany" and "worker". By grouping the most prominent topics in the context of the labor migration, three categories and nine subcategories within the first category have been formed. While these categories are *Labor Export*, *Social Life and Integration in Germany*, and *Criminality*, the subcategories are *Articles with General Information*, *Working and Living Conditions*, *Official Processes*, *Expected Development*, *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants*, *Turkish Representation in Germany*, *Duration of Stay*, *Private Agencies*, and *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*. Considering these categories and subcategories, relevant articles were treated through content and discourse analyses in turn.

According to the findings within the content analysis, 1066 articles were initially detected by the two keyword combinations, as of 293 for 1961, 329 for 1962, and 444 for 1963. After a multi-step analysis, 158 of the 1066 findings have been included for the final study, as of 35 for 1961, 43 for 1962, and 80 for 1963. In specific to the categories and subcategories, the most crowded category is *Labor Export* with the total number of 123 articles published in the three years, as of 27 in 1961, 35 in 1962, and 61 in 1963. The second most crowded category is *Criminality* with the total number of 22 articles published in the three years, as of 6 in 1961, as of 4 in 1962, and 12 in 1963. The third and last crowded category is, so, *Social Life and Integration in Germany* with the total number of 13 articles published in the three years, as of 2 in 1961, as of 4 in 1962, and 7 in 1963. In this sense, the number of the articles published in *Cumhuriyet* is almost half of the number of those in *Milliyet* in general, although the rank of the categories are same for the two newspapers.

Given the subcategories, the most crowded subcategory is *Article with General Information* with the total number of 52 articles published in the three years, as of 9 in 1961, as of 14 in 1962, and 29 in 1963. The second most crowded subcategory is *Working and Living Conditions* with the total number of 20 articles published in the three years, as of 6 in 1961, as of 6 in 1962, and 8 in 1963. The subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* is at the third place with the total number of 14 articles published in the three years, as of 2 in 1961, as of 7 in 1962, and 5 in 1963. The subcategory *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* is the fourth most crowded subcategories, with the total number of 11 articles published in the three years, as of 1 in 1961, as of 3 in 1962, and 7 in 1963.

The subcategory *Official Processes* is at the fifth place with the total number of 8 articles published in the three years, as of 2 in 1961, as of 2 in 1962, and 4 in 1963, and the other one *Turkish Representation in Germany* is at sixth place with the total number of 7 articles published in the three years, as of 3 in 1961, as of 1 in 1962, and 3 in 1963. While the subcategory *Private Agencies* is at the seventh place with the total number of 6 articles published in the three years, as of two articles for each of the three years, the subcategory *Expected Development* is at the eighth with the total number of 4 articles published in the three years, as of 1 in 1961. and 3 in 1963. Lastly, the subcategory *Duration of Stay* is

at the ninth place with only one article published in 1961. All the articles under these categories and subcategories were also analyzed on a monthly basis and by genre as news, columns and advertisements.

Considering the newspaper's stance toward the labor migration from Turkey to Germany, though not as much as *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet* also covered the issue through brief and descriptive news and without any salient criticism. In addition, the total number of articles in *Cumhuriyet* is almost half of the total number of articles in *Milliyet*. Thereby, the analysis shows that *Cumhuriyet* reported less in number, but relatively long and detailed news compared to *Milliyet*. However, given the relatively long and detailed news, one cannot say that labor migration from Turkey to Germany was not also dealt with in a comprehensive way and through discussion in *Cumhuriyet* as well. In fact, it was seen during the analysis that even some of the news were almost totally same in *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, from headline to text. Regarding the columns, there was a relative criticism from time to time. On the other hand, this criticism was directed to Turkish immigrants instead of official parts of the migration. Though some political criticism also emerged from time to time, especially in articles regarding the appreciation and praise for Turkish immigrants because of losing those appreciated Turkish people due to adverse working conditions in Turkey, it is clear that the two newspapers, which have been positioning in different ideologies as *Milliyet* was on center-right and *Cumhuriyet* was on left, were converged with each other in some senses, such as Turkish representation in Germany.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

This thesis work investigated the media coverage on the labor migration from Turkey to Germany for the years 1961, 1962, and 1963 through content and discourse analyses of articles, including news, columns, and advertisements, in two distinct Turkish newspapers, namely *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. As media delivers issues in conjunction with its time through manifest or latent messages and all media outlets have an ideological position though the claim of independency, this thesis work aims to reveal the approach to the labor migration in *Cumhuriyet* in a newspaper on political left and in *Milliyet* as a liberal and newspaper in the given years. In this way, this thesis work aimed to find out that the way the subject is dealt with from two different perspectives. Also, it aimed to reveal if there was any convergence or divergence in these two distinct newspapers, *i.e.*, perspectives, and if there was, on which topics those convergence and divergence were.

The reason why the labor migration from Turkey to Germany was investigated in this thesis work is to understand today, as the issue of migration is closely linked with the globalization and power relations in addition to the fact of escalation of xenophobic discourse as a result of migration movements in the world. In this sense, as Turkey is currently hosting the largest number of refugees in the world, and experiencing a huge brain drain abroad, this thesis work also worthy to realize current situation of migrants and refugees in Turkey, too, by projecting Turkish emigrant workers' position in Germany in several senses. On the other hand, in particular to the issue of labor migration, this thesis work strived to reveal effects of migration movements from Turkey to West Germany on economic, social, political, cultural processes within a historical integrity and the interactions with these processes through media, specifically two distinct Turkish newspapers. Lastly, this thesis work aimed to fill a particular gap in the existing literature, as there is only a couple of exceptional studies on media coverage about labor migrants from Turkey to Germany, though the significance of the issue.

Within the thesis work, the topic has been selected as “labor migration” instead of “migration”, and for the analysis of media coverage, the first three years of the official labor migration has been analyzed in light of official expected duration of stay of Turkish workers, as two to three years. More specifically, since the First-Five-Year Development Plan was pointed out a need “*to export the labor surplus to the Western countries that are in need of labor power*”, and Turkey was considered within this plan “*a*

country with labor surplus”,<sup>14</sup> the analyzed three years was regarded as convenient to find out such a view towards labor migration from Turkey to Germany, as labor migration was regarded as a step to meet or balance the labor market necessities of both official parts of migration and actualize economical expectations.

Within the analysis of the thesis work, two relevant keyword combinations were employed, in turn, as they are “Germany” and “Turkish”, and “Germany” and “worker”. The reason why the analysis excluded some other keywords such as “expatriate” (Turkish: *Gurbetçi*) or “German Turk” (Turkish: *Almancı*) is to keep the thesis within its main focus, *i.e.*, labor migration: however, using the first keyword combination “Germany” and “Turkish” is also based on the fact that migration movements then were mostly carried out by labor migrants and excluding such a keyword combination would exclude many possible findings in this context. For the newspapers selection, *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* have been selected since only there two newspapers had a full archive of the selected three years that enable to compare the newspapers with each other in a healthy way. Also, as the two newspapers adopted different perspectives, their analysis would be convenient to investigate of their convergence and divergence. As both newspapers have an online archive, the analysis process was conducted via <http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/> for *Milliyet*, and <https://egazete.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yayinlar> for *Cumhuriyet*. During the analysis process via the newspapers, articles including news, columns, and advertisements (ads) were examined as the unit of analysis.

As the thesis work aimed to reveal the frequency and the way of coverage of labor migration from Turkey to Germany, analyzed articles were treated through both content and discourse analyses. During the analysis, 3426 articles were encountered in the first step of the analysis, for 2360 in *Milliyet* and 1066 in *Cumhuriyet*, by employing the two keyword combinations and for the selected three years. After a multi-step approach for the final analysis, 444 articles have been considered, for 286 in *Milliyet* and 158 in *Cumhuriyet*. However, as analyzing discourse of all the 444 articles would not be within the limits of a master’s thesis, 105 articles were approached within the thesis work in this context of discourse, though all the 105 articles were mentioned in the context of content analysis.

To provide an extensive understanding of the issue, the analysis within this thesis work was conducted by setting three categories and nine subcategories under one of these categories. The three topics were *Labor Export*, *Social Life and Integration in Germany*, and *Criminality* in turn; and the subcategories under the first category *Labor Export* were *Articles with General Information*, *Working and Living Conditions*, *Official Processes*, *Expected Development*, *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants*, *Turkish Representation in Germany*, *Duration of Stay*, *Private Agencies*, and *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export*, respectively. These categories and subcategories were selected by basing on the most decisive dynamics and motivations for the labor migration from Turkey to Germany, in

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<sup>14</sup> [https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Birinci\\_Bes\\_Yillik\\_Kalkinma\\_Plani-1963-1967.pdf](https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Birinci_Bes_Yillik_Kalkinma_Plani-1963-1967.pdf)

light of the main topics in articles as well as in the existing literature. However, it is also needed to note that these categories and subcategories were written within this thesis work depending on their relation within themselves, instead of any other order.

More specifically, the category *Labor Export* has been established to analyze a wide range of dynamics in the context of labor migration, particularly in relation to the migration's economic meaning. In this sense, the first subcategory *Articles with General Information* deals with articles covering descriptive information, and the second subcategory *Working and Living Conditions* includes articles about workers' life in Germany, which would be allegedly same as those of German workers. In the third subcategory *Official Process*, articles on the Turkish-German Labor Recruitment Agreement and other official initiatives are given. In the fourth subcategory *Expected Development*, articles on expected developments from Turkish migrants in Germany, in the context of economic and social development depending in working and living in Germany, are given. In this regard, in the fifth subcategory *Appreciation and Praise for Turkish Immigrants* and the sixth subcategory *Turkish Representation in Germany* cover the appreciation and praise for Turkish immigrants, as they matched with the expected developments, and represented their country in Germany in a positive or adverse way, respectively.

The seventh subcategory *Duration of Stay* is closely associated with the previous subcategories since the duration of stay from two to three years would enable workers to bring skilled labor to Turkey as well as foreign currency and investment, when they would be back in the homeland. The eighth subcategory *Private Agencies* is given following the seventh subcategory because those private intermediaries to migrate from Turkey to Germany were considered as a danger for the order of official labor migration movement, as it set two to three years duration of stay period. The ninth subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Labor Export* was, finally, also closely associated with its previous subcategories, as the benefits and losses were mainly depending on the order of official labor migration, *i.e.*, from duration of stay to private agencies. After the first category *Labor Export* and its nine subcategories mentioned above, the second category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* has been established to analyze a small number of articles about non-economic issues in the context of labor migration. Relatedly, the third category *Criminality* has been given finally in order to examine crime issues in the context of labor migration that have been being caused by lack of social dimensions of migration. Although the categories and subcategories have been created in light of the main topics in articles and the existing literature as mentioned above, and this thesis work is based on a rich literature review as it can be seen from the relevant chapter, the main sources as a basis of the thesis are *Federal Almanya'nin Yabancilar Politikasi* by Mehmet Okyayuz (Okyayuz, 1999) and *Bitmeyen Goc: Konuk Iscilikten Ulus-Otesi Yurttasliga* by Nermin Abadan-Unat (Abadan-Unat, 2017).

Given the theoretical perspective of the thesis work, it considers labor migration as a result of globalization since central capitalist countries lead to unemployment and labor with lower wages in peripheral countries. On the other hand, this thesis work also argues that labor migration is highly based

on the motivation of segmentation of labor, as foreign labor is not invested in social capital and is paid with lower wages or does not include in social security system by employers. Thus, this thesis work opposed the claim that labor migration is based on the individual motivations of migrant workers.

To provide a holistic approach, this thesis work was written through eight chapters. Accordingly, the first chapter provides an introduction by revealing the aim, significance, and purpose of the thesis work. In addition, it delivered the information about why those particular topic, years, keywords, newspapers, genres, categories and subcategories have been chosen for the analysis. Then, literature review on both labor migration and media studies were given in a comprehensive way, as the thesis work is based on these two fields. In the third chapter, the historical background of the labor migration was given in an extensive way, by focusing on five phases from the 1950s until today, instead of focusing only the selected three years. Thereby, it was aimed to reveal the labor both historical and current effects on several senses from economy to social life. In the fourth chapter, the two newspapers were investigated not only through a historical integrity but also comparatively, in order to understand their vulnerable position in time, and particularly during the selected years, *i.e.*, 1961, 1962, and 1963. In the fifth chapter, the research method and theoretical framework is elaborated to clarify the analysis process as well as perspective of the thesis work. Followingly, In the sixth and seventh chapters, the findings regarding the newspapers *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* were shared in detail, respectively. In these chapters, relevant tables for the content analysis and figures and paragraphs for the discourse analysis were provided. Finally, this chapter aims to summarize the thesis work and discuss the findings in the sixth and seventh chapters regarding the newspapers, analyses.

According to the findings of the analyses, it was seen that the total number of articles in *Milliyet* was almost half of the number of articles in *Cumhuriyet* for the selected three years. In this sense, one can say that *Milliyet* gave more coverage to the labor migration from Turkey to Germany. On the other hand, given the qualification of the articles in the two newspapers, it was seen that *Cumhuriyet* dealt with the issue through relatively long and detailed articles. However, this also does not mean that *Cumhuriyet* treated the issue comprehensively. Rather, the 3 to 4-lines news were not written in *Cumhuriyet* as much as *Milliyet*. Also, it is needed to note that there was some same news in the two newspaper, even in terms of headline and text.

Given the frequency in categories and subcategories, the most crowded category is *Labor Export* and the most crowded subcategory is *Articles with General Information* in both newspapers. Such a finding is not a surprise due to the scope of the category and subcategory, as they include a wide range of topics within themselves. On the other hand, it was crucial to find out that the category *Criminality* was more crowded than the category *Social Life and Integration in Germany* in both newspapers. In this sense, it was mentioned that criminality is closely associated with the lack of social participation and integration throughout this thesis work. However, none of the two newspapers contemplated on why criminal issues regarding labor migrants are more prominent than participation in and integration to the social life in

Germany. In other words, the newspapers did not attribute more criminal issues to the less participation and integration in an uncritical way; instead, they superficially covered crime issues between the lines.

Particularly in the category of *Criminality*, articles in *Milliyet* stands out with an approach which is lack of gender sensitive discourse. More specifically, it has been found out that in incidents where women and men are involved in crime, and even in incidents where women were overtly suffered from male violence, crimes committed by men are strived to be justified by mentioning previous actions or current situations of women, *e.g.*, highlighting cheating wife or marital status of wife. Or while names of criminal men were not shared, the approach towards women was vice versa in articles. Comparing to *Cumhuriyet* in another sense, in the context of the subcategory *Articles with General Information*, it was also found out that *Milliyet* did not share women data regarding migrant Turkish workers, while *Cumhuriyet* gave both numbers and statistics frequently.

In this regard, one can say that *Milliyet* overlooked the fact the huge number of female migrant workers going to Germany, although almost one-third of the Turkish workers who went to Germany are women. As a matter of fact, with the labor migration at stake, Turkish women's movement almost have started abroad, and this is quite important since women's economic freedom indicates that they also gain their freedom in social life and in family. In this way, this freedom gained in Germany inevitably affected the economic and social situation of women in Turkey. From this perspective, the negative discourse used in articles under the category *Criminality* and the discourse not found in articles under the subcategory *Articles with General Information* points to the same issue, at least socially, as women are not seen as socially equal with men.

Given the critical stance in the newspapers again, unlike it was expected before the analysis, a significant difference between the newspapers was not encountered. More specifically, though *Cumhuriyet* is slightly more critical especially in columns, it's criticism also mostly directed to labor migrants or migrant Turks instead of official parts of the migration, *i.e.*, Turkey and Germany. In this sense, the articles under the subcategories *Expected Development* and *Turkish Representation in Germany* are particularly noteworthy since both newspapers criticized and belittled those who were representing Turkey in an undesired way, while the two newspapers glorified well-representing Turkish workers. In this sense, one can say that the two newspapers adopted the official expectation from the labor migration, *i.e.*, expected development from Turkish migrants both in terms of economy and manners since those who do not match with the expectations in terms of particularly Turkish representation in Germany are represented through a negative discourse, while those represented Turkey well vice versa. In this sense also, one can say that both newspaper adopted the colonial discourse, as it takes the west at its center and is always in comparison with the west according to whether it sees itself inferior or superior to the west. Moreover, the subcategory *Benefits and Losses of the Export* was also one of the main convergence areas of the newspapers since both newspapers mainly argue that Turkey gain more benefit from the labor export through receiving investment, foreign currency, skilled labor



as well as well-representation in Germany. On the other hand, the main divergence of the newspapers has been revealed through that *Cumhuriyet* blamed on government due to losing Turkish immigrants, who received praise and appreciation by German society. Given the motivation of this criticism, it is doubtful to what extent is this a political criticism. Thus, this thesis work also revealed that though their different ideological position, *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* converged with each other in several topics many times.

In the context of the meaning of this thesis work for today, it is clear that not much has changed in the way the media coverage issue of migration at least since the years the beginning 1960s. Migration, which is one of the areas where the most discourse is produced in the media, has undoubtedly been a crucial for years at the point of producing and maintaining ideology. As seen within the scope of the analysis, articles that were mainly prominent on subjects such as Turkish representation in Germany and praise for Turkish workers at that time and that covered those migrants with the black and white effect in the form of absolute good or absolute bad still maintains its presence. In this sense, while negative incidents by Turkish immigrants, who have been excluded from integration policies in theory or practice for generations in Germany, and Turkish immigrants involved in these incidents, still find mentioned through an absolute negative discourse, “successful” examples, such as Turkish doctors who found the COVID-19 vaccine in Germany, have been widely covered in different media outlets for months, emphasizing their success and Turkishness particularly together that indicates the same black and white effect. Similarly, in the context of benefits and losses, it is still frequently emphasized in Turkish media that the departure of the Turks who have scientific successes abroad is a loss for Turkey, and their Turkishness and close connection with Turkey are constantly remembered. Thereby, it can be concluded that the analysis made on newspapers *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* for the years 1961, 1962, and 1963 reflects a projection of today in a sense.

In this thesis work, the media coverage on the labor migration from Turkey to Germany was investigated through content and discourse analyses via the online archives of two distinct Turkish newspapers, namely *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*, for their issues of the years 1961, 1962, and 1963. In this way, it was aimed to find out the frequency and approach to the issue in the newspapers, project today, fill the relevant gap in the literature modestly. On the other hand, as this thesis work is limited to a master’s study, it would exceed its limits by extending the period as well as language of and media within the analysis. In this sense, it is highly encouraged to conduct further studies in this context but for a longer period and even in a comparative way by focusing on both Turkish and German media, and in fact different media.

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## APPENDICES

### A. ADDITIONAL FIGURES

**KOTALARDAN İTHAL EDECEKLERE:**  
Batı Almanyanın en büyük Yol ve İnşaat  
Makinaları Fabrikası

**ORENSTEIN**  **KOPPEL**

**UND LÜBECKER MACHINENBAU A. G. DORTMUND**  
firmasının imalat programına dahil

84.23 Paletli ve Lâstik tekerlekli EKSKAVATÖRLER  
84.22.21 VİNÇLER ve muhtelif kapasitede DAMPERLER  
84.11 SEYYAR HAVA KOMPRESÖRLERİ  
84.06.20 SANAYİ DİZEL MOTORLARI (6-15 B.G.)  
86.01 LOKOMOTİFLER  
86.07.20 VAGONETLER  
86.09 Demiryolu nakil vasıtalarının YEDEK AKSAM ve  
PARÇALAR'ı için

PROFORMA FATURA VERİLİR.  
Türkiye Umum Müessili:

**MEHMET KAVALA**  
Galata, Nesli Han - İSTANBUL

Figure A.1. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1961

Almanya'nın tanınmış Türk Müessesesi  
yeni adresini  
müşterilerine arzeder.

**HİKMET TAŞKENT**  
**Radio City**  
TAUNUS Str. 18 FRANKFURT / MAIN

Radio - Televizyon - Ses Alma Cihazları - Buz Dolabı -  
Çamaşır Makinası - Elektrikle İşliyen Ev ve Mutfak Cihazları -  
Fotograf Makinaları - Büro Makinaları v. s.

Figure A.2. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1961

**ALMANYADA**

Niçin turistler Almanyanın Münih şehrine uğrarlar? Münih şehri Avrupanın en güzel ve ucuz şehridir. Sizler de bu seyahatinizde Münih'ten geçiniz.

**YAŞAR ŞAPAŞ**

Firması bütün Türklerin ve dostlarının hizmetindedir.

**YAŞAR ŞAPAŞ**

Firması sizlere Almanya'da alacağınız her türlü eşyalarda yüzde 50 kadar tanzimat yapmaktadır. Yaşar Şapaş Firması yabancılara tanınan Export - Import mallarında, sizlere daha ucuza mal almanızı temin edecektir. Yaşar Şapaş firmasına uğramanız menfaatliktir. Adres: Almanya München 15, Schillerstr. 3/1  
Telefon: 55 37 30

Figure A.3. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1961

**AVRUPA SEYAHATI**

17 Ağustos 1961 günü hareket ederek Bulgaristan - Yugoslavya - Avusturya - Almanya - İsviçre - Fransa ve İspanya'nın Borsolina şehrinde mola ve İtalya yolu ile Türkiye'ye avdet etmek isteyen dört yolcuya büttyaş vardır. Başka yeriniz kalmamıştır. Arzu edenler Kadıköy, Kadıköy Palas No. 3 Tel: 36 16 48 e müracaat. en geç 16/8/1961 e kadar.

MILLİYET 2977

Figure A.4. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1961

ANADOLU'DAN, ŞOFÖR EHLİYETİ almak için İSTANBUL'A gelenler veya ALMANYA'YA ŞOFÖRLÜK ÖĞRENDİKTEN sonra gitmek isteyenler için TÜRKİYE'DE İLK DEFA OLARAK

**İSTANBUL ŞOFÖR OKULU**

YATACAK ve YIYECEK YERLER TEMİN ETMİŞTİR.

Kurslar 15 er günlüktür. Her ayın 1 inde ve 15 inde başlar.

ADRES : Merkez: İstanbul - Sirkeci Ankara Cad. 107. Tel: 22 27 90

NEKTUPLA İZAHAT İSTEYİNİZ.

MILLİYET 5150

Figure A.5. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1961

## ALMANYAYA GİDECEKLERİN DİKKATİNE

Bu iş için paraya ve hiçbir vasıtaya lüzum yoktur.

Kendi kendinize Almanyadan durumunuza göre bir iş bulabilirsiniz.

Bunun için lüzumlu Almanca evrak ve muhtelif iş yeri adresleri, Almanyadaki çalışma ve hayat şartları ile işçi ücretlerine dair geniş malûmat posta havalesiyle P.K. 109 BEŞİKTAŞ adresine göndereceğiniz 5 lira mukabilinde derhal adresinize postalanır.

Figure A.6. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1961

## ALMANYA'dan İŞÇİ ve TEKNİSYEN aranıyor

DORTMUNDER BRÜCKENBAU C.H. JUCHO - DORTMUND/ALMANYA kendi fabrikasında çalıştırılmak üzere fazla miktarda TEKNİSYEN, RESSAM, KONSTRÜKTÖR ve kalifiye USTA ve İŞÇİ'ye ihtiyacı vardır.

Taliplerin İstanbul, «Tophane» İŞ ve İŞÇİ BULMA KURUMU'na müracaatları. İL. 361 - 6987

Figure A.7. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1961

Almanya'ya gidecekler, Almanca öğrenenlere

## Tam Telâffuzlu Lüzumlu Metodlar :

KOLAY ALMANCA (Açık) Yeni Baskı	TL. 10.—
ALMANCA - TÜRKÇE TELAFFUZLU LUGAT	8.—
RESİMLİ PRATİK ALMANCA	5.—
ALMANCA METOD	5.—

Kitapçılarda Arayınız. ÖDEMELİ GÖNDERİLİR.

## ÖĞRETİM YAYINEVİ

Ankara cad. No: 60/2 İstanbul

İLANCILIK 1652 - 1614

Figure A.8. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1962



**ALMANYA'da İŞ YAPMAK İSTEYENLERE  
BÜYÜK İMKÂNLAR**

Almanya'da dört mevzu üzerine iş yapan Türk firması, işi büyütmek  
gayesiyle ortak arıyor  
P.K. 705 Galata — İstanbul

İLANCILIK: 9736 - 1207

Figure A.9. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1963

**Almanya'ya Gidecek Vatandaşlar!  
Hamburg'da**

**Remzi's Restaurant und Cafe Bosphorus'a**  
«Remzinin Boğaz kahvesi ve gece kulübüne»  
uğramadan geçmeyiniz. Türkiyeyi aratmıyacak konfor ve ye-  
mekleri yalnız REMZİ'de bulabilirsiniz. İstendiği takdirde hususi  
arabamız emrinizdedir.

Adres: Caffé macharreihe 7. Hamburg. Tel: 34 34 15  
Fazla bilgi için İstanbulda 22 71 82

MILLİYET 6095

Figure A.10. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1963

MÜNİR HAYRİ EGELİ

**ALMANYA'YA GİDİYORUM**

1 — Almanyaya seyahat edeceklere kılavuz.  
2 — Döviz alma ve işçi olarak gitme formülleri.  
3 — Öğrenci olarak gidilecek yerler ve başvurma yolları.  
4 — Almanca 1290 cümle, okunuşu ve Türkçesi  
5 — Almanya'nın renkli yol haritası  
6 — Avrupadan gelirken Gümrükten muaf olan eşyanın listesi  
v.s. v.s.

Fiatı 10 liradır.

**İNKILÂP ve AKA KİTAPEVLERİ**

İLANCILIK: 1982 - 6058 - 6243

Figure A.11. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1963

**ALMANYA'ya Seyahatinizde**

# **EVİRİM – EXPORT**

**İhsan Evrim Firması**

Radyo, Teyp, Buzdolabı, Çamaşır makineleri, her nevi giyim ve Tekstil eşyası için yeni mağaza ve teşkilatıyla Almanya ve Avrupa'nın en mükemmel Turist - Export Müessesesi olarak **BUYUK TENZİLATLARIYLA** hizmetinizdedir.

ADRES: München 15, Landwehrstrasse No 36, Tel: 59 44 01. Tren İstasyonuna paralel 3. cadde.

Türkiye'de Beylerbeyi Köplüce Cad. No. 50

İLANCILIK: 4174 - 11502

Figure A.12. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1963

**Türkiye - Almanya**

Milli Futbol maçı için

## **FRANKFURTA**

**O T O B Ü S L E**

GİDİŞ - GELİŞ 500 LİRA

Adres: Dura Palas Sirkeci

Tel: 22 21 79

**MİLLİYET 13181**

Figure A.13. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1963

Almanya'ya işçi olarak gideceklere, tahsil veya seyahat maksadıyla gidenlere, pratik yapmak isteyenlere gayet lüzumlu

**T E L A F F U Z L U**

# **ALMANCA**

**SEYAHAT REHBERİ**

Bütün bahisler Türkçe telaffuzlu olup, faydalı diğer malûmat bu el kitabında mevcuttur. Cebe sığabilecek şekilde, Avrupa birinci hamur kâğıda nefis baskı, plâstik yapıştırılmalı. Fl. 7,50 T.L.

**K İ T A P Ç I L A R D A A R A Y I N I Z .**

**ÖGRETİM YAYINEVİ** Ankara Cad. 60 - 2. İst.

İLANCILIK 5317 - 14727

Figure A.14. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1963

M. H. Egeli

# ALMANYA'ya GİDİYORUM

Almanya'ya seyahat edeceklere kılavuz — Döviz alma ve işçi olarak gitme formülleri — Öğrenel olarak gidilecek yerler ve bağvurma yolları — Almanca konuşma: 1390 cümle, okunuşu ve tercümesi. Ofset baskı bir Almanya 4 renkli yol haritası. Plâstik kapak ve yapıtıtırma. 10 Lira.

**İNKİLÂP ve AKA KİTABEVLERİ**

İLÂNCILIK: 9086 - 224

Figure A.15. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1963

# ALMANYA'ya GİDİYORUM

Seyahat, işçi, öğrenci kılavuzu ve konuşabilmek için 1390 cümle.

**İNKİLÂP ve AKA KİTABEVLERİ** 10 lira

Figure A.16. Advertisement, Milliyet, 1963

## D İ K K A T

### İTHALÂT VE İHRACATÇILARA

Bütün Avrupa memleketlerinden Türkiyeye, Türkiyeden Bulgaristan - Yunanistan - Yugoslavya - Avusturya ve Almanya'ya; Almanya'dan Türkiye - İran'a kadar seri kamyon nakliyatı yapılmaktadır.

Müracaat:  
**ERCİYES GENERAL TRANSPORT**  
**ORHAN GÖMEÇLİOĞLU**  
Tel: 27 39 14

Figure A.17. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1961





Figure A.18. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1961



Figure A.19. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1961

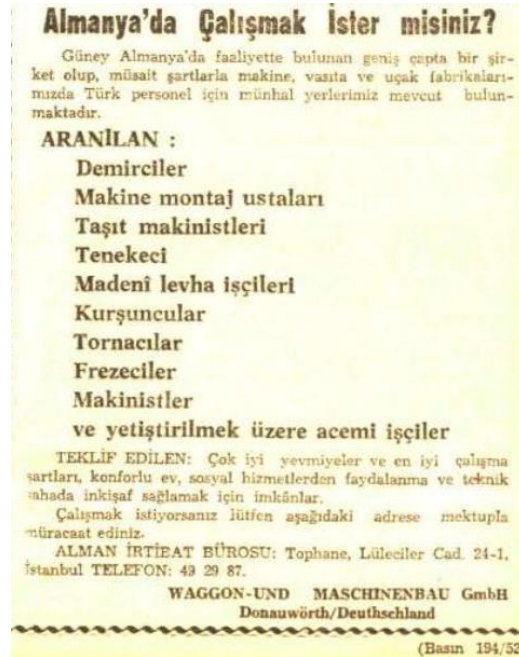


Figure A.20. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1962

**Almanya** (Avusturya, İsviçre, Kanada) İş Bulma, Geçinme, Alış-Veriş — Almanca, İngilizce müracaat mektubu örnekleri, yüzlerce adres. Doktorlar için Amerika, Kanada hastanelerinin adresleri, imtihan şekilleri, tavsiyeler, ayrıca Almanya'da geçinme kolaylıkları, Otomobil fiatları, Bedelsiz ithal yoluyla esya ve otomobilin gümrükten geçirilmesi, PARASIZ ayrı kitap halinde ALMANCA CEP SÖZLÜĞÜ ve GEZİ REHBERİ. Fiyatı 5 lira.

Her iki kitap Posta Kutusu 148 - Bakanlıklar, Ankara adresinden ödemeli istenebilir.

Figure A.21. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1963

**Almanya'ya gidecek vatandaşlar!**  
**Hamburg'da**  
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Figure A.22. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1963

**M. H. EGELİ**  
**ALMANYA'YA GİDİYORUM**

- 1 — Almanya'ya seyahat edeceklere kılavuz
- 2 — Döviz alma ve işçi olarak gitme formleri.
- 3 — Öğrenci olarak gidilecek yerler ve başvurma yolları.
- 4 — Almanca 1390 cümle, okunuşu ve Türkçesi.
- 5 — Almanya'nın renkli yol haritası.
- 6 — Avrupa'dan gelirken gümrükten muaf olan eşyanın listesi v.s. v.s.

Fiyatı 10 Liradır.

**İNKILÂP ve AKA KİTABEVLERİ**  
İlançılık: 1982/8292

Figure A.23. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1963

Almanya'ya Seyahatinizde

# EVİRİM - EXPORT

İhsan Evrim Firması

Radyo; Teyp; Buzdolabı; Çamaşır Makineleri, her nevi giyim ve tekstil eşyası için yeni mağaza ve teşkilatıyla Almanya ve Avrupanın en mükemmel Turist - Export Müessesesi olarak **BÜYÜK TENZİLATLARIYLA** hizmetinizdedir.

ADRES: München 15; Landwehrstrasse No. 26. Tel: 59 44 01  
Tren İstasyonuna paralel 3. cadde.  
Türkiyede Beylerbeyi Küplüce Cad. No 50

Figure A.24. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1963

★

## İŞ ve SİGORTA MECMUASI

8 inci sayısı çıkmıştır. Çalışma Vekilinin hususi beyanatu. İşsizlik Sigortası. Toplu Sözleşmeye ait yazılar. Almanyada Türk işçilerinin tâbi oldukları kanunlar. Genelgeler. İş hukukıyla ilgili içtihatlar. Fiyatı 2.5 liradır. Galata Posta Kutusu: 366. Çıkaranaar: Avukat Naim Tezmen, Tahsin Atakan, Neddet Ul

Figure A.25. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1963

M. H. EGELİ

## ALMANYAYA GİDİYORUM

Almanya'ya seyahat edeceklere Kılavuz - Döviz alma ve işçi olarak gitme formleri - Öğrenci olarak gidilecek okullar ve başvurma yolları - Hiç bilmiyenlere 1390 Almanca cümle: Okunusu, tercümesi - Dönerken gümrükten muaf olan eşya listesi - 4 renkli Almanya yol haritası - Şehirler hakkında izahat ve otel v.s. ücretleri, adresleri. Fiyatı 10 lira.

INKILÂP ve AKA KİTÂBEVLERİ

İlâncılık: 9809/2388

Figure A.26. Advertisement, Cumhuriyet, 1963

## B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez, Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçüne medya çalışmaları ekseninde odaklanmakta ve söz konusu göç hareketlerinin göçün ilk yıllarında medyada yer bulma sıklıklarının ve ele alınış biçimlerini incelemektedir. Bu bağlamda, Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet gazeteleri olmak üzere Türkiye'de ulaştıkları kitle hacmi bakımından tarihsel olarak ön plana çıkan ve ideolojik olarak farklı noktalarda konumlanan iki ulusal gazete incelenmektedir. Böylece, görece tirajları yüksek ve farklı yaklaşımlara sahip olması beklenen iki gazete üzerinden emek göçünün basında ne ölçüde yer bulduğunun, farklı gazetelerin söz konusu emek göçüne yaklaşımında yakınsama ve ıraksama olup olmadığının ve varsa bu yakınsama ve ıraksamanın hangi noktalarda olduğunun ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu anlamda, emek göçünün basında ne ölçüde yer bulduğu içerik analizi; iki gazetenin yakınsama ve ıraksaması ise söylem analizi yöntemleri ile çok aşamalı bir biçimde incelenmiştir.

Bu tezin Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçünün medyada ele alınışını incelemesinin temel sebeplerinden biri göç olgusunun her şeyden önce hem tarihsel olarak hem de günümüzde, her zaman hayatımızın içerisinde olması ve göç olgusunun medyada üzerine en çok söylem – ve esasen ideoloji – üretilen alanlardan birisi olmasıdır. Türkiye özelinde bakıldığında, Türkiye tarihsel olarak göç veren bir ülke konumunda yalnızca Almanya'ya ve sonrasında Batı Avrupa'ya emek göçünü tecrübe etmemiştir; son yıllarda, göçün bir başka formu olan beyin göçü ile de karşı karşıyadır. Buna karşılık, yine Türkiye, göç alan bir ülke olarak da bugün dünyada en fazla mülteciye ev sahipliği yapan ülke konumundadır. Öte yandan, daha spesifik olarak Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçü özelinde bakıldığında ise, söz konusu göçün hem tarihsel olarak hem de günümüzde iki ülkenin ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasal süreçlere önemli etkileri olduğu şüphesizdir.

Açıklamak gerekirse, 1950'li yıllarda bireysel araçlar vasıtasıyla ve staj, eğitim gibi motivasyonlarla başlayan Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göç hareketleri, iki ülke arasında ekonomik ideallerle gerçekleştirilen müzakereler sonucunda 1961 yılında imzalanan Türkiye-Almanya İşgücü Antlaşması ile resmi bir forma kavuşmuş ve bugün tüm Avrupa'da sayısı milyonları aşan bir Türk diasporasının temelini oluşturmuştur. Dolayısıyla, dört kuşaktan beri Avrupa'da yaşayan veya göçü tecrübe edip Türkiye'ye geri dönen bu kişilerin ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasal süreçler bakımından etkilerinin olmamasını beklemek gerçekçi bir yaklaşım olmayacaktır. Nitekim, Türk göçmenler yalnızca Türkiye'ye döviz ve yatırım gibi ekonomik katkılar sağlamakla kalmayıp aynı zamanda, örneğin, kültürel etkileşimin de bir parçası olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu tez, geçmişten bugüne bir projeksiyon sağlama yoluyla hem Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçünü hem de günümüzde bilhassa Türkiye'nin tecrübe ettiği göç hareketlerini anlama idealindedir.

Konunun medya çalışmaları noktasının önemine bakıldığında ise, yukarıda da bahsedildiği üzere, göç olgusu, açık (*manifest*) veya örtük (*latent*) bir biçimde medyada üzerine en çok söylem ve aslında ideoloji üretilen alanlardan biridir. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçünü anlama hususunda medya kritik bir role sahiptir. Bununla birlikte, mevcut literatürde özellikle bu konuda önemli bir boşluk vardır; literatür, Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçünün medyada ele alış biçimine odaklanan istisnai birkaç çalışma dışında ağırlıklı olarak Türk göçmenlerin medya tüketim alışkanlıklarına ve Türk diaspora medyasına odaklanmaktadır. Bu anlamda, bu tez, söz konusu boşluğu doldurmak için en azından motive edici bir adım olmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Tez, analiz kapsamındaki 1961 1962 ve 1963 yıllarında liberalizm ve merkez-sağ görüşte konumlanan Milliyet ve sol görüşte konumlanan Cumhuriyet gazetelerinin söz konusu üç yıldaki haber, köşe yazısı, ve reklamları kapsayan tüm yayınlarının içerik ve söylem analizi yöntemleriyle incelenmesine dayanmaktadır. Her ne kadar seçilen iki gazete birbirleriyle yakınsama ve ıraksama bakımından karşılaştırmalı bir biçimde analiz edilmeye uygun olsa da söz konusu iki gazetenin seçilmesinin bir sebebi de Türk gazetelerinin pek çoğunun göçün ilk yıllarındaki yayınlarına ait veritabanına ulaşmada karşılaşılan zorluklar olmuştur. Daha açıklayıcı bir biçimde ifade edilecek olursa, analiz kapsamında verimli bir karşılaştırma yapabilmek adına analize tabi gazetelerin seçili yıllara ait tüm yayınları için erişilebilir bir arşivin olması önem arz etmektedir. Bununla birlikte, bu tez kapsamında analiz edilen resmi göçün ilk üç yılına tüm yayınların arşivine yalnızca Cumhuriyet ve Milliyet gazeteleri için ulaşılması tezin bu iki gazete ile sınırlı kalmasında etkili olmuştur. Ayrıca belirtmek gerekir ki literatürde Türk gazetelerine ilişkin çalışmaların da oldukça kısıtlı olması sebebiyle tezin kavramsal bölümleri kapsamında tarihsel bütünlükçü bir yaklaşımla incelenen Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet gazeteleri ile ilgili yine çok kısıtlı bir literature ulaşılmıştır.

Tez kapsamında incelenen Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet gazetelerinin 1961, 1962 ve 1963 yıllarına ait yayınlarının incelenmesinin sebebine değinilecek olursa, temel motivasyon bu yılların resmi emek göçü için belirlenen kimi kaynaklara göre iki kimi kaynaklara göre ise üç yıllık süreyi kapsamasıdır. Bununla birlikte, söz konusu üç yılın ilk üç yıl olarak seçilmesinin sebebi ise o yıllarda yayımlanan Türkiye'nin Birinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı kapsamında Türkiye'nin emek gücü fazlası Avrupa'nın ise emek gücüne ihtiyacı ile birlikte değerlendirilmesi ve emek gücü ihracatının bir kalkınma stratejisi olarak vurgulanmasıdır (Abadan-Unat, 2017). Bu anlamda seçilen üç yıl emek göçüne karşı genel ekonomi odaklı bakış açısını anlamak adına uygun görünmektedir.

Analiz kapsamında iki anahtar kelime kombinasyonu kullanılmıştır. Bunlar, sırasıyla, "Almanya" "Türk" ve "Almanya" "işçi"dir. Bunlardan ilk kombinasyonun oluşturulmasının sebebi, söz konusu yıllarda Almanya'ya gidenlerin çoğunlukla emek göçmenleri olmasıdır. Bununla birlikte, ikinci kombinasyonun oluşturulmasının sebebi ise arşiv üzerinde yine de daha spesifik bir sorgulama yapabilmektedir. Analiz kapsamında "Almanci" veya "gurbetçi" gibi anahtar kelimelerinin kullanılmamasının sebebi ise tezin "emek göçü" odağından uzaklaşmama çabasına dayanmaktadır.

Böylece, ilgili iki anahtar kelime kombinasyonu, Milliyet gazetesi için <http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/>, Cumhuriyet gazetesi için ise <https://egazete.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yayinlar> internet siteleri üzerinden gazetelerin 1961, 1962 ve 1963 yıllarında yayımlanan tüm haber, köşe yazıları ve reklamları için arama yapmak üzere kullanılmıştır. Analiz kapsamında, öncelikle ilk anahtar kelime kombinasyonu ile seçilen üç yılın arşivi için arama yapılmıştır ve karşılaşılan yayınlar bağlama uygun olup olmadıklarını anlamak adına yüzeysel olarak okunarak (*skimming*) ilgili haberler numaralandırılarak kaydedilmiştir. İkinci aşama olarak, aynı haberler detaylı bir biçimde okunmuş ve içeriği Türkiye’den Almanya’ya göç konusuna ilişkin olanlar haber, köşe yazısı ve reklam olmak üzere türlerine, yayımlandıkları aylara ve yıllara ve önceden belirlenen kategorilere veya altkategorilere göre sınıflandırılmıştır. Daha sonra, aynı aşamalar ikinci anahtar kelime kombinasyonu üzerinden aynı gazetenin yine üç yıllık tüm yayınları için uygulanmış, ancak bu sefer bir önceki anahtar kelime kombinasyonunda karşılaşılan aynı yayınlar analiz sonucundan dışlanmıştır. Bununla birlikte, tek bir yeni cümle dahi içeren ilgili her yeni yayın analiz sonuçlarına dahil edilmiştir. Tüm bu süreçler her iki gazete için de ayrı ayrı uygulanmıştır.

İlgili yıllarda Türkiye ile Almanya arasında oynanan milli maçlar, ortak Pazar müzakereleri gibi iki ülkeyi ilgilendiren farklı konular da basında sıklıkla yer bulduğu için anahtar kelime kombinasyonları ile yapılan aramalar sonucunda yalnızca emek göçüne ilişkin yayınlarla karşılaşılmasıdır. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi bağlamı ve içeriği emek göçüne ilişkin olmayan konuların analize dahil edilmemesi sebebiyle, incelenen yayınların sayısı ile ilk arşiv aramalarında karşılaşılan yayınların sayısı arasında belirgin bir fark ortaya çıkmıştır. Daha açıklayıcı olmak gerekirse, ilgili iki anahtar kelime kombinasyonu ile ilk arşiv aramaları sonucunda Milliyet için 2360 Cumhuriyet için 1066 olmak üzere toplam 3426 yayın ile karşılaşmış olup bunlardan Milliyet için 286 Cumhuriyet için ise 158 olmak üzere toplam 444 yayın son analiz kapsamına alınmıştır. Öte yandan, bu tez kapsamında her ne kadar 444 yayının tamamı içerik analizi bağlamında detaylandırılmış olsa da, çalışmanın bir yüksek lisans tezi olması sebebiyle sınırlarına uymak adına iki gazete için rastgele seçilen toplam 105 yayın söylem analizi ile incelenmiştir.

Son analize dahil edilen yayınlar, yukarıda da bahsedildiği üzere, önceden belirlenen kategoriler ve altkategoriler altında sınıflandırılarak incelenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, dikkat çekilmesi gereken bir nokta, bu kategoriler ve altkategorilerin kronolojik veya sayısal bir düzenden ziyade kendi aralarındaki ilişkileri dikkate alınarak sıralandıklarıdır. Böylece, üç kategori ve ilk kategorinin altında dokuz altkategori oluşturulmuştur. Bu kategoriler, sırasıyla, emek ihracatı, sosyal hayat ve entegrasyon, ve suç’tur. Emek ihracatı kategorisi altındaki dokuz altkategori ise, sırasıyla, genel bilgi içeren yayınlar, çalışma ve hayat koşulları, resmi süreçler, beklenen gelişme, Türk göçmenlere takdir ve övgü, Almanya’da Türk temsili, kalış süresi, özel acentalar, emek ihracatının faydaları ve zararlarıdır.

Oluşturulan kategoriler ve altkategoriler özelinde daha spesifik konuşulacak olursa, kritik bir nokta olarak, ilk kategoride emek göçü yerine emek ihracatı teriminin kullanılmasının sebebi hem yönetsel

boyutta hem toplumsal olarak hem de medyada, emek göçüne, -her iki ülke tarafından da- ekonomi odaklı bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşılmasıdır. Şemsiye bir kategori olan emek ihracatı altında, göçmen işçilerin yalnızca sayıları, meslekleri, gittikleri şehirler gibi bilgilerin sıklıkla birkaç cümle ile kısaca ve tanımlayıcı bir biçimde ele alındığı yayınlar genel bilgi içeren yayınlar altkategorisi kapsamında incelenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, her ne kadar ana odak noktası olmasa da bu yayınlarda yer yer işçilerin Almanya'daki çalışma ve hayat koşullarına da atıfta bulunulduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Dolayısıyla, doğrudan Türk işçilerin Almanya'daki çalışma ve hayat koşullarına odaklanan yayınlar bir sonraki altkategoride, takiben ele alınmıştır.

Bu koşulların garanti altına alındığının sık sık vurgulandığı fakat göçü sistematik bir hale getirme amacıyla imzalanan Türkiye-Almanya İşgücü Antlaşması ve benzer resmi adımlarla ilgili yayınlar ise bir sonraki altkategori altında toplanmıştır. Antlaşma kapsamında Almanya'ya giden göçmen işçilerden resmi kanallar tarafından döviz yollama, yatırım yapma, teknik ve kişisel gelişim edinme gibi çeşitli beklentiler, bir sonraki başlık olan beklenen gelişme altkategorisinde ele alınmıştır. Yine söz konusu beklentiye uygun olarak, ülkesini Almanya'da olumlu yönde temsil eden ve övülen göçmen işçilerle ilgili yayınlar ise, sırasıyla, Türk göçmenlere takdir ve övgü ve Almanya'da Türk temsili altkategorileri altında incelenmiştir.

Özellikle ekonomik beklentiler için kritik olan kalış süresi, kalış süresini belirleyen sistemli göçün aksine göçün bireysel ve illegal yollardan gerçekleşmesine olanak sağlayan özel acenteler ve tüm beklentiler için önem arz eden emek ihracatının faydaları ve zararları altkategorileri ise, sırasıyla, son olarak verilmiştir. Kategorilere dönülecek olursa, bu dokuz altkategoriyi takiben, göçün ilk yıllarında ve özellikle göçün ekonomi odaklı olması sebebiyle çok da önemsenmeyen sosyal hayat ve entegrasyona ilişkin yayınlar ikinci kategori altında, bilhassa sosyal hayata dahil edilmeme ve entegrasyon eksikliği sonucunda ortaya çıkan suç olaylarına ilişkin yayınlar ise üçüncü kategori altında incelenmiştir.

Bu kategoriler ve altkategoriler, Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçü için belirleyici dinamikler ve/veya ana motivasyonlar dikkate alınarak belirlenmiştir. Bu dinamik ve motivasyonlar bağlamında ise hem karşılaşılan yayınların genel çerçevesi hem de ilgili literatür gözletilmiştir. Her ne kadar bu tez çalışması zengin bir literatür taramasına dayansa da başlıca Mehmet Okyayuz'un *Federal Almanya'nın Yabancılar Politikası* ve Nermin Abadan-Unat'ın *Bitmeyen Göç: Konuk İşçilikten Ulus-Ötesi Yurttaşlığa* çalışmaları bilhassa dikkate alınmıştır. Bununla birlikte, literatür taraması bölümü iki başlık altında incelenmiş olup emek göçü literatürü ve Türkiye'den Almanya'ya emek göçüne ilişkin medya çalışmaları ile ilgili literatür tarihsel-bütünlükçü bir yaklaşımla ayrı ayrı incelenmiştir. Özellikle emek göçü literatürü kapsamında erken ve çağdaş döneme ait farklı teoriler ana argümanları ve kendilerine yöneltilen eleştiriler ile birlikte verilerek bu tezin teorik çerçevesi, neyi neye dayanarak savunduğu ve hangi argümana neye dayanarak karşı çıktığı gerekçelendirmeye çalışılmıştır.



Bu kapsamda, öncelikle, göç literatürünün başlangıcı olarak kabul edilen, Ravenstein tarafından on dokuzuncu yüzyılda Büyük Britanya ülkelerinde gerçekleşen iç göç hareketlerinin analizine dayanarak önce yedi sonra da on bir tane olmak üzere yazılan göçün kurallarından bahsedilmiştir. Daha sonra, yirminci yüzyılda ortaya atılan ve uluslararası göç hareketlerine odaklanan çağdaş teoriler kapsamında, göçün neoklasik ekonomi teorisinin makro ve mikro kuramlarına değinilmiştir. Açıklamak gerekirse, bu teorinin makro kuramı devletlerin, hem gönderen hem de alıcı ülkelerdeki emek pazarını yasal düzenlemelerle kontrol edebildiğini savunmaktadır. Buna göre, emek gücü fazlası olan ve çalışan ücretlerinin düşük olduğu ülkelere kısıtlı emek gücüne sahip ve fakat yüksek ücretler sunan ülkelere doğru göç hareketleri gerçekleşmekte ve bu göç hareketleri de ülkeler arasında emek piyasasına bir denge sağlamaktadır (Massey et al., 1993). Teorinin mikro kuramına göre ise, uluslararası göç hareketleri rasyonel bireylerin başlıca parasal olmak üzere göçün net faydalarının net maliyetinden fazla olduğu sonucuna varmasına bağlı olarak gerçekleşmektedir (Massey et al., 1993).

Takiben, neoklasik teoriyi hem eleştiren hem de esasen ona dayanan bir başka teori olarak göçün yeni ekonomisi teorisi incelenmiştir. Buna göre, göç hareketleri bireylerden ziyade aile gibi rasyonel grupların fayda maksimizasyonu beklentisi ve ayrıca risk analizine bağlı olarak gerçekleşmektedir. Bu teoride, neoklasik teoriden farklı olarak haneden göçen bireyin geride kalan haneye gönderdiği para havaleleri belirgin bir yere sahiptir. Bu anlamda, teorinin aile odağı sebebiyle orta (*meso*) bir kurama sahip olduğunu söylemek doğru olacaktır (Massey et al., 1993). Buraya kadar bahsedilen teorilerden farklı olarak, göçün meydana gelmesine ilişkin daha eleştirel yaklaşımlara sahip iki teori daha incelenmiştir. Bunlardan ilki olan ikiye bölünmüş emek teorisine göre, göç hareketleri, modern sanayi devletlerinin ucuz emeğe olan içkin ve sürekli ihtiyacına bağlı olarak gerçekleşmektedir. Teori, yerli işçiler ile akademik veya mesleki anlamda alıcı ülke veya işveren tarafından kendisine herhangi bir yatırım yapılmayan ve dolayısıyla hem emeği yerli işçilere kıyasla daha ucuza mübadele edilen hem de sosyal haklardan yoksun olan göçmen işçiler arasında ikiye bölünmüş bir emek piyasasına, bir diğer ifadeyle ikiye bölünmüş bir işçi sınıfına işaret etmektedir (Massey et al., 1993). Son olarak, göç hareketlerine tarihsel-yapısalcı bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşan dünya sistemleri teorisine göre, uluslararası göç hareketleri kapitalist sistemin yapısına bağlı olarak gerçekleşmektedir; nitekim, ekonomik anlamda merkez kapitalist ülkelere bağlı olan çevre ve yarı-çevre ülkelere özellikle kırsalda iş imkanlarının azalması sebebiyle merkez kapitalist ülkelere doğru göç hareketleri gerçekleşmektedir (Massey et al., 1993).

Belirtilmesi gerekir ki bu tez, emek göçünü küresel ekonomik sistemin ülkeler arasında sebep olduğu ekonomik farklılıklara bağlı olarak çevre ülkelerde iş imkanlarının azalması ve emeğin değersizleşmesi sonucunda çevre ülkelere merkez ülkelere gerçekleşen nüfus hareketleri olarak değdirmektedir. Ancak buna ilaveten, göçü, yine söz konusu ekonomik sisteme bağlı olarak merkez ülkelerin ikiye bölünmüş bir emek pazarı yaratarak yatırım yapılmamış ve daha güvencesiz bir emek gücü arayışına bağlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu tez, göçün rasyonel birey veya grupların kararıyla değil makro faktörlerin ekonomik ideallerine bağlı olarak gerçekleştiğini savunmaktadır.



Tezin bölümlerine bakıldığında, tezin amacının, öneminin ve yapısının açıklandığı ve analiz kapsamında seçilen gazetelerin, yılların, anahtar kelimelerin, yayınların gerekçelendirildiği giriş bölümünü takiben emek göçüne ve Türkiye’den Almanya’ya emek göçüne ilişkin medya çalışmalarına ait literatürler iki altbaşlık altında kapsamlı bir biçimde incelenmiştir. Üçüncü bölümde, söz konusu emek göçünün tarihsel arkaplanı, günümüze olan etkileri de göz önünde bulundurularak, göçün bireysel girişimlerle başladığı 1950’lerden günümüze kadar kapsamlı bir biçimde sunulmuştur. Dördüncü bölümde, analiz kapsamında incelenen Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet gazetelerinin yine tarihsel süreçleri karşılaştırmalı bir biçimde aktarılmıştır. Beşinci bölümde, tez kapsamında uygulanan içerik ve söylem analizi yöntemleri ilgili literatürleri ile birlikte incelenerek yöntemlerin bu tez kapsamında nasıl uygulandığı detaylı bir biçimde anlatılmıştır. Altıncı ve yedinci bölümlerde, sırasıyla, Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet gazetelerine ait analiz sonuçları üç kategori, dokuz altkategori ve sonuç bölümü olmak üzere her bir bölüm için on üç altbaşlık ile paylaşılmıştır. Tezin ana sonuç bölümü olan sekizinci bölümde ise hem tezin özeti hem de analiz sonuçlarına ilişkin tartışma sunulmuş ve literatürdeki eksikliklere işaret edilerek gelecekteki çalışma alanları hakkında önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

Tezin bulgularına bakıldığında, öncelikle, Cumhuriyet’in Türkiye’den Almanya’ya resmi emek göçüne Milliyet’in neredeyse yarısı kadar yer verdiği ortaya koyulmuştur. Nitekim, yukarıda da belirtildiği üzere, ilk arşiv araması sonucunda Milliyet için 2360 Cumhuriyet için 1066 yayımla karşılaşmış olup Milliyet için 286 Cumhuriyet için ise 158 yayın son analize dahil edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, her ne kadar Cumhuriyet gazetesinde de konuya ilişkin kapsamlı yayınlar istisnai durumda olsa da, bu gazetede Milliyet gazetesinde sıklıkla karşılaşıldığı gibi iki veya üç satırlık haberlere pek rastlanmamıştır. Yine de her iki gazetede yayımlanan haberlerin çoğunlukla tanımlayıcı ve kısa olduğunu söylemek doğru olacaktır. Kategoriler ve altkategoriler bağlamında, içeriklerinin kapsamı dolayısıyla her iki gazetede de en çok yayın emek ihracatı kategorisinde karşılaşılmıştır.

Öte yandan, yine her iki gazetede de kritik bir biçimde suç kategorisinin sosyal hayat ve entegrasyon kategorisine kıyasla daha çok yayın içerdiği gözlemlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, iki gazetede de suç olayları ile Türk göçmenlerin sosyal hayata dahil edilmemesi ve entegrasyon eksikliği arasında hiçbir şekilde bağlantı kurulmadığı fark edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, dikkat çekici bir nokta olarak, Milliyet gazetesinde suç haberlerine yer verilirken cinsiyete duyarlı bir dil kullanılmadığı; aksine kadınların medeni durumları veya ihanet gibi davranışları öne sürülerek erkeklerin suçlarının sıklıkla gerekçelendirilmeye çalışıldığı veya erkeklerin isimleri verilmezken kadınların isimlerinin verildiği anlaşılmıştır. Nitekim, yalnızca suç kategorisi altındaki yayınlarda değil, emek ihracatı kategorisi altındaki yayınlarda da Cumhuriyet gazetesinde kadın göçmenlere ilişkin sayılar ve istatistikler zaman zaman kapsamlı bir biçimde dahi paylaşılırken, Milliyet gazetesinde kadın göçmenlerin neredeyse görünmez kılındığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Türk kadın hareketinin Avrupa’da, emek göçü hareketiyle başladığı ve Türk kadınının bu yolla ekonomik özgürleşmesinin aile ve toplum içerisinde de özgürleşmesini beraberinde getirdiği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Milliyet gazetesinde suç

kategorisi altındaki cinsiyete duyarlı söylemden uzak yayınları ile emek ihracatı kategorisi altındaki kadın göçmenlerin varlığını neredeyse yoksayan yayınları arasında bir örtüşme olduğu gayet açıktır.

Gazetelerin ana yakınsaması ve ıraksaması noktalarına bakıldığında, her iki gazetenin de özellikle beklenen gelişme ve Almanya’da Türk temsili altkategorilerinde birbirlerine yakınsadıkları gözlemlenmiştir. Nitekim, Almanya’da “modern Türk” ve “modern Türkiye” imajına uygun olarak ülkesini ve toplumunu ideal bir biçimde temsil eden göçmenlerden övgü ile bahsedilirken, örneğin suç olaylarına karışan Türk göçmenler entegrasyon eksikliğine hiçbir şekilde atıfta bulunulmadan eleştirilmekte ve kendilerinden olumsuz bir ifadelerle bahsedilmektedir. Esasen, analiz kapsamında incelenen 1961, 1962 ve 1963 yıllarından bu yana en azından Türk basınında pek bir şey değişmemiş; batı ülkelerinde başarılarla imza atan Türklerin Türklükleri hala övgülerle ön plana çıkarılırken gündelik hayattaki göçmen Türkler medyanın konusu olmamakta, olumsuz olaylara karışanlar ise dinamikler hiçbir şekilde göz önünde bulundurulmadan eleştirilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, gelişmeyi yönünü batıya çevirme ve batıya sırtını dönme olarak iki farklı zemine oturtan ve böylece merkezine batıyı alan söylemi ifade eden kolonyal söylem, kendini Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet gazetelerindeki ilgili yayınlarda göstermektedir.

Yine iki gazetenin yakınsadığı bir nokta emek ihracatının fayda ve zararıdır. Gazetelerdeki haberlerde sıklıkla emek göçünün Türkiye’ye döviz, yatırım, yetişmiş işgücü ve hatta temsil yoluyla reklam sağlaması sebebiyle Türkiye için Almanya’ya olduğundan daha faydalı olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, yine her iki gazete kendi içerisinde çelişmektedir. Nitekim, haberlerde emek göçünün Türkiye’ye nasıl ve ne kadar fayda sağlayacağına sık sık atıfta bulunulurken köşe yazılarında ise Türkiye’nin yetişmiş işgücünü kaybettiği yönündeki eleştiriler dikkat çekmiştir. Bunlara ek olarak, özel acentalar ve kalış süresi kategorileri de yine bekleniceleği üzere gazetelerin yakınsadığı konular arasındadır. İki gazetenin belirgin olarak birbirini ıraksadığı kategori ise Türk göçmenlere yönelik takdir ve övgüdür. Ancak, Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet’in Almanya’da takdir ve övgü toplayan göçmenlere yönelik tutumu esasen aynıdır: her iki gazete de bu kişilerden son derece olumlu bir dille, gururla bahsetmektedir. Buradaki temel fark, Cumhuriyet gazetesindeki köşe yazılarında, bu kişilerin ülkenin emek piyasasından kaybedilmesi sebebiyle hükümete yönelik yer yer ılımlı bir eleştiriyle karşılaşılmasıdır.

Sonuç olarak, bu tez çalışması, Türkiye’den Almanya’ya emek göçünün, resmi göçün ilk üç yılında Türk basınında ele alınmış sıklıklarını ve biçimlerini Milliyet ve Cumhuriyet gazeteleri üzerinden incelemiştir. Bu bağlamda, ideolojik olarak farklı noktalarda konumlanan iki gazete üzerinden karşılaştırmalı bir biçimde içerik ve söylem analizi yöntemleri yoluyla Türk basınında konuya ilişkin bir ıraksama ve yakınsama olup olmadığını, varsa hangi konularda olduğunu ortaya çıkarmak amaçlanmıştır. Her ne kadar göç hareketletisi, spesifik olarak ise Türkiye’den Almanya’ya emek göçü hareketi, tarihsel ve güncel olarak pek çok açıdan önem arz etse de bu konuya ilişkin medya çalışmaları literatüründe ciddi bir boşluk olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu tez çalışma en azından bir adım

olma idealindedir. Her ne kadar bu çalışma bir yüksek lisans tezi olması sebebiyle belli sınırların dışına çıkamasa da, gelecekte, resmi olarak Türkiye'den Almanya'ya işçi alımının yapıldığı 1961-1973 gibi daha geniş bir zaman diliminin, Türkçe ve Almanca gibi farklı dillerdeki basın ve hatta gazete ve televizyon gibi farklı medya organlarının karşılaştırmalı analizini içeren çalışmalar şüphesiz ki mevcut literatür açısından önemli katkılar sağlayacaktır.

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