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Research Article

An Investigation on the Link between International Labor Migration and Undocumented Employment: Evidence from Turkish Cinema

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ABSTRACT

Based upon a Turkish movie named after “Gurbetçi Saban (Saban the Expatriate)”; this essay analyzes the portrayal of the link between international labor migration and underground employment within the framework of Turkish immigrants in Germany. Turkish immigration to Germany in a legal context following the Labor Agreement Protocol between Turkey and Germany in October 1961 accelerated in the 1960s and converted into a massive scale thereafter. That agreement was the reflection of the mutual interests of the two states. The reason is that Germany desired to meet its employment needs so as to develop in an industrial way following World War II, which was a real catastrophe for Germans. Meanwhile, in Turkey there was both political and economic upheaval all around the country. Politically, a military coup took place on May 27, 1960 to eliminate Menderes’s Democrat Party and economically, unemployment as well as poverty pushed many to migrate from Turkey. As a matter of fact, this study is the upgraded and new format of its equivalents due to the fact that a qualitative data analysis program called as MAXQDA 2018 was utilized to ascertain Turkish immigrants’ labor market conditions, specifically the underground economy in Germany. Additionally, discourse analysis was used as the research method in the paper.

Keywords: International Migration, Labor, Labor Markets, Undocumented Employment



1. Introduction

Films are authoritative apparatuses for laying an emphasis on social problems and their struggles for raising human consciousness to combat these drawbacks (Ray, 2010). What makes a film “social”, “political”, or “cultural” is indeed its social, political, and cultural message conveyed to its audience (Agha, 2007; Agha, 2011; Johnson & Astrid, 2007; Hiramoto & Park, 2010). In fact, films have been seen as the “social construction of the reality” (Ezzedeen, 2015) since the nineteenth century when scholars comprehended the social and the political impact of the mass media (Couldry, 2004). Entman (1993) proposes the idea that movies are social messages driven, and they can be utilized for various purposes such as “promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. As seen from all these scientific explanations, films are soft power tools to reflect social realism or reality in order to mold a public opinion on a particular social problem and its solution.

The social problem discussed in this paper is “migration” and its contribution to the “underground economy”. In this study, I highlighted Turks’ immigration to Germany without work permission and their unregistered employment based on a social realist film called “Gurbetci Saban (Saban the Expatriate)”. It was made in 1985 by the Turkish director, Kartal Tibet. For theoretical and practical implications of the study, I used the studies of Hodges, Kuper & Reeves (2008), Barton (2002), Madichie (2011), Walton & Boon (2014), and Ezzedeen (2015), all of which are centered upon discourse analysis and their reflections of different genres as examples. Apart from Ezzedeen’s study (2015), in which Nvivo was used to reveal personal and professional depictions of career women in Hollywood movies, the others did not use a research program. Like Ezzedeen’s work (2015), I preferred to use MAXQDA 2018, a qualitative data analysis program, to unveil the main issues written in film script like “labor”, “immigration”, and “unregistered employment”. This is a labor movie, and it depicts the illegal working conditions of Turks in Germany.

The study consists of three sections. In the first part of the study, theoretical backgrounds are given on the issue of definitions and types of migration, international migration, and Turkish immigration to Germany. And in the second part, underground employment and its relationship with migration was explained. As for the third part of the study, the methodology of the research and the findings obtained via MAXQDA 2018 are unveiled. The study will be unique in regards to the fact that it focuses on the problem of labor markets under the name of irregular employment from a movie perspective.

2. Theory and Background

2.1. Immigration: Definitions, Types and Causes

Immigration is a sort of “mobility”, “movement”, “relocation” or “departing from a location voluntarily or unwillingly” due to particular reasons such as holiday, vacation, job changes, climate, terror activities, unemployment, pilgrimage, social chaos, economic fluctuations, human right violations, poverty, alienation, etc. Some of these justifications render people move voluntarily such as pilgrimage, holiday, education, and vacation while others are in a way push or intimidate them to be mobile (e.g., terrorism, economic crisis, alienation, poverty, unemployment, socially, politically, and economically chaotic situations) (Biçerli, 2011).

In the literature, there are numerous definitions of migration. The most important one is derived from Lee (1966), and he puts forward the idea that “*migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence*”. According to Lee’s point of view, there is no limitation concerning the distance of the movement, its voluntary or involuntary nature, and its

internal or external structure. Therefore, a movement from one apartment to the next or from India to Iowa is the same since these two actions require relocations. Nevertheless, the commencement and the consequences of these two resettlement initiatives are strikingly different (Lee, 1966). Lee (1966) also lays an emphasis on *pull and push factors* that leave an impact on the act of migration. To illustrate, “factors concerned with origin country” (i), “factors concerned with target country” (ii), “intervening handicaps” (iii), and “personal factors” (iv) are among the agents shaping immigration behavior. According to Lee (1966), “diversity of the area” (a), “diversity of people” (b), “the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacle” (c), “fluctuations in the economy” (d), “severe checks” (e), “progress in a country” (f) are the other rules to determine the intensity of, that is to say, the volume of immigration (Lee, 1966).

Ravenstein (1889) in his popular work “The Laws of Migration” defines migration as “*Migration means life and progress; a sedentary population stagnation*”. This means that the economic development, industrialization, and technological improvement are pluses for attracting people to a particular location. Here, Ravenstein (1889) gives some hints about the ‘direction’ of the immigration; that is from underdeveloped, non-industrialized, less technologically advanced territories to their opposite equivalents.

Fan and Stark (2011), in addition, noted that migration is a motive and a stimulus for someone who is concerned about enhancing her/his earnings so as to acquire an optimal “social standing”. Therefore, migration is a way to increase social wellbeing in terms of wages (Fan & Stark, 2011). On the other hand, Pieke et al. (2004) does not agree with Fan and Stark’s proposal, and they argue that the levels of income does not have a preliminary impact on one’s decision for migration. Thus, migration is beyond wage (Pieke et al., 2004). In addition, Black et al. (2006) defines migration in a holistic manner. In that, migration has some anthropological contexts, and it is the reflection of migrant’s life and interrelated to the sending country (i), migration is a density or flow determined by the migrants (ii), and it is historical resettlement owing to the fact that historical lines make home country and target country come closer (Black et al., 2006).

As for the types of migration, there are some factors or criteria to adjudge its classification. Of all these, there are distance (a), direction (b), reason (c), and duration (d) in an overall way. Lee (1966), for instance, underscores “distance” and the “reason”, and similarly, Ravenstein (1885-1889) is concerned with “distance” as well. The other scholars lay an emphasis on the fact that the categorization of migration is interrelated with the reasons. To put in another way, various scholars put forward various proposals. Aguila et. al. (2012) reference the idea that immigration is in line with the “networks”, “demand-pull”, and “supply-push”, (Aguila et al., 2012), and for Jones (1986), it is a “civil conflict” (Jones, 1989), and according to Park, migration results from “pull-push factors”, “migration networks”, “historical institutionalism (dependence and world systems theory)”, and “transnationalism” (Park, 2016). On the other side, in the paper of Rotilă (2008), in which the Romanian brain drain of healthcare workers was analyzed, immigration is “external” and happens for “financial reasons” mostly (Rotilă, 2008). De Haas (2005) is on the idea that migration is “international”, “external”, and “developmental” that reciprocally influences sending and receiving countries (De Haas, 2005). It is international and global in nature for Ahmad et al. (2008), they debated that “income inequalities” and “poverty” is the driving force behind Pakistani workers’ outflow to various countries (Ahmad et al., 2008). Akokpari (2000) suggested that there are a great many factors concerning the ultimate causes of migration such as “conflicts”, “political oppression”, “economic crisis” and “environmental factors”, and they are all reinforced by “globalization”, which is the key element for “intra and interstate migration” (Akokpari, 2000).

All these things pave the way that the variety of migration, its level and intensity is characterized by its causes.

2.2. International Labor Migration

International migration, like the others, is a phenomenon and a global mobility of individuals as well as masses, and it is characterized and sustained by “uncertainty” and it is in contradiction with the future expectations. This can be interpreted in a way that vagueness gives birth to world-wide population flows as people do not reckon what will happen next in their home countries. However, it is too challenging to predict the migration and its future (Bijak et al., 2008) because the inclinations of international migration are settled by a great many parameters. Demographic peculiarities, economic and social upheavals, political elements, international networks, history, and the culture play leading roles for this relocation. At the same time, globalization and the neo-liberal hurricanes have opened a new page for this supranational activity as “new destinations” and “unforeseen connections” have become visible (Bonifazi, 2008).

Hugo (2010), Adamson (2006), and Jennissen (2007) stressed in their viewpoints that globalization emerged in the 1980s and paved the way for international migration. That’s to say, globalization shaped the global migratory flows and made them universal (Hugo, 2006; Adamson, 2006; Jennissen, 2007). Nonetheless, Koser (2007) dated international migration back to the origins of mankind to the Rift Valley from where Homo erectus and sapiens spread into the Europea. He, moreover, shares the definition of the United Nations on international migration and utters that “*international migration is a kind of migration used for those who remain in other countries for at least a year* (Koser, 2007).”

Miro and Potter (1979) defined international migration “*as the neglected stepchild of demography, a discipline that is very prone to the simplifying assumption of a “closed population.”*” Nevertheless, international migration has a momentous role in the improvement of developed and developing countries, and it is a pushing force for economic welfare and wealth (Miró & Potter, 1979).

Koser (2010) stated international migration as a term that “*does not include people who move for shorter periods of time, for example, as students, people on professional secondment, or tourists (the term mobility is increasingly used to capture this wider range of cross border movements)*”. To the idea of Koser (2010) again, those exposed to international migration are the international migrants, and their numbers have been rising in a swift way for a few decades and they constitute nearly 3 percent of the global population. There were about 214 million global migrants in 2008, which means an increase of virtually 40 million in the first decade of the 21st century (Koser, 2010).

Barrientos (2007) summarizes the determinants of international migration under four categories. He takes “*network effect*” (a), “*cost of moving*” (b), “*pull and push factors*” (c, d) into consideration to unveil the reasons for this population flow. First and foremost, “*network effect*” (a) is utilized to refer to the linkage between those who have already migrated to a particular country with the new ones who desire to move. Social networks, established well beforehand, facilitate the adaptation and the learning process of new comers. “*Cost of moving*” (b) is another crucial factor for global migration, and it is related to the monetary issues. The more distant, the more overpriced it is to move. “*Pull factors*” (c) are correlated with the “attractiveness” of the target countries like ‘employment’, GDP levels whereas *push factors* (d) are interrelated with origin countries, and they pressurize for movement (Barrientos, 2007).

3. Turkish Immigration to Germany

Turkish labor mobility to Germany is a good example for international migration. The immigration of Turkish labor to Germany is a long process, and it is to be assessed from several stages beginning from the 1960s. Turkish migration policies in those years expanded the migratory flow from Mediterranean Basin to industrial Western Europe. The primary aim of Turkish policymakers was to reduce unemployment rates by exporting the labor surplus to the West and to enhance the level of foreign exchange inflow. However, these initiatives resulted in some unintended results as well (Sayari, 1986; Abadan-Unat, 1975).

Following 1961, when the Labor Agreement Protocol was signed between Germany and Turkey to meet the labor shortage (demand) in Germany, the first laborers, moving willingly due to economic and political problems in Turkey, were recruited. Initially, economic instabilities such as unemployment and poverty played a leading role for migration. Political upheavals came second because the 1960 military coup took place, and it blurred what would happen next for the upcoming years politically. Risking the negative sides of the movement, thousands of migrants decided to move in order to earn money to guarantee their lives in their home countries, and then they wanted to go back. Later on, however, their numbers increased as their families joined them (White, 1995), and for example, in Berlin, to the viewpoint of Caglar (2004), Turks and Turkish language is “in the air” as their numbers have risen drastically for a few decades (see Table 1) (Caglar, 2004). To give an example, from 1960 to 1971, the numbers of Turkish migrants rose to 452,700 in 1971, which was just 2,500 in 1960 (Der Bundesminister für Arbeit und Sozial Ordnung No. IIc, 1971; Völker, 1976). To develop a holistic viewpoint, it is crucial to analyze immigration of Turkish labor on the basis of five stages (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

Table 1: Turkish Workers Employed in Germany (1960-1971)

| Date | Foreign Workers | Percentage (%) | Country |
|------------|----------------------------------|---|---------|
| | Total Foreign Workers (x1000) | In Percent of Total Working Population | Turkey |
| 31.07.1960 | 279.4 | 1.3 | 2,500 |
| 30.09.1961 | 548.9 | 2.5 | - |
| 30.09.1962 | 711.5 | 3.2 | 18,600 |
| 30.09.1963 | 828.7 | 3.7 | 33,000 |
| 30.09.1964 | 985.6 | 4.4 | 85,200 |
| 30.09.1965 | 1,216.8 | 5.7 | 132,800 |
| 30.09.1966 | 1,313.5 | 6.1 | 161,200 |
| 30.09.1967 | 991.3 | 4.7 | 131,300 |
| 30.09.1968 | 1,089.9 | 5.2 | 153,000 |
| 30.09.1969 | 1,501.4 | 7.0 | 244,300 |
| 30.09.1970 | 1,949.0 | 9.1 | 353,900 |
| 30.09.1971 | 2,239.3 | 10.3 | 452,700 |

Source: (Der Bundesminister für Arbeit und Sozial Ordnung No. IIc, 1971; Völker, 1976).

3.3.1. Turkish Labors' Illegal Entrance to Germany (1950): 1950s is the time when capital was urbanized in Turkey. This is also the term on which some illegal entrance to Germany from Turkey took place in view of the fact that there was not a legal agreement between these two countries. The first illegal group consisted of several Turkish craftsmen in 1957. The flow of migration happened on the basis of individual initiatives and private mediators. This was a sort of illegal migration as illegal migrants desired to come back in a short of time to invest in Turkey,

home country, or to purchase something like house, land, tractor, and harvester, and the primary objective was to enhance their life standards and welfares (Yildirimoglu, 2005; Abadan-Unat, 2006).

3.3.2. Reciprocal Agreements and Legal Migration (1960): In 1960, Germany was on the verge of industrialization, but there was a labor shortage due to World War II. That's why Germany needed low skilled labor and started labor recruitment under the name of "guestworkers". A great many of those labors, who were underrepresented and who had low level of income as well as education, came from Turkey in a legal way by means of guarantee of "Agreement of Labor Recruitment" signed in 1961 between two states (Becker, 2011; Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). Thus, the Labor Recruitment Agreement was the first legal initiative and turning point in the history of Turkish migratory flow from Turkey to Germany as it legalized immigration.

3.3.3. Recruitment Stoppage Owing to Oil Crisis (1970): There are some economic crises affecting the world economy in a negative way, which is quite obvious in the literature. Amidst these, the Great Depression (1929) and World Oil Crisis (1973) are quite prominent. In the aftermath of those crises, global economic policies altered radically. For example, Great Depression in 1929 or let's say, "Black Thursday", paved the way for liberalism and free market economy clichéd with the slogan of "Laissez faire, Laissez passer." and as for World Oil Crisis, it reinforced the settlement of liberalism and transformed it into neoliberalism. Both liberalism and neoliberalism, the new and spicy version of liberalism, entail private ownership and state that intervention is strongly opposed. The World Oil Crisis stemmed from oil sanctions imposed by Arab states since the USA assisted Israel in the Yom Kippur War (Rüdiger, 2014); in particular, the economies of modernized and industrialized countries were badly influenced and the cost of manufacturing rose and the cost driven inflation emerged. Therefore, the 1973 Oil Crisis halted the immigration flow from the Mediterranean Region, which was the case for Turkey as well (Laurence, 2001).

3.3.4. Assisting Return Policies (1980): Mainly, the 1973 Oil Crisis stemming in global oil shortage (Türk, 2014) and the cons of neoliberal hurricanes; besides, educational problems of migrants' kids as well as the drawback of adaptation made migrant families question their status in Germany. What I intend to emphasize is the idea that neoliberalism, occurring in parallel to the economic crisis and globalization, rendered markets universal and free, and it minimized labor markets and employment facilities. To put in another way, they commenced to contemplate on getting back. So, the employment capability of industrialized economies including Germany decreased. Moreover, social and political problems and having been considered as "outsider" forced Turkish immigrants in Germany to come back to Turkey (Sevimli, 2000).

3.3.5. Ethnic and Religion Oriented Clashes Because of Xenophobia (1990): With the collapse of Berlin Wall that made the Eastern Germany integrate with its western equivalent, neoliberal hurricanes and the trend for globalization perpetuated in 1990s. They opened a new page for German labor markets, which was stated well in advance. The decline of industry and the replacement of the service sector, furthermore, the diminishing role of trade unions in the German economy in line with the labor market flexibility all over the course of the world, minimalized labor, yet it maximized the capital. This globalization and flexibility process enforced German labor and labor markets a drastic change, and the need for blue collar workers dwindled, too. Thinking

about the fact that most of the Turkish immigrants, especially the first generation, are poorly educated; the reality of unemployment, harsher than before, came to the fore. Also, the reduction of employment capacity of German labor markets sparked a discussion about the convenience of international migrants in Germany including Turks. That's why, xenophobia came to the forefront, and the places of Turks in Germany and their legitimacies were disputed (Hassel, 2006).

4. Underground Employment

In the aftermath of immigration, underground employment, which is so widespread in both developing and developed countries, is the main skeleton of the study. In this section of the study, the fundamental framework and the content of clandestine employment in association with migration will be presented. In the literature, underground employment is linked with various terms such as "black", "informal", "clandestine", "unregistered", "shadow", "undeclared", "hidden", or "unrecorded". All these terms are used to refer to economic activities or types of employment that are not under the control of governments. That's why, if it is acceded as an economic activity, it is "untaxed" or it is "premium free" providing that it is a type of employment. In all these cases, there is an illegal activity independent from the pursuit of governments or states (Fleming, Roman & Farrell, 2000).

In the literature, various definitions of underground employment are available. At first, it is to be mentioned that informal employment lays an emphasis on the employment category, which does not include social protection, and which is free from social security procedures (Chen & Vanek, 2013). That's why, informal employment is an undesired and defacto sort of employment phenomena in labor markets, and it is frequently rejected (Williams, 2011). Also, informal employment is regarded as a "marginal" employment philosophy and concept, which gives rise to a negative atmosphere not only for labor markets and labor relations, but also for economic welfare and "social cohesion" (Williams & Round, 2007). For Davis (2006), it is the modern version of primitive labor exploitation, which is sustained and refreshed through globalization that enforces competition all over the world. According to Williams, Round & Rodgers, (2011), informal employment brings about economic and social isolation from the rest of the world, and employees working under these conditions cannot benefit from state stimulus and beneficiaries since they are uninsured. All these definitions given beforehand by Fleming and Farrell (2000), Chen and Vanek (2013), Williams (2011), Williams and Round (2007), Davis (2006), and Williams and Rodgers (2011) reference that informal employment is characterized by "unavailable social protection", "residual work", "illegal alternative to formal employment", "a barrier for economic development", "work and labor exploitation", "system of free state benefit", and "workers exit from formal labor". To my point of view, informal employment as contrary to its formal equivalent is the direct exploitation of labor in labor markets, and it creates masses, who are socially uninsured, economically impoverished, and so, they do not have any guarantees like insurance, social securities, state beneficiaries, retirements, and so on.

4.1. Universal Literature about the Correlation between Migration and Underground Work

There are a great many studies conducted in the literature that concentrate on the correlation between migration and shadow employment. At first, Bosh and Farre (2013) carried out empirical research, and they formed an econometric model by utilizing migrant flows for Spanish provinces between 2000 and 2009. They found out that there was a close correlation between immigration and unregistered employment. They estimated that there would be 3% and 8% increase in unrecorded employment providing that the immigration flow enhanced to 10% (Bosh & Farre, 2013).

Simcox (1997), furthermore, analyzes the informalization of the economy from various perspectives including “The Laissez Faire Perspective”, “Radical and Neo-Marxist Perspective”, “Pragmatist View”, and “The Regulationist View”. “The Laissez Faire Perspective” brings capitalist ideology and free market economy to the fore that workers are to be employed with a minimum wage for maximum profit. “Radical and Neo-Marxist Perspective”, on the other hand, shares the notion that informal economy is not a distortion; in stark contrast, it is the part of the national economy. “Pragmatist View” ensures that immigration and the immigrants from developing or underdeveloped countries open the path for the underground economy as it is quite regular for those economies, what I imply; irregularity is converted into regularity. Last but not least, “Regulationist View” deduces that the shadow economy stimulates low wage migration (Simcox, 1997). Reyneri (1998) also concludes that migrants work in unregistered jobs due to migrant surplus and their low level of productivity. That’s why, there is an actual connection between the qualifications of the migrant workers and the type of the labor markets where they are employed (Reyneri, 1998).

Black (2003) puts immigration and unregistered employment into analysis based upon European asylum seekers. The legal migration has become restricted following 1951 Geneva Convention and so, illegal ones such as “undocumented”, “irregular”, “clandestine”, and the others have derived. The paper has been built on three assumptions. The first one is that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of migrants moving to Europe and the other northern states through “illegal” means. Secondly, people have been increasing their concern with taking immediate action to halt “illegal” migration. Thirdly, social scientists, in particular, are in view of the fact that migrants are the victims of “human traffickers” (Black, 2003).

Jandl et al. (2010) emphasizes the correlation between undocumented migration and employment in Austria. They argue that this relationship is a sort of ‘hot’ topic debated by European countries’ academia and residents. As a matter of fact, the content and the density of the arguments vary from one country to the next depending upon their economic as well as political structures. However, the arguments center on two issues. The first one is its reason, and the second one is its solution (cause and effect phenomena) (Jandl et al., 2010). So as to detect the correlation between these two items, they conducted a qualitative study through Delphi technique. They came to the point that free tax system and social security implementations because of irregular work of migrants led to cost advantage for employers (Jandl et al., 2010).

Zlalniski (1994) views that informal economy due to migration is not the case for developing or underdeveloped countries only, yet still it is the case for developed states as well. The transformation of Silicon Valley from industrial to service sector in the 1980s can be given as an example. This transition was conducted via subcontracting, flexible work, all of which was carried out by Mexican immigrant workers, and this initiative led to the emergence of informal labor markets (Zlalniski, 1994).

Espenshade (1995) examined unauthorized immigration and its causes and effects on the US labor markets. In this study, it was concluded that immigration is created by pull and push factors, which determine the volume of undocumented migration. Furthermore, Espenshade (1995) is on the idea that unregistered migration flows do not badly affect the labor markets in contrast to the general public thought (Espenshade, 1995). Unlike Espenshade (1995), Baganha, et al. (2006) contemplates that migration driven from the economic as well as social institutions of a particular nation is not a natural process; in stark contrast, it is principally sustained by economic incapability, and it brings about “unintended results” like undocumented migrants who are unwelcome but meaningful for segmented labor markets (Baganha, et al., 2006).

Besim and Jenkins (2006) focused on free labor movement activity between Turkey and Northern Cyprus. They revealed that the free movement initiative gave rise to the accumulation of informal employees in Northern Cyprus. According to the findings between 1996 and 2000, clandestine employment constitutes 35% and 40% of total labor force, and fiscal losses are forecasted to be virtually 9% percent of the total tax revenue as social security revenue deficit is about 38% of total income (Besim & Jenkins, 2006).

McCaig and Pavenik (2015) deduce some realities from labor markets in Vietnam, a rapidly industrialized, globalized, but low-income country, concerning labor market mobility and hidden employment. At first, younger generations, especially those who are migrants show a general tendency to work in the formal sector, and they remain there perpetually. Secondly, informal employment share declines due to changes “between and within birth cohorts”. In addition, the transition of younger, educated, male, and urban workers to the formal sector are quicker than those in informal employment while illiterate, older, and rural workers are unwilling to go to the formal labor. At last, formalization is closely in connection with occupational advancement (McCaig & Paycnik, 2015).

Raijman (2001) analyzes the relationship between informal employment and Mexican immigrants. She comes to the point that undocumented employment is a sort of economic activity for Mexican immigrant women who support their family through informal employment. These immigrants deal with shadow jobs like “street vending”, “house repairs”, and “baby sitting” (Raijman, 2001).

5. Methodology and Research Questions

The paper is fundamentally built upon the qualitative analysis of a popular Turkish movie that focuses on Turkish workers’ immigration to Germany. For qualitative research, I used MAXQDA 2018 program, which is quite common for qualitative and exploratory papers. At first, I conducted a Google search on the films that deal with Turkish immigration to Germany by means of the key words like “Turkish Labor in Germany”, “Turks’ Migration to Germany”, “Films on Turkish Mobility to Germany”, and “Turkish Movies and Germany”. I detected virtually 30 films about Turkish labor migration to Germany such as “Bir Türk’e Gönül Verdim (I Lost my Heart to a Turk, 1969)”, “Baba (The Father, 1961)”, “Dönüş (Return, 1972)”, “El Kapisi (Foreign Land, 1974)”, “Almanyali Yarım (My Love from Germany, 1974)”, “Almanya’da Bir Türk Kızı (A Turkish Girl in Germany, 1974)”, “Almanya Acı Vatan (Germany: A Painful Land, 1979)”, “Banker Bilo (Banker Bilo, 1980)”, “Düğün (Wedding, 1981)”, “Komsumuz Balta Ailesi (Our Neighbor Balta Family, 1983)”, “Melek Gidiyor (Angel is Going, 1985)”, “Gurbetçi Saban (Saban the Expatriate, 1985)”, “En Alttakiler (The Nethermosts, 1986)”, “Kirk Metre Kare Almanya (Forty Square Meters Germany, 1986)”, “Sari Mercedes (Yellow Mercedes, 1987)”, “Dogum Günün Kutlu Olsun (Happy Birthday to You, 1986)”, “Yasemin (Jasmine, 1988)”, “Polizei (Policeman, 1988)”, “Sahte Cennete Veda (Farewell to Fake Paradise, 1988)”, “Berlin in Berlin (Berlin in Berlin, 1993)”, “Duvara Karsi (Against the Wall, 2004)”, “Kebab Connection (2004)”, “Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul/İstanbul Hatirasi (Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul/The Memory of İstanbul (2005)”, “Acimasiz (Unmerciful, 2006)”, “Yasamin Kiyisinda (On the Edge of the Life, 2007)”, Bahti Acik (Fortunate, 2008)”, “Bunu Gerçekten Yapmalı mıyım? (Shall I really do It?, 2009)”, “Yedek Memleket, (Extra Hometown, 2010)”, and “Willkommen in Deutschland? (Welcome to Germany?, 2011)” (Piskin, 2010).

Of all these movies, “Gurbetçi Saban (Saban the Expatriate, 1985)” is the best example that depicts the working conditions of Turkish labor in Germany without any legal authorization, that

is to say, in an underground manner. Therefore, I watched the film over and over and read the film script again and again and came to the point that the film is related to three parameters thematically and categorically: “*labor*” (i), “*immigration*” (ii), and “*unregistered employment*” (iii). These are also the codes written in MAXQDA 2018 as well. “Labor” is the initial code formed as the movie is about Turkish labors working circumstances in German labor markets, “immigration” is the second theme because it is related to the Turkish employees’ immigration to Germany, and as for “unregistered employment”, it means unauthorized work of Turks in German factories and plants. Unregistered employment is the main code; however, I created some other sub- codes for “immigration” (n=11) as well as “labor” (n=10), which are also in relevance to the main code. To illustrate, *travel, Turkey, Germany, firm, codriver, driver, break, bus, München, Köln, Passport* are the sub- codes for “immigration” whereas *craftsman, German mark, urlaub, permission, money, hour, daily wage, factory, employee, and work* are the cases for “labor”.

Depending upon three codes and the other sub-codes, I found out that the films are basically concerned with immigration, labor markets and clandestine employment. Actually, the research questions are as in the followings:

RQ1. To what extent do the movies depict the labor and their working conditions?

RQ2. Does immigration possess positive or negative influences on the labor markets? Is it really a mobility or a handicap?

RQ3. What is the correlation between immigration and unregistered employment?

This qualitative and exploratory study used “discourse analysis” as the method of the research so as to depict the unregistered employment in a Turkish movie called “Gurbetci Saban (Saban the Expatriate)” (Wodak & Krzyzanovwky, 2008). Discourse analysis is concerned with the use of language. It refers to the analysis of words, sentences, conversation, phrases, visual images , and etc. It pays attention to the use of language in context, and it discovers the peculiarities of the language (Barton, 2002; Van Dijk, 1994).

Actually, there are three approaches to discourse analysis, that is to say, types such as “linguistic discourse analysis” (LDC), “critical discourse analysis” (CDA), and “empirical discourse analysis” (EDA) (Hodges, Kuper & Reeves, 2008). LDC studies oral or written texts (Hodges, Kuper, and Reeves, 2008). CDA analyzes the sociocultural background to comprehend a particular phenomenon and to reach to some certain judgments on what is behind the curtains as the discourse is transparent strength (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Stenner & Marshall, 199; De Saussure, 2011; Huckin, Andrus & Clary-Lemon, 2012; Van Dijk, 1993). CDA includes social problems, ideological viewpoints, and historical contents (Fairclough & Ruth, 1996). EDA, notwithstanding, is used for extensive language structures like conversation analysis (Hodges, Kuper & Reeves, 2008).

In this study, all three sorts of discourse analysis were used. LCD is utilized for the linguistic analysis of the film script. As an example, word length, sentence length, the characters of coded sections were taken into consideration within the framework of LCD. CDA, as stated beforehand, is something like reading between the lines or predicting “subliminal” or “esoteric” messages. Hence, depending upon the film script and the scenes, the idea behind those statements and episodes was interpreted. At last, EDA is a key concept for conversation analysis, which is the case for the analysis of this film script.

6. Case Background: Gurbetci Saban (Saban the Expatriate)

Gurbetci Saban (Saban the Expatriate) is the case of the study. It was filmed in 1985, and the director is Kartal Tibet, one of the most prestigious actors as well as film makers in Turkish cinema. This

movie elucidates severe working conditions of Turkish immigrants in Germany, in particular, their unregistered employment. The first scene of the movie is Saban, the main character, traveling to Germany by bus. He arrives in Germany and wants to work there. However, he does not have any work permission, so he commences to work illegally in a factory, whose owner is also a mercenary German called Hans. Hans confiscates Saban's passport by threatening him for denouncing police officers, and Saban has to work there in return for a minimum wage in the worst working conditions. As stated well in advance, there is an iron law of wages, and the workers get poisoned everyday due to rotten food. This is actually the reflection of labor exploitation as well. On the other hand, Saban is not the only employee employed in an unregistered way in that plant, yet still, there are many other Turkish workers exposed to that situation. All of them have become members of irregular employment.



Figure 1: Saban's First Step for Making Business

URL 1 (02 May 2021)

Thinking the other side of the coin, Saban perseveres to overcome those sorts of labor market problems, he struggles against industrialization with agrarian and village culture. At first, he merchandizes a cow and starts to feed it in his own home naturally, and sells its milk to Germans. Saban's milk is favored by Germans, and he maximizes his profit day by day and at the end of the film, he becomes one of the capital owners in Germany. He, with his intelligence and perseverance, even purchases Han's factory, his home, and everything.

6.1. Casting

The main actors of the movie "Gurbetçi Saban (Saban the Expatriate)" are Kemal Sunal (as Saban), Muge Akyamac (as Bahar), Yavuzer Cetinkaya (as Fritz), Reha Yurdakul (as master Huseyin), Baykal Kent (as German foreman), Ferhan Tanseli (as German factory owner Hans), and Ayten Erman (as Hans's wife) (URL 2, 02 May 2021). Concerning labor relations, immigration, and informal employment, the main character is Saban, who personifies the immigrant workers' problems as a whole, and he is far more decisive in finding solutions. To illustrate, other Turkish workers are quite pessimistic about the handicap of rotten food and say that: "There is not a remedy for this" (Film Script, 1985). Nonetheless, Saban utters that "With God's help, we find." (Film

Script, 1985). As a matter of fact, the movie sheds light on the issue of immigration and its unwanted results. The leading negative consequence is unregistered employment. Unfortunately, low qualifications of Turkish labor, their level of education, and their language problems prepare the ground for undocumented employment. Therefore, it is to be assured that the movie deals with two social issues: primarily immigration and secondarily clandestine employment .

7. Data Analysis and Findings

The film is analyzed utilizing a qualitative discourse analysis. All three types of discourse analysis, like “LCD” for language/linguistic seek, “CDA” for hidden messages, and “EDA” for dialogues, are used to analyze surface and intended meaning. There are various software programs to be used for qualitative study, such as Atlas, Nvivo, Maxqda, and CMAP3 (Puebla & Davidson, 2012). I preferred to analyze the data using MAXQDA 2018, which is a visual and technical tool commonly used for content and discourse analysis as well. The interface of MAXQDA software is similar to WINDOWS, and it basically has four windows such as “document system”, “system code”, “document browser”, and “retrieved segments”. The document system and the document browser are utilized to obtain data from textual, pictorial or video-oriented materials. The system code, in addition, provides the opportunity for writing codes or sub-codes related to the theme or themes to be analyzed. The retrieved segments are in close relationship with checking the coded material (Oliveira et al., 2015).

Table 2: Code Matrix Browser Analysis of the Codes (Using MAXQDA)



The film script was put into analysis based upon three particular codes such as “immigration”, “labor”, and “unregistered employment”, which is in line with the theoretical arguments of the study. Besides, 11 sub-codes for “immigration” (e.g., *travel, Turkey, Germany, firm, codriver, driv-*

er, break, bus, München, Köln, passport), and 10 sub-codes for “labor” (e.g. craftsman, German mark, urlaub, permission, money, hour, daily wage, factory, employee, work) were formed. There is not a sub-code for unregistered employment. For these categorizations, 78 codes for “immigration”, 143 codes for “labor”, and 19 codes for “unregistered employment” were noted down. 240 codes were formed in total. Also, 37 scenes for labor and 19 scenes for clandestine employment were determined in the movie as well. These codes were written in accordance with the thematic overview of the study. The codes were generally assigned to the words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs that overlap with the contextual meaning of the main codes. Looking through the code matrix browser analysis of the codes above, it can be stated that the movie is basically centered around “labor” initially, “immigration”, and their “undocumented employment”, respectively (Table 2).

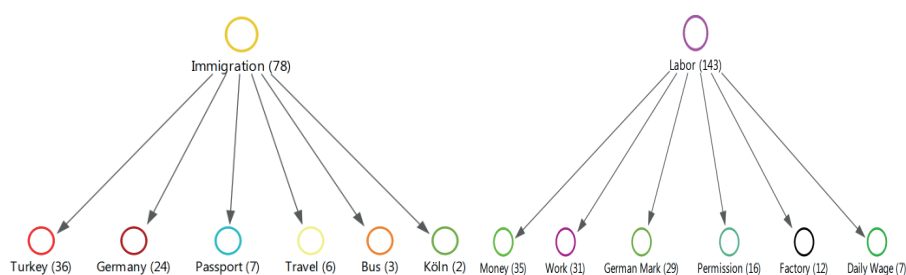


Figure 2: Hierarchical Code Sub-Code Model for “Immigration” and “Labor” (Using MAXQDA)

According to the hierarchical code sub-code model for “immigration” and “labor” (using MAXQDA), it is revealed that 78 sub-codes for “immigration” and 143 sub-codes for “labor” were formed. Most of the sub-codes belong to the main code of “labor” (n=143). Immigration” comes with 78 sub-codes (n=78). There is not a sub-code for unregistered employment; it has some main codes (n=19). This unveils the fact that the film is closely concerned with labor issues, mainly immigration, and then undocumented employment. The movie, *Gurbetçi Saban* (Saban the Expatriate) lays an emphasis on labor market problems stemming from migratory flows. The main problem in the film is “unregistered employment” (Figure 2). Through content analysis, 19 scenes were detected concerning unregistered employment. The unregistered employment in the film is referred with the phrase “work permission”. The scenes on unregistered employment are based upon Heim (1st Scene), Metro Station (2nd Scene), Hans’s Factory (3rd Scene), Hans’s Factory (4th Scene), Hans’s Factory (5th Scene), Hans’s Factory (6th Scene), Hans’s Factory (7th Scene), Hans’s Factory (8th Scene), Park (9th Scene), Hans’s Factory (10th Scene), Hans’s Factory (11th Scene), Hans’s Factory (12th Scene), ABC Bank (13th Scene), Hans’s Factory (14th Scene), Hans’s Factory (15th Scene), Hans’s Factory (16th Scene), Bus Station (17th Scene), Bus Station (18th Scene), and Hans’s Factory (19th Scene). The unregistered employment is basically related to Hans’s factory (n=13). As the plant owner and German businessman, Hans forces Turkish immigrants to work illegally. Unfortunately, in the film, the way capital owners exploit the labor is depicted. For instance, Hans’s secretary tells him that: “Fritz (an unregistered employee hunter of Hans) has brought a new Turkish employee. He does not have a work permit (26:42)”, and Hans says: “Good,

tell him to come right away (26:47)” (Yüksel, 2017).

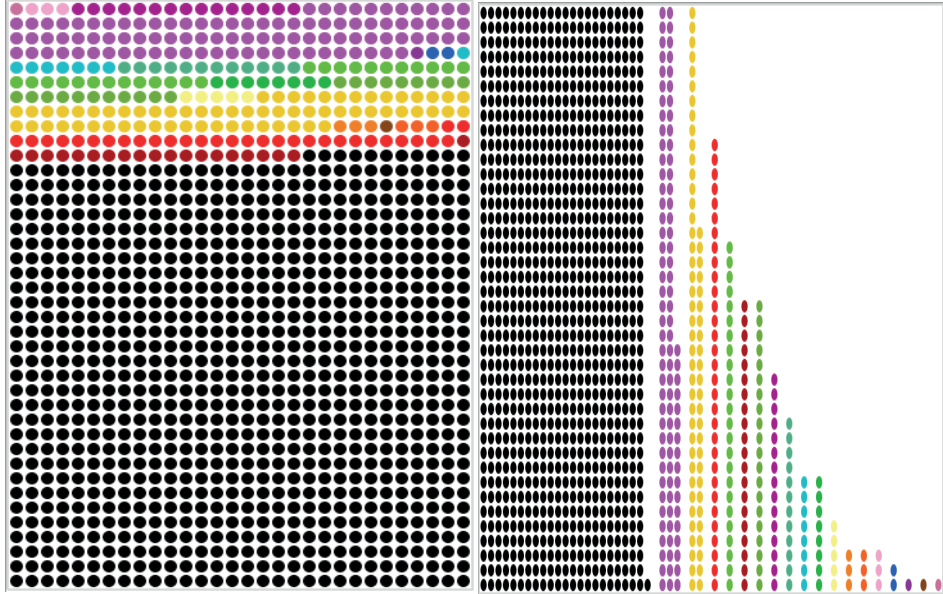


Figure 3: Document Portrait Analysis of the Movie, Gurbetci Saban (Saban the Expatriate) (Using MAXQDA)

The thematic content and the discourse analyses of the movie Gurbetci Saban (Saban the Expatriate) were conducted through MAXQDA 2018 program. By means of document portrait of the text, one can easily comprehend what the text is about. Here, the color (●) represents “unregistered employment”, (●) is used for “labor”, (●) for “work”, (●) for “money”, (●) for “immigration”, (●) for “Turkey”, (●) for “Germany”, (●) for “daily wage”, (●) for “passport”, (●) for “Köln” and etc. As seen from these representations and the document portrait analysis, the text mainly centers on “unregistered employment”, “labor”, and “immigration”. Unlike the Matrix Browser Analysis of the Codes and Hierarchical Code Sub-code Model for “Immigration” and “Labor” (Using MAXQDA), document portrait analysis puts an emphasis on the fact that the movie is unregistered employment driven (Figure 3).

Table 3: Code Frequencies (Using MAXQDA)

| Codes | Frequency (n) | Percentage (%) |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Labor | 143 | 30.56 |
| Immigration | 78 | 16.67 |
| Turkey | 36 | 7.69 |
| Money | 35 | 7.48 |
| Work | 31 | 6.62 |
| German Mark | 29 | 6.20 |
| Germany | 24 | 5.13 |
| Unregistered Employment | 19 | 4.06 |
| Permission | 16 | 3.42 |
| Factory | 12 | 2.56 |
| Daily Wage | 7 | 1.50 |
| Passport | 7 | 1.50 |
| Travel | 6 | 1.28 |
| Employee | 6 | 1.28 |
| Hour | 5 | 1.07 |
| Bus | 3 | 0.64 |
| Craftsman | 3 | 0.64 |
| Urlaub | 2 | 0.43 |
| Köln | 2 | 0.43 |
| Firm | 1 | 0.21 |
| Codriver | 1 | 0.21 |
| Driver | 1 | 0.21 |
| Break | 1 | 0.21 |
| München | 0 | 0.00 |
| TOTAL | 468 | 100.00 |

As emphasized previously, there are three main codes in total: “labor”, “immigration”, and “unregistered employment”. The frequency of these main codes is distributed as $n=143$ (30.56%) for “labor” and $n=78$ (16.67%) for “immigration”. The sub-codes are distributed as $n=36$ (7.69%) for “Turkey”, $n=35$ (7.48%) for “money”, $n=31$ (6.62%) for “work”, $n=29$ (6.20%) for “German Mark”, $n=24$ (5.13%) for “Germany”, $n=19$ (4.06%) for “unregistered employment”, $n=16$ (3.42%) for “permission”, $n=12$ (2.56%) for “factory”, $n=7$ (1.50%) for “daily wage”, $n=7$ (1.50%) for “passport”, $n=6$ (1.28%) for “travel”, $n=6$ (1.28%) for “employee”, $n=5$ (1.07%) for “hour”, $n=3$ (0.64%) for “bus”, $n=3$ (0.64%) for “craftsman”, $n=2$ (0.43%) for “urlaub”, $n=2$ (0.43%) for “Köln”, $n=1$ (0.21%) for “firm”, $n=1$ (0.21%) for “codriver”, $n=1$ (0.21%) for “driver”, $n=1$ (0.21%) for “break”, and $n=0$ (0.00%) for “München”. For main codes, the highest frequency belongs to “labor” ($n=143$) while for sub-codes, it is “Turkey” ($n=36$), which is the sub-code for “immigration”. On the other hand, concerning main codes, unregistered employment possesses the lowest frequency ($n=19$) whereas München, which is also the sub-code of “immigration”, has the same characteristics with “unregistered employment” in regards to its lowest equivalent for sub-codes ($n=0$) (Table 3).

Table 4: Code Coverage (The Characters of Coded Sections) (Using MAXQDA)

| | Frequency (n) | Percentage (%) | Percentage (%) (Valid) |
|--------------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Unregistered Employment | 5057 | 17.29 | 87.61 |
| Labor | 562 | 1.92 | 9.74 |
| Immigration | 392 | 1.34 | 6.79 |
| Turkey | 150 | 0.51 | 2.60 |
| Money | 140 | 0.48 | 2.43 |
| Germany | 118 | 0.40 | 2.04 |
| German Mark | 118 | 0.40 | 2.04 |
| Factory | 75 | 0.26 | 1.30 |
| Permission | 64 | 0.22 | 1.11 |
| Work | 62 | 0.21 | 1.07 |
| Passport | 56 | 0.19 | 0.97 |
| Daily Wage | 49 | 0.17 | 0.85 |
| Travel | 30 | 0.10 | 0.52 |
| Employee | 24 | 0.08 | 0.42 |
| Hour | 20 | 0.07 | 0.35 |
| Bus | 18 | 0.06 | 0.31 |
| Craftsman | 12 | 0.04 | 0.21 |
| Urlaub | 12 | 0.04 | 0.21 |
| Köln | 9 | 0.03 | 0.16 |
| Codriver | 7 | 0.02 | 0.12 |
| Firm | 5 | 0.02 | 0.09 |
| Break | 4 | 0.01 | 0.07 |
| Driver | 3 | 0.01 | 0.05 |
| München | 0 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Coded | 5772 | 19.73 | 100.00 |
| Uncoded | 23478 | 80.27 | - |
| Whole Text | 29250 | 100.00 | - |

Looking through the code coverage (the characters of the coded sections), it can be affirmed that the main code called “*unregistered employment*” comes first ($n=5057$; 17.29%; 87.61% ‘*valid*’), which means that the text basically keeps undocumented employment attentions. “*Labor*” with ($n=562$; 1.92%; 9.74 ‘*valid*’) code coverage comes second. As for the third code, “*immigration*” plays a certain ground with ($n=392$; 1.34%; 6.79 ‘*valid*’). The distributions of other sub-code coverage are stated as follows : “*Turkey*” ($n=150$; 0.51%; 2.60% ‘*valid*’); “*Money*” ($n=140$; 0.48%; 2.43% ‘*valid*’); “*Germany*” ($n=118$; 0.40%; 2.04% ‘*valid*’); “*German Mark*” ($n=118$; 0.40%; 2.04% ‘*valid*’); “*Factory*” ($n=75$; 0.26%; 1.30% ‘*valid*’); “*Permission*” ($n= 64$; 0.22%; 1.11% ‘*valid*’); “*Work*” ($n=62$; 0.21%; 1.07% ‘*valid*’); “*Passport*” ($n=56$; 0.19%; 0.97% ‘*valid*’); “*Daily Wage*” ($n= 49$; 0.17%; 0.85% ‘*valid*’); “*Travel*” ($n=30$; 0.10%; 0.52% ‘*valid*’); “*Employee*” ($n=24$; 0.08%; 0.42% ‘*valid*’); “*Hour*” ($n=20$; 0.07%; 0.35% ‘*valid*’); “*Bus*” ($n=18$; 0.06%; 0.31% ‘*valid*’); “*Craftsman*” ($n=12$; 0.04%; 0.21% ‘*valid*’); “*Urlaub*” ($n=12$; 0.04%; 0.21% ‘*valid*’); “*Köln*” ($n=9$; 0.03%; 0.16 % ‘*valid*’); “*Codriver*” ($n=7$; 0.02%; 0.12% ‘*valid*’); “*Firm*” ($n=5$; 0.02%; 0.09% ‘*valid*’); “*Break*” ($n=4$; 0.01%; 0.07% ‘*valid*’); “*Driver*” ($n=3$; 0.01%; 0.05% ‘*valid*’); and “*München*” ($n=0$; 0.00%; 0.00% ‘*valid*’). Also, the coded segments constitute 19.73% of the passage ($n= 5772$) while the uncoded part is the majority of the text ($n=23478$; 80.27%) (Table 4).

Table 5: Frequency of Sub-codes of “Immigration” and “Labor” (Using MAXQDA)

| Sub-codes of “Immigration” | Categories (n) | Frequency (%) | Sub-codes of “Labor” | Categories (n) | Frequency (%) |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Turkey | 36 | 43.90 | Money | 35 | 23.97 |
| Germany | 24 | 29.27 | Work | 31 | 21.23 |
| Passport | 7 | 8.54 | German Mark | 29 | 19.86 |
| Travel | 6 | 7.32 | Permission | 16 | 10.96 |
| Bus | 3 | 3.66 | Factory | 12 | 8.22 |
| Köln | 2 | 2.44 | Daily Wage | 7 | 4.79 |
| Break | 1 | 1.22 | Employee | 6 | 4.11 |
| Firm | 1 | 1.22 | Hour | 5 | 3.42 |
| Codriver | 1 | 1.22 | Craftsman | 3 | 2.05 |
| Driver | 1 | 1.22 | Urlaub | 2 | 1.37 |
| München | 0 | 0.00 | | | |
| TOTAL | 82 | 100.00 | TOTAL | 146 | 100.00 |

Concerning the frequency of the sub-codes (e.g. *travel, Turkey, Germany, firm, codriver, driver, break, bus, München, Köln, passport*) under the main code of “immigration”, it can be viewed that “*Turkey*” has the highest frequency ($n=36$; 43.90%) whereas “*München*” has the lowest one ($n=0$; 0.00%). The other sub-codes are distributed as follows : “*Germany*” ($n=24$; 29.27%); “*Passport*” ($n=7$; 8.54%); “*Travel*” ($n=6$; 7.32%); “*Bus*” ($n=3$; 3.66%); “*Köln*” ($n=2$; 2.44%); “*Break*” ($n=1$; 1.22%); “*Firm*” ($n=1$; 1.22%); “*Codriver*” ($n=1$; 1.22%); “*Driver*” ($n=1$; 1.22%); and “*München*” ($n=0$; 0.00%). Totally, there are ($n=82$) categories coded for “immigration” sub-code. On the other hand, taking into consideration the “labor” sub-codes (e.g., *craftsman, German mark, Urlaub, permission, money, hour, daily wage, factory, employee, work*), it can be assured that “*Money*” is the preliminary sub-code, that is to say, the leading one ($n=35$; 23.97%), yet still “*Urlaub*” is the last one ($n=2$; 1.37%). Other sub-codes are distributed as follows : “*Work*” ($n=31$; 21.23%); “*German Mark*” ($n=29$; 19.86%), “*Permission*” ($n=16$; 10.96%); “*Factory*” ($n=12$; 8.22%); “*Daily Wage*” ($n=7$; 4.79%); “*Employee*” ($n=6$; 4.11%); “*Hour*” ($n=5$; 3.42%); “*Craftsman*” ($n=3$; 2.05%); “*Urlaub*” ($n=2$; 1.37%). In total, there are ($n=146$) categories coded for “labor” sub-code (Table 5).

**Figure 4: Word Cloud of the Script (Using MAXQDA)**

The word cloud of the film script brings certain concepts into prominence. First, “labor” is the core subject of the movie, which can be unveiled from the conversations among the characters. For example, Saban and Bahar, the main characters, always discuss whether they find a job or not (Dialogue 1). Due to the same reason, Fritz is a mediator between undocumented Turkish employees and Hans. Fritz takes money from Hans in return for his services (Dialogue 2). These are shown in the conversations below (Figure 4):

Dialogue (1) **Bahar:** *Did you find a job?*
Saban: *I did not find today, but tomorrow, I guarantee that I will. What about your job in the factory? Is it comfortable?*
Bahar: *We're manufacturing yarn for Germans.*
Saban: *Here we go. What will I do for Germans? (Film Script, 1985).*

Dialogue (2) **Fritz:** *Hi, are you Turk?*
Saban: *Yeah, I am, but a hungry Turk.*
Fritz: *Do you have a job?*
Saban: *No, I don't.*
Fritz: *Huh, Urlaub (Vacation)*
Saban: *No, I am not from Urfa (a city in Turkey), I am from Malatya.*
Fritz: *Then, you are on vacation. Urlaub!*
Saban: *No, no. You're saying I am from Urfa. Not from Urfa, I am from Malatya. I am looking for a job. Job.*
Fritz: *Aha, OK. OK.*
Saban: *It is not OK. I am saying that I do not have a job.*
Fritz: *Don't worry. I have a friend. Big boss. Big factory. He loves Turks. (Film Script, 1985)*

With the words ,such as “factory”, “unregistered”, “employment”, “work”, and “job” , the word cloud, additionally, exemplifies that the film is concerned with laborers and their problems in labor markets. “Unemployment”, “job loss”, “harsh working conditions”, “low wage”, and “il-legal work” are the particular drawbacks of the Turkish labor in the film. Factory is actually a symbol of dependent work and the exploitation of employees’ rights. The employees are treated as if they were machines or the parts of machines. Their humanistic characteristics are always overlooked, and Saban, at times, rebels against this system (Dialogue 3), which is controlled, directed, and manipulated by employers solely (Figure 4).

Dialog (3) **German Forman:** *Arbeiten, arbeiten, arbeiten. Arbeiten.*
Saban: *What does he say?*
Other Turkish Worker: *Forget about him. He is Mr. Know it all.*
German Forman: *Saban, Saban, arbeiten!*
Saban: *I am working. Uh. It is time for a lunch break. I am not working. What happened to this guy?*
Other Turkish Worker: *God damned . He had food poisoning because of the rotten food. Do you think that this has happened for the first time, man?*
German Forman: *Saban, go, go. It is time to work.*
Saban: *I haven't finished my lunch yet.*
German Foreman: *Time is up. Go.*

Saban: *I will not go. I will not work.*

German Foreman: *You, idiot Turk! Foolish Turk!* (Film Script, 1985).

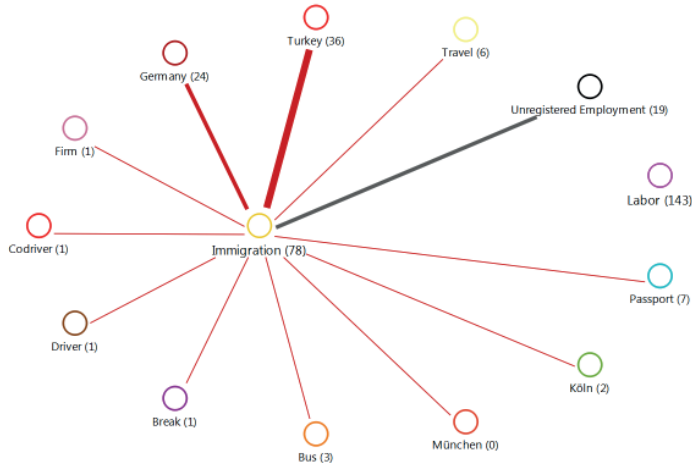


Figure 5: Code Co-occurrence Model for “Immigration” (Using MAXQDA)

Depending upon the discourse analysis for the film script, it can be viewed that the “immigration” main code is in close connection with other sub-codes. As previously seen, these are *Turkey* ($n=36$), *Germany* ($n=24$), *Passport* ($n=7$), *Travel* ($n=6$), *Bus* ($n=3$), *Köln* ($n=2$), *Break* ($n=1$), *Firm* ($n=1$), *Codriver* ($n=1$), *Driver* ($n=1$), and *München* ($n=0$). Figure 5 stresses the idea that the main code “immigration” has a strong relationship with the sub-codes “Turkey” and “Germany”, which signals the direction and the type of the immigration as well. The direction of immigration is from Turkey to Germany, and this is an external or an international migration. In the film script, the direction of the migration flow is put forward in scenes. For instance, the first scene of the movie is on a bus, which explains a story, the story from Turkey to German. Saban gets on the bus, he takes his seat and says to the man sitting next to him: “*I am also going to Köln. To my uncle’s son. I will be a mark millionaire through hard work.* (Film Script, 1985)” In this statement, Saban describes the reason and the means for his journey to Germany. His ultimate reason for migrating is to earn a lot of money, to become a millionaire, and he will do that through his networks there. Put in another way, Saban believes that his relatives will assist him to find a job there, which was the case for many migrants at that time (Figure 5).

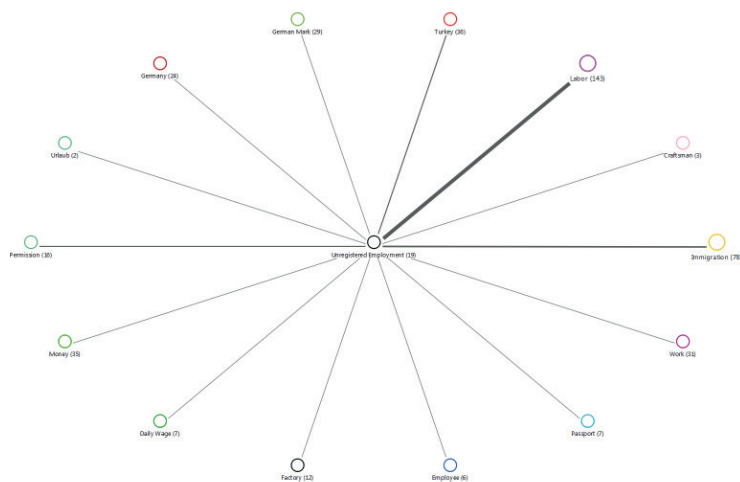


Figure 7: Code Co-Occurrence Model “Unregistered Employment” (Using MAXQDA)

Furthermore, the figure above indicates the relationship between the main code “unregistered employment” and other codes. “Unregistered employment” as a particular theme has a connection with the “labor” as well as the “immigration” main codes. “Undocumented employment” is the core subject of the study, and this figure covers the correlation between “unregistered employment” and “immigration”, which affirms the linkage with the theoretical background of the paper. As a matter of fact, the international migration in the film leads to irregular work in labor markets, which paves the way for labor exploitation. Like other bosses, Hans, the factory owner, always aspires to abuse Turkish illegal workers, which is reflected in the conversations in the movie. For instance, Hans’s statements “*You know that no one has work permission. I say that I will report you to the police, and they will deport you from Germany. (Film Script, 1985)* can be given as an example for capital owners’ use of illegal work as a “stick” for menacing Turkish laborers (Figure 7).

8. Concluding Remarks

This study aims to analyze the linkage between international immigration and unregistered employment on the basis of a particular Turkish movie named *Gurbetçi Saban* (Saban the Expatriate). Both theoretical background and empirical research conducted through MAXQDA 2018 on the basis of the film script analysis confirm that there is a direct connection between these two issues. The political and economic turbulence in Turkey pushed a great number of Turkish workers to migrate to Germany in the 1960s. On the other hand, Germany accepted thousands of Turks legally in the aftermath of the Labor Recruitment Protocol in 1961 since it wanted to leap forward economically and compensate for the catastrophic effects of World War II. From that time on, Turks’ journey to Germany has been the subject of countless films, one of which is *Gurbetçi Saban* (Saban the Expatriate). The film is basically built upon the labor market problems of Turkish employees in Germany. Among them, unregistered employment plays the main ground that the film uncovers in particular.

The film contributes to the relevant literature in several ways. At first, a labor market problem created by migration was analyzed depending upon a particular film which verified the fact that film studies can be benefitted in line with employee relations or social science research. Second, the research, in which the link between immigration and clandestine employment was proved, contributes to the relevant literature through its qualitative nature that is quite unique. Throughout the article, the ultimate social problem is Turkish employees' immigration to Germany and their insecure employment which can be eradicated through government initiatives; that's to say, interventions of governments to socially oriented problems. The government, specifically, Germany as a target location in the movie is to take certain precautions so as to halt clandestine employment while Turkey as an origin country is to inform employees concerning the drawbacks of irregular work.

Limitations and Suggestions

The study contributes greatly to the literature in different ways: One is that it gives a detailed insight for overlapping a movie with a particular social issue, and the other is that a movie can be used as an educational as well as an investigational tool. However, the study possesses some limitations. First and foremost, the research is qualitative in nature, and it includes solely a movie analysis, so for future research, more than one movie could be included in, and the groundwork of research could be expanded. In addition, it can be highlighted that some other qualitative software tools, such as ATLAS or Nvivo can be utilized for the analysis of qualitative data. Theoretically and contextually, the movie selected as a sample for qualitative analysis possesses several restrictions. Political biases, exaggerated jokes amalgamated through clashes centered upon Turkish and German cultures are the most basic of these limitations. Besides, claiming that the movie purely reflects the realities of the era and the negative conditions of the laborers is too challenging. Depending upon this perspective, one more suggestion can be made for academic staff in universities, specifically for those who work in social sciences department and who are keen on the theoretical aspects of the topics. It is to use movies to entertain students and enable them to learn better and professionally. It is highly suggested to make students to be engaged in real life activities and to put students in the center of the activities. Here, the movies are the keys for eliminating learning barriers.

Notes

1. The Labor Agreement Protocol signed in 1961 between Turkish and German governments mutually paved the way that millions of Turkish laborers, starting legally from October 31, 1961, moved to Germany. The agreement, through which the procedures and the principles of Turkish employees' recruitment to jobs in Germany were ascertained, consists of 12 articles. It is of great significance to share some brief info on these articles one by one. According to this agreement, the German Federal Directories of Employment Agency has been authorized for job placements on behalf of Germany, while on the Turkish side, Turkish Employment Agency has been authorized (Article 1). The German Employee Agency, so as to assess Turkish employees' applications, will establish a liaison office in Turkey with the contributions of Turkish authorities, and in this office, Turkish applicants will be examined and decided whether they are healthy or not to work in Germany (Article 2). The duty of liaison office is not restricted to medical treatments only. In addition, open positions available

in German labor markets and whether they are overlapped with the qualifications of Turkish labor, in other words, the adjustment of the specifications of open positions with the qualifications of Turkish labor is another task (Article 3). The German liaison office, in coordination with the Turkish employment agency, advises on a range of topics, such as working conditions in Germany, social insurance, unemployment insurance, and tax liability through which it is aimed that Turkish workers do not have any adaptation problems in Germany (Article 4). The selection of the employees is conducted by the Turkish Employment Agency. The main criterion is criminal record office, health cases, and occupational experiences. Following selection, the German liaison office will be elucidated (Article 5). German and Turkish labor contracts are prepared for the employees accepted; the employee, employer, and employer's representative will be made to sign (Article 6). Turkish officials are authorized to take out a passport and an official voucher that shows Turkish workers' marital status while the German liaison office is authorized to give a work permit certificate (Article 7). The German liaison office organizes the journey from Turkey to Germany whereas the Turkish employment agency provides assistance for this process to be carried out on time. All the travel expenditures inside or outside Turkey will be met by the German liaison office (Article 8). The do's when Turks came to Germany are regulated with this article. The first thing to be done by Turks is to get a residence permit from German authorities. [...] (Article 9). The Labor Agreement Protocol was signed providing that Turkish officials accept addressee Turkish labor immediately, without any legal procedure (Article 10). The articles will be valid in three months of time from its assignment in Berlin Land (Article 11). The agreement will come into effect on September 1, 1961, including the past, and at first, it was signed for a year, and the duration of the agreement will be extended automatically on condition that one side terminates it (Article 12) (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Uluslararası İşgücü Antlaşmaları, 2014).

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