

Istanbul in Domestic Migration Films (1965-1980) in Turkish Cinema: Stone and Soil Made of “Sorrow and Gloom”

Türk Sineması’nda İç Göç Filmlerinde (1965-1980) İstanbul: Taşı Toprağı “Gam Kasvet”

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Abstract

The population of Istanbul, as the “city of immigrants”, has been continuously shaped by migration. Migration to the city was not much intense during the period from the proclamation of the Republic to 1950. However, a wave of mass migration to Istanbul started after 1950. Cinema is another field where this transformation is made visible. In this context, with the purpose of finding out the way Istanbul was represented in domestic migration films shot in Turkish cinema between 1965-1980, the historical and sociological data of the domestic migration process were used along with the tropes in the study. The migrants’ reason of migrating to Istanbul, how they come, where and how they live, and what waits for them in the end were examined through the films named *Bitmeyen Yol* (Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1965), *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım* (Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1965), *Altın Şehir* (Orhan Elmas, 1965), *Öksüz* (Bilge Olgaç, 1968), *Fatma Bacı* (Halit Refiğ, 1972), *Sarı Öküz Parası* (Nişan Hançeryan, 1972), *Gelin* (Ömer Lütfü Akad, 1973), *Düğün* (Ömer Lütfü Akad, 1974), *Kızım Ayşe* (Yücel Çakmaklı, 1974), *Aç Gözünü Mehmet* (Süreya Duru, 1974), *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (Orhan Aksoy, 1978), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (Ömer Kavur, 1979), and *Baba Kartal* (Cüneyt Arkın, 1979). In domestic migration films, Istanbul turns out to be a city of death, loss and struggle for life. The domestic migration characters either die or kill in Istanbul. The city/Istanbul is identified with a woman who does not open her doors to newcomers/ immigrants at once. Istanbul is far from being a city that leaves space for happy endings.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

İç Göç,
İç Göç Filmleri,
İstanbul,
Türk Sineması,
Temsil.

Öz

“Göçmen kenti” İstanbul’un nüfusu göçlerle sürekli şekillenir. Cumhuriyetin ilanından 1950 yılına kadar kente göç süreci zayıftır. 1950 sonrasında ise İstanbul’a kitlesel göç dalgası başlar. Yaşanan dönüşümlerin bir biçimde görünür kılındığı alanlardan biri de sinemadır. Türk sinemasında 1965-1980 aralığında çekilen iç göç filmlerinde İstanbul’un nasıl temsil edildiğini irdelemeyi amaçlayan bu çalışmada film çözümlemesinde iç göç sürecinin tarihsel sosyolojik verileri ve trope’lar kullanılmıştır. *Bitmeyen Yol* (Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1965), *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım* (Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1965), *Altın Şehir* (Orhan Elmas, 1965), *Öksüz* (Bilge Olgaç, 1968), *Fatma Bacı* (Halit Refiğ, 1972), *Sarı Öküz Parası* (Nişan Hançeryan, 1972), *Gelin* (Ömer Lütfü Akad, 1973), *Düğün* (Ömer Lütfü Akad, 1974), *Kızım Ayşe* (Yücel Çakmaklı, 1974), *Aç Gözünü Mehmet* (Süreya Duru, 1974), *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (Orhan Aksoy, 1978), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (Ömer Kavur, 1979) ve *Baba Kartal* (Cüneyt Arkın, 1979) filmleri özelinde göçmenlerin İstanbul’a göç etme nedeni, nasıl geldikleri, nerede yaşadıkları, yaşamlarının nasıl olduğu ve kendilerini bekleyen sonun ne olduğu irdelenmiştir. İç göç filmlerinde İstanbul, ölümün, kayıpların ve mücadelenin verildiği bir kent haline gelir. İç göç kahramanları İstanbul’da ya ölür ya da katil olur. Bir yandan kent/İstanbul, kadın ile özdeşleşirken gelenlere/göçmenlere kapılarını da hemen açmaz. İstanbul mutlu sonları mümkün kılan kent olmaktan çok uzaktır.

Introduction

Migration is as old as humanity and it will go on to be a part of mankind's life. When it comes to migration, cities have always been the main destination to migrate. At this point, as all world cities, Istanbul has been a "city of migration" (Erder, 2015: 6) and a "city of immigrants" throughout history (Güvenç, 2009b: 130; Neyzi, 2009: 80; Özbay, 2015: 20). Since it was built upon domestic and external migration (Kazgan, 19701: 313-326), Turkey and its history may be written as the history of domestic and external migration (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999: 249). It might be said that the process of domestic and external migration in Turkey varied throughout the process. With the Republic - by the 1950s, the state plays an active role through the process as it gives particular importance both to the city and to urban practices. As of the first years of the Republic, the "populism" approach began to rise, which "glorified the countryside and employed an attitude against the city" (Yıldırım, 2021: 80). That is why there was not any important domestic migration movement from 1923 to 1950. During this period when migration from the countryside to the city and from city to the city was quite less, the urban population increased by only 3% (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999: 250-251). A village based approach and a statist economy were the dominant form during this period. "Peasants in the village" was the vast majority of the country (Buğra, 2013: 99). Istanbul's population was probably around 650.000 when the Republic was proclaimed. According to the first census in 1927, Istanbul had a population of 690.000. It increased to 741.000 in 1935, 794.000 in 1940, 861.000 in 1945, and 983.000 in 1950 (Güvenç, 2009a; Tekeli, 2009). Turkish cinema began to develop placing Istanbul at the center. Istanbul was in the cinema, the cinema was in Istanbul. *Yayla Kartalı* (Muhsin Ertuğrul, 1945), though lost, is a film on domestic migration, which was shot during the term of 1923-1950.

With 1950s, there was a shift from a period when the urbanization was slow, migration from the countryside to the city had not begun yet, to another period when cities and urbanization appeared in all aspects. Following the Democrat Party's coming into power, the majority of the funds received with the Marshall Plan that supplied a huge amount of outsource to Turkey from the second half of the 1940s to 1958 was allocated to "infrastructural sectors and agriculture" (Bahçe and Eres, 2012: 35). With the increase of the use of tractors and thus the increase of yield in agriculture, highways, rather than railways, were constructed in prior for the transportation of the obtained goods to the market in the most efficient and fastest way possible. This process both resulted in an increase in the amount of cultivated soil and created the technical potential of the migration (Yıldırım, 2021: 82). Thus, the citizens of the "little land owners' country" migrated to the city in the 1950s (Ahmad, 2014: 93). In the 1950s, with the start of the migration of the little landowners to the city of immigrants, "the population of the Istanbul city multiplied by nine (8.6) in a half-century" (Özbay, 2009: 54). The population of Istanbul within the borders of the municipality was determined to be 983.000 in 1950, 1.467.000 in 1960, 2.133.000 in 1970, and 2.773.000 in 1980 (Tekeli, 2009: 28). The number of the films increased by the 1950s, also with the effect of new directors introduced in the cinema. It is possible to say that Istanbul does not appear crowded in all aspects in the films shot in 1950.

With the domestic migration process that started after 1950, the “newcomers” who were not from Istanbul arrived at the city at Haydarpaşa Train Station, Anadolu Bus Terminal, or the Bosphorus Bridge. Films begin with arrival to Istanbul, where we see that heroes and stories are not from Istanbul. The cinema enters the single rooms, bars, nightclubs, brothels, and squatter houses of Beyoğlu in Istanbul (Altınsay, 1996: 74-75). This period of Istanbul’s passing through a fast-changing process and the coming out of the new forms of the city does not immediately have a reflection in cinema. The films on domestic migration would not start to increase in number until the 1960s. Therefore, the first setting of the films is either the village or Haydarpaşa Train Station. Haydarpaşa Train Station, in a way, turns into a place of “hope and/or wish”, where the heroes of domestic migration express their wishes both about Istanbul and the position they would like to see themselves in Istanbul. The most popular word used for Istanbul by the domestic immigrants is “bitch” and they usually express their hopes with “being a shah” or as in the sentence: “I’m here to defeat you!”¹

Here, it is possible to say that the migration history of Istanbul is reviewed under three periods: 1923-1950 (forced migration), 1950-1980 (migration of labor), and 1980 and after (local and global changes). The basic characteristics of these periods were given above, and the same will be dealt with in the following sections. The first vast migration to Istanbul took place during the period of 1950-1955, which ended at the beginning of the 1960s due to the political and economic crisis that broke out in the country. The second wave of migration to Istanbul began in the middle of the 1960s. This period, when industrialization in Istanbul took a mature form, is named as the period of “migration of workforce”, “migration of labor” (Özbay, 2015: 136, 144, 248). The films to be analyzed were limited to the ones shot between 1965 and 1980, which start with migration from the village to the city, considering the scope and restrictions of the study -and also considering the huge number of domestic migration films-.² The basic reason for this limitation is the start of the “second wave of migration to Istanbul in 1965” (Özbay, 2015: 136,144). It is worth noting that the city/Istanbul in Turkish Cinema becomes identical with death, loss, and struggle in domestic migration films. It is possible to say that Istanbul’s representation as “the city of the dead” or “either die or kill” in films (Balcı, 2021: 54) continues in domestic migration, as well. The same appears in films shot between 1950 and 1980, which begin with migration from the village to the city. There is death in Istanbul in films named *Ver Elini İstanbul*, *İkimize Bir Dünya* (Nevzat Pesen, 1962), *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Bitmeyen Yol* (Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1965), *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım* (Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1965), *Öksüz* (Bilge Olgaç, 1968), *Gelin* (Ömer Lütfü Akad, 1973), and *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (Orhan Aksoy, 1978). The migrants die in the referred films, where the migrant film characters become murderers in films named *Bitmeyen Yol*, *Fatma*

1 Among the early period films on domestic migration, *Ver Elini İstanbul* (Aydm Arakon, 1962) and *Gurbet Kuşları* (Halit Refiğ, 1964) include sentences such as: “Hey Istanbul, I’ll be a king to rule you”, “In Istanbul we’ll be a shah, for sure”.

2 As Dilara Balcı Gülpinar reviewed the comedy films on domestic migration, namely as *Salak Milyoner* (Ertem Eğilmez, 1974), *Nereye Bakıyor Bu Adamlar?* (Osman Seden,1976), *Kibar Feyzo* (Atf Yılmaz, 1978), *Şark Bülbülü* (Kartal Tibet, 1979), *Talihli Amele* (Atf Yılmaz, 1980), which were shot between 1970 and 1980, in her paper named *Köyden İndim İstanbul’a: Türkiye Sinemasında İç-Göç Güldürüsü* (2020), the films referred in this study have not been included. In these films, the major reason of coming to Istanbul is to save money for getting married and paying the dowry (Balcı Gülpinar, 2020: 120).

Bacı (Halit Refiğ, 1972), and *Kızım Ayşe* (Yücel Çakmaklı, 1974). The migrants work in the city; however, it is not easy to find a job in a city that does not welcome newcomers. The adventure of migrants begins with their arrival in the city. The films of Istanbul studied under the title of death, loss, and struggle as regards to domestic migration are namely as follows: *Bitmeyen Yol* (Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1965), *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım* (Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1965), *Altın Şehir* (Orhan Elmas, 1965), *Öksüz* (Bilge Olgaç, 1968), *Fatma Bacı* (Halit Refiğ, 1972), *Sarı Öküz Parası* (Nişan Hançeryan, 1972), *Gelin* (Ömer Lütfü Akad, 1973), *Düğün* (Ömer Lütfü Akad, 1974), *Kızım Ayşe* (Yücel Çakmaklı, 1974), *Aç Gözünü Mehmet* (Süreya Duru, 1974), *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (Orhan Aksoy, 1978), *Yusuf ile Kenan* (Ömer Kavur, 1979), *Baba Kartal* (Cüneyt Arkın, 1979).

It is significant to look at how representations were built in the films, and in a way, to look at how Istanbul was represented in domestic migration films throughout history, as they are cultural representations. Films encipher the discourses of social life (forms, figures, and ways of representation) and convey the same in the form of cinematic narratives. Thus, films are cultural representations that provide the transfer between different discursive planes (Ryan and Kellner, 2010: 35). With the purpose of finding out the way Istanbul was represented in domestic migration films shot in Turkish cinema between 1965-1980, the historical and sociological data of the domestic migration process (employment of immigrants by informal work segments, living in a squatter, etc.) were used to analyze the films, along with the *tropes* in the study. “As a concept borrowed from literary criticism in order to define/ view the repeated motifs that appear at various levels of film narrations, *trope* (metaphor) might allow us to make generalizations that would be valid for the migrants’ cinema” (Yaren, 2008: 13). It is originally based on the Greek word *Tropos*, which means “tendency”, “style”, or “tone”. Whereas in art, the form, color, and line constitute the basic codes of this artistic system, hard and soft edges are the sub-codes of this system. The hard or sharp edges of a painting by Ingres or Auguste Renoir’s thin and soft lines are special clichés. Accordingly, films had a unique system of codes and *tropes* (Monaco, 2001: 66). “*Tropes* might help us to make generalizations valid for migration cinema”³ (Yaren, 2008: 13). Within this context, certain *tropes* were found in the films on domestic migration which have been shot until today since 1950, the date when domestic migration started to Istanbul. Istanbul’s not opening its doors to newcomers/ migrants and identification of the city with the woman are only a few of these *tropes*. Considering the relationship between the domestic migration periods of Istanbul and the films, one could see the changed and unchanged way of representation and the *tropes* within them. While death is a dominant theme in the first-period films on domestic migration, the heroes of domestic migration turn into murderers in second-period films.⁴ While it was a convention on rise during the second period, the fellow-

3 Yaren finds out the *tropes* as “repetitions” and/or “a common motif” in European migration cinema. Queers, wedding scenes, violence (15), hybrid identities (106), gays, lesbians, and especially transvestites (111) are the *tropes* used very often in films (Yaren, 2008).

4 The films on domestic migration, which were shot in the period of 1950-1965, are as follows: *İki Kafadar Deliler Pansiyonunda* (Atf Yılmaz, 1952), *Halıcı Kız* (Muhsin Ertuğrul, 1953), *Ver Elini İstanbul* (Aydın Arakon, 1962), *İkimize Bir Dünya* (Nevzat Pesen, 1962), *Gurbet Kuşları* (Halit Refiğ, 1964), *Anadolu Çocuğu* (Osman Seden, 1964), *Bütün Suçumuz Sevmek* (Ülkü Erakalın, 1964). The study covers the films shot between 1965 and 1980. The films on domestic migration shot after 1980 are as follows: *Talihli Amele* (Atf Yılmaz, 1980), *At* (Ali

townsmen relationship shows a decline with the influence of the social transformation Turkey passed through after the 1980s. Squatter houses were not on the scene between 1950 and 1965, whereas they became fundamental places between 1965 and 1980, and reduced in number after 1980. Similarly, the number of films that open with arrival in the city at Haydarpaşa have decreased in number after 1980. The historical and sociological data of the domestic migration process have also been used for the analysis of the films. With the purpose of finding out the way Istanbul was represented in domestic migration films in Turkish Cinema, each film was studied in terms of the migrants' reasons for migrating to Istanbul, how they come, where they live, how they live, and what waits for them in the end.

Istanbul and films on domestic migration between 1965 and 1980

While Istanbul had the "lion's share" from investments such as energy, transportation, and communication with the Democrat Party after 1950 (Sönmez, 1996: 22), it became the most profiting party out of the development in economy and industry. The number of workers employed in the field of industry in the city increased four times within ten years; consumption of fuel oil increased three times, and the supply of electrical power also increased (Gül, 2013: 160). The wave of migration to Istanbul, which started in the 1950s, had a slight decline from 1955 to 1965, and had a rise again in 1965-1975 (Özbay, 2015: 136), as this was a period of industrial development in Istanbul (Özbay, 2015: 248). As totally different from the previous terms, in this period Istanbul is a "monstrous industrial city" (Güvenç, 2009a: 8) with a longer life expectancy, a decreased rate of birth, very swift demographic and urban transition processes with the impact of migration and rapid increase of population, and imposition of national recovery policies (Güvenç, 2009a: 8), where all the green areas were lost and people were doomed to a spaceless texture of city with squatters, minibuses, and street vendors (Ünlü-Yücesoy and Güvenç, 2010: 13), mostly dominated by the arabesque music and the build-and-sell system (Tekeli, 2009: 27).

The opening of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973 was one of the most important developments in the city. With the Bridge built, the "settlements in the north of the highway" began to increase quickly (Akpınar, 2010: 12), the city extended to the west by the Marmara Sea; and as the industrial site gradually got far from Haliç and moved to the Asian side, out of the city, after the construction of the highways (Göktürk et al. 2011: 27) the Asian side became popular, as it was relatively cheaper and less populated (Özbay, 2009: 67). With the structuring process of Istanbul, films on migration to the city continued to be shot, where the squatters remained as the basic residents in the films. Color motion picture films replaced the painted films after 1968. The color was used in a way to support the theme and make a contribution to the meaning, and Istanbul attained its color. 1970-1975 was another period with the highest amount of migration to Istanbul

Özgentürk, 1982), *Yosma* (Orhan Elmas, 1984), *Çaresizim* (Melih Gülgen, 1984), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (Muammer Özer, 1985), *Züğürt Ağa* (Yavuz Turgul, 1985), *Bir Küçük Bulut* (Faruk Turgut, 1990), *Uzak* (Nuri Bilge Ceylan, 2002), *Güneşi Gördüm* (Mahsun Kırmızıgül, 2009), and *Uzak İhtimal* (Mahmut Fazıl Coşkun, 2009).

(İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999: 250). The mid of 1970s was truly a period of prosperity in terms of purchasing power of the masses: Almost all the families living in the squatters of the metropolitan cities or in towns could buy a television, mostly fridge, vacuum cleaner, washing machine, and radio; where most of the middle class families in metropolitan cities owned a car (Boratav, 2014: 119-120; Keyder, 2015: 252).

Güçhan states that domestic migration started to appear as a theme in cinema in the 1960s, whereas this theme lost its popularity in the second half of the 1960s, and it peaked during the era from 1970 to 1980 (Güçhan, 1992: 11-12). The happy migrants of the first era were replaced by masses who had to fight for survival in the city after the 1970s. Social problems and social injustice began to take part in films shot between 1970 and 1980 (Zengin Çelik and Tezcan, 2017: 630). In comedy films themed on domestic migration, the city is presented as a place that has two faces, one face as dark and dangerous, the other face as an educative place that boosts knowledge and manners (Balcı Gülpınar, 2020: 117). On the other hand, the country and the city are put in comparison in domestic migration films. Shanty towns are presented as places that lodge innocent communities of high values, whereas the city is a degenerated place with worn value systems despite its entire attractivity and nice appearance (Zengin Çelik and Tezcan, 2017: 631). In the 1970s, Turkish Cinema varied in parallel to historical and sociological developments. Along with the films on domestic migration, there were also arabesque, sex, and historical costume adventure films during this era. The following section includes immigrants' reasons for migration, where they live, what waits for them in Istanbul, and analyses about their end.

There is Death, Loss, and Struggle in Istanbul! (1965-1980)

Reasons of the domestic migrants for migrating to Istanbul

The characters of the domestic migration films usually go to Istanbul for work. In other words, people migrate to Istanbul to find a job for a living. The domestic migration process of Istanbul in the period 1965-1980 being called as “migration of workpower”/“labor” and the urbanization of Istanbul in the period 1950-1980 as “the urbanization of labor power” (Şengül, 2012: 410) is also reflected in the films. Migrants arrive in Istanbul through various modes of transportation (train and bus). The study first puts light on the people who migrate to Istanbul for a job. *Bitmeyen Yol* begins in a squatter with sounds of prayer calls and ends in a squatter. After the opening scene of the film, the view of the train approaching Haydarpaşa Train Station comes into the frame. Six men walk on the streets of the city with their beds on their backs, looking around bewilderedly. Ahmet (Fikret Hakan) and his friends migrate to Istanbul because “there is no bread in the village”. In *Altın Şehir*, Selim (Tanju Gürsu) comes from an unknown village with an *Ağa* (Landowner) in power to Istanbul, where there is “abundant work”. *Fatma Bacı* is about Sister Fatma (Yıldız Kenter), who migrates to Istanbul with her three children upon losing her husband due to a blood feud, and who starts to work as a caretaker in a block of apartments. The film involves a dilemma of East and West in the center. Whereas there is the sound of a *bağlama* (a Turkish music instrument with strings) over the views of the village, there is the sound of prayers over the views of

blocks of apartments in the opening scene of Istanbul. *Sarı Öküz Parası* is another film on migration where Ali (Ali Avaz) is a man who earns his bread by taking care of stock in the village. However, his animal dies and he heads to Istanbul in order to earn enough money to buy an ox. In *Gelin*, while the members of the family have been living in Istanbul for six years, the son named Veli (Kerem Yılmaz), his wife Meryem (Hülya Koçyiğit), and their son Osman (Kahraman Kırıl) join them, coming from the Sorgun district in Yozgat. The elder brother Hıdır (Kamran Usluer) meets Meryem, Veli, and Osman in Haydarpaşa. The members of the family are bewildered, as anyone who comes to Istanbul for the first time. *Düğün* begins with images from Urfa. Tobacco and garment sellers, street letter-writers, and tradesmen waiting for customers in front of their shops appear on the screen with a slow music played with the *bağlama* on the background. All of a sudden, the view passes from the minaret of a mosque to Eminönü. People carrying plastic cans, pickle sellers, street vendors of garments, bagels, plastic bags, and *lahmacun* (pancake with spicy meat filling) are in Istanbul. The difference between Urfa and Istanbul becomes clearer. There is demand and customers in Istanbul, but these are absent in Urfa. The gain is in Istanbul! The camera focuses on a factory after showing people who work and earn. There is no factory in Urfa –as well-! *Aç Gözünü Mehmet* opens with the Haydarpaşa Train Station. The camera pans the station building from top to bottom and the name of the film appears over the railway platforms. The off-voice tells the audience that Mehmet (Mehmet Keskinoglu) is another one who comes “from Anatolia with the hopes of finding a better life...” *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* opens with a scene in the village, where we are introduced to Ökkeş Uyanık (Levent Kırca) who says: “It’s the time of the machines. Now the soil has become the slave of the machine, but we are still the slaves of the soil”, complaining that they do not have a tractor. The members of the family are talking about having a tractor, as they still plow their land with man and animal power. There are figures in the village who migrated to Istanbul and came back buying a tractor. Ökkeş thinks about going to Istanbul, too, but he “[is] afraid of being away from the hometown”, considering that “Every rooster crows in its own pen”. But in some way, upon insists of the family members, they sell out everything and set off the road, of course by the train... The family does not have anything to say on the stairs of the Haydarpaşa Train Station, as they do not aim to be shah in Istanbul, but they would just buy a tractor and go back to the village. A brand new image appears in the film, which has not appeared before in domestic migration films: The welcome sign of Istanbul showing population of the city (5.168.000). Then, Ökkeş talks about Istanbul near the sign: “I was thinking if we would be too many for the city. Being a house to millions, Istanbul would certainly give bread to us.” Ökkeş’s brother Cemal (Asım Par) says: “Only plain bread, brother? It will also give a tractor to us.” And upon this, the members of the family add four to the number on the sign. *Baba Kartal* begins with a sorrowful sound of *bağlama* on background of the views of the village. The camera pans from right to left to show the father named Kartal (Cüneyt Arkın) and his two sons, Binali (Nejat Özbek) and Ahmet (Tuğrul Meteer) working in the field. Kartal is one of the villagers who has lost his crops due to drought and owes to the Ağa (Landowner). After losing his land for his debt, Kartal migrates to Istanbul where “he will have all the chances”. His sons get happy upon this; Binali for “he will get on vehicles” in Istanbul, “the big city”, and Ahmet for “the schools are very close to home”. The family arrives in Istanbul by train. The family appears in Haydarpaşa with a wooden

suitcase, kitchenware put in a basket, and wearing traditional clothes, but there are no words spoken about the city.

Migrants come to Istanbul not only to find a job. For example, the reason for migration is a blood feud or being forced to leave your hometown by the landowner (Erhan, 1997: 234) in the films *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım* and *Yusuf ile Kenan*. In *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım*, as Ahmet (Yılmaz Güney) does not want to kill anybody, he says his mother: “Let’s go away from here”. Upon her mother’s questions of where and how, he tells about his dreams: “To the city. I bet the city will open a little space for us too, among millions of people there... Mother, I saw the city as well. We don’t need much money. I’ll start little. I’ll take you away, too... I’m going, mom. I’m going to find somewhere where men do not kill, cannot kill, or would not kill each other.” Ahmet has seen the city where he fulfilled his military service, but not Istanbul! In Istanbul where people die and kill each other, Ahmet dies as well! Putting his father’s weapon in his little bag, Ahmet comes to Istanbul by bus. After families, men, and women, now we see children migrating to Istanbul in *Yusuf ile Kenan*. The film begins with Yusuf (Cem Davran) and Kenan (Tamer Çeliker) watching the sheep and their father working in the field at the sight level of the children. Brothers see that the men seeking feud are here to kill their father and run towards him to warn. As the father knows he is going to be killed, he gives the children some money and their uncle Ali’s address and tells them to run away. Children do as he told, but also see their father being murdered from a distance. Kenan is most impressed by what they have seen, so he sees that moment in his dreams all the time. Arriving at the train station, the kids head to Istanbul. Along with Yusuf and Kenan, the glorious gate and stairs of Haydarpaşa come into the view.

Another factor that causes migration is the insufficient pre- and post-natal care services (Özen, 1997: 626). This is exactly what lies in the center of *Öksüz*. The film begins with the story of Kezban (Fatma Girik) and Ali (Engin Çağlar) in a village by the River Zap. Kezban is pregnant and she suffers from labor pains; however, it is not easy to access the town, as they need to cross over the River Zap. While trying to cross the water with the help of a rope, Kezban falls down and she not only loses her baby but also gets paralyzed. Ali sells his lands in the village and goes to Istanbul to find a cure for Kezban. In *Kızım Ayşe*, the film characters come to Istanbul to get an education. The film is centered on the story of Sister Huriye (Yıldız Kenter), who has lost her husband due to an epidemic in the village and endeavors for her daughter Ayşe (Necla Nazır) to be a doctor. Ayşe is admitted to the Faculty of Medicine in Istanbul and Sister Huriye migrates to Istanbul in order to keep the promise she gave to her husband.

Residents of the migrants

It is beyond question that the changing silhouette of Istanbul with its immigrants has created its new forms, as well. There has been a high-speed migration process from the rural to the city, beginning with the 1950s. Informal job sectors and new types of buildings arose with fast urbanization. New types of buildings in big cities reveal a two-sided model: Squatters and build-and-sell type blocks of apartments of the middle class (Balcı, 2021: 13). Migrants live in squatters, blocks of apartments, and masonry houses in

domestic migration films. In absence of any of these residents, they also live on the street. First of all, migrants and their lives in a squatter were studied. In *Bitmeyen Yol*, Ahmet (Fikret Hakan) and his friends go to their fellow-townsmen who runs a coffee house in the shanty town. In stories of migration from the village to the city, people try to hold on the city by the way of social networks from "the mechanisms automatically developed by various sectors of the society" (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2013: 96), in a way through informal relationship channels (relatives, fellow-townsmen, etc.), which provide Turkey to come over the urbanization problems. Fellow-townsmanship brings forth a sense of belonging. The films might be said to represent this case, as well. In *Bitmeyen Yol*, Ahmet stays in the bunker of Sister Güllü (Aliye Rona), his townswoman who resides in the squatter shown in the opening scene of the film. There is no infrastructure in the squatter. Of the family members that try to survive in a single room, one of them works as a "servant for a penny", whereas the other works in a garment factory. Ahmet and his friends stay in a deformed lodge allocated by the employer. The migrants in the films *Gelin*, *Düğün*, and *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* cannot escape from living in a squatter, as well. Thus, fellow-townsmanship is identified with living in a squatter house. In *Gelin*, father Hacı İlyas (Ali Şen) thinks that although the neighborhood they are living in is not very different from Sorgun, Yozgat (their hometown), it is "a bit mixed. The ones from the South, Aegean, and the Black Sea all live together". That is why where they live is "not Istanbul, but in fact an Anatolian town". Children playing on muddy roads, the coffee house, the grocery, squatters that are in the process of turning into blocks of apartments, the mobile fair... are all the elements of the shanty town. In *Düğün*, the family comes from Urfa to Istanbul thanks to their uncle -network type relations in one sense. The family lives in a squatter house. In *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*, Fatma's uncle Salih (Erol Taş) helps the family in Istanbul. Saying "Istanbul is a generous city," Salih both arranges a squatter and a job for Ökkeş.

In *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım*, Ahmet begins to work as a nightclub bodyguard and rents an apartment unit for himself. The resident is a block of apartments in *Fatma Bacı*, as well, but the family lives in the housekeeper flat of the apartment. The first legal regulation on apartmentization is the Property Ownership Law in 1965. With the introduction of the law that promotes building apartment blocks, "comes the rise of the housekeeper and his family as a major element in the urban life of Turkey". Housekeeping turns out to be a profession dominated by the men that migrate from rural areas, whereas their wives provide house services (Özyeğin, 2005: 20).

Beside squatter houses and apartment flats, migrants also live either in a masonry house, an inn/hotel, or on the street. In *Kızım Ayşe*, Sister Huriye and her daughter Ayşe lives in a masonry house. In *Altın Şehir*, Selim lives in a squatter house, on the street, and also shares a room with driver Halil (Semih Serger), who is also a migrant and works in the same factory. In *Öksüz*, Kezban and Ali first stay in a hotel, and then in an abandoned old car. In *Sarı Öküz Parası*, although the place where Ali lives in is not very clear, his townsman arranges a hotel room for him. In *Aç Gözünü Mehmet*, upon arrival to Istanbul, Mehmet directly goes to his townsman; however, his townsman is on a business trip to Germany. Thus, the first *trope* appears here: Istanbul does not open its doors to newcomers at once. Mehmet cannot find his townsman and begins to stay in where he

works. In *Yusuf ile Kenan*, the kids walk along the streets of Istanbul to finally arrive in the *han* (a traditional kind of business center of traders) where their uncle works. Their uncle Ali has quitted the job and nobody knows the address of his new workplace.⁵ The trope of Istanbul's not opening its doors to newcomers goes on in this story. The children have neither somewhere to stay nor money. They spend the first night at the door of the *han*, as the place they know the most. They are dismissed by the keeper of the *han* in the morning. In some way, children get to know Bug/Cenk (Yalçın Avşar), and he makes the children sleep in an abandoned car, which is a "house" to other street children, too. The residents of *Baba Kartal* change in proportion to the power he earns in the city. Kartal and his sons settle in a single room in an inn that houses male migrants. However, as Kartal gets involved in "dirty jobs", he first lives in an apartment flat, and then in a villa.

The lives of the migrants in Istanbul with no "gold in its stone and soil"

The migrants do not live a very bright life in Istanbul. They find a job in Istanbul, but it does not last long. Also, it is not possible to stand on your own feet without suffering a loss or fighting a battle. In *Bitmeyen Yol*, Ahmet and his friends first go to a fellow-townsmen in the coffee house to look for a job. But when the townsman says: "This year there is a slowdown in business. Nobody has money, so no jobs", the men lose their hope. However, there are other townsmen in the city to whom they consult full of hope, but they cannot fulfil their expectations. Ahmet and his friends just eat bread throughout the film. Ahmet's friend (Erol Taş) who says: "Boy, the stone and soil of this city is made of gold, but you should know how to get it," works in sand transport business. The migrants stay in a deformed lodge. The city/Istanbul is a place impossible to survive in and hard to stand on your feet without a struggle for Ahmet and his friends, who migrated to the city because "the village did not satisfy their hunger" in the first place. In *Bitmeyen Yol*, the city, labor, workpower, and all means of production are shown. Although the city is a base of production, it is not easy to live in the city. The ones who came from the village compete with each other in the "job market" in order to work in construction works. The jobs found are temporary (Balcı, 2021: 68). The trope of identification of the city with the woman is reflected in Ahmet's story. Cemile (Selma Güneri), one of the daughters of her fellow-townswoman Sister Güllü, works in a garment factory. Cemile is married for two years and her husband has gone to Germany as a worker. A relationship flourishes between Ahmet and Cemile within time. However, this does not last long as Ahmet ends up as a murderer. In *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım*, as soon as Ahmet gets off, he buys the sales booth and the goods necessary for the work. But he has a run of bad luck on the first day:

5 The tea server of the *han* tries to help Yusuf and Kenan. They go to the *han* owner's house together, but he does not know their uncle's address, as well. The dialogue in the house reveals the view about immigrants. *Han* owner: It is a social issue. They come all the way long from the countryside to here. Lale, *han* owner's niece: Uncle, you say so but you can't guess how cunning they are. They come from Anatolia in a poor situation. Feeling pity for them, you take them with you. Then they turn into a trouble. *Han* owner: No way! Lale: But, it's true. Do you know what Doğan suffers in the factory? Strike, disobedience, collective agreements. They have ruined Istanbul. *Han* owner: Yes. That's right. Istanbul is not much like it was before. Lale: Doğan says that these should not be educated but crushed in. Therefore, migration of peasants is a negative issue in dialogues (This negative perspective continues in *Bitmeyen Yol* and, *Altın Şehir*).

First, he is dismissed from where he put his sales booth as he blocked the entrance of a shop. Then he sets his booth in a crowded street, but he cannot call out loud like other people, his voice does not come out. And here is the *trope* of identification of the city with the woman: Ahmet sees Zeynep (Selma Güneri). While Zeynep is looking at the products on his sales booth, his booth is seized by the municipal police. His bag remains at where his booth was. The money and the weapon inside it are taken and shared by the owners of other sales booths. Ahmet is beaten by the men who took his bag and is caught into the net of fraudsters. Thus, the *trope* of Istanbul's not welcoming the newcomers oozes out once again with Ahmet's adventures. Ahmet comes across the men who stole his money and weapon in front of a nightclub, goes after them, and begins to beat them (and gets back his weapon in the end). Upon this, while the owner of the club, Cemal (Tuncel Kurtiz), proposes a job to Ahmet, the "brave man", his lover Belkıs (Gülbin Eray) sets eyes on Ahmet. Ahmet accepts to work as a bodyguard in the nightclub. Labor is dominant especially in informal sector in domestic migration films. "After 1950, the share of the paid/waged groups within urban population falls back during this period" (Boratav, 2014: 108) Through the informal relationship channels (blood relation, fellow-townsmanship, etc.), the share of marginal jobs such as being a street vendor, porter, shoe polisher, doorkeeper, minibusses butler, servant, market seller, night guard, and nightclub bodyguard, increases in the informal jobs market. The named informal jobs are the areas where migrants become visible in some way in domestic migration films. Yaşar Kemal states that any small space would be full of men waiting to be hired for a job in Istanbul during this period. "Istanbul is filled to the grim with people either in sorrow of waiting for a job or in joy of finding one. It is filled with expats, i.e. homesick birds" (Kemal, 2020: 144). To continue with the film, Ahmet accepts the job when he sees Zeynep who is dancing there unhappily in a belly dancer costume. Zeynep disappears in a way. Ahmet becomes drunk and roguish in Zeynep's absence. Zeynep and Ahmet coincide with each other in an evening. Ahmet takes Zeynep to his house, quits his job in the nightclub, and starts to work as a street vendor.

In *Altın Şehir*, while drinking in a pub, Selim kills a man and runs away. She finds a shelter in orphan Nesrin's (Fatma Girik) squatter house. Selim and Nesrin fall in love with each other and begin to date. This is continuation of the *trope* of identification of the city with the woman. Selim starts to work in the factory where Nesrin has been working in. Selim's roommate and colleague Halil has been working in the "golden city" for four years in order to save money for marriage; however, he cannot do this. In the end, Halil offers Selim to smuggle goods from the factory. It is hard to survive in the city of "fighting for bread". Selim accepts the job. While the goods are carried in the port, a huge case/load falls on Halil, which causes his sudden death. Therefore, the city which was regarded as "stone and soil made of gold" turns into a city with "stone and soil full of sorrow and pain", as Halil used to say. In *Öksüz*, saying "They are said to steal money at every step on the streets of Istanbul", Ali puts all the money into Kezban's chest and goes to see the doctor. Upon this, the hotel guy and his friends break into the room, they beat up Kezban and steal all the money from her. Ali wants to pay off what was done to Kezban from the hotel guy, but that is in vain... They have to report to the police and then remain with nothing to depend on. This is the continuance of the *trope* of the city not welcoming the

newcomers. They sleep in a car with the help of a vagabond. Ali steals/ takes back his money from the thieves. His wife goes under an operation with that money. Beginning to work as a porter, Ali is caught by the police and imprisoned for three years. Kezban works as a servant in a house during this period. For a long time, villagers were “obedient servants for a penny” for the men of the communities in the city centre and “servants for a penny” that needed education for the women in the city (Erder, 2010: 12). The women in domestic migration films are mostly employed as “servants for a penny”.

In *Fatma Bacı*, Ayşe (Leyla Akçan Kenter), one of the two daughters of Fatma, studies Fashion Design in the Faculty of Fine Arts. She acts like a “Western”, attends parties, hides her class status from her circle of friends, and is ashamed of her mother. Halime (Fatma Belgen) is a worker. Halime wants to get married to the businessman who offers her a luxury lifestyle at the penthouse, not to the mason with a squatter of three rooms. But Halime’s lover is married and Halime is pregnant. Halime leaves the house and begins to live the life she has always longed for. She has an accident with her lover and loses her child. Her son, Yusuf (Sertan Acar), works with a coppersmith. Sister Fatma wants to send Yusuf to Germany to save him from killing his father’s murderer but she cannot manage this. In *Kızım Ayşe*, Sister Huriye works as a cleaner and makes piecework sewing at home to pay for the education costs of her daughter. Having difficulty in paying the rent of the house, Sister Huriye has to sell her sewing machine, which was inherited from her mother. Ayşe and Huriye Bacı live peacefully in their frame house. Sister Huriye somehow meets his fellow-townsmen Mr. Kazım (Şükran Güngör). Kazım opens the doors of his house to Sister Huriye in order to pay for her services in looking after his daughter Melahat (Deniz Erkanat) for years. Upon moving to Mr. Kazım’s house, Ayşe starts to criticize her mother. As she continues fasting and praying and protects her traditional values, Sister Huriye is continuously criticized by the upper class/“degenerated” people. In Islamic films, “traditional women are busy with chores at home and they are obedient to their men... The modern is associated to degeneration in terms of ethical values” (İmançer, 2010: 93-94). Sister Huriye gets affected by what she has experienced and turns back to her village for a while. In *Sarı Öküz Parası*, Ali goes to the address given by his fellow-townsmen, but he cannot find him (*Trope* continues here). After a short while, both the townsman and the job are found. Davut (Hayati Hamzaoğlu) assigns Ali with heroin carrying job, but Ali does not know anything about that. Ali’s wife Emine (Suna Pekuyşal) comes to Istanbul, as well, but she is taken by Davut’s men. The police are aware of everything. The police use Ali in order to bring down the gang, and then things get strange.

All the members of the family work in *Gelin*. Hacı İlyas is the owner of a grocery in the shanty town, in some way they have an order in the “Anatolian town”, but the main problem is to create an order in “the other Istanbul”. Then, where is “the other Istanbul”? Istanbul is behind the blocks of apartments seen from the grocery of Hacı İlyas, it is “one side of the big city”. A market is opened in the “other city”, but what happens in the “other city” is not shown. The “other city” is the place of people who do shopping by “kilograms, not by grams”! The Mother (Aliye Rona) sees the rest of the backyard as Istanbul since she does not have any relationship with money, which is the main instrument in the city, like her husband Hacı İlyas. Then, where is the house with the backyard? It is Sorgun, Yozgat!

There are women stuck in Istanbul's "Sorgun, Yozgat town" (Balcı, 2021: 88). Meryem and Hıdır's wife Naciye (Nazan Adalı) make pickles in the backyard in order to be sold in the grocery. The Mother calls Meryem as "headstrong". Meryem's behavior is always under control. Her veil should be two layers when she goes out, she should not speak to elder ones, she should obey, and she should not see Güler, her fellow-townswoman who works in the factory. Osman's disease deteriorates, but he is taken to a Hodga (religious man) instead of a doctor, lead is poured, and prayers are said. However, a medical cure is sought for Hacı İlyas's knee pains. Meryem does not listen to the members of the family anymore and takes Osman to the doctor in the end. There is a hole in Osman's heart and he has to have an operation. Meryem wants to have his son operated, but the family rejects this, as they need money for the market to be opened. Meryem gives all her gold to Hacı İlyas. The market opened in the "other" city brings the end of Osman: Osman dies! Akad uses the term "sea of men" in his trilogy and he takes this term further. The uncle in *Düğün* defines Istanbul as follows: "Istanbul is just a forest. Not a sea of trees, but a sea of men. Do you think it's easy to break through the sea of men? This is where the brave youngsters are abundant..." Breaking through the sea of men will not be easy at all! All the members of the family have a job to work, but it is not easy to live on in Istanbul. Some of them must be sacrificed. In Ferhat's (Ahmet Mekin) words, "human flesh" must be eaten! "That who has leaned on somebody, he has eaten human flesh!" Whose flesh would be eaten? Sister Cemile's (İlknur Yağız). Cemile is given in marriage in return for a bride wealth in order to get the capital for the business to be established in Istanbul for the living of the family. It is the women whose flesh is eaten in Istanbul! The males of the family, İbrahim (Erol Günaydın) and Halil (Kamran Usluer) are involved in a fight, and İbrahim wounds someone during the fight. The family is required to pay the installments of a three-wheeler, and for this reason, the youngest brother, Yusuf, takes the blame on. Brother Halil thinks it is the right thing to do, but Zelha objects to this saying: "You sold Cemile, and now you are casting Yusuf (Joseph) into the pit!", however the result does not change and Yusuf is sent to the detention center. Istanbul is not a "reliable place and grinds people like a huge machine" (Gürdaş, 2021: 536). Another child whose "flesh will be eaten" in *Düğün* is Habibe. But Zelha does not allow this.

In *Aç Gözünü Mehmet*, Mehmet begins to work in a furniture shop. He changes his traditional clothes upon the shop owner's will. "Turning into a city boy", Mehmet learns many things in a short while. The "both skillful and hardworking and honest" Mehmet's life begins to change when he goes to deliver some goods to singer Füsün Önal. Here, the *trope* of identification of the city with the woman comes to the scene once more. Finding a corpse in the house, Mehmet traces the case, also with the help of Füsün. The dead body is of the secretary of Muhtar, who is a fellow-townswoman of Mehmet. The planner of all these is Hasan (Kenan Pars) and his purpose is to kill Muhtar. Mehmet and Füsün break the plan in some way and Muhtar is saved. In *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*, all the members of the family work for a living. Fatma works as a daily housekeeper, in a way she is a "servant for a penny. Cemal works in the construction of a building and son Mehmet (Mahmut Gürses) works in a coffee house. The members of the family give the first installment of the tractor and register for it. As the time goes by, the lives of the

family members begin to change. Cemal becomes the night guard of a warehouse used for smuggling and son Mehmet begins to sell contraband cigarettes. Fatma fulfils the requirements of “living a civilized life”. Referred as the source of cultural and ethical degeneration, the city plays part in the alteration of the characters of the Uyanık family. But when the scenes are studied deeply, it is found that degeneration comes out in relation to preferences, where the city offers the habitat for the flourishing of these preferences (Salman and Demirel, 2022: 493). Ökkeş begins to roam the streets of Istanbul, “the generous city”, with his selling booth, after he is discharged from his job. It is hard to manage a living in Istanbul, the family goes to the market and finds everything expensive. At that time, the song *Bedava* (Free) begins to play, a song by Özdemir Erdoğan, based on a poem by Orhan Veli.⁶ The family offers its first sacrifice: Cemal dies during a police raid to the warehouse. Ökkeş watches Istanbul by the sea, as the one to be blamed for his brother’s death, he looks at the city with anger. Son Mehmet stabs Tahir (Cem Davran), his friend who arranged the contraband cigarette work for him. Meanwhile, Ökkeş pays the last installment of the tractor and begins his trip on the streets of Istanbul driving the blue tractor, but his joy does not last long, because neither the tractor has a plate nor Ökkeş a driving license. Ökkeş fulfils the procedures in the Traffic Office but the parked tractor is stolen. He looks for his tractor in vain, running on the streets of Istanbul with the plate in his hand. Fatma tramps down the plate at home, saying: “It’s all because of this tractor we got here!” upon which Ökkeş says: “Was not Istanbul our hope, as the city with its stone and soil made of gold? Wouldn’t we buy the tractor and go back?” Meanwhile, Ökkeş learns that his son was sent to the detention center. Fatma leaves Ökkeş for Avni, a rich businessman.

In *Yusuf ile Kenan*, children survive on the street, in abandoned houses and vehicles. Getting tired, hungry, and cold, children have to eat the bread they find in ruined places. Bug/Cenk sometimes shares his bread with the children. Bug introduces the children to Crooked (Hakan Tanfer), who steals things. Yusuf begins to commit theft with Crooked at night. Kenan, having a desire to be an apprentice, becomes friends with worker Mustafa, who “turns an honest penny”. Kenan does not want his brother to work with Crooked, he objects to this, but Yusuf goes on to steal car cassette players. Falkonetti, who used to help Crooked with theft before Yusuf, stabs Bug and Bug/Cenk dies. Yusuf and Crooked are caught by the police while drinking in a bar. Crooked is released with the help of his brothers, but Yusuf is still in jail. Mustafa is the only person Kenan can consult, as he is all alone in the street. Mustafa takes Kenan to his house. Mustafa’s family cares for Kenan, washing him up and changing his clothes. *Baba Kartal* begins to stay in a single room in a *han* with his sons. Kartal starts to work in the “construction sector, which was the most active production sector of the period and mostly focused on constructing roads and buildings”, as the major field of work of the migrants in the city (Yıldırım, 2021: 121). However, he does not accept being paid short and is discharged from the work. He meets the men suggested by the officer in the *han*, he gives his money to dry good dealers who turn out to be fraudsters. For Istanbul “has been the place of not goodness but evil,

6 For free we live, for free/The air is free, the clouds are for free/Valleys and hills for free/The rain, the mud, for free/The outside of cars/The doors of the cinemas/The shopwindows, for free/Bread and butter aren’t but/Stale water is for free/Freedom can cost your head/Captivity is free/For free we live, for free.

not naiveté but artfulness as of 1950" (Balcı, 2021: 54). Having lost all his money in the "city of evil", Kartal works in road construction for a while. Binali starts to work with a coppersmith. Meanwhile, son Ahmet gets sick. Kartal gets to know Rafet (Bilal İnci) in some way and does what is demanded from him: He kills a man in return for money. Kartal works near Rafet and becomes the deputy chair of the holding. Ahmet studies Economics, while Binali acts like a vagabond. Kartal starts dating Zeynep whose life he saved. Ahmet gets killed by Rafet and his men because he has searched for how his father earned that amount of money. Father Kartal will get revenge of his son.

What waits for the migrants in Istanbul?

Istanbul is far from being a city that makes happy endings possible. This is also repeated in domestic migration films. Being a murderer, dying, suffering a loss becomes ordinary when it comes to Istanbul. The study first examined the migrants who committed a murder. In *Bitmeyen Yol*, as it is not easy to survive in Istanbul, Ahmet kills the employer who does not give a job to him. Istanbul makes the man a murderer! In *Fatma Bacı*, son Yusuf quits the job to kill his father's murderer, buys a weapon, and goes to Izmir. Sister Fatma goes after his son, she kills her husband's murderer herself and gets imprisoned. At the end of the film, the children visit their mother in the prison and express their regret to her. While Sister Fatma kills a man to save her son, Sister Huriye kills a man to save Ayşe's 'honor' in *Kızım Ayşe*. "The woman's body, the body that is always tested for virtue, is almost always under a symbolic father's observance. Thus, the voice of the countryside and of the street is 'devotion to chastity'" (Arslan, 2010: 110-111). In *Kızım Ayşe*, this turns out to be the contrary, but 'devotion to chastity' does not change. Melahat is pregnant and her lover does not want the child. Melahat's lover attacks both to Ayşe and Melahat. Sister Huriye comes at the last minute and kills the man. Melahat dies in the hospital and Sister Huriye is sent to jail. Upon Sister Huriye's discharge from the prison, she takes Ayşe, who has become a doctor, with her and they go back to the village, in a way back to their past.⁷ The heroes of the domestic migration films either die or become a murderer in the city of the dead.

Among the studied films, the number of films including the death of the migrants is five. In *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım*, Cemal finds Ahmet, gives money to him and calls him to the nightclub. Ahmet takes the money and buys a wedding gown for Zeynep. When Ahmet goes to the nightclub, Belkıs says: "Don't leave me, don't go to that bitch!" Ahmet goes on his way, but Belkıs shoots him. Still standing on, Ahmet goes on to walk, arrives home all in blood and falls down. The film ends with Zeynep's tears and the close up to Ahmet's face. In *Öksüz*, upon Ali's imprisonment, Kezban earns her living by working as a servant in a house. With Ali's discharge from the prison, their wish comes true: Kezban gets pregnant. However, she dies upon giving birth to her child. In *Gelin*, upon Osman's death in eid qurban, Meryem puts Hacı İlyas's grocery on fire. Meryem leaves

⁷ In all the two films, mothers do not go through any change upon living in the city. Features such as clothing, speaking style, religious practices, and self-sacrificing remain unchanged with the mothers. But when it comes to the daughters, a change is indispensable. Clothes turn into a modern style, make-up is worn, and the mother and 'the old one' are criticized (Balcı, 2018, pp. 280-281). In *Kızım Ayşe*, as well. Ayşe blames her mother for having a "peasant's point of view", not keeping up with the changing world, and interfering with her. The daughters are ashamed of their mothers in two films.

her husband and begins to work in a factory, instead of going back to the village. What is expected from Veli is to kill Meryem. Akad surprises the audience that waits for one more death! Veli does not kill Meryem. They take the road together in the city. This setting off is possible through death and loss! In *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*, the first sacrifice given to the city is brother Cemal. Fatma leaves Ökkeş for a rich businessman, his son is sent to the detention centre. Ökkeş goes to the sign of Istanbul they saw on their first arrival in Istanbul and says: “Hey Istanbul, the golden city! You feed millions and millions of men. You feed the ladies, the boys, and the kids. Is only Ökkeş Uyanık’s family too much for you? If we are too much for you, you are too much for me, too.” (Ökkeş shouts out these words). Then, he takes some mud in his hand and rubs it on the sign, and then goes away. “The reason and source of ethical degeneration that causes termination of the characters in the film is associated to the city in general. The clean country is put against the dirty city” (Salman and Demirel, 2022: 492). A family’s struggle to survive in the city brings out death and losses. In *Baba Kartal*, Kartal takes revenge of his son, who was killed by his colleagues: Kartal kills his colleagues. Kartal is caught by the police and walks through the crowd applauding him at the door, with hands tied in a cuff. There is both death and being a murderer in *Baba Kartal*.

There are limited films that do not include domestic migration characters who become a murderer or die in the city (*Altın Şehir, Sarı Öküz Parası, Düğün, Aç Gözünü Mehmet, Yusuf ile Kenan*). Even when there is neither death nor killing, migrants give losses. In *Altın Şehir*, upon Halil’s death, Selim tells Nesrin to go back to the village. The couple leaves the city at the crowded Haydarpaşa Train Station. Beside *Gurbet Kuşları*, we also see the domestic migration figures who leave the city in *Altın Şehir. Sarı Öküz Parası* is one of the rare films that bring a happy ending. Being friends with the police without noticing, Ali gives them information about the transfer of heroine unknowingly. On the day of the operation, bad men are caught. The police force buys an ox for Ali for his help (in fact, Ali was involved in the heroine job in the city because of his fellow-townsmen). Another child whose “flesh will be eaten” in *Düğün* is Habibe. But Zelha does not allow this. They stab a dagger into her stomach in Habibe’s wedding, but she does not allow the sacrifice of Habibe (However, Zelha breaks up with her fiancé upon migration of her family to the city, so she is the first person who sacrifices herself). Zelha takes her sisters near her, and then their brother İbrahim joins them, too. In *Aç Gözünü Mehmet*, Uncle Muhtar gets saved thanks to Mehmet. Mehmet tells Muhtar that some men wanted to kill him and that he is his fellow-townsmen. But the man does not recognize him and writes a cheque. Although they feel sorrow for what has happened, Mehmet and Füsün set off together. In *Yusuf ile Kenan*, Mustafa takes Kenan to his house. Mustafa’s family cares for Kenan, washing him up and changing his clothes. Mustafa’s family lives a worker’s life in a squatter. Children wake up at six in the morning and set off to work with other children behind them. In the workplace, Kenan looks around with hope. There is a smile on his face, which has not been there for a long time.⁸

8 On the background of this scene, Nazım Hikmet’s poem *Let’s Give the World to Children* is heard: Let’s give the world to children/like a huge apple, or a warm loaf of bread/let them be satiated at least for one day/let the world learn what friendship is at least for one day/children will inherit the world from us/and they will plant immortal trees.

Conclusion

The analysis of 13 films in Turkish cinema on domestic migration, which were shot in the period 1965-1980, with the purpose of finding out how Istanbul was represented thereon, by the use of the *tropes* in the films and the historical and sociological data of the domestic migration process revealed that Istanbul is the city of death, loss, and struggle. The heroes of the domestic migration films either die (*Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım, Altın Şehir, Öksüz, Gelin, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir, Baba Kartal*) or become a murderer in Istanbul (*Bitmeyen Yol, Fatma Bacı, Kızım Ayşe, Baba Kartal*). It is not possible to live in Istanbul without suffering a loss. Whereas Cemile loses Ahmet in *Bitmeyen Yol*, Zeynep loses Ahmet in *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım*. In *Altın Şehir*, Selim and Nesrin lose their friend Halil, who used to fight a battle in the city to survive and to find a way to unite with his loved one. In *Öksüz*, Kezban drifts apart from Ali with the imprisonment of Ali and upon Kezban's death, Ali and his child lose their Kezban. In *Fatma Bacı*, Halime loses her child in an accident and the children lose their mother with the murder committed by Fatma Bacı. In *Sarı Öküz Parası* and *Aç Gözünü Mehmet*, fellow-townsmen either lead astray or do not recognize the heroes of domestic migration. In *Gelin*, Meryem and Veli lose their son, in *Kızım Ayşe*, Ayşe loses her "traditional values", Mr. Kazım and Sister Huriye lose their daughter Melahat. The audience witnesses the end of Cemile, Zelha, and Yusuf as a sacrifice to the city in *Düğün*; Ökkeş's loss of his brother, and then his wife Fatma's leaving the house, his son Mehmet's being taken into a reformatory, and in the end Ökkeş's losing its tractor, as well, in *Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*. In *Yusuf ile Kenan*, the brothers' drift away from each other, Yusuf's being taken into a reformatory, and the brothers' losing each other are the losses to the city. In *Baba Kartal*, the father sacrifices one of his sons to the city, where he also becomes a murderer.

Characters struggle to keep on living and stand on their feet in the city in films on domestic migration. This is supported by visuals and words (*Bitmeyen Yol, Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım, Altın Şehir, Öksüz, Fatma Bacı, Gelin, Düğün, Kızım Ayşe, Aç Gözünü Mehmet, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir, Yusuf ile Kenan, Baba Kartal*). With the sight of people who are always at work and who carry loads, Istanbul becomes a load itself!

Almost everyone, including families (*Öksüz, Fatma Bacı, Gelin, Düğün, Kızım Ayşe, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir, Baba Kartal*), men (*Bitmeyen Yol, Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım, Altın Şehir, Sarı Öküz Parası, Aç Gözünü Mehmet*) and children (*Yusuf ile Kenan*), migrate to Istanbul in the films. Although there might be various reasons for migration, job is the basic reason (*Bitmeyen Yol, Altın Şehir, Fatma Bacı, Sarı Öküz Parası, Gelin, Düğün, Aç Gözünü Mehmet, Baba Kartal*). Other reasons might include education (*Kızım Ayşe*), running away from feud (*Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım, Fatma Bacı, Yusuf ile Kenan*), having an ill spouse treated (*Öksüz*), and buying a tractor (*Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*).

In domestic migration films, labor is dominantly in informal sector. In most of the films, the characters work as a "servant for a penny" (*Bitmeyen Yol, Öksüz, Fatma Bacı, Düğün, Kızım Ayşe, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*), a nightclub bodyguard (*Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım*), a street vendor (*Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım, Öksüz, Düğün, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*), a porter (*Öksüz, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*), and a builder (*Bitmeyen Yol, Taşı Toprağı Altın*

Şehir, Baba Kartal). The immigrants mostly live in the squatters (*Bitmeyen Yol, Altın Şehir, Gelin, Düğün, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*). Along with squatters, they also live in frame, masonry houses (*Kızım Ayşe*), block of apartments (*Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım, Fatma Bacı, Baba Kartal*), in the workplace (*Aç Gözünü Mehmet*), and on the street (*Altın Şehir, Öksüz, Yusuf ile Kenan*). The townsman, as a figure that provides the feeling of belonging and as a channel to hold on to the city, takes part in the films with various functions. Townsman not only help the immigrants in finding a job (*Bitmeyen Yol, Sarı Öküz Parası, Düğün, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*), but they also welcome the newcomers to their houses (*Bitmeyen Yol, Kızım Ayşe*).

Domestic migration heroes sometimes remain homeless, too (*Bitmeyen Yol, Altın Şehir, Öksüz, Aç Gözünü Mehmet, Yusuf ile Kenan*). At this point we find in films the trope of Istanbul's not welcoming the newcomers at once. There are either houses that cannot be entered in (*Sarı Öküz Parası, Aç Gözünü Mehmet, Yusuf ile Kenan*) or characters who experience a chain of events (*Altın Şehir, Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım, Öksüz, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir, Baba Kartal*).

Haydarpaşa Train Station, as the main spot of migration to Istanbul, is within the frame in the films *Bitmeyen Yol, Sarı Öküz Parası, Gelin, Aç Gözünü Mehmet, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir, Yusuf ile Kenan, and Baba Kartal*. Haydarpaşa Train Station, with its stairs, is the first place where the newcomers to Istanbul express their hope of "being a shah". It is strange that none of the migrants say any word about being a shah in the city. On the other hand, none of the characters of domestic migration in the referred films can become a "shah" in the city. The migrants in films *Altın Şehir* and *Sarı Öküz Parası* turn back where they came from. Ali (*Sarı Öküz Parası*), a domestic migration character who leaves the city, turns back to his village after obtaining what he desired. The same does not apply to *Altın Şehir*.

In the films *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım, Bitmeyen Yol, Altın Şehir, and Aç Gözünü Mehmet* the city is identified with the woman. In *Ben Öldükçe Yaşarım* and *Bitmeyen Yol*, the migrating film characters die and their lovers become miserable. Therefore, Istanbul is far from being a city that makes happy endings possible. Two films that end with a relatively happy ending are *Sarı Öküz Parası* and *Aç Gözünü Mehmet*.

How is Istanbul described by the film characters in the narratives of films? Istanbul is "a city with its stone and soil made of gold" (*Bitmeyen Yol, Altın Şehir*) and the "people of Istanbul have a smile on the face and money in the pocket" (*Altın Şehir*). There is "abundant" work in Istanbul (*Altın Şehir*) and people like "colonies of ants" (*Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*). "They are said to steal money at every step on the streets of" (*Öksüz*) this "generous" city where in the sky "generosity rains" (*Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*), the "sea of men", "the big city" (*Gelin, Düğün, Baba Kartal*), "the dogs' city" (*Altın Şehir*). In Istanbul "where the brave youngsters are abundant" (*Düğün*), "there is no job" (*Bitmeyen Yol*). You "cannot live in fear" in Istanbul (*Altın Şehir*), but what is lived is fearful!

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