

Reflections of Migration on Literature and Cinema DOÇ. DR. **SEVTAP GÜNAY KÖPRÜLÜ***

Abstract

Human history has witnessed many migrations depending on various reasons. Geographical factors, economic problems, population growth, and political reasons are among the reasons for these migrations. Migrations after the Second World War were also due to similar reasons. Labour migration from Türkiye to abroad occurred in the late 1950s due to labour force problems in some developed European countries and unemployment problems in underdeveloped countries. Germany was the country most preferred by the Turks in this migration process, supported by agreements between states since the beginning of the 1960s. Turks migrated to Germany for economic reasons or better working conditions. This migration has been complex for those who went abroad and those who stayed behind. The problems experienced by migrants going abroad to save some money and return due to language and cultural differences, social problems such as life differences, and feelings such as longing for those left behind and homesickness were expressed in the works of the period. Migration as a phenomenon has been the subject of not only poems, stories, and novels but also cinema.

This study investigates how the first years of worker migration to Germany reflected two different branches of art. For this reason, prominent themes in novels and movies regarding migration are discussed. Furthermore, this study deals with the differences between the reflections of writers who experienced migration and those of filmmakers who did not experience migration. Since the labour migration started in the 1960s continued also with family reunifications in the 70s and 80s, the works published in these years are examined. The results reveal that there are common themes as well as differences between the novels and movies examined within the scope of the present study.

Keywords: Migration, worker migration, migration cinema, migrant literature, novel

GÖÇ OLGUSUNUN YAZIN VE SİNEMAYA YANSIMALARI

Öz

Dünya tarihinde birçok farklı sebeplerden dolayı göçler yaşanmıştır. Bu göçlerin sebepleri arasında coğrafik etkenler, ekonomik sorunlar, nüfus artışı, siyasal nedenler yer almaktadır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra yaşanan göçler de benzer sebeplerden dolayı olmuştur. Nitekim bazı gelişmiş Avrupa ülkelerinin işgücü sorunu yaşaması ve az gelişmiş ülkelerdeki işsizlik sorunları nedeniyle 1950'li yılların sonlarında, Türkiye'den yurt dışına işçi göçü gerçekleşmiştir. 1960'lı yılların başından itibaren devletler arasında anlaşmalarla desteklenen bu göç sürecinde, Türklerin en çok rağbet ettikleri ülke Almanya olmuştur. Türkler, bazı ekonomik nedenlerle veya daha iyi

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işlerde çalışabilmek umuduyla Almanya'ya göç etmişlerdir. Bu göç, gidenlere olduğu kadar kalanlara da zor olmuştur. Biraz para biriktirip geri dönmek amacıyla gidenlerin yaşadıkları dil ve kültür farklılığına bağlı sorunlar, yaşam farklılıkları gibi sosyal sorunlar ile geride kalanlara özlem, vatan hasreti gibi yaşanan duygular dönemin eserlerinde ifade bulmuştur. Göç olgusu, sadece şiirlere, öykülere, romanlara değil aynı zamanda beyaz perdeye de konu olmuştur.

Bu çalışmada, Almanya'ya işçi göçünün ilk yıllarının iki farklı sanat dalına nasıl yansıdığı araştırılmıştır. Bu nedenle, göçle ilgili roman ve sinema filmlerinde öne çıkan temalar ele alınmıştır. Göçü deneyimlemiş yazarların yansıttıklarıyla göçü yaşamamış sinemacıların yansıttıkları arasında farklılıklar olup olmadığı da araştırılmıştır. 1960'larda başlayan işgücü göçü, 70'lerde ve 80'lerde aile birleşimiyle devam ettiği için bu yıllarda yayınlanan eserler incelenmiştir. Araştırmanın sonucu, çalışma kapsamında incelenen romanlar ve sinema filmleri arasında ortak konuların yanı sıra farklılıkların da olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Göç, işçi göçü, göç sineması, göçmen yazını, roman

INTRODUCTION

igration as a phenomenon has been and continues to be the subject of study in various fields since it is based on many different reasons, such as economic, sociological, political, and psychological. One of the events that cause migration is wars and their results. After the Second World War, the European countries that could not meet their labour needs to be called for a labour force from abroad. Countries such as Germany, Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Switzerland signed labour migration agreements with other countries to make up their post-war economies.

Like other Western European countries, Germany started recruiting workers abroad, especially in the manufacturing industry. Germany recruited workers from Italy, Türkiye, Yugoslavia, Greece, and to a lesser extent, Spain and Portugal to procure the workforce it needed (see BMI¹, 2020, p. 20). Türkiye and Germany signed a labour agreement in 1961. According to this agreement, the workers would work in rotation in Germany; therefore, workers had to return after completing one year. New workers would be recruited to replace the returning workers. For this reason, migrant workers were called 'Gastarbeiter' (guest workers).

However, this practice, the application of the rotation system, was abandoned over time since German employers had to train new workers constantly. As a result, when Germany stopped recruiting foreign workers in 1973, workers from Türkiye constituted the largest group of migrants in Germany, with a third of the foreign population (see BMI, 2020, p. 20). The abandonment of the rotation practice caused the return of 'guest workers' to be delayed. In this regard, family reunification by taking the family members left behind to Germany became an issue question; thus, the migration process continued.

In 1982, Germany tried to limit migration and encourage return; however, return incentive measures were ineffective (BMI, 2020, p. 22), and very few migrant workers returned. The first generation continued as the second and third generations after the children of the workers who

¹ Federal Ministry of the Interior (Germany)

did not return and stayed in Germany were born and educated in Germany. Thus, Turkish guest workers ceased to be guests and became permanent (Günay Köprülü, 2020, p. 41). With this new permanence situation, they are no longer 'guest workers' in Germany but 'foreigners'; they are 'Alamancı' or 'Almancı'² in Türkiye.

This phenomenon of social migration has been the subject of many written works which handle the stories of expatriates who are homesick in foreign lands. Moreover, the great labour migration, which resulted from the bilateral agreement, has been not only the subject of written works but also of music and cinema. To this end, this study examines how the first years of this migration are reflected in novels and movies and whether there are differences between the prominent themes.

The current study aims not to analyse the works of literature and cinema with migration themes in terms of content or migration theories since many studies are available in the literature covering these areas³. Contrarily, this study intends to analyse the prominent themes in the novels and movies about labour migration from Türkiye to Germany regarding their similarities and differences. Accordingly, since the labour migration that started in the 1960s continued with family reunification in the 70s and 80s, the novels and movies released in these years are examined. Therefore, stories, poems, and documentaries are excluded from the study. Similarly, the works of writers who did not experience migration and the films of migrant directors are also not included in the scope of this study because this study seeks to reveal similarities and differences in terms of the subjects dealt with by the writers who experienced the migration and the directors who did not experience.

1. GENERATIONS

Many people went to Germany from Türkiye, intending to return to Germany in the first years of labour migration. These workers, called "guest workers" in Germany, constitute the first generation. The second generation comprised the children of the first generation brought to Germany through family reunification or the children born in Germany, and the third generation involved the children of the second generation.

Only 30% of foreign workers between 1960 and 1973 were women in Germany (Mattes, 2008: 19). Similarly, most of those who first went to Germany from Türkiye during labour migration were men. However, the number of women increased with family reunifications.

² Al(a)mancı is a colloquial word in Turkish used for people who emigrated to Germany.

³ some of these studies: Kaya, Tülay (2018). Filmlerde Türkiye'den Almanya'ya İşgücü Göçü: Son Bölüm. LOJİ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 1(1): 101-121; Kula, Nesrin ve Koluaçık, İhsan (2016). Sinema ve Toplumsal Bellek: Türk Sinemasında Almanya'ya Dış-Göç Olgusu. OÜSOBİAD Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi, Sayı: 15, 384-411; Koçak, Selen (2015). Türkiye'den Yurt Dışına İşçi Göçünün Türk Sinemasına Yansıması: Almanya Örneği Üzerinden Görsel Analiz [Unpublished master's thesis]. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü; Çavuş, Burak (2020). Türk Romanında Dış Göç (1960-1990) (A. J. Greimas'ın Eyleyenler Modeline Göre Dış Göç Romanlarında Yapı) [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Malatya: İnönü Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü; Ceylan, Gamze (2019). 1960'tan Günümüze Almanya Merkezli Türk Göçmen Edebiyatı ve Türk Göçmen Yazarlar (Roman) [Unpublished master's thesis]. Çankırı: Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü; Erdem, Abdurrahman (2019). 1950 Sonrası Türkiye'den Almanya'ya Dış Göçler [Unpublished master's thesis]. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü; Suvağci, İlyas (2018). Almanya'ya Göçün Almanya'daki Türk Yazarların Hikâyelerine Yansıması (1961-2001) [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Diyarbakır: Dicle Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.

The first generation had the view of saving money and returning to their homeland; they did not make much effort to learn German since they did not plan to stay in Germany for many years. Therefore, besides not knowing the language of the country they lived in, they experienced the problem of adaptation a lot due to cultural differences and lived in isolation as they preferred to protect their own culture by staying away from the German culture. For this reason, the first generation experienced problems such as culture shock, loneliness, alienation, homesickness, longing, expatriation, and exclusion, as stated in many studies (e.g. Schöning, 1978; Kuruyazıcı, 1993; Zengin, 2000).

The most significant problems of the first generation were cultural conflict, harmony, and language. These were much smaller problems in the second generation. Because this generation involved those, who came to Germany at a very young age or were born and raised here. They had problems with German society differently than the previous generation since they were educated in German schools. The second generation experienced problems such as being in-between, belonging, and identity crisis. Germany, seen as foreign in the first generation, was later accepted as a second homeland in the second generation.

The problems of the first two generations were not the issue for the next generations, who were born and raised in Germany and mastered that region's language, culture, and lifestyle. This generation, who was more familiar with German culture, was alienated from their original cultural values. The homeland has become a place to go on vacation for this generation.

2. MIGRANT LITERATURE

Migration, the act of moving individuals or communities from one country to another, from one settlement to another for economic, social, and political reasons (TDK Sözlükleri)⁴, is a social event that affects those who leave and those who are left behind, and also affects the migrated societies. The migration phenomenon to Germany was the most significant social event of the 1960s. Therefore, migration has been an essential phenomenon in art and many fields, such as public and social. Some migrants wanted to share their experiences in this country by writing in the 60s and 70s when labour migration to Germany was intense, and even in the 80s as part of family reunification. They considered writing a tool to describe their experiences in a foreign country and produced works of art in genres such as novels, stories, and poems. Writers of this period are known as the first generation writers. The next generations are the children and grandchildren of the first generation.

Different definitions have been made for the literature that emerged due to the recruitment of foreign workers to Germany. The literature of this period was called 'Gastarbeiterliteratur' (guest worker literature) since the first-generation writers focused on worker problems. However, this definition was criticized for being limiting. In the following years, this literature was renamed 'Migrantenliteratur' (migrant literature) as the topics covered in the works started to change (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 2009; Kuruyazıcı, 1993, Zengin, 2000, p. 105).

⁴ Dictionary of Turkish Language Association

Migrant literature started with the first generation of writers and continued with the next generations. Culture shock, adaptation problems, homeland, and foreignness were the central themes in the written works of migrant workers in the 60s and 70s (Kuruyazıcı, 1993, p. 60-61). The works of the first generations are predominantly autobiographical, as can be understood from the themes discussed in the works. For this reason, themes such as loneliness, work conditions, longing for a homeland, language problem, difficulties in living in another culture, isolation from society, thought of returning to the homeland, feeling of exclusion, xenophobia, and discrimination are frequently covered (Günay Köprülü, 2020, p. 42). Many works were written in Turkish due to insufficient target language knowledge. Therefore, works in German were produced after the second generation.

Migrant literature covers differentiation as a theme with the growth of second-generation migrants such as Feridun Zaimoğlu, Zafer Şenocak, Akif Pirinçci, and Alev Tekinay in the 1980s. Themes such as being in-between, the problem of adaptation, the search for identity, statelessness, xenophobia, biculturalism, and love were discussed in the works of this generation of writers. On the other hand, homesickness does not come to the fore in the literature of the second generation because this generation was born in Germany or came to Germany at an early age (see Zengin, 2000, p. 104; Zengin, 2010, p. 340-341; Uyanık, 2003, p. 117-118).

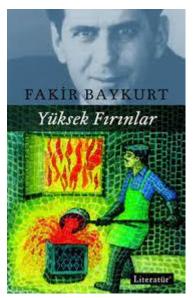
The third generation, born and raised in Germany since the 1990s, is mentioned. The use of themes and language in the works that emerged in the third generation period differed considerably from the previous ones (Günay Köprülü, 2020, p. 46). For example, Kocadoru (2004, p. 135) states that the effort to defend their right to exist in German society is hidden in the attitude of third-generation writers who say without hesitation that they are Turkish in Germany. The writers such as Renan Demirkan and Selim Özdoğan are third-generation writers.

3. NOVELS

The works of first-generation writers are primarily autobiographical. For example, Bekir Yıldız expressed the problems of guest workers with autobiographical elements and told about his troubles and experiences abroad in his novel "Türkler Almanya'da" [Turks in Germany], published in 1966. The problems faced by the Turkish workers who went to Germany from Türkiye as workers in the early 1960s, the hardships they experienced, the hard work, and dire living conditions are told through the eyes of the protagonist Yüce in the work of the author, who went to Germany at the age of 29 to work in 1962 and returned to Türkiye after working there for four years. Doğan (2003, p. 59) expresses that the negative effect of time on people is emphasized in the novel.

The protagonists of the novels are primarily men. This situation is a reflection of the period of labour migration. Because in the years when labour migration started, the first people who arrived in Germany were primarily men. For example, the protagonist İbrahim is one of the Turkish migrant workers who went to work in Germany in Fakir Baykurt's novel "Yüksek Fırınlar" [Blast Furnaces] (1983). Yüce is the protagonist in "Türkler Almanya'da", and Arif is the protagonist of Özdemir Başargan's work, "Gurbet Sofrası" [Stranger's Dinner Table of Exile]

(1979). However, the opposite situation is seen in Habib Bektaş's novel "Bana Bir Şiir Oku Hamriyanım" [Read Me a Poem] (1989); the story of a woman who goes to Germany to work is told. Fatma, who does not speak German and has no friends, falls in love with her German neighbor. Likewise, the story of Suna, who went to Germany, is told in the novel "Frauen, die sterben, ohne das sie gelebt hätten"⁵ [Women who die without having lived], published in 1983 by Saliha Scheinhardt, who married and migrated to Germany.



The reasons for going to Germany were also discussed in the novels. Better working conditions, saving money, and returning to homeland were among the reasons for migration. For example, the events of those who went abroad to earn money and return are told in the novel "Türkler Almanya'da". The novel's protagonist, Yüce, aims to save money and return to Türkiye to start his own business. In the novel "Gurbet Sofrası", Arif migrates to Germany due to the country's realities and economic reasons. In the novel "Yüksek Fırınlar", İbrahim goes to Germany to work for a few years to save money and return. Similarly, there is the idea of turning back in "Koca Ren" [Big Rhine] (1986).

Family reunification is also observed in the novels. In the novel "Yüksek Fırınlar", for example, İbrahim takes his wife and child to

Germany after working there for a while. Likewise, in the novel "Koca Ren", Salim goes to Germany as a worker and later takes his family with him.

As Zengin (2010: 332) pointed out, the foreign language problem is among the primary problems for migrant workers and takes its place in the works. In the novel "Gurbet Sofrası", for example, it is seen that Turkish migrants who have official operations with official institutions try to solve their affairs through an interpreter. In addition, the foreign language problem is described as one of the most critical problems in the novels "Türkler Almanya'da", "Yüksek Fırınlar" and "Koca Ren", and in Güney Dal's novel "İş Sürgünleri" [Exiles of Labor] (1976).

In the first years of labour migration to Germany, foreign workers generally worked in heavy and bad jobs, they worked too much for fear of being dismissed, and therefore they earned the hostility of the German workers (Schöning, 1978, p.93). It is possible to see this problem of migrant workers in the period's novels. For example, difficult working conditions are at the center of Güney Dal's novel "İş Sürgünleri". Workers of a car factory go on strike due to the dire working conditions. Even though Turkish workers work in the most challenging jobs for low wages and work more, they are constantly afraid of being fired and expelled from the country. The heavy working conditions of migrant Turks in Germany are discussed in the novel "Yüksek Fırınlar", which describes the life of Turkish worker families in Germany. Başargan's novel "Gurbet Sofrası" draws attention to similar conditions.

The problem of adaptation due to cultural differences is the subject of all works. For example, the adaptation problems of Turkish families living in Germany are described in the novel

⁵ Saliha Scheinhardt's novel was published in Turkish as "Pusuda Kin" in 2006.

"Yüksek Fırınlar". Due to the adaptation problem, as in the novel "Türkler Almanya'da", either Turkish workers returned to their homeland, or the spouses separated, and families broke up. Bekir Yıldız's novel "Halkalı Köle" [Slave with a Ring] (1980), which includes autobiographical elements, focuses on the inability to adapt to a foreign culture. In the work, in which the protagonists are unnamed, the relationship of the couple, who happily married and settled in Germany, and whose reach deadlock due to not getting used to it, is told. The protagonist, who is about to leave his wife, falls in love with a woman in Germany and wants to divorce his wife.

Another dimension of the adaptation or integration problems experienced with labour migration is the adaptation problem to the German education system. The education problems of the second generation were in question, especially in the 1980s. It is seen that the German-Turkish education system is also dealt with in Fakir Baykurt's novel "Koca Ren" (1986). The protagonist of the novel is fourteen-year-old Adem. Salim, Adem's father, goes to Germany as a worker and later takes his family with him. While Adem is a successful student at school in Türkiye, he cannot adapt to the school environment in Germany, becomes unsuccessful, and experiences a feeling of loneliness. The problems experienced in the education of the children of migrant workers are also addressed in "Yüksek Fırınlar". "Yüksek Fırınlar" also draws attention to the understanding of honour in the axis of the husband-wife relationship through the woman who went to Germany from Turkey through family reunification.

4. MIGRATION CINEMA

Cinema, as an essential branch of art that can reach many target audiences quickly, can show social events, problems, and societal changes along with presenting also entirely fictional events that do not match the facts. Since the beginning of the 1960s, when labour migration to Germany increased, subjects such as the life and situation of those who went to Germany have been a matter of curiosity for those left behind, and the phenomenon of migration has been transferred to the cinema with different aspects. The issues such as the reasons for migration, the migration process, experiences of those left behind, and social problems related to migration have taken their place in the cinemas.



These migrants have been the subject of Turkish cinema with the concepts of "gurbetçi" (expatriate) and "Alamanci" due to the large number of people who go to Germany as workers. Therefore, Yeşilçam cinema, the so-called Turkish cinema, has produced films about expatriates. In the first years, these films made by Yeşilçam were mainly examples of arabesque and comedy cinema, and social films were added later (Çipe, 2021, p. 384).

Turkish cinema has covered the phenomenon of migration to Germany with the movies such as "Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim" [I Loved a Turk] (1969, Halit Refiğ), "Dönüş" [The Return] (1972, Türkan Şoray), "El Kapısı" [Foreign Door] (1974, Orhan Elmas), "Almanya Acı Vatan" [Germany, Bitter Home] (1979, Şerif Gören), "Gurbetçi Saban" [Şaban the Expatriate] (1985, Kartal Tibet) since the 1960s.

Migration to Germany attracted the attention of not only local directors but also foreign directors. For example, the loneliness of a Turkish worker living in Germany is filmed in the movie "In der Fremde" [Far from Home] by Iranian director Sohrab Shahid Saless in 1974, and the tragic events of Şirin's escape to Germany to meet the man she loves are told in the movie "Shirins Hochzeit" [Shirin's Wedding] shot by Helma Sanders in 1976 (Schöring, 1978, p. 95-98).

5. MOVIES

Although the phenomenon of migration was mentioned in the movies about worker migration to Germany in the 1960s, the focus has not always been on migration. For example, in the comedy film "Turist Ömer Almanya'da" [The Tourist Ömer in Germany] (1966), directed by Hulki Saner, the subject is Ömer's love for German Helga. Ömer, the protagonist, goes to Germany as a worker and falls in love with Helga. Furthermore, the movie "Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim", directed by Halit Refiğ in 1969, tells the story of a German woman who goes to Türkiye to find her husband who left her. Another example of the axis of love is the movie "Almanyalı Yârim" [My Darling from Germany], directed by Orhan Aksoy in 1974. The movie tells the story of Murat, who goes to Germany to work and falls in love with a German girl. Murat and the German girl want to get married, but when the girl's family is against this marriage, they escape to Türkiye.

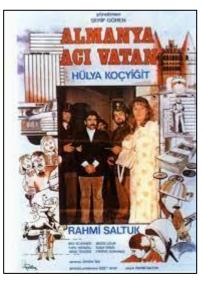
The condition of health screening required by Germany in worker migration to Germany has also been the subject of movies. For example, in the movie "Baba" [Father] directed by Yılmaz Güney in 1971, Cemal, a low-income family man, decides to go to Germany to give his children a better future. However, he cannot fulfil his dream of Germany due to missing teeth. In the movie, Germany is described as a country that is desired to go to but is not easy.

Some movies focus on the ones left behind, and their problems rather than the lives of the migrants and the culture migrated in the movies. For example, in the movie "Dönüş", directed by Türkan Şoray in 1973, the story of İbrahim, who goes to work in Germany to pay the landlord's debt, and his wife Gülcan, who stays in Türkiye, is told. Therefore, the film's focus is the struggle of Gülcan, who stays alone after her husband goes to Germany. Having married a German, İbrahim is alienated from his own country and does not intend to return, while Gülcan has to deal with the village's landlord while waiting for her husband to return.

On the other hand, in Orhan Elmas's movie "El Kapısı" (1974), Elvan, who goes to Germany to earn money and to get her husband treated due to pressure from the landlord and her husband's injury by the squire, begins to sing in the casino after a while, and therefore she is accused of immorality by those left behind. Then her husband Emrah goes to Germany and kills Elvan. Germany was seen as a hope, but the result was family destruction. The movie is based on honour. As Kaplan (2005, p. 104) stated, Germany was used only as a backdrop in the movie. According to Kaplan, the movie tells the oppression of the landlord and the place of women in society.

Yavuz Figenli's "Almanya Acı Gurbet" [Germany, Bitter Land] (1988) is another movie in which the phenomenon of migration remains in the background due to the subject in its focus. Ceylan, who lives in Germany, sings in different places with her uncle to raise the money needed to open the eyes of her visually impaired uncle. Events develop on the axis of gambling, mafia, and crime, and the whole family decides to return to Türkiye after a while.

The movies produced about labour migration to Germany reflected the characteristics of the period and generation. For example, the period when "Almanya Acı Vatan" (1979), directed by Şerif Gören, was shot is the period of the first generation who went to Germany to work and earn money and return. In the movie, Güldane, the main character, goes to Germany with these thoughts and works very hard to reach her goal quickly. In this respect, the movie shows people in Türkiye that working and living conditions in Germany are not accessible. In addition, the adaptation problem experienced by people who migrated from Türkiye to Germany for various reasons attracts much attention.



Another event of the period, the continuation of migration through family reunification after 1973, is also observed in the movies. In 1973, Germany stopped the migration of workers. However, the migration changed its purpose and continued for a while. With Germany's legal arrangement enabling family reunification, worker migrants could take their spouses and children with them. In the movie "Almanya Acı Vatan" (1979), Mahmut, who wants to go to Germany, can only do this by getting married. For this reason, Güldane, a migrant worker in Germany, marries her villager Mahmut, who wants to go to Germany in exchange for money. Mahmut changes when he goes to Germany; he starts gambling and drinking in pubs and cheats on Güldane with a German woman instead of working and earning money. Güldane wants a divorce, but Mahmut does not. While Güldane returns to Türkiye at the movie's end, Mahmut does not think of returning and staying in Germany. In the movie "Gurbetçi Şaban" (1985), directed by Kartal Tibet, Şaban, who goes to Germany with a tourist visa, works as an illegal worker, and then marries a girl with a work permit. When Germany officially stopped accepting migrant workers, migration to Germany continued through marriage with a German woman or a Turkish woman with a work permit. This type of migration of the period was also reflected in the movies.

In Şerif Gören's movie "Polizei" [Police] (1988), the family reunion that takes place is not about being able to work in Germany, but about taking the spouse and children with them, unlike the movies mentioned above. Ali Ekber's father comes to Germany as a worker to work and earn money and, after a while, brings his wife and children with him through family reunification. In the movie "Almanya Aci Gurbet" (1988), a chain migration occurs through family reunification.

Germany did not take essential measures for the integration problems of the incoming workers due to the thought that the workers who came to Germany in the first years of labour migration would return; however, it has taken initiatives regarding the integration policy with the permanence of migrant workers. Demir (2016, p. 133) states that the scene in the movie "Gurbet" [Away from Home], where a Turkish teacher gives an integration lesson to fathers who complain about their children's school failures, is one of the rare scenes seen in migration movies about the integration process, which became an official policy towards migrants.

Events that do not take place in the period's novels are seen in the movies. For example, the movie "Gurbetçi Şaban" focuses on a migrant worker who becomes a boss and his inappropriate attempts to get child care benefits. At the end of the movie, Şaban buys the factory where he works under challenging conditions and becomes the boss.

In the years of labour migration, Germany is considered very attractive, a land of opportunities, prosperity, and a good life. As Akın (2013, p. 59) stated, "most emigrants abroad do indeed present themselves in line with how they think the people back home want to see them". As a matter of fact, in the movie "Almanya Acı Vatan" (1979), after the worker who goes on holiday to Türkiye tells him about Germany, Mahmut looks for ways to go to Germany, which he sees as a paradise, and proposes a fake marriage to Güldane. In the same way, in the movie "El Kapısı" (1974), Germany is described as an attractive country with a Mercedes car, clothing, and stories of those who come to Türkiye. In Yücel Uçanoğlu's movie "Gurbet", which was screened in 1984, Germany is no longer a land of opportunities but pain. The movie tells about the dispersing of a peasant family who goes to Germany for a short time and plans to save money and return. However, the family's daughter 'goes astray' and dies, and the father cannot bear this pain and dies.

In the movies of the 70s and 80s, the first generation and the subjects related to them are conveyed. However, the comedy movie "Polizei" (1988) tells the story of Ali Ekber, the second generation. Ali Ekber, a sanitation worker in Germany, comes to Germany as a child, grows up, and adapts to life there. He is in love with a German girl. Ali Ekber, who wants to impress the German girl and respond to the contempt, disguises himself as a German policeman and inspects Turkish shops. In the movie, Turks are afraid of the German police. The family lives of Turkish migrants, their lifestyles, and traditional family structures are reflected.

The first generation to go to Germany is to earn money and return. This theme was handled in many works of the period. People go to Germany to work and earn money in the movies of the period. For example, in the movie "Vatan Yolu" [The Journey Home] (1988) and in the movie "Ölmez Ağacı" [The immortal Tree] (1984), which tells the story of a family of Turkish workers in Germany, the reason for migration is poverty. In the movie "Gurbet" (1984), the house's eldest son went to Germany years ago. Ahmet, who wants to go to Germany after his brother, convinces his father to earn some money and return, and he goes to Germany with his father and sister. In the movie "Almanya Acı Vatan" (1979), the purpose of going to Germany is to earn money and invest in Türkiye (see also Alkin 2013, p. 58).

However, the reasons for going to Germany are different in some movies. For example, "Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı" [A Turkish Girl in Germany] (1974) covers the theme of migration superficially, but in the movie, the woman goes to Germany to find her husband who wants to divorce her by finding a German lover in Germany, where he goes to work.

Germany made a legal regulation in 1983 to encourage the return to reduce the number of migrants. Themes regarding turning back come to the fore in the movies after this date. The movie "Vatan Yolu" (1988), directed by Rasim Konyar and Enis Günay, tells the story of a family who decides to return to Türkiye after working in Germany for many years. Yusuf, a migrant worker in the film, has a son studying in Germany and does not want to return. In the movie "Ölmez Ağacı" (1984), directed by Yusuf Kurçenli, Kemal is also fired along with other migrant workers in Germany, where layoffs begin. Thereupon, Kemal returns to Turkey with his family. However, his sister and son go back to Germany again.

The striking point about returning is that those representing the second generation do not want to return to their homeland, Türkiye. Representing the second generation in the movie "Polizei" (1988), Ali Ekber has no thought of returning to Türkiye.

It is known that migrant workers work hard and heavy jobs in Germany. This situation is also seen in the movies of the period. For example, "Gurbetçi Şaban" (1985) is a comedy movie that reflects the lives of illegal workers working with low wages in very harsh conditions, discrimination, and migration policies of the period in Germany. In the movie "Almanya Acı Vatan" (1979), the problems migrants experienced in Germany are highlighted, and



the difficulties of working life in Germany are revealed. According to Karadoğan (1999, p. 37), it is the first Turkish movie that reflects the working conditions of Turkish workers in Germany in factories from a realistic perspective.

Fear of being fired and expelled from the country is also seen in the movies. For example, in the movie "Ölmez Ağacı", Kemal, who worked in Germany for many years, cannot go to the doctor for fear of being fired. Likewise, in the movie "Gurbetçi Şaban", it is seen that migrants who do not have work and residence permits are afraid of the German police.

CONCLUSION

This study investigates the reflections of labour migration to Germany in literature and cinema, and it is revealed that the problems of the period were discussed in the works in the 60s and 70s when labour migration was intense and in the 80s when migration through family reunification continued. The focus is on migrant worker problems of the period, such as the purpose of going to Germany, the thought of returning, the problems of adaptation and language, harsh living and working conditions, fear of being fired and expelled from the country, and family reunifications in the novels and movies.

In cinema and literary works, the protagonists are primarily men who go to Germany to earn money, and the ones left behind are women. The purpose of those who arrive in Germany is to earn money and return to their homeland Türkiye. Those who cannot return in a short time take their families to Germany after a while. Dispersions of families occur due to the problem of adaptation to different cultures and lifestyles. In some of the works, the protagonist is a woman, focusing on the problems women experience. There are also women migrant workers who go first. The reasons for going to Germany also differ; some work for economic reasons, and some go to find their husband.

The first generation is usually represented in the works. However, the second generation is represented in a few works published in the 1980s. In these works, the themes focus on the problem of education and integration of the second generation. Additionally, the first and second generations differ in their thoughts about returning to Türkiye; while the first generation wants to return to its homeland Türkiye, the second generation wants to stay in Germany.

In some movies, Germany is used only as a backdrop, and the movies focus on issues such as love, honour, the landlord's system, and the problems experienced by those left behind. Movies about men who go to Germany as workers are themed on cheating on their wives, marrying German women and what they experience in these relationships, marriages for work permits, getting child benefits, and the Turkish worker being the boss. These are themes that do not come to the fore in the novels. It is observed that some of the problems experienced by the workers in Germany are conveyed in a humorous style in the movies.

Rather than those who stay behind, the cultural and mental problems of those who arrive in Germany and their living and working conditions in the country of migration are discussed in the novels. The phenomenon of migration has been evaluated in terms of those staying in Türkiye and those living in Germany in movies. Unlike the novels, the alienation between the migrants and those staying in Türkiye draws attention in the movies. They are 'gurbetçi', 'Almancı' or 'Alamancı' in their homeland. To sum up, looking at the phenomenon of migration from the perspective of those who leave in novels and from the perspective of both those who leave and those who stay behind in movies shows that there is a difference in the perception of migration and the evaluation of the phenomenon of migration from the perspectives of migrants and those who follow the migration from the country.

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