

SOCIAL MOBILITY FROM CITY TO PROVINCE
IN NEW TURKISH CINEMA

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YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the reflection of the concept of social mobility from the city to the province in the movies produced between the years 1990 and 2000, when the New Turkish Cinema came to the fore in Turkey. Before 1990, the mobility from the countryside to the city was on the contrary, towards the countryside again. For this reason, the homeland of the New Turkish Cinema is the countryside. Especially after 1990, the increasing importance of the countryside in cinema means a mood for the characters rather than being a place. In a perspective stretching from the end of the 90s to the 2000s, the countryside is sometimes defined as a place to live in and sometimes to return to. After the transition from the city to the countryside was explained in the cinema during the Yeşilçam period, the return to the countryside in the New Turkish Cinema was tried to be explained through the films “Kış Uykusu”, “Yumurta”, “Ana Yurdu” and “Kelebekler”. The main reason for limiting the study to these four films is that these films, which were shot in different periods and by different directors, can unite on common ground thematically. The plots of these four films unite under the themes of returning to the countryside as a form of reconstruction, returning to the countryside after trauma, returning to the countryside as an intellectual crisis, and returning to the countryside in the pursuit of lost time.

Keywords: New Turkish Cinema, province, city, center, periphery, “Kış Uykusu”, “Yumurta”, “Ana Yurdu” and “Kelebekler”.

Özet

Bu tez, Türkiye’de Yeni Türk Sineması’nın öne çıktığı dönem olan 1990 ve 2000’li yıllar arasında üretilen filmlerde, şehirden taşraya toplumsal hareketlilik kavramının sinemaya yansımaları ele alır. 1990 öncesi taşradan şehre olan hareketlilik tam tersi olarak yeniden taşraya doğru olmuştur. Özellikle 1990 sonrası taşranın sinemada artan önemi bir mekân olmaktan öte karakterler için bir ruh hali anlamında gelmektedir. 90’lı yılların sonundan 2000’li yıllara uzanan bir perspektifte taşra bazen içinde yaşanan, bazen de geri dönülen mekân olarak tanımlanmıştır. Yeşilçam döneminde sinemada şehirden taşraya geçiş anlatıldıktan sonra Yeni Türk Sineması’nda taşraya dönüş “Kış Uykusu”, “Yumurta”, “Ana Yurdu” ve “Kelebekler” filmleri üzerinden açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışmayı bu dört film ile sınırlamamızın temel nedeni ise ayrı ayrı dönemlerde ve farklı yönetmenler tarafından çekilen bu filmlerin tematik olarak ortak paydalarda birleşebilmesidir. Yeniden inşa biçimi olarak taşraya dönüş, travma sonrası taşraya dönüş, aydın bunalımı olarak taşraya dönüş ve kayıp zamanın izinde taşraya dönüş temaları altında bu dört filmin olay örgüsü birleşmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeni Türk Sineması, taşra, şehir, merkez, çevre, “Kış Uykusu”, “Yumurta”, “Ana Yurdu” ve “Kelebekler”.

This thesis is dedicated to those who love art, those who struggle for art and cinema.

“Art sees things in close-up, focusing our attention, teaching us to not cast blame so freely. Art doesn't make judgements; it informs and teaches. The camera allows truth to circulate in places it might not otherwise go.”

Abbas Kiarostami

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Plagiarism	i
Özet	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Introduction	1
 Chapter 1	
1. Migration and Cinema as a Form of Social Mobility	8
1.1. Definition and Historical Analysis of Migration	9
1.2. Types of Migration	12
1.2.1. Internal Migration	15
1.2.2. Emigration	19
1.2.3. Reverse Migration	21
1.3. Social, Economic and Political Dimensions of Migration	24
1.4. The Effects of Migration on Human Psychology and Physical Structure	26
1.5. Migration and Cinema in Turkey	28
1.5.1. The Theme of Migration in Turkish Cinema	30
1.5.2. 2000s and Immigration Phenomenon in New Turkish Cinema	38
 Chapter 2	
2. City – Province Dilemma and Its Reflections on Cinema	40
2.1. City – Province Dilemma	41
2.1.1. Explanation of the Concept of City	43
2.1.2. Explanation of the Concept of Province	49
2.2. The Theme of City and Province Reflections in Turkish Cinema	56
2.3. Province as the Homeland of New Turkish Cinema	62
 Chapter 3	
3. Social Mobility from City to Province in Turkish Cinema and Its Historical Process	62
3.1. Social Mobility from City to Province in Cinema During Yeşilçam Period	66
3.2. Social Mobility from City to Province in the New Turkish Cinema	67

3.3. Returning to Province in the New Turkish Cinema	69
3.3.1. Changing Turkey in the 90s and its Reflection on the Cinema	73
3.4. Returning to Province as a Reconstruction Form (Kış Uykusu, Yumurta)	76
3.5. Returning to Province after Trauma (Yumurta, Kelebekler)	79
3.6. Returning to Province as an Intellectual Depression (Yumurta, Kış Uykusu and Ana Yurdu)	81
3.7. Returning to Province in Search of the Lost Past (Kış Uykusu, Yumurta, Kelebekler, and Ana Yurdu)	83
CONCLUSION	85
Bibliography	89

Introduction

"Cinema can't change anything, but it makes people understand many things. It's not the movies that will change the world, it's the people watching those movies."

Krzysztof Kieślowski

Cinema may not change anything, but it makes people understand many things. When we look at Turkish cinema after the 2000s, we can see that the films tell people about many issues from life and diversify both in content and aesthetics.

After the 80s, we can see that the Yeşilçam period has come to an end in terms of production and consumption in Turkish cinema. In the 90s, we can say that there was a transition period or a process of change after Yeşilçam in Turkish Cinema. In this period, it is accepted that the production of cinema was realized with more individual initiatives, both economically and as an artistic choice. When we come to the late 90s and 2000s, it is observed that the cinema started to revive with the economic support of festivals and international funds.

New Turkish Cinema has already given examples that deal with the problems of city life and the relations of urban people in a social and economic context. However, one of the other outstanding themes can be called the return to the country. Before 1990, the cinema, which was about the mobility from the countryside to the city, this time turned to mobility to the countryside, on the contrary. In this context, we can argue that the motherland of Turkish Cinema after the 2000s was the countryside. It is seen that the 1990s in particular prepared this trend, and in this period, the countryside meant a frame of mood for the characters rather than being a place. In a perspective stretching from the late 90s to the 2000s, the countryside is sometimes depicted in films as a place to live in and sometimes to return to. Therefore, in this process, the relationship between the city and the country appears as a trend rather than a typical migration movement in Turkish cinema, so we can call it "social mobility". However, the most striking theme after the 2000s appears as a tendency towards the countryside, a reckoning or a search for a bond. Contrary to some examples in the 90s, this reverse migration movement emerges as an individual journey, an individual existence, an individual rebuilding process.

This reverse migration or the theme that emerged as a return to the countryside can be associated with the economic, social and political climate of the period, or it can be considered as individual preferences. However, in this thesis, it aims to investigate and describe the underlying causes, claiming that such a social mobility has not appeared in this form before in Turkish cinema.

The films that we can call “return to the province” coincided with the revival of economic and cultural supports. However, this thesis aims to discuss the social reasons for the emergence of films on reverse migration, which increased in number in the 2000s. As of the period, a period in which neo-liberal policies and brutal capitalist conditions permeate every aspect of life and dominate the cultural climate stands out. Being suffocated by the exclusion created by these social conditions, individuals with generally well-educated professions try to leave the city and return to the rural life where their roots are based. However, sometimes, as a result of a traumatic event, deaths and great losses, the inability to hold on in the city, and the effort to rebuild and create themselves, they break away from urban life and return to the countryside, and they take new life practices there and continue their urban life.

In graduate cinema studies in Turkey, both provincial films and the subject of rural migration as social mobility have previously been examined separately. In this thesis, I tried to analyze the films of rural migration, which were shot in the period that we have defined as the New Turkish Cinema. At this point, firstly, “Why Turkish cinema after 1990?”, “Why rural?” and “Why reverse migration?” “Why did the reverse migration movement occur in Turkish cinema?” “Why did flashbacks begin to occur in the movies we watched?” “Why do the characters decide to come back?” “What could be the alienation problems that the city has created on people?” I will create the conceptual framework by looking for answers to the questions. Some of the films shot in Turkey after 1990 are included in a period called “New Turkish/Turkish Cinema”. As in every effort to define a period, a framing problem arises here too. First, the framework of “nation” to which the word “Turk” refers; secondly, the “temporal frame” that the word “new” envisions, and the mediated emphasis on the historical period and “new wave” cinema. The distinction between “popular” and “art” cinema within the “new Turkish cinema” constitutes a third discursive framework (Suner, 2006: 28).

The main subject of the study is the social mobility from city to country in New Turkish Cinema. This subject has attracted a lot of attention both in the field of cinema and in

the academic field, especially in recent years. In fact, the discussion of the subject is also about where the cinema is going on a world scale. Due to the increasing interest in films dealing with minimalist subjects at major world festivals, directors whose target is foreign festivals have directed them to make films that are minimalist and take certain mathematics into account. However, the fact that Yeşilçam cinema and its financing methods, which disappeared since the end of the 1990s, gave way to individual financing and the newly developing professional production approach brought about budgetary constraints. Scripts were started to be written with the concern of producing less costly films. Cost limits have started to be protected with films that use less space and rely on individual stories. For example, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, who gave the first examples of such films, returned to his village and created a film form that approached the documentary film from time to time by using his relatives as actors. Of course, there are also social reasons behind the withdrawal of so many samples that cannot be explained only by the world conjuncture and budgetary constraints. The impact of the internal migration wave, which started in Turkey in the 1960s and continues until today, changes from generation to generation. The second or third generations of the immigration wave that started at that time benefited from all the blessings of the city and were surrounded by modern life. Members of this generation do not experience a problem of harmony in the city, but they cannot feel themselves urbanized internally either. Having a good education or a profession does not cure this wound. They search internally for a cocoon to return to. This can sometimes be a cure for the wound that modernism has created on the individual, and sometimes it can be a provincial exoticism or beautification. Its reflection on the cinema is that it is a kind of escape place. For this reason, we built the main axis of the study on the countryside.

The successes of directors such as Nuri Bilge Ceylan and Semih Kaplanoğlu, who shot films that center the countryside in our country, at national and international festivals not only caused a new generation of filmmakers to return to the countryside to look at it and include it in their productions, but also caused controversy in the academic field. Throughout the thesis, we tried to explain both the academic discussions and how they were reflected through the four sample films we selected from our cinema.

Our work consists of three parts. In the first part, in order to be able to return to the countryside, that is, to recognize reverse migration in a sense, we first tried to deal with the concept of migration, its historical analysis, types of migration and the effects of migration on

the human spirit. Theoretical approaches about the relationship between migration and cinema are included. First, after making in-depth studies on the concept of migration, the concept of migration in Turkey is emphasized, because the concept of migration is the most well-known form of social mobility. Afterwards, we tried to make analyzes on migration in cinema, which is our main study subject. The theme of migration in the Yeşilçam period and the theme of migration in New Turkish Cinema are focused on.

The second part is based on the city-country dichotomy. Before making determinations on the reflection of the tension of this dilemma on the cinema, the concepts of city and country were defined from various perspectives. Afterwards, the city-country dilemma, namely the tension, and its reflection on the cinema were emphasized. In particular, the place and importance of the countryside as the venue of the New Turkish Cinema and how it should be viewed are explained.

The last chapter can be seen as the part where the answer to the main question of the thesis is given. In this context, the reflections of social mobility from the city to the countryside are emphasized. First of all, after the transition from the city to the countryside was explained in the cinema during the Yeşilçam period, the return to the countryside in the New Turkish Cinema was tried to be explained through the films “Kış Uykusu”, “Yumurta”, “Ana Yurdu” and “Kelebekler”.

The main reason for limiting the study to these four films is that these films, which were shot in different periods and by different directors, can unite on common ground thematically. The plots of these four films unite under the themes of returning to the countryside as a form of reconstruction, returning to the countryside after trauma, returning to the countryside as an intellectual crisis, and returning to the countryside in the pursuit of lost time.

Returning to the country as a form of reconstruction; the search for meaning that develops with the movement of the characters, who have become alien to themselves, the society and their whole life, from the city to the countryside reveals the existential line. In this sense, returning to the countryside can be interpreted as an existentialist return to one's essence, self-purification, and yearning for pure and naive childhood days. Under this theme, we will examine the "Yumurta" and "Kış Uykusu" movies.

The common theme of returning to the country after trauma is returning to the country after a traumatic event in the city, sometimes due to emotional and sometimes financial conditions. In the films "Yumurta" and "Kelebekler" that we analyzed in our study, this trauma is the loss of a mother or father. The loss of mother and father is an opportunity to regain one's roots, since the loss of parents in a sense means rootlessness. The return of Aydın character in the movie "Kış Uykusu" to the countryside is mostly associated with financial traumas. Although Aydın's return to the countryside is due to an emotional-spiritual reason, the financial consequences outweigh. The basis of the class conflict factor in the film in general lies here. In the movie "Ana Yurdu", for Nesrin, the country appears as an escape port where she came after the trauma she experienced. The place she returned to is a place where she was purified and became a provincial again, where she escaped to write her atrophied human side and the novel she could not finish, and her emotional world which is shattered by the relationships she lived.

Another reason for returning to the countryside is the intellectual crisis. The main characters in these films that we have taken as examples are people who have gone to the city from the country and are kept there, who have been educated and have made a career and have ideas for themselves and the society. Since the concept of Aydın is a concept that is gathered from the west for us, it can be said that it does not have a well-established meaning. Of course, in cities and in the countryside, there are people who guide people, shed light and are socially prominent. However, in the 1980s, when the concept of intellectual came to the fore in Turkey, it was often defined by depression and distress as the fate of intellectual figures in Turkish Cinema. Especially in the movie "Kış Uykusu", the depressed state that shows itself through the character of Aydın, the class relations in the countryside and sometimes even the ruthlessness of intellectual snobbery are questioned. It is clear that the intellectual class, who went to the countryside to escape from the problems of life in the city and establish a new and comfortable life, took the problems of the city with them. Likewise, the character of Nesrin in the movie "Ana Yurdu" is one of the modern faces of the city, who lived in the city as the second generation who broke away from the countryside, studied and had a profession in her own way. Even the act that Nesrin wants to do in the countryside, namely writing, is actually a reflection of her intellectual concerns. It can be said that the most important common aspect of the intellectual characters in these films is to be neither from the country nor from the city, but to stay in a limbo. This is exactly why they carry other forms of life wherever they find and live.

Returning to the countryside in the pursuit of lost time, on the other hand, is based on the fact that the concept of time flows differently and much slower in the countryside. The heaviness of life in the countryside is due to the reason to remind and make people think. In the last 20 years, it can be seen that the country has been defined as a heavy rhythm in terms of content and form in Turkish Cinema. Even if the country establishes a close connection with the city, when we return to the country, we see an inviolable temple. And there, time has no meaning anymore. It can be said that in the four films that we included in our study, "Yumurta", "Kış Uykusu", "Ana Yurdu" and "Kelebekler", the province, which is sometimes forced to escape for our characters, sometimes for financial reasons, has also been the place to get rid of the burdens of the past. So much so that in the movie "Yumurta", Yusuf confronts the family secrets of the past by rebuilding himself. In "Kış Uykusu", Aydın is freed from the burdens of the past when he realizes his own worthlessness and helplessness. In "Ana Yurdu", Nesrin thought that she would be freed from the ghosts of the past by writing, but it did not happen. At the end of the movie, when she defines herself side by side with another body, she gets rid of the past. Three siblings in the movie "Kelebekler"; Cemal, Kenan and Suzan have not seen each other for many years, because they are in wounds and bruises. The three siblings, stuck in the loss of their mother, indifference of the father and their lives are not in order, are freed from the burdens of the past with the death of their father.

The common point of the four films selected for this study is the return from the city to the countryside and the similar tendencies of the characters who make this return. It is based on the intellectual crisis, which forms the upper crust of the society trying to re-create itself after traumas, and the characters who lost themselves in the footsteps of the past, returned to their own country and urbanized it. Therefore, the films we have chosen are those who go to the country voluntarily and choose to stay there voluntarily. Or in other words, they are those who are curious about the subject of the province, idealize it and visit the province, albeit temporarily, that is, those who go for a specific purpose. Therefore, the characters in the selected films are those who go to the country voluntarily, not because they lead life. While we are always confronted with the city and the countryside, especially the city and the countryside in Istanbul, we encounter a return to the countryside for the first time in the 2000s. With the return becoming a trend, we come across a cinema where the directors have turned to this theme. We find few studies on this subject. Therefore, in the introduction part of the importance of the study, this subject has been discussed in order to shed light on future research.

While choosing the movies, the sample should be inclusive; attention was paid to focus on a cinematographic view specific to the city and the countryside, and to include the original films of the directors who contributed to the formation of this naming with the films they made, which were included in the trend/trend called New Turkish Cinema. At the end of the 90's, a new vitality was brought to the cinema by a generation of directors who were brought up in the years of modernization and acquired some new values and approaches towards life and cinema. Known in the West as well as nationally, these directors sought to find a new language to reflect society (Dönmez-Colin, 2014: 8). These films have been analyzed mainly within the framework of the concepts of migration and belonging, taking into account the semiotic contributions made to these concepts. At the same time, the main claim of our thesis will be that the aforementioned films construct/reflect/represent the concept of reverse migration from the countryside to the city.

As G. Simmel explains in his work titled “The Metropolis and Mental Life”, the acceleration of urbanization and the fact that many people begin to live in metropolitan cities lead to the disappearance of the sense of community, uncertainty and alienation (Simmel, 1902: 409). In a post-modern world, in a world where there is no ground, where a certain ground has disappeared, the directors have made intellectual films caught between provincial origin, city and country. In other words, we are looking at the world presented by post-modernism. In the discussion between the country and the city made after the 2000s, films returning to the country dominated, but the lack of a sense of class belonging in this dominant trend appears in the narratives of the films.

Returning from the city to the countryside as a type of reverse migration has become one of the main themes of New Turkish Cinema. The success of films with this thematic structure in world and domestic festivals and the resulting formula films encourage and spark new generation directors to produce on this theme. Therefore, it will be an important effort to study this subject academically.

Before going into this subject, we will not pass without mentioning the phenomenon we call migration, in the context of this thesis, even though it is known to everyone. Therefore, in the first chapter, a general definition of migration has been made.

1. Migration and Cinema as a Form of Social Mobility

Migration is one of the most discussed and research questions among the types of social mobility. Migration, which is a demographic type of social movement, refers to 'residence changes between administrative areas and/or geographical regions' (Ünalın, 1998: 91). However, migration is much more than this technical definition; it is the displacement of the workforce in the modern world with a capitalist economic definition. Therefore, we can see the migration process as the displacement of the workforce. Migration, social mobility, is, above all, an economic process. For this reason, it expresses both place – spatial change and changing economic conditions.

Although it has specific aspects and consequences that started from the end of the 1950s in Turkey, demographic transitions made by the masses, small groups or individually, as a type of social mobility, are mostly towards safer living spaces from late capitalist countries, less developed countries or countries with war and conflict.

Migration, as a form of social mobility, is not only a sociological issue with its spatial displacement feature, but also an economic issue. These two basic features of immigration enabled it to establish strong ties with the art of cinema. 20th century and emigration from poor countries to rich countries in the 21st century, forced migrations from geographies where wars took place to safer geographies and internal migrations to places where there are more opportunities and geographical diversity within countries have been the subject of cinema art. In these films, sometimes social mobility stories are told through immigrants, but sometimes the director himself is an immigrant. It is very important in terms of understanding the effect of migration on cinema in a cinema that is thematically hybridizing and tells the process of getting used to a new geography where the director himself is an immigrant.

Cinema, which is both an art form and a mass medium, is in a dynamic relationship with the social structure. Because, according to Monaco, cinema changes the social contract, like any art, but reflects more than any other art because of its all-inclusive and popular nature (Osmanoğlu, 2016: 82). Today, movies are read with various analysis methods such as sociological, psychological, political, structural, feminist and Marxist and are subject to serious analysis. A cinema approach that takes the pulse of the society sociologically also contemplates concepts such as urban change, transformation and migration. Especially today,

forced migration from war geographies to safer regions and the migrant crisis that has continued with the Syrian war for the last 10 years have been issues that closely concern both our country's cinema and the world. In addition to making fictional films on these subjects, the processes and conditions experienced are presented to the world public through various documentaries.

On the other hand, the thematic presentation of the phenomenon of migration in Turkish cinema started much earlier. Social realistic cinema, which started in Turkish cinema at the end of the 1950s, is a living witness of the social disintegration experienced throughout the 1960s and 1970s; It has ensured that basic issues such as migration, urbanization, unplanned housing, rural-urban dichotomy, women and family problems have become the most important subjects in our cinema. Along with these internal migration stories, the first foreign labor migration, especially to Germany, to the surrounding European countries, began to take place in our cinema. This social phenomenon, which offers a rich theme content in every sense, is among the indispensable subjects of our cinema today (Osmanoğlu, 2016: 83).

1.1. Definition and Historical Analysis of Migration

When focusing on the studies of the concept of migration in the international context, it is seen that 19th century concepts, models and assumptions are largely abided. Although it has been criticized in terms of traditional historical, structural and neo-classical theories, it is seen that post-modern approaches are also criticized. The more fundamental understanding of migration processes, which is an important dimension of contemporary social change, is seen as a part of social change (Massey, 1993:432).

Social mobility is defined as the mobility between the statuses between the layers of the society, and in another definition, it meets the concept of migration. In other words, individuals migrating from rural to urban areas do not only change places, but also change in job, occupation and social status. In fact, the broad definition of the concept of migration is therefore mobility between social strata along with spatial mobility. This definition of social mobility has changed over time. The remarkable feature of these changes is that the mobility of the individual gains weight. Thus, the issue has been dealt with more in the form of geographical and professional mobility. In other words, social mobility is evaluated based on geographical and occupational criteria. It is social mobility, which can be defined as social

positions and movements of displacement between positions, providing transitions between layers. It is observed in two ways: horizontal and vertical. While the concept of horizontal social mobility refers to the movement from one social group to another social group at the same social level, the concept of vertical social mobility refers to the rise or fall from one social stratum to another social stratum at a different social level (Westoff, 1960: 377). In this research, the concept of social mobility is explained and associated with the concept of migration by revealing the spatial criteria, that is, the main reasons for the social dissolution of the space.

The effect of space on society and relations, with which Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Asabiyyah is closely related, shows that space is a highly effective factor on the social structure. In this case, migration as a spatial change is a phenomenon that affects everything about the society, starting from the psychological state of the individual (Güvenç, 1996:21).

Migration is the temporary or permanent movement of people from their lands to other places, mostly for social, economic, political reasons, voluntarily or compulsory. Mankind has migrated continuously since its existence, both to survive and to explore. It is possible to encounter social mobility in every age throughout the history of humanity. Therefore, the history of migration is a concept as old as the history of humanity. Since the 16th century, with the accelerating wars, conquests and then the colonization movements, social movements began to increase. With the industrial revolution, the need for manpower increased and the course of migration shifted towards the colonial third world countries where both human and natural resources could be used more for the west. In the 19th century, migration movements, which started for economic reasons, increased gradually all over the world. With the industrialization that started in the 19th century, the concepts of urbanization and urban life developed and gained importance. The link between the immigration wave that started due to poverty and unemployment and industrialization has been observed especially in Europe.

Migration, which causes major changes and transformations in the social structure, paves the way for new opportunities as well as new problems. In this context, the phenomenon of migration, which also accelerates class passivity, provides better economic conditions and results in finding a new settlement area. From the perspective of the historical process, it is seen that concepts such as environment, society and identity and political

belonging are very effective factors in the phenomenon of migration. The place is the place of migration. Society, identity and political belonging are the changing socio-cultural status of individuals after migration. Elements such as belief, nation, state, family, ethnicity can be the main starting points of unity or separation. In this context, the family, as the smallest unit of society, is the institution most affected by the development of civilization. The development, erosion, collapse or disintegration in civilization causes the society to change spatially (Çelik, 2012: 298-299).

Considering the concept of migration as a function of abilities and aspirations in a particular area, Carling (2001) frames the set of opportunity structures as a macro-level migration process. Carling says that a more active and realistic understanding of human mobility can be developed by considering it as part of broader social transformation and development processes.

When we look at the social structure in terms of migration today, we see similar articles of the Migration Laws in Turkey. The article of the law stating that gender-based men migrate more than women is also valid in Turkey. The male population has a large proportion of the migrating population in Turkey. The male population tends to migrate long, short, and both short and long in terms of distance migrated. In the female population, mostly short-distance migrations are seen (Erkal, 2012: 218). Another article of Ravenstein's law reflected in Turkey is the step-by-step article of immigration. There are both long and short distance migrations in Turkey, as well as temporary pilot places, which have played a stepping role in mobility to metropolitan areas (Erkal, 2012: 218).

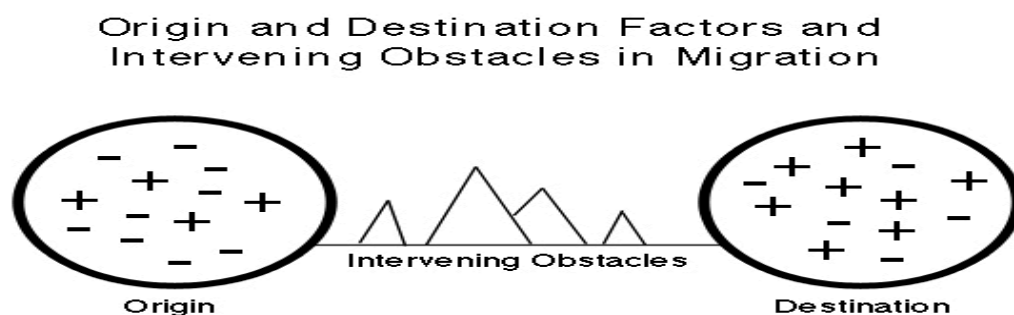
From the point of view of cinema, it can be seen that the phenomenon of migration was mostly identified with men's stories in the early periods. However, in today's world, the stories of women and children who were forced to migrate from their homes as a result of wars and political tensions are seen much more frequently in cinema. If we look at it from the point of view of Turkish Cinema, we can say that while migration films in the classical sense are shaped by men and the family, the reverse migration movement, which is the subject of the new Turkish Cinema today, is mainly based on male characters. In the 1960s, we were seeing the step-by-step process of migration in Turkish Cinema, mostly in the films of expatriates in the context of firstly the man who migrated himself and then taking his family with him. Especially with the beginning of immigration to Germany, with Germany's bitter

land stories were told about basic issues such as adaptation problems caused by immigration, clinging to life and exclusion in Germany.

1.2. Types of Migration

In order to consolidate the definition of the concept of migration and to understand the phenomenon of migration clearly, it is necessary to mention the types of migration. Migration, which is considered as social mobility is important, because it has an impact on society from a sociological perspective, on people from a psychological perspective, and on cultural developments from an anthropological perspective, and creates continuous changes. Each type of migration phenomenon, which has a complex definition, has different characteristics and different causes.

Here, it is useful to refer to the push and pull theory in terms of the integrity of all types of migration. Because we need to understand how the concept of migration developed and the effect of its outcome on immigrants. The push-pull theory first appeared in 1966. The owner of the theory, Everett Lee, talked about the push-pull theory of migration in his article named “A Theory of Migration” and also in Ravenstein's article 'The Laws of Migration', which we examined under the title of Definition and Historical Analysis of Migration in this article. He also referred to migration studies. Lee explained the four basic elements of push and pull theory in his article named 'A Theory of Migration' (Yalçın, 2004: 30).



Based on Everret Lee's *A Theory of Migration*, 1966

The '+' values shown indicate positive, i.e., attractive factors for immigration, and '-' values indicate negative, i.e., push factors against immigration. The conclusion drawn from Lee's theory of outcome from the migration study is that both places where the individual

lives and the place where he/she wants to migrate have positive and negative push and pull factors in themselves. However, the reason why it is characterized as positive or negative is due to the relative and personal characteristics of push and pull factors. For example, it is important for an artist to have job opportunities at the place of migration, but not for a non-artist. As all these factors are completely different from each other, it is concluded that the phenomenon of migration is a complex social reality. According to the push and pull theory, although it seems that migration occurs as a result of positive and negative factors, other factors affecting the phenomenon of migration should also be considered. Even though Lee says that migration may occur as a result of the calculation of push and pull factors by people who tend to migrate, he has never been rigid in his opinion and has stated in his theoretical explanation that migration may become more complex with the involvement of other factors. (Yalçın, 2004: 32). Lee calls other influential elements in his theory as 'micro', that is personal, and 'macro', that is, impersonal. "Lee's statement that migration is an event that emerges from the filter of more complex processes, contrary to popular belief, and that he includes both these factors, obstacles and individual differences in the push-pull theory is an important sociological gain." (Yalçın, 2004: 33)

William Petersen who's one of the well-known authors of the migration typology, developed an intensive migration typology by taking the push-pull theory.

According to Petersen, *"Migration is not unitary; it differs from fertility and mortality in that it cannot be analyzed, even primarily in terms of supra cultural, physiological factors but must be differentiated even at the most abstract level with the social conditions obtaining. This means that the most general statement that one can make concerning migration must be in the form of a typology, rather than a law"* (Petersen, 1964: 229).

Petersen divided migration into five basic categories in his migration typology (Petersen, The Politics of Population, 1964: 229):

1. **Primitive migrations** are migrations that occur due to ecological controls. According to Petersen, 'primitive migration does not denote wandering of primitive people as such, but rather a movement related to man's inability to cope with natural forces' (Petersen, 1964: 259). Petersen goes on to explain this type of migration in which environmental conditions are effective; 'since the

reaction to a deterioration in the physical environment can be either remedial action or emigration, depending on the technology available to the people concerned, there is, however a tendency for primitive migration in this narrower sense to be associated with primitive people' (Petersen, 1964: 259). This type of migration is generally seen in rural areas, and the reason is the lack of livelihood and job insufficiency of individuals in their places of residence.

Primitive	Wandering	Wandering of peoples
		Marine wandering
	Ranging	Gathering
		Nomadism
		Flight from the land

“These are the types of migration set by ecological push and controls, usually geographical but sometimes social” (Petersen, 1964: 261).

2. **Forced migration** is a type of migration that occurs as a result of the power holding the administration forcing a community to migrate. Petersen makes this type of migration clearer with the following example, 'between the Nazis' policy (roughly 1933-1938) of encouraging Jewish emigration by various anti-Semitic acts and laws' (Petersen, 1964: 261). People who are forced to migrate are forced to leave their homelands and no alternative is offered in terms of location.
3. **Directed migrations** have similar characteristics with the forced migration type. However, a difference distinguishes these two types of migration. The power holding the administration forces a community to migrate, but this community also has a choice. *“It is useful to divide the forced migration into impelled migration, when the migrants retain some power to decide whatever or not to leave, and forced migration, when they do not have this power”* (Petersen, 1964: 261). In addition to the previous example, Peterson explains the definition as, *the later policy (roughly 1938-1945) of herding Jews into cattle-trains and transporting them to camps.*

4. **Free immigration** is the type of migration that includes individuals who consciously decide to migrate. Petersen gives the following example to explain this type of migration ideally: “Overseas movement from Europe during the 19th century afford important illustrations of this class of migration.’ Although free migrations are not seen as much compared to other migrations, they usually occur due to unimportant factors. “We could also link modern migration movements such as those of students, tourists and diplomats to free migration” (Hack-Polay, 2016: 6).

Mass migration is the mass migration of large numbers of people from one place to another at the same time. In other words, 'collective behavior, when the principal cause of emigrant is prior emigrant'. (Reframing Migrant Integration, Dieu Hack Polay, p. 6). In this context, mass migration occurs when a migrating pioneer is followed by others.

‘Transportation facilities improved; railroads connected the interior with the port cities, and the sailing ship began to be replaced by the much faster and safe steamer’ (Petersen, 1964: 229).

Therefore, there is a strong link between developing transportation opportunities and this type of migration. After explaining the reasons for the types of migration in general, and examining the classification of these reasons into five basic categories in the migration typology developed by Petersen, we can explain the types of migration by opening them under headings.

1.2.1. Internal Migration

The displacement of the population that occurs as a result of any phenomenon or situation within the country is defined as internal migration (Özer, 2004:24). In another definition, internal migration is defined as “population mobility between settlements such as cities, villages or towns within a certain country” (Keleş, 2021: 50-63). This movement that may occur in cities, regions and smaller settlements may be short-term, or it may be longer-lasting and permanent. As a result of this internal migration movement, population rates in cities, regions and smaller settlements may also vary. Since internal migrations occur as a result of political, economic and social reasons, they move from less developed regions or

cities to more developed regions (Eraldemir, 2013: 10). While the population decreases as a result of this movement in rural areas, it causes an increase in population in cities. The main reasons forcing people to migrate internally are fast transportation, freedom of thought, employment, tolerance, social structure, economic and political factors. These mostly cause migration from cities to cities.

Since internal migration is related to the spatial redistribution of the population in a region, the direction of this migration is mostly from relatively underdeveloped regions to more developed regions (Saracoğlu and Terry, 2004: 1). This situation is encountered in all regions of the world and is always experienced with certain rates. However, while some countries experience intense and rapid migration and urbanization, it takes place more slowly in others (Sağlam, 2006: 35). For this reason, the concept of internal migration, both during the formation and after the act of migration, in terms of the places of migration, emerges as a concept that needs to be examined in terms of encountered situations, occurred conditions and expectations (Özdemir, 2008: 23).

According to Çelik, the factors that cause internal migration consist of push and pull factors. While the push factors consist of agricultural inadequacy, low-income level and unemployment, kinship relations in the city, excess job opportunities and high-income level are attractive factors (Çelik, 2006: 151-155). Internal migration is divided into four among themselves: seasonal migrations, permanent-temporary migrations, labor migrations, mandatory and voluntary migrations.

Seasonal migration is defined as the fact that individuals and groups live for a certain period of time in the regions where they migrate for reasons such as resting, traveling, taking a vacation or working elsewhere during certain periods of the year (Tüfekçi, 2002: 15). Since there is no long-term settlement target in seasonal migrations, no change is expected in the population or social life (Koçak and Terzi, 2012: 167). However, the shortness of the process in this migration event does not prevent various problems from occurring in the sending and receiving regions.

Positive and negative effects of seasonal migrations are observed mostly in the field of economy in countries that emigrate and receive immigration. Positive effect on the receiving regions is the increase in employment, the introduction of more economic areas and the use of

capital opportunities by the immigrants in the places they go. However, due to the seasonal migration covering a certain period of time, the return of the population in the migrating region to that region will have regained the lost capital to their region in the long run. This situation will create a positive structure that the emigrant regions will achieve in the long run.

The migration movement of individuals in order to leave the regions they have lived in and continue their lives in different regions is defined as permanent migration. Permanent migrations are not always compulsory, they are also voluntary migrations. Voluntary migrations are the migration movements of individuals that are made voluntarily in order to be more comfortable financially, to lead a better life and to receive higher quality education. If there is a migration movement that occurred due to unexpected terrorist incidents, wars and natural disasters, these migrations are within the scope of forced migrations (Koçak and Terzi, 2012: 10).

Temporary migration is a movement of immigration that aims to immigrate to any country for a particular reason at a particular time, in a particular job. The effects of temporary and permanent migration may vary according to the places of immigration and immigration (Naz, 2015: 20).

Shortly, it is a type of migration carried out by people motivated by the hope of finding a job in another country (Bartram et al. 2017: 197). Although labor migration is defined as a displacement activity due to economic and social reasons, most of the world's population lives below the poverty line. Considering this situation, it is the type of migration of people who want to continue their lives in better conditions, from countries with less job opportunities to more developed countries with more job opportunities (Yıldırımoglu, 2005: 2).

On the other hand, in developed countries, labor migration is on the move towards countries where industrialization is high. As a result of the migration movement to the regions where industrialization is high, low-cost labor force migrating from the village to the city emerged and young women were also provided with the opportunity to work. Although most of these migration movements were seen as temporary, they stayed in the regions where the immigrants went and caused changes in the ethnic and religious structure of those places (Toksöz, 2006: 13).

Policies in the international arena have a decisive effect on migration. In the historical process, it is seen that various countries have accepted labor migration in order to close the workforce gap. In this process, which started with rapid industrialization after the Second World War, countries that did not have enough workforce had to open their doors to migrant workers. An example of this situation is the migration of workers from Turkey to Germany in 1960 (Danış, 2013: 7).

One of the most important labor migrations is the slave trade. The slave trade enabled the development of capitalism and brought forth the idea that capital and goods were not only dependent on the world market, but also on labor. With the start of the slave trade, the lands owned by the small farmers in England were taken away, causing people to migrate from the village to the city and become workers (Yıldırımoglu, 2005: 2). While labor migration, obtaining the labor force at low cost, has become a profitable situation, the hard jobs are left to foreigners to work. Today, it is seen that the main reason for the decrease in labor migration is the advancement of technology, mechanization and industry.

It is the type of migration of individuals who have received education at home or abroad to various countries with the aim of specializing in qualified branches, bringing their working areas and living conditions to the desired level and earning higher wages. Brain drain can also be defined as the migration of people who are experts in their fields, such as engineers, scientists and highly educated individuals, from developing and underdeveloped countries where this probability is very low, to industrially developed countries (Çavuşoğlu, 2006: 6).

While the development of underdeveloped countries, which lost the individuals they raised and developed with limited resources gradually slows down, in developed countries, their development accelerates thanks to the individuals they have gained through brain drain (Koçak & Terzi, 2012: 11). Brain drain is considered as a great loss in terms of emigration countries. After the 1960s, brain drains began to increase. Artists, scientists, pharmacists, engineers and doctors etc. Migration of developed people to different countries differentiates the countries they go to, and turns into an important problem for the emigrant countries. High wages paid by industrializing and developing countries, benefiting from science and advanced technologies with the best opportunities, flexible and easy working conditions can be counted as the causes of brain drain (Bakırtaş & Kandemir, 2010: 963).

The developments in the technology of the countries that have received a brain drain provide economic development and together with this, the welfare levels of the countries increase. The increase in the level of employment with technological development contributes to the development of social life. Immigrant countries, on the other hand, lag behind other countries in terms of technology with the departure of the producing community from the country, and they buy the products produced by paying money. This situation weakens the society economically and causes a decrease in job opportunities in the country (Aksoy, 2012: 293).

The levels of receiving brain drain vary from country to country. While North-South migrations mostly recruit students with social science, South-North receives brain drain related to technological developments (Demirkan, 2011:1).

1.2.2. Emigration

Population movement to another country for a certain period of time or for the purpose of permanently settling or working is defined as emigration (Üner, 1972: 72). Yasa (1979: 1) defines emigration as “a way to individually break the vicious circle of underdevelopment”.

According to the United Nations, in order for a migration to gain an international character, an individual who plans to leave his / her country and live in a different country must perform this action for more than one year. Traditionally, emigration is grouped into six sections:

- 1) Those who settle permanently,*
- 2) Temporary contract workers,*
- 3) Temporary professionals,*
- 4) Covert or illegal workers,*
- 5) Asylum seekers and*
- 6) Refugees (Guaranteed under the 1951 Geneva Convention) (Gençler, 2004: 174).*

In general, emigration can be long or short-term. Emigrations are also called international migrations. Although there is no decrease in the population of the country in

internal migration, only the demographic structure between regions changes, while in emigration, there is a decrease in the rate of migration in the country's population. In addition to the decrease in the population in emigration, countries may face serious problems (Çiçekli & Demir, 2013: 41-42).

With the effect of globalization, current economic, political and social factors cause emigration. Illegal immigrants and Afghan refugees trying to immigrate from African countries to European Union countries, and the movements of immigrants who go to the USA to get a green card to work can be shown as examples of emigration (Gümüş, 2003: 24).

Droughts experienced in primitive times, natural disasters, attacks by other civilizations, climate changes and hunger problems can be counted as the causes of forced migration (Yalçın, 2004: 1-3). Therefore, historically, it is seen that most of the mass migration movements occurred as a result of a certain necessity. At this point, the first great mass migration movement in history is the Migration of Tribes, which was carried out by the Germanic tribes who fled from this region as a result of the Huns, who moved to the west in the middle of the 4th century to get rid of the domination of China, in the north of the Black Sea (Kınık, 2011: 37).

According to Giddens, the largest forced migration in history is the migration movement of 7 million Muslims from India to Pakistan after the partition of India in 1947. This forced migration took place during the flight of 7 million Hindus in the opposite direction. Again, according to Giddens, in most of the great migrations that took place throughout history, individuals who migrated did not voluntarily move. In the 17th and 18th centuries, 15 million people were taken as slaves from Africa and transported by ship to North America, the Caribbean, and Brazil. Between 10 and 40 million contract workers were sent to various parts of the world in large groups, especially from India and China in the 19th century. The wars in Asia and Europe in the 20th century have displaced millions of people from their homelands (Giddens, 2010: 522). It is possible to say that migrations that take place under these conditions are of a compulsory nature. However, sometimes people belonging to a religion or race may be forced to migrate by the authorities without experiencing a significant turmoil or war. The sending of millions of indigenous people from Africa to America and other countries within the scope of the slave trade also takes its place in the category of forced migration as a historical reality (Peter, 2007: 9).

Refugees, conceptualized as political criminals, are among the important actors of forced migration. This image of political refugees distinguishes them from “voluntary” and “economic” migrants. However, many observers and researchers recently argue that this situation is designed to serve the interests of countries dealing with migration management rather than protecting refugees. In other words, few people believe that economic reasons lie behind this type of migration. The common point of the majority is that forced migrations occur in line with certain political interests (RSC, 2010: 8).

1.2.3. Reverse Migration

Dominant migration movements show a tendency from villages to cities, from traditional cities to modern cities at the national and international level. This tendency causes both administrators and academics to focus their attention on those who leave, and neglect those who return. Since the concept of reverse migration comes after its other dimensions, it leads to the fact that a clear framework in terms of classification, conceptualization and theorizing has not yet been put forward in the migration literature. Reverse migration, which is a dimension of the concept of migration, also has the multidimensionality of the concept of migration (Adıgüzel, 2016:11).

Until the 2000s, the concept of reverse migration is almost not encountered in the migration literature studies. In this period, the concept of reverse migration could only be put forward in Germany, such as a short-term return to their homeland from European countries or returning as a retired person. For example, in Turkish cinema, there are films such as "The Return" and "Yellow Mercedes" that can be given as examples of this situation. But what we call intellectual migration, as we understand it today, was neither common in social life nor seen in cinema. It can be observed that the concept of reverse migration came to the fore with the 2000s. Urbanization problems, which have grown like an avalanche in the urban area, have made cities a less attractive place for their inhabitants. It can be seen that unplanned urbanization, transition from slum to bad apartment system and increasing population pressure cause a claustrophobic and standard of living situation. However, although it is mostly associated with the concept of brain drain and external migration, today's conditions are also included in the elements of internal migration as a kind of intellectual migration (İslamoğlu, Yıldırım alp, & Benli, 2014: 75-76).

When the concept of migration is considered as the units that allowing immigrants and emigration, it can be defined as reverse migration when the place of migration starts to receive migration and the place that receives migration starts to give migration. Reverse migration can be defined as people migrating from rural to urban areas, spending at least one year and returning again (OECD, 2008). There are many different reasons that lead to the concept of reverse migration. The increasing economic crisis in the cities and the factors such as incompatibility with city life and unemployment resulting from this crisis cause the people living in these cities to turn to the rural areas they come from (Chacko, 2007: 132).

Reverse migration is a concept discussed all over the world with the dimensions of its failure, conservatism, innovativeness and returning retirees. Bovarenk states that there are many reasons for reverse migration and tries to classify these reasons. For this reason, the deterioration in the economic environment of the city that received migration is the most important factor in the decision to return (Bovarenk, 1974). However, according to Gmelche (1980: 143), people's homesickness and strong family ties are also one of the important factors of reverse migration.

The definition of place-oriented reverse migration is first mentioned in Ravenstein's (1885: 199) migration laws: "All main migration flows produce a countercurrent countercurrent. Settlements that receive intensive immigration also give immigration at the same time". Ravenstein finds that all kinds of migration waves in terms of space are balanced by a reverse migration wave. At this point, it is seen that the explanation that migration continues cyclically with the migration-reverse migration cycle has been made.

The other type of reverse migration is the actor-centered reverse migration concept. When the actor-centered reverse migration is considered, the return of the migrating actors (families/individuals) can also be defined as reverse migration. There appear to be various uses for naming an actor-oriented "reverse migration" concept. While this concept, which can be called return migration, is conceptualized as "reverse migration", "homeward migration" and "backward migration" in Turkish literature, it is conceptualized as "repatriation" (return to homeland), "counter flow" in English literature. "Return flow" (return influx), "reflux migration" (backflow migration), "remigration" is also seen to be named (Öner, 2012: 265).

Bovankerk (1974: 5-8), who defines reverse migration in his work titled “The Sociology of Return Migration: A Bibliographic Essay” as the families' and individuals' act of returning to their country of origin, from the region where they migrated and have been living for a certain time, stated that there are three rules of reverse migration:

- 1- Low migration distance increases the possibility of reverse migration.
- 2- Contrary to immigrants who have migrated for a long time, the probability of migration is low.
- 3- Changes in the economic balance between destination and origin, directly affect the volume of reverse migration.

Explaining the concept of reverse migration in terms of economic level, time and distance, Bovankerk (1974: 21) states that this migration is not just due to economic reasons. In the researches on reverse migration from England to Australia, it is seen that people prefer to return even though they have more purchasing power and better economic conditions in Australia, because of homesickness and family ties. Gmelch (1980), who thinks the same at this point, argues in his study in 1980 that in addition to homesickness and strong family ties, unpleasant events such as discrimination and prejudices may also affect people's decision to reverse migration, and that the desire for reverse migration becomes evident during the holidays that individuals spend in their hometowns (Öner, 2012: 268).

According to the neoclassical approach from reverse migration theories, reverse migration is the result of pre-calculated strategies. That is, reverse migration occurs not only with failure, but also after reaching their goals. This situation provides a good infrastructure for returning home, and this is a sufficient reason for returning. Even before or after immigration, marriages made from the country of immigration are also effective in the decision to return (Constant & Massey, 2002).

In the structuralist approach, which is another theory, it is argued that the issue is not only considered in terms of the personal reasons of the immigrants, but also the institutional and socioeconomic conditions in the places of immigration or immigration are also effective in the decision to migrate (Cassarino, 2004). The lack of social and economic expectations in the destination settlement, cultural hunger and adaptation problems are the main reasons for

the decision to return.

Gümüş, Gülersoy and İlhan (2013: 233) discussed the migration from the city to the province in their study. It is noteworthy that the average age of the most of the individuals who migrate is high, and that the place of reverse migration is a village. The study was carried out in Çınar Mahallesi, Esenler district of Istanbul, the province that receives the most immigration in our country. The aim of the study is to contribute to the solution of the problems caused by the overpopulation of the settlements that receive immigration and the underpopulation of the settlements that send immigrants, and to contribute to the literature due to the limited number of studies on this subject. In this study, the general outline of the study was completed in the introduction part, then the method of the research was explained, then the data obtained were introduced, and in the conclusion part, the possibility of reverse migration was evaluated. The main result of this study is the urban structure; it pushes back the surpluses within itself and puts other compatriots, which these surpluses negatively affect, into a kind of search. Of course, reverse migration has another dimension because the province has become a place that creates more opportunities and produces economic output.

As a result, it has been seen that there are not many researches in this area in our country, and it has been stated that reverse migration occurs for various reasons. In our country, it will be possible to minimize reverse migration, which occurs as a result of various difficulties encountered both after internal migration and after migration, by eliminating the inequality between urban and rural areas, for balanced development of regions, facilitating access to public services such as health and education, creating a socio-cultural living environment and providing support for employment.

1.3. Social, Economic and Political Dimensions of Migration

Migration, which is a rational type of behavior, is a concept that has been thought through, its benefits and harms have been determined, and it has been decided as a result of this process. Although who is involved in the decision-making process varies according to the class of immigration and the social structure of the immigrant, as İçduygu and Sirkeci also have stated:

Undoubtedly, one of the most outstanding findings is that migration occurs as a result

of economic and social transformations; in this context, immigration is a consequence. Meanwhile, it should not be overlooked that migration itself is a factor that contributes to economic and social transformations; in this context, migration is a reason (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999: 250).

According to Kane (1995: 2), migration is neither a positive nor a negative concept, it is only a reaction against the economic developments, communication and transportation systems, individual impulses and political pressures of the modern age. Regardless of whether it is defined as a cause, as a result, or for what purpose, migration leaves political, economic and social effects in the society to which it is connected.

Although migration seems to be a one-sided movement at first glance, considering the social capital and economic returns, it is seen that migration is a multifaceted and highly dynamic movement. Because of this feature, it is claimed that immigration is seen as an opportunity to "provide workers' remittances, reduce population and unemployment" by some governments in Latin America, South and Southeastern Asia, the Middle East, the North Africa and countries (Weiner & Münz, 1997: 2). According to the World Bank, it is estimated that the remittances of foreign workers sent to "developing" countries in 2012 increased by 5.3% compared to 2011 and amounted to 401 billion USD in total, and this figure will reach 515 billion USD in 2015 (World Bank, 2013). The situation is more clearly understood when it is considered that the income of foreign workers is equal to 10% of the Gross Domestic Product of many "developing" countries (World Bank, 2013: 7).

In terms of the effects of migration in the sending countries, the Turkish worker migration from Turkey to Germany, which started in the 1960s and went through different processes, can be given as an example. Initially, the State Planning Organization, which was established in 1961, determined that there was a surplus of labor in the country, and it was planned to send workers abroad for two purposes: The first purpose was to dissolve the surplus workforce, and the other was to reduce the economic surplus that was hoped to bring when they returned and was thought to ensure the continuation of the modernization movement, which was pursued from the Ottoman period. and social inputs. While the said foreign workers' income was 45 million US dollars in 1964, it increased to 2 billion US dollars in 1980 and played an important role in closing the foreign deficits with this volume (Abadan-Unat, 1995: 282).

Labor shortages in developed countries constitute one of the most important reasons for international migration. Meeting these labor shortages with low-cost workers, whose training is obtained without spending money and effort, makes a significant contribution to economically developed countries. It is seen that such habits are not new in developed countries, and date back to slavery and then contracted labor. While capitalism closed the labor force gap with immigrants when the economy was doing well, immigrants were the first dismissed groups during the troubled processes of the economy, and with this aspect, 'they acted as a "Security Valve" against economic depressions many times.' (Abadan-Unat, 2002: 21).

In the 1980s, Western countries said that there were no labor shortages and imposed large-scale restrictions on immigration movements and made immigration almost impossible. According to Hayter (2000: 156), capitalism has struggled with the labor shortage problem for many years, European countries have eliminated their labor deficits through immigration. While their economy was growing on the one hand, on the other hand, they fulfilled their labor shortages first from the poor regions in Europe and then from the third world countries. Today, with the decrease in unemployment and the slowdown in growth in European countries, the migration movement has also decreased. However, foreign labor is still needed in these countries for jobs that local people do not want to do: This shows that western countries will be in a very difficult situation in case of possible leaving of immigrants.

1.4. The Effects of Migration on Human Psychology and Physical Structure

Migration creates a rapid and sudden environmental change, affecting individuals and society physically, culturally and socially, thus causing significant effects on human health (Topçu & Beşer, 2006: 37-42). The relationship between health and migration is a complex issue that includes environmental, management and social policy factors, and migration can have negative or positive effects on health. When families or individuals migrate due to work, the opportunities to benefit from health care services increase with the increase in income. Immigrants themselves are brave, active, struggling people who are in search of better conditions. If the immigrants come from economically developing or relatively less developed countries, moving to more economically developed regions can positively affect their health status. On the other hand, immigrants, who started their lives with a disadvantage in socio-

economic point as of the first time they came, and who have to live and work under very bad and very difficult conditions, experience more health threats (Esen & Yazıcı, 2012: 43-73).

It is known that the reason for migration is related to reasons other than their own desires, and the excess in the cultural and social difference of the new place causes psycho-social problems to increase. After the migration, the cultural differences in the new society in which people started to live can be extremely determinant in the difficulties of adaptation and the appearance of health problems. The new environment they enter will cause individuals to encounter less adaptation problems if they are similar to their own culture, and more if they are not. Being separated from the environment one is used to, feeling worthless, alienation, loneliness, absence of relatives and feelings of regret for leaving them affect people and cause intense stress (Şahin, 2001: 57-67).

Immigrant individuals and families experience especially many psychiatric problems; it is stated that adjustment disorders, somatoform disorders and anxiety are common. Considering that migration, in the main, causes the loss of the individual's sense of belonging and the abandonment of traditions and cultural life, the spiritual effects of migration can also be predicted (Cicourel, 1982). We can say that it is a problem that the results of the transformation created by the space in human beings in terms of belonging and identity actually cause a new situation and that the space that remains only imaginary is never the same space. In this context, it can be considered important to look at the post-modern situation in which space is fragmented over time. It can be seen that the space, the relationship itself, has become problematic. So, the city is not the city, and the province is not the province. One of the socio-cultural reasons for the migration from the city to the countryside is that the cost of living in the city is much higher than in the countryside due to reasons such as lack of urbanization, culture shock, unplanned urbanization, traffic, security, rent, transportation, noise pollution (Sürmeli, 2017: 280).

It can be observed that there is a single world culture order with the effect of the criticism of modernity created by the globalization that emerged in the world especially after the 90s and the effect of post-modernity that replaced modernity. With the advancement of globalization and technology, the widespread use of mass media in villages has reduced the village-urban difference and has become one of the factors that positively affect the quality of life in villages (Güreşçi, 2010: 83). High living expenses in the city due to reasons such as

lack of urbanization, concretization, traffic, noise pollution, cultural conflict, urban cost, etc. are other reasons for migration from the city to the village. All these factors have created urban repulsion and in addition, they constitute the reasons for migration from city to village in countries that have not completed their industrialization, as in the case of Turkey.

1.5. Migration and Cinema in Turkey

In order to be able to analyze the internal migration movements in Turkey well, it is necessary to remember the role of the 'Nation State' understanding, which started from the late Ottoman Empire and passed to the Republic of Turkey. So much so that the Balkan and Caucasian policies of the Ottoman state continued with the Republic, immigrants from the Crimea, the Balkans and the Caucasus formed the population structure of Turkey. The phenomenon of internal migration in Turkey did not occur simultaneously with industrialization as in western countries.

These processes are generally determined by agricultural activities and economic development. The concept of internal migration, which had a stagnant structure from the Republic until the 1950s, turned into a structure that showed a continuous increase, especially from the Second World War until the 1980s. The concept of internal migration, which gained a different dimension with the terrorist incidents and liberal policies after 1985, is no longer from rural to urban; it continued by changing the system from city to city (Adıgüzel, 2016: 35-36).

Continuing research reveals different results for the period. In the study conducted in 1990, it was concluded that the developments in the internal terms of trade played a “primary role” in the migration from rural to urban areas between 1975-1985 in Turkey (Mutlu, 1990: 69-87). In the study conducted in 1997, internal migration movements were examined by using migration data of 1965-1970, 1975-1980, 1980-1985 and 1985-1990 and referring to the migration literature. According to the findings obtained as a result of the study, it is seen that the migration from rural to urban gained a different quality over time. According to the findings, it is seen that the volume of migration movements from rural to urban and rural to rural decreased, but the volume of migration from city to city increased. In addition, social and psychological factors affect migration decisions as much as physical distance (Gedik, 1997:170).

The 2000s were the years when the literature in terms of migration studies developed and internal migration reached saturation level. Those who migrated in the past have now become urban dwellers for 3 generations. It is necessary to look at the work done in this period from this perspective. In the study conducted in 2001, internal migration in Turkey is examined through an econometric model. Panel data approach was used for this study. By making two scenario analyzes and making use of appropriate models, predictions were made on internal migration. In the study, Net Migration Rates data were obtained from the migration statistics of 1980, 1985 and 1990. While net migration rates are included in the models as dependent variables, as independent variables: Time variable (TREND), Health Index (SAGOR), Agricultural Labor Force Rate (TAROR), Unemployment Rate (ISOR), Education Index (EGTOR), Electricity Consumption Per Capita Its values (KBELEK), Gross Domestic Product Per Capita (KBGSYH), are used (Pazarlıoğlu, 2001).

In 2002, a different econometric study was conducted. In this study, different hypotheses of the concept of internal migration, which is discussed in Izmir, are tested with the help of the multiple-state logit technique. These hypotheses are the distance between the place to migrate, and the place to migrate affects the migration and the immigrants consist of educated young people. In a study conducted in 2008, rural migrations are analyzed in terms of socioeconomic characteristics. In the study, the relations between rural-urban migration and socio-economic factors in Turkey were analyzed. According to the results of the study, in which statistical methods such as regression, clustering and hierarchical clustering were used, migration from rural to urban areas is significantly affected by socio-economic data (Gürbüz & Karabulut, 2008: 42).

In the study conducted in 2009, migration data were used in 5 censuses made between 1970 and 2000 in Turkey, and the Lowry hypothesis was tested. As a result of the study using factors such as KBDSYH, net migration rate and population size, it has been determined that the immigration rate received is more effective than the given immigration rate on the net migration rate. In addition, as a result of this study, it has been revealed that the Lowry hypothesis is valid on the structure of internal migration flows in Turkey (Topbaş & Tanrıöver, 2009: 93-104).

According to the study conducted in 2012 and covering the period between 1995 and 2000, internal migrations in Turkey vary in terms of the classification of districts. Namely,

internal migrations vary depending on the underdeveloped, coastal-inland, east-west, rural-urban areas as well as other regional and local dynamics. However, according to the results of the distribution of migration mobility and migration effectiveness, it is seen that the mobility is high in the west of the Adana-Zonguldak line. In addition, it has been determined that migration is a determining factor in population growth, whereas in the east of this line, the mobility remains at a lower level and its effect on population growth is limited (Yakar, 2012: 767).

1.5.1. The Theme of Migration in Turkish Cinema

The concept of migration is a phenomenon that is experienced a lot today, with all the social mobility and its consequences. It is an individual or social mobility process that takes place for many dynamic reasons. Immigration and the phenomenon of being a migrant have become subjects in different ideological, scientific and artistic disciplines in terms of language, religion, culture, economic and social reasons and results. Due to its interest in social events, cinema was interested in themes such as immigration and hybridity, both as a branch of art and as a mass media. Cinema as a branch of art focuses on immigration with a stylized aesthetic approach. While dealing with internal migration, external migration, immigration, hybridity, multiculturalism and multilingualism, it also acts as a communication tool approaching documentary cinema like a reporter. For this reason, migration and all other elements of migration have become preferred themes in Turkish cinema. The phenomenon of internal migration, which became a part of our social life with the 1960s, and then the reflection of the process, which first started with immigration to Germany, paved the way for films with the theme of migration. Migration, which has become a global problem today, is reproduced both in its traditional form and with the theme of reverse migration.

The invention of cinema took place during the Ottoman Empire, but the establishment of the cinema industry took place in the following years (Akdeniz, 2008: 24). Muhsin Ertuğrul was the only director to produce alone in Turkish cinema for 17 years. Except for a few short films made by Nâzım Hikmet and the short documentary "New Karagöz" by Hazım between 1922-1939, all the films were shot by Muhsin Ertuğrul, who was actually a theater actor. He was the most important representative of cinema until his last movie, "Halıcı Kız", which he shot in 1953 (Dorsay, 1984). There was a transition period until the period of the directors. In this transition period, newly established film companies have stepped into the

cinema, especially through adapted films. The period between 1939 and 1950, when Faruk Kenç made his first film, "Taş Parçası", is the 'Transitional Period'. At the end of this period, Lütü Akad entered the cinema and became the most important representative of the period of filmmakers. The period of directors is examined in two main periods, 1950s and 1960s. While the 1950s was a period when mostly adapted films were made, the post-1960s was a period in which social realist original cinema examples were given (Sim, 2017: 20-54).

The 1960s saw a lively intellectual debate on various social and political issues. The period between the years 1960-1970 of Turkish Cinema started with the coup d'etat. The 1960 Movement brought a different perspective to Turkish Cinema. This change has manifested itself in the tendency to make realistic films. Films that mirror social concerns and society and address the troubles of Turkish people were shot. During this period, filmmakers such as Bilge Olgaç, Yılmaz Güney, Feyzi Tuna, Ertem Eğilmez, Ertem Göreç, Duygu Sağıroğlu, Osman Seden, Memduh Ün, Halit Refiğ, Atıf Yılmaz, Lütü Akad and Metin Erksan focused on social issues and they discussed subjects dealing with these issues in their films. (Çağın, 2009: 12). The number of spectators watching "realistic" movies increases thanks to the studies carried out on culture starting from the May 27 Movement, the activities of clubs such as the "Sinematek", and magazines. Thus, an audience that changes its shell, attaches importance to quality, and starts to go to the cinema by choosing movies, is formed (Özön, 1995: 37). The 1960s were also the years when intellectual debates were most intense, with the effect of the freedom environment. Theories such as "Social Realism", "People's Cinema", "Revolutionary Cinema", "National Cinema", "National Cinema" emerged in this period. Again, in this time period, cinema magazines such as "Film", "Si-Sa", "Yedinci Sanat/Yeni Sinema", "Sine-Film", "Sinema 65", "Kamera", "Sinema Postası" were published. Clubs and festivals entered a period of intense and enthusiastic production, during which Turkish films began to participate in festivals such as Berlin, Edinburgh, Locarno and Moscow and to win important awards (Kirel, 2005: 44).

In the 1960s, great changes were experienced both in Turkey and in the world in terms of cinema. The 1960 Movement and later the adoption of the 1961 Constitution are the reason for the formation of this environment. With the 1961 Constitution, workers were given the right to form independent unions and strike. Bringing the framework that will enable important practices and principles such as personnel, land and tax reform; also secured social rights (Cem, 2008: 368). But the dissolution of the province could not be prevented. It was

inevitable that the mass migration from the province to the city would have social consequences as well as economic factors due to reasons such as the land reform that could not be done and the social class structure becoming more prominent.

As social, economic and political changes are experienced, class differences in the society begin to appear. With this situation, it can be said that the left view is strengthened. The rights brought with the 1961 Constitution pave the way for the workers to unionize. With this development, we see the emergence of a strong and resistant working class against the growing bourgeoisie. The Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) has emerged on the political scene to engage in politics on a legal basis, independent of the influence of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) is a party which has been the strongest bearer of socialist tradition and experience in Turkey for many years, and most of its founders are socialist characters coming from the class struggle. The 1960s can be expressed as the years when Turkey's social and cultural dynamics underwent a major change. The fact that the Workers' Party of Turkey won 15 deputies in the 1965 elections represents an important stage in Turkey's political history. These developments on the left begin to attract the reactions of far-right groups. We see that the reactions from the right-side turn into violent events after a while. University students are included in this tense environment in Turkey and they begin to react. It is seen that university students took action with various actions as a result of underdeveloped education opportunities, future unemployment concerns and similar events in Western Europe with the 68 Movement, which started to show its effect in the world in previous years. 68 Movement; The struggle for individual rights of university students within the scope of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA started with the cessation of the Vietnam War, the demands for freedom of expression, sexual freedom, anti-racist reform and the rise of the feminist movement. The movement spread rapidly to Europe at the beginning of the era of global communication and first embodied in universities in France. In May 1968, student revolts that spread all over the world started when students came together with millions of workers and took to the streets for days. These actions, which also spread in Turkey, gradually began to gain a political character. In the ongoing process, conflicts between right and left-wing student groups grow and blood begins to spill. Particularly, the 68 Movement, in which university youth is active, has positioned itself as a cultural and political revolution all over the world. We can say that the 68 Movement brought a new perspective to Turkish Cinema. This change manifests itself with the trend of making realistic films in Turkish Cinema. Films that mirror the society and reflect the various problems of the society have begun to be shot. It

deals with the problems at the center of the society such as inequality of income distribution, poverty, unemployment, slums, immigration problems and worker-boss relationship.

The thematic presentation of the phenomenon of migration in Turkish cinema started much earlier. Social realistic cinema, which started in Turkish cinema at the end of the 1950s, is also a living witness of the social disintegration experienced during the 1960s and 1970s; It has ensured that basic subjects such as migration, urbanization, unplanned housing, rural-urban dichotomy, women and family problems have become the most important subjects in our cinema. Along with these internal migration stories, the first foreign labor migration, especially to Germany, to the surrounding European countries, began to take place in our cinema. This social phenomenon, which offers a rich theme content in every sense, is among the indispensable subjects of our cinema today (Osmanoğlu, 2016: 83).

In fact, long before the social realism movement in Turkish cinema, films about immigration and its effects were mostly shot in melodrama or comedy formats. In the stories of poor girl-rich boy or rich boy-poor girl, which usually contain comedy elements, one of the parties could already be of rural origin. Comedies and melodramas have content about the adaptation process of immigrants to urban life. Although the phenomenon of migration has always been processed, it accelerated as an extension of the social realist understanding required by the conditions after 1960 and started to include class contradictions in a deeper way. And the identity struggle of the working class and immigrants becomes the subject of the cinema (Çelik, 2017: 1-2).

With the urbanization and migration movements in our country, the social change that has occurred since the 1960s has changed over time. The beginning of this painful process in Turkish cinema has accelerated with the social realism movement, so many directors have started to touch on the issue of migration at the point of spatial separations in cities. Films have started to be shot on subjects such as immigration, the process of immigrants' attachment to the city, slums, worker problems, and patronage relations.

The processing of migration on the big screen in our country took place in the 1960s. In these years, as a result of the freedom environment provided by the 1961 Constitution and the intense interest of the people in the cinema brought by Yeşilçam cinema, social issues such as migration, slums and urbanization took place in Turkish cinema (Kasım & Atayeter,

2012: 21). The scenarios that started to deal with migration and urbanization issues reflected social realities by also addressing the working class that started to gain visibility in Istanbul. The inability to adapt to the city they live in, poverty, unemployment or working life without social security reflected the social conditions very well.

It is seen that the immigrants who came in the 1960s and were able to hold on in Istanbul somehow settled in the shantytowns of the city during this period. The effect of the first period immigrants who became rich in the city on the new immigrants is visible (Pişkin, 2010: 56). Istanbul's crime elements in the movies shot during this period are the subjects that are mostly dealt with especially in the slums.

The first film in which the phenomenon of migration in the Yeşilçam period was handled in a socially realistic manner was Halit Refiğ's 1964 film, "Gurbet Kuşları". The film is about the efforts of a family from Kahramanmaraş, who got off the train full of hope at Haydarpaşa Train Station, to hold on to the city like Istanbul, whose stone is gold but bread is in the mouth of a lion. If you do not have the necessary infrastructure and equipment in a city like Istanbul, it is not easy to hold on. Life is not easy for Tahir Ağa from Kahramanmaraş and his family. While Tahir Ağa, the eldest son of the family, is always high, the youngest son Kemal prefers to hold on to life by getting a medical education. At the end of the movie, only Kemal and his wife, who returned to their village after all kinds of financial and moral disasters, will stay in Istanbul, continue their education and look for ways to become an Istanbulite.

It is necessary to think of the Social Realism movement without isolating it from the May 27 event. May 27 is one of the failed westernization efforts in our history. The social realism movement in our cinema has also been a kind of westernization and intellectuals' movement. The social realism movement under the influence of the West, which is the first left-wing movement in Turkish Cinema, was able to develop thanks to the defense of the right-wing press and the noises from the upper strata. There is hardly any social realism movie popular with the public except "Otobüs Yolcuları", "Acı Hayat", "Gurbet Kuşları" (Refiğ, 1971: 38-39).

Refiğ's message in the movie is very clear. If you don't have the necessary equipment, cities will swallow you. Only with education, effort and patience can you become a part of the

city. In today's world where cities are a global village, there is no longer a difference between village and city.

Filmed during this period in Yeşilçam cinema, Orhan Elmas's "Altın Şehir" (1965), Refik Saydam's "Boğaziçi Şarkıları" (1965), Ülkü Erakalın's "Kara Tren" (1966), Atıf Yılmaz's "Zeyno" (1970), F. Osman Seden's "Yirmi Yıl Sonra" (1972), Orhan Elmas's "Suya Düşen Hayal" (1972), and Ertem Göreç's "Anadolu Ekspresi" (1973) dealt with the story of those who migrated on trains from the perspective of those who could not hold on. It witnesses the hurtful stories and realities of people who came to the city with hope but could not be a part of the city (Sekmeç, 2012: 278-280).

It is the "Gelin – Düğün – Diyet" trilogy that handles the internal migration phenomenon in the most comprehensive way in the cinema of the 1970s. Lütü Akad discussed the issues of urbanization and migration with his films "Gelin (1973)", "Düğün(1974)" and "Diyet(1975)" and symbolically transferred the values and phenomena that the society lived at that time to Turkish cinema (Dorsay, 1989: 38). From Yozgat to Istanbul in the movie 'Gelin', from Urfa to Istanbul in the movie 'Düğün', and from Afyon to Istanbul in the movie Payoff, the socio-economic problems faced by the families, along with the social change experienced during the urbanization phase, are examined. When the 'Gelin' and 'Düğün' films are examined in terms of social reality, it also shows what issues should be addressed in Turkish cinema in the years when urbanization increased rapidly and the capitalist system continued to rise (Dorsay, 1989: 43). Lütü Akad's "Gelin, Düğün, Diyet" immigration trilogy looks at it from a social point of view. At the same time, Akad's cinema does not make definite judgments, and its slogan-like attitude is completely denied. It reveals the problems and leaves the solution to the observer. That is why some of his films are open to very different readings. This situation is seen in many of Akad's films. The real truth of the movie is hidden in the dialogues, they give tips. Akad has brought seriousness, importance to the art and a simple language of expression to Turkish Cinema. He placed cinema in Turkey as an art with his strong intuition and observation skills (Esen, 2002: 49).

In this trilogy, Akad has handled immigration to Istanbul as a concept that takes place with the aim of earning money. The concept of squatting is frequently encountered in this trilogy. In the first of the trilogy, 'Gelin', the bride-to-be comes to Istanbul, and her mother-in-law warns her not to behave in her village. Turkish-Islamic motifs are emphasized in certain

scenes in the house where a large family lived. In the movie, the family of the “countryman” competing to be in the capitalist system in general is symbolized by throwing his conscience aside and even sacrificing his grandchild. Apart from their devotion to tradition, their rejection of modern medicine, and their belief that prayer can cure diseases, the family sells open wine in their markets to earn money. In the trilogy, the characters representing the urban and rural, between modernity and traditionalism are included, and the rising capitalist system of the period was also criticized as well as the concept of urbanization and migration.

In the movie “Gelin”, the migration to the city took place with a kind of preference in order to earn money. In the movie “Düğün”, the concept of citizenship of main characters and the fact that they even give up their families for the purpose of making money are discussed. In the movie “Diyet”, the concepts of labor and workmanship were examined in order to cope with the existing capitalist system, and the social problems that occurred during the migration process were revealed. In the films in the trilogy, the principles of social realism and social rights, gender, family phenomenon and squatting were also handled (Kara, 2016: 513).

With the 1980s, internal migration to Istanbul increased rapidly and it became very difficult to find a job in the city life. In Engin Yıldız's book titled "Slum Cinema", for the films made after 1980, cultural and regional problems experienced by people, health, transportation, housing, water, community ideology, slums and cultural separations are also included in the films, apart from the social crises and ruptures in the cities. It was explained that the subjects where East and West differed should be depicted (Yıldız, 2008: 8). It has been stated that social reality can be reached by processing processes such as the positioning of women in slum areas and the integration of people into the cosmopolitan structure of city life. For these reasons, many films on immigration have been described as arabesque films by Yıldız, although they have dealt with squatting. The fact that the places where the movies take place are shantytowns does not mean that it is a slum movie (Yıldız, 2008: 9).

The reality of slums in Turkish cinema started to be discussed as of the mid-1960s. In Atıf Yılmaz's "Keşanlı Ali Destanı" (1964), Feyzi Tuna's movie "Gecekondu Peşinde" (1967), in which the word slum is used for the first time (1967), and Duygu Sağıroğlu's "Bitmeyen Yol" (1965), slums and the way of life are quite different. In detail, it is about the very certain characters that they migrated from the province and their stories of existence and clinging in Istanbul. Halit Refiğ's "Fatma Bacı" (1972) is about the adventure of sister Fatma, who fled

from the village due to a vendetta and came to Istanbul, to make a living as a janitor in the city, and the struggle of her two daughters and a son to exist in Istanbul. Bringing the dimensions of both urbanization and cultural conflict to the big screen, the film makes important determinations. With this, it is one of the rare films in which such in-depth determinations are made on migration and the states of being a woman.

During this period, Kartal Tibet's "Sultan" (1978) is a drama and romantic comedy film that has a narrative about both squatter and women's problem. The film does not only deal with the shantytowns formed after the migration, but also points to a period in which these settlements built on public land only for shelter were marketed to big capital for tribute and auction under neo-liberal conditions. The 80s were the years when consumption and making money from money developed rather than production. And now everything is rent. Therefore, every object is a capitalist element. In fact, in connection with this, the state of being a woman is now a capitalist object. However, it shows that the impositions in rural life on the female body and honor, no matter how urban they are, burn in the city and form the basis of the living culture.

Although the tendency to migrate from rural to urban areas with the 1980s decreased compared to previous periods, the relationship of the immigrants with the city began to differ in previous years. Although the shape and spatial structure are different, the old nomads started to experience new urbanism in different parts of the city. The newly established settlement areas on the periphery of the city center, together with the houses and shantytowns, which were generally placed on public lands, had begun to impose an arabesque culture, as Yıldız stated. People who came to the center from the city suburbs to work were surrounded by arabesque music, which was also the fashionable music of the period, in minibuses. According to Özbek, arabesque is not only arabesque and is the most beautiful reflection of the spirit of the time (Özbek, 2013: 1-3). A new modernity was reflected in the cinema in this period by using popular culture tools. In the 1980s, which we can call the transition period of Yeşilçam, when film production systems collapsed one by one and very few films were shot, the basis of the films of arabesque, and pianist singers are the reflections of migration and the slum lifestyle. We can see the films of singers of the period such as İbrahim Tatlıses, Müslüm Gürses, Orhan Gencebay, Ferdi Tayfur and Ümit Besen as arabesque-based immigrant films.

1.5.2. 2000s and Immigration Phenomenon in New Turkish Cinema

The phenomenon of migration, which is an important part of the urbanization phenomenon in Turkey, emerges as a combination of many social, political, economic and cultural factors. As there are types of migration that change and transform from time to time, the area of interest and influence created by migration also changes. It can be said that this situation has also changed the social effects. Assumptions about migration can no longer be just from traditional (rural) to modern (to urban) but vice versa, from modern to traditional. It is seen that the cinema is quite successful in reflecting this change and transformation exactly.

The new generation migration movies, which were shot in Istanbul before and simultaneously with the movies about reverse migration, focus on the second or third generation members of the migrating families. It is seen that these new generations were born, grew up, studied and grew up in the migrated city. Slums and life are rapidly changing. There is a spatial structuring in which slum areas cease to be a slum and produce the good and the modern in themselves. These second- and third-generation immigrants are now defined as individuals who yearn to move up and skip classes, even if they work in settled, informal sectors. *Benim Sinemalarım* (1990), *“Boynu Bükük Küheylan”* (1990), *“Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar”* (1993), Zeki Demirkubuz films (*C Blok*-1994, *Masumiyet*-1997, *Üçüncü Sayfa*- 1999) some of the movies of the 90s. *“Uzak”* (2002), *“Gönül Yarası”* (2005), *“Sır Çocukları”* (2002), *“Metropol Kâbusu”* (2003), *“Kayıp Cennet İnsanları”* (2004), *“Başka Sementin Çocukları”* (2009) can also be given as examples of recent films. Films such as *“Bir Küçük Bulut”* (1990), *“Kara Köpekler Havlarken”* (2009) and *“Güneşi Gördüm”* (2009) emerge as films that describe and express this period very well (Çelik & Tezcan, 2017: 628).

The new independent cinema, which has developed since the second half of the 1990s, has been organized in a way that is based on both current conditions and the change of society. Auteur filmmakers, who started to produce in this period, started to make provincial films in accordance with both the production style and the spirit of the time. While these provincial films are located on the province in a very different way from the Yeşilçam period village films, they are mostly about the characters who return from the city to province temporarily or permanently with reverse migration.

It is obvious that directors such as Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, Derviş Zaim, Reha Erdem, Semih Kaplanoğlu, Yeşim Ustaoglu, Emin Alper, Tolga Karaçelik, Kaan Müjdeci, and Senem Tüzen, who made productions during this period, returned to the province and established a new language of cinema.

According to Özgüven, Turkish cinema has gravitated towards the province under the influence of new production relations. The gap created by not being able to cope with the city, and being able to represent it effectively has led to the orientation to the province (Özgüven, 2010: 186). In other words, well-educated next generation representatives of families who migrated to the city a few generations ago cannot cope with the city and return to the province permanently or temporarily and find themselves in a melancholy.

In this period, although reverse migration did not emerge as a main theme in Turkish Cinema, we know that the return of the characters was to the provinces again. For this reason, reverse migration often appears as a side theme. In the films of this period, the main reason for returning from the city to the village, that is, to the province, is the mood of being unable to hold on to the city and being defeated. This feeling of being defeated and unable to hold on to the city is a sign of alienation. These individuals, who are especially second and third generation urbanites, are not able to carry this feeling internally, although they are urban with education and cultural environment, they still cannot get rid of their rural practices when they enter the household.

The social mobility in these provincial films, which is the main theme of the New Turkish Cinema, develops as an extension of the center-periphery approach. As an extension of this, the director of the first important films of the developing period is Zeki Demirkubuz. In Demirkubuz's films, which reveal that the countryside is transformed into small cities, we see second and third generation urban family children who experience alienation in every sense. These characters carry their existing lives in the city directly to the countryside and transform and change the countryside.

Nuri Bilge Ceylan, along with his short film *Koza*, always directed his camera to the province and the people there. Semih Kaplanoğlu also places the rural theme at the center of the films since his first film. Beginning with the movie "*Herkes Kendi Evinde*" (2001), the province has started to deal with the problem of rootlessness. Senem Tüzen, in the movie

"Ana Yurdu" (2015), questions the perception of the countryside with the character of a female writer who returns to her mother's country to work, to collect and rebuild herself. As the name suggests, the movie "Ana Yurdu" appears as a movie that tries to harmonize her inner and outer provinces, and tries to establish a new city perception in the provinces it goes to.

Tolga Karaçelik's film "Kelebekler (2018)" is about the story of three brothers who return to their father's country after a trauma, and follow the traces of their childhood, dreams and past, and the perception of a new person and a new city from the province.

It can be said that the phenomenon of migration in New Turkish Cinema has a thematic structure based on reverse migration, where second or third generation immigrants carry their practices in the city to the province and change and transform themselves along with the province.

2. City – Province Dilemma and Its Reflections on Cinema

Localities the areas where people carry out all their activities. The concept of place is related to geography in that it corresponds to a place. In this respect, the fact that environment is a part of natural and political, economic and social processes in other aspects emerges.

People are surrounded by environment from their birth to their death. Home, neighborhood, town, city, country and the world are different layers of the quality of the environment that surround people. David Harvey defines environment as a social dimension that people shape and shape people. Behaviors of individuals are affected by that environment, since the behaviors are included in social processes and gain personality, and identity takes place in a certain environment. All individual and social behaviors have a counterpart at the spatial level. It is not possible to categorize and make sense of behaviors without environment (Harvey, 2003:11).

Cinema is also directly related to the environment in terms of its subject. In the cinema, which reveals the uncanny spirit of human nature with a moving image, the city-province dilemma has become a hot topic, especially in the last thirty years. Especially in recent years, when the gap between the city and the province, where capitalism has developed rapidly, has widened rapidly, the city has become a place of extinction, melting and

loneliness, while the province has become a place where a new life is established. Although the province was shown as a place of nausea in the first years, it has been a place of relaxation where the individual reconstructs himself, returns to treatment after various traumas, spreads various intellectual concerns and asks for the account of the past, especially in the last ten years. Although there is a dichotomy between the city and the province in the cinema, with those who return there and their reflections in the province, it has become a new modern, perhaps a new type of city in form and structure.

2.1. City – Province Dilemma

If it is necessary to separate the settlement phenomenon into types, it can be divided into two main headings; urban settlement and rural settlement. Cities and provinces are indispensable areas for each other and cannot be considered independently of each other. For this reason, they should be considered and evaluated within a certain historical, economic, social and cultural connections rather than thinking in isolation from each other (Berkay, 2009: 2). The existence of the province is needed for the difference between city and country to be meaningful. Therefore, although the province is pushed aside, it cannot be ignored and ignored. To understand the city (central), it is necessary to look at the province.

Another important difference in the comparison of rural and city is the concept of time. Time is slow in the province. Natural conditions determine the speed of time in the province. In the province, the rhythm of life and the sensory mind imagination flow much slower, much more routine and much more smoothly (Simmel, 1996: 324). Time passes quickly in the city and slower in the province, but in both cases, it seems to have caused trouble for the characters. Problems such as crowded population, economic difficulties, inability to keep up with the society are added to the problems created by the spaces.

However, the city and the province have mutually contradictory tasks in the development of new social relations. For a more complete determination of the subject, social relations developed in the city and in the province should be examined in two phases. The first part is the welcome and the second part is the acceptance phase. As Wirth points out, physical relations are close and social relations are distant, due to the overcrowding and heterogeneity of the population in cities. On the other hand, due to the fact that the population in the province is much smaller, the density is less and unlike the cities, the physical relations

are far from the city, but the social relations are incomparably close to the city. However, these roles related to the city and the province are the roles of the welcoming stage in the process of developing a new social relationship. At this stage, an individual who joins the city and the province from outside will be able to see that the physical relations are close and the social relations are distant in the city, while the physical relations are relatively distant but the social relations are closer in the province (Açıköz: 74). In other words, it can be said that cities are big places, so human relations are more distant and their trust towards each other is less. The metropolitan type man develops an organ to protect himself against the threatening currents and discords in his external environment that will tear him up from his roots. He reacts with his mind, not with his heart. Metropolitan life is the basis of the increasing awareness and dominance of intelligence/intellect in the metropolitan people. The task of responding to metropolitan phenomena has been shifted to the least sensitive organ and far removed from the depths of the personality. Therefore, intellectuality, which is thought to protect subjective life against the overwhelming power of metropolitan life, branches off in many directions and integrates with numerous phenomena separately (Simmel, 2009: 318). For this reason, it can be said that the urban people are not seen as colder and more sincere from the perspective of the rural people.

Cities started to protect their own power by excluding the province and marginalizing their surroundings. In this context, the concept of migration has started to expand with the transfer of production from rural areas to cities due to industrialization. While factories were being built in cities, the situation in rural areas also changed. Mechanization has also started in agriculture and thus the need for manpower has decreased.

Since the city-country dichotomy is put forward on a theoretical basis, the silver screen is also legitimized more primarily. We can say that post-1990 Turkish cinema was built on this contrast and expanded. This situation, which is a kind of tension for the urbanites who return to the province, is like re-creating themselves, rasping their intellectual concerns and treating the big wounds in the city. Directors such as Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Semih Kaplanoğlu, Senem Tüzen and Tolga Karaçelik, who give life to the characters stuck in this dilemma, reveal both their own stuckness and a social schizophrenia through their characters.

2.1.1. Explanation of the Concept of City

Before moving on to the definitions of the concept of the city, it is useful to look at the etymological origin of the word “city”. The word is the same word as Persian 'h̥sasra' and Sanskrit 'ksatra', which means “dominion” and “state” in terms of origin (Berkay, 2009: 30). In addition, Max Weber, in his detailed city typology, talks about the quarter cities, the core of which is the residence of the ruler, members of the palace, civil servants and guards in Ancient Eastern cultures, and the generation of merchants and artisans surrounding this core (Berkay, 2009: 31).

The meanings of the concepts usually express themselves in the root of the word. The same clues can be found based on the etymological structure of the word "city". Etymologically, the words “city”, “citta”, “ciudad” and “cite” in the European Urban Charter contain two basic concepts and are defined as a place where human communities meet in terms of archaeological, urban planning and structural aspects. In the Tereccani Italian Encyclopedia, the city is expressed as “a legal and historical formation that constitutes the characteristic and basic core of social life” (Yılmaz, 2004: 252).

Based on the etymological structure mentioned above, many definitions including functions and distinctive features of the city have been made. Some of the city definitions emphasize demographic and administrative characteristics, while others focus on cultural and socioeconomic characteristics. Some of the definitions of cities are given below:

City is a dense settlement unit consisting of small neighborhood units which is in a continuous social development, and where the needs of the society such as entertainment, rest, work, travel, accommodation and settlement are met, where a very few people are engaged in agricultural activities, and it is more populated in terms of population. (Keleş, 2021: 67).

When the differences in the conceptual content of the city within the historical development are examined, it is seen that the phenomenon of civilization in the early times was a factor in the determination of this content (Ertürk, 2019: 42). In other words, it is seen that the word “city” is used synonymously with civilization. In this context, it can be said that civilization brings urbanization and urbanization brings civilization. So much so that, throughout the history of humanity, civilization has developed as a phenomenon associated

with cities; cities have been a new development process that has emerged in a protected environment organized with very clear rules of rights and law. In Latin-based languages, “civilization” is derived from “civitas” meaning “city”. The origin of the phenomenon of “civilization”, which also means civilization in Arab culture, is “medina”, which is a city name (Erten, 2000:30-31; Keleş, 2021: 119).

Weber defines the city as "a unit that has its own land ownership, a budget consisting of income and expenses, and an economic union, as well as having a community of houses standing on it." (Weber, 1958: 94). According to Pirenne, while defining the word “city”, one should mention the commercial society, the agricultural society, the legal society as well as the laws and institutions. He states that cities consist of castles and administrative centers (Pirenne, 2006: 47).

Mumford states that the city is built on the socialization created by the division of labor, the spatial concentration and organization of the scattered people, and the city is the product of civilization (Mumford, 2013: 50). In a similar interpretation, Gül and Ergün define the city as a small place, which was dense and cramped until before the industrial revolution. They state that the city does not host agriculture, but hosts the administration, the clergy, tradesmen and craftsmen (Gül & Ergün, 2016: 59).

The periodical change and development processes of the city have led to the emergence of various definitions for each period. Cities have been shaped according to various human factors, needs and functions. The city is a complex social structure with its own characteristics, which allows to overcome the problems that are difficult to solve personally. For this reason, the diversity of economic and social activities characterizes the inhabitants of the city (Valbelle, Huot, & Thalmann, 2000: 33).

With the limited opportunities in the province, the decrease in the need for manpower with mechanization in agriculture, the perception of living in the city as a class jump thanks to the social opportunities offered by the cities as well as the economic opportunities, the population in the cities has started to increase rapidly. While the parallel development process of industrialization and urbanization in developed countries brings vitality to cities, it is reflected as a problem in developing countries with the excessive and unbalanced crowding of cities. Two of these problems are that 'city areas, which cannot satisfy the growing population

in terms of income and sense of belonging, are becoming inadequate and helpless in terms of municipal services day by day' (Berkay, 2009: 78). The degree of 'urbanization' available to the contemporary world cannot be accurately and validly measured by the proportion of the total population living in cities.

The effects of cities on social life or people are greater than the effect of the urban population. The city is not only a place that offers job and settlement opportunities to today's people to a greater extent, but also a center that attracts the most remote places of the world, shapes various regions, people and activities according to an order, and is the controller and pioneer of cultural, political and economic life (Wirth, 2002:78). According to L. Wirth (2002), situations such as the dense, large and heterogeneous population in the city cause an impersonal relationship between people. He emphasizes that since the number of people in the urban environment is very large, dense and different in every aspect, the physical relations between people are much closer than those in the province, but the social relations are far away, unlike those in the province. It can be said that social changes have negatively affected both the physical environment of the cities, the social life and city culture. The phenomenon of rapid urbanization has led to the formation of urban fringes surrounding urban centers with social, economic and physical problems. This formation brought along the fact that urbanization could not be urbanized. Urbanization is the process of social change creating changes in people's behaviors and relationships, value judgements, historical and material lifestyles as a result of the 'urbanization' movement (Aydoğan, 1997: 547).

Queen and Carpenter, the social scientists in America define the city as a collection of works and people with distinctive features gathered in a large place at a large time. According to Louis Wirth, a city is a settlement that consists of socially different people, has a dense population, is large, and is constantly in the same place (Keleş, 2006: 109).

The concept of the city is a phenomenon that shows different meanings in almost every period of history. In fact, it is seen that a city definition that can be valid for all times and for every country cannot be made in both the literature and the legislation (Karaman, 1998: 5). According to economists, the city is an economic system that emerged in the production, distribution and consumption phase of services and goods in order to provide the changing needs of the society constantly (Keleş, 2006: 108).

According to the definition of the United Nations, the city has a population of more than one million, has developed connections with nearby and distant cities with transportation networks, has been a center in terms of political, cultural, economic, commercial and financial aspects, generally global or at least has regional labor, goods, capital and sub-urban areas, local towns or suburbs, where service mobility is also experienced; but it is explained as areas that continue to dominate a single city center especially economically (Ergun, C., Güneş, M., & Dericioğulları-Ergun, A., 2013: 44).

When we look at the common features of these city definitions, population density, specialization, density, division of labor are the characteristics of different people. The city is a place of diversity. So, the city is where there is no uniformity. Instead of a single type of agricultural production in the city, different areas such as industrialization, trade and service sector emerged. In addition, each field is divided into various specializations within itself. As a result, the population increased as well. The diversity in the city means that individuals from different political views, different sects and religions live together (Şahin, 2011:7).

Mumford, who investigates the birth and development of cities states that the first cities were founded in Mesopotamia around 4000 BC (Mumford, 1979: 96). Throughout history, civilizations have had their own cities in every age. In ancient times, the cities of Roman, Greek, Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations were organized and developed within a plan. In 6 B.C., the city of Babylon had a population of 350000, and in the 8th century, the city of Syracuse had a population of 40000. The largest city in ancient times was Rome with a population of 1.5 million. In the 15th century, the population of London and Brussels was only 40000. Medieval cities were dominated by either purely cultural and political functions or purely economic functions (Yeter, 2008: 28).

There are many reasons why cities gain meaning for us. Some of these reasons are; square, street, park, lake, forest, monument and living people. The combination of these reasons also defines the complex structure of the city. The social interaction, environment and complex structure of each city reveal the character of that city. In the city definitions, it is emphasized that the city was established in a process, developed and changed itself. In this context, according to this conclusion about the city, it can be said that cities are in constant formation, the development process does not end and they are tied to their past. In this context, urban identity is defined as the meaning-laden integrity created by a great process

extending from the past to the future, which affects the image of the city, which keeps the concept of a constantly developing and sustainable city alive. Each city has its own characteristics with different scales and interpretations; shaped by physical, cultural, socio-economic, historical and formal factors, formed by the citizens and their way of life (Demirseren-Çöl, 1998: 298).

Sjoberg states that the basic conditions of city life are social, economic and ecological organization. Sjoberg also agrees with Mumford's studies and states that the Indus and Egyptian cities were established after Mesopotamia, and then cities were established in China, America and the Mediterranean. However, it is known that cities began to form in Western Europe with the industrial revolution (Sjoberg, 1965: 26-27). Thanks to the factories opened with the industrial revolution, production started to move from rural areas to cities and human life started to change accordingly. With the city being the center of economic life and production, the definition of the city also changes and gains an identity as social life. The concept of the city now moves away from the concept of 'ancient site'. Especially in this process experienced with the Industrial Revolution, the city became a settlement where new production and consumption relations developed and a structure quite different from the traditional social structure was formed (Begel, 1996: 14).

Therefore, in many respects, the city and other settlements began to be clearly separated from each other. Other features that distinguish the city are its population size, population density, hosting different cultures, different business lines, and having developed trade networks. However, the emergence of cities and the internal relations that emerged within the city structure did not isolate city and village settlements from each other, on the contrary, the existence of one was the first step of a meaningful social organization with the other (Berkay, 2009: 29).

The concept of urbanization emerges as a lifestyle, as the concept of the city leaves the traditional ancient site concept and takes its current meaning. To make a definition about the concept of urbanization: "Urbanization is the population and accumulation process that leads to urban-specific changes in human behavior and relations that create an increasing degree of organization, division of labor and specialization in the social structure that results in the increase in the number of cities and the growth of today's cities in parallel with industrialization and economic development (Keleş, 2006: 22). Cities started to protect their

own power by excluding the province and marginalizing their surroundings. In this context, the concept of migration has started to expand with the transfer of production from rural areas to cities due to industrialization. While factories were being built in cities, the situation in rural areas also changed. Mechanization has also started in agriculture and thus the need for manpower has decreased. Machines have started to do some of the work that people do in the field or in the field of livestock. In our country, where fertility is especially high in rural and agricultural tradition, the lack of fertile land, which is made more evident by the rapid increase in the population, pushes the rural population out of the province and the villages are almost empty (Berkay, 2009: 78). On the other hand, attractive opportunities offered by cities such as economic, social life, technology, communication and freedom of movement have started to increase. As a result of these changes, the increase in migration from rural to urban has manifested itself and opened the concept of urbanization.

While the urbanization process reflected positively on the cities in most developed countries, this process started with problems in Turkey. While urbanization and industrialization develop in the same process and on the same plane in developed countries, urbanization develops faster than industrialization in developing countries such as Turkey. This industrialization process, which has been in question since the 1950s, is not at a scale to absorb this surplus population. This, on the one hand, produces an unemployed population of significant sizes and numbers in cities, on the other hand, it causes an unhealthy and chaotic growth in cities that cannot tolerate their economic functioning and cultural codes. The problem of slums and the additions of cities that have survived to the present are the leading indicators of this unhealthiness (Berkay, 2009: 78).

In addition to industrialization, technological developments, free trade and globalization are also changing and re-establishing social relations. This change also brings problems in developing countries. Although some policies are sought for solutions to the urban problems created by this change, it remains insufficient or creates confusion as a result of wrong application. Urban transformation, which has a wide application area in Turkey as in many countries, also undergoes a serious change in urban life, social fabric, environments and identity (Ergun, C., Güneş, M., & Dericioğulları-Ergun, A., 2013: 153). According to social scientists, too, the city is more than a community of people, utilities—phones, trams, electric lights, buildings, streets, etc.—together of institutions and administrative apparatus—police and author-type city officials, schools, hospitals, courts. On the contrary, the city is a state of

mind, a collection of customs and traditions, organized attitudes and views (Martindale, 2000: 66-67).

It can be said that cinema has actually been a branch of urban art since the first period of its emergence. What we mean by this is a branch of art where the production is done in the city, the subject takes place in the city, the audience is in the city, and it is directly related to money. For decades, the world of cinema has been made for the citizens of historical cities. After the 1950s, when it was understood that cinema was not only a means of communication and entertainment, but also in art, and European cinema was on the rise, the place of cinema gradually shifted from the city to the province. Although such a strap-on escape, the heart of the cinema beats in the cities. Although such a strap-on escape, the heart of the cinema beats in the cities. The return to the province, which started with village films in the 1960s in Turkish cinema, became the characteristic feature of intellectual cinema or the period we can call the New Turkish cinema as of the end of the 1990s. This new cinema does not only return to the province but also gains meaning and quality in the city with the urban transformation, as we have explained. In the movies about the city, new issues started to come to the fore. It has begun to create new settlements in the city, namely the suburbs and slums, and to transfer this underground world to the cinema.

2.1.2. The Explanation of the Concept of Province

It is very difficult to define the province due to its cultural, political, temporal and spatial relations and characteristics. Another reason for the difficulty is that the province is perceived by the presence of the central phenomenon. Although the province is ignored due to its being left out, its existence is important in terms of providing the meaning of the center. By looking at the province under the concepts of modernization and globalization, it can be seen how much these concepts have developed today. 'Province' and 'provincialism' have become a sociological concept, intertwined with culture and also closely linked with politics. On the one hand, while many debates continue about what the province is, on the other hand, new phenomena such as provincialism, provincialism, provincial literature, provincial legitimacy, provincial politics, provincial thought and provincial spirit have emerged from the "province". The fact that every place, every cultural life and every political organization are provincial to each other also causes the province to be too defined or undefined (Alver, 2017: 18).

According to the definition of the Turkish Language Association, province means outside or all of the places other than the capital or most important cities of a country. The reality in the existence of the province is actually the human conditions living there. Accordingly, it seems that the province represents a lifestyle that expresses its own styles, apart from the reality of the elite or the social center (Bora, 2013: 274). Although some general definitions can be given sociologically for both cities and villages that can be valid at all times and places, it is necessary to look at the event by considering the development and change processes within the social and cultural lines of formation to which these settlement forms depend (Berkay, 2009: 21). The definition of the province differs and is shaped according to the situation of the place and country. The province is closely related to the city to which it is affiliated and even to the sociological and economic conditions of the country in which it is located. Although the definition of provincial in Turkey has changed historically, it also differs according to the definition of province in other countries. With the change of the world system, the meaning of the province, which has a historical characteristic, has also begun to change.

One of the channels of the Ottoman Pan-Islamism ideology is the provinces. The beginning of the province in Turkey to express more than the traditional meaning of the regions administratively attached to the capital dates back to the last period of the Ottoman Empire (Bora, 2013: 15). The basis of the provincial impasses in Turkey, which still continues today, was laid in the modernization process between the Ottoman period and the Republican period. During the Ottoman period, the province was an area that was quite disconnected from the center and immobile compared to the center. In addition, in this period, the province was far from the administration and economically introverted. In 'Anatolia' in the 16th century, although some of the villages were made up of large population units, the vast majority were made up of small population units. The distances between the villages were also large. Since the roads were not many, the villages were not in close contact with the surrounding towns and cities (Berkay, 2009: 74). It has been observed that the timar system, which played an important role in the social relations between the city and the village, started to deteriorate towards the end of the 16th century and the function of rural life around the city stopped. As the pressure of the tax farmers, who became landlords, on the peasants caused the peasants to leave the land and some of them to retreat to mountainous areas, most of the old fertile village areas were destroyed, and village types of three or five households were formed on the mountain tops away from the roads (Berkay, 2009: 75). It could be said to cause that cities

and provinces are disconnected from each other has led to the underdevelopment of both cities and provinces in terms of sociological, economic, agricultural and even human power.

The province, which was introverted during the Ottoman period, later began to transform under the influence of capitalism. In order to be able to hold on to the rising power of the 'West' and to adapt to the conditions it imposes, it begins to take shape in the context of the attitudes taken against the reforms aimed at radically reorganizing the state-society and inter-community relations, which form the subject, as well as the state apparatus, in addition to the state apparatus. the state apparatus is formed through the relationship between the sections of the civil-military bureaucrat group identified with it and the Muslim subjects of the empire (Bora, 2013: 15-16).

While a marginalized relationship and a consequent gap is observed between the center and the province in Turkey, there is a natural relationship and integrity between the center and the province in most other societies. It can be said that with globalization, every place in the world has started to resemble each other and the borders have started to become more and more transparent. While this situation is observed in many other societies as the provincials approaching the center, with the introduction of globalization in Turkey after 1980, the areas outside the big centers such as Istanbul and Ankara – rural and provincial areas have gradually started to go out of sight. 'Turkey's provincial center-metropolitan(s) can be described as a power that oppresses and humiliates it with a distant, foreign and, most importantly, dominating lifestyle; undoubtedly, it is a result of the formation characteristics of "modern Turkey", but it is interesting and important enough to be considered as a factor in its own right, since 1946, when the province entered the political arena - although its power and influence changes' (Bora, 2013: 15). The province exists physically and as an area, but the city sees the province as a place far away.

Nurdan Gürbilek emphasizes that the rural phenomenon is not dependent on just one place. According to her, the word "province" refers to an experience that can be lived in the city as well; an experience of being outside, a contraction, staying in a house, lives lived like this, without giving only a spatial meaning to the word, without referring only to the village or town. (Gurbilek, 2005: 42–67). When we look at the etymology of the word 'provincial', the first meaning of the word, which is limited to locality, is striking. The province, which is expressed as the whole of a country except the center or the most important cities, indicates

an administrative geographical unit in the narrow sense (Püsküllüoğlu, 1995: 1151). The word (taşra) derives from the root of 'stone', that is, 'outer', and has the meaning of "out" with the suffix -re, which indicates direction. The dictionary equivalent of it is 'all places outside of a country's capital or most important cities, outside'. In addition, the word has two meanings; capital city or places other than capital cities; It has been stated that the second meaning is outside, outside, the outside of something.

In connection with technological developments and global processes, rural areas show urbanization over time. The fact that all societies started to become uniform in the spatial context has also revealed the interpretations of cultural uniformity. At the same time, it began to be accepted that it was assimilated and disappeared. But what about the elements that do not belong to the city in a cultural sense? The concept of the province emerges at this point. The province also has a reality that disappears or is not visible from the outside, but which actually explains what it is with its own unique aspects. Based on this approach, it is thought that the province did not disappear, and that it continues its existence in various ways even in modern cities. If cities are places where strangers come together, it is the people from the provinces who provide this meeting. Therefore, we can conclude that it is the provinces that make the cities as cities and the centers as centers.

With the entry of modernity and modernism into Turkey, the definition and location of the province has also changed. So much so that the province has ceased to be a place that is dependent on and obeys the center. With the homogeneity ideal of modernity, the external position of the province has changed. In other words, with the modernization, the province has changed and started to be included in the center. However, the modernization policy will be insufficient in Turkey, where the provinces are pushed out, and will fail in the process of adapting the provinces to the center.

With the modernization, both the center and the province were wanted to be in unity, but at the same time, it had the danger of breaking the integrity of the province. In Turkey, the administrative relationship between the central province and the republic has also changed. At the same time, the center has also changed. With Ankara becoming the capital, the center is no longer just Istanbul but also Ankara. Ankara, which displaced 'Istanbul', has transformed from a provincial capital into a capital, but today it can be evaluated that it has entered the process of provincialization again. With the disappearance of Kızılay's former contact point in Ankara,

Ankara has begun to transform into a mega-country. What makes Ankara, with its spatial extent, a city is not its breadth, but its potential to offer anonymous social relations. With the spread of satellite cities, Ankara started to lose its urban identity (Bora, 2013: 58-59).

The changing new political power has begun to transform the province as well. The Republic aimed to modernize the province and make it a homogeneous area to the center. At the same time, policies have begun to be carried out to improve the economy of the provinces. The village law was brought to the agenda in order to correct the misfortune caused by the disasters that the village has suffered since the end of the 16th century, especially the old heavy taxes, which were abolished, allowed the villagers to breathe a little after 1923'. (Berkay, 2009: 77). While the province was brought closer to the center, it also started to be controlled more. With this developed control mechanism, the provinces started to resemble each other and started to lose their unique features. It is not possible to see the provincial privacy and the pure state of the provincial depiction in the provinces anymore. As a result, we are faced with a process that is analogizing, homogenizing. It's like everywhere is city and everywhere is country – or nowhere (Bora, 2013: 46).

With the Republic, the position of the province relative to the centers of Istanbul and Ankara did not change, but it can be said that it remained in place on the condition of modernization. This modernization condition has been provided by institutions such as village institutes, community centers, army houses. In other words, in order to see the change and transformation of the provinces from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic, the ideological structure and tools of the state should be looked at. 'The province in Turkey has been more visible since the last period of the Ottoman Empire. The distinction between east and west has started to show itself since then. The economic-social structure and mentality of the eastern provinces are far from keeping up with the functions of modern society. On the other hand, the western provinces did not fall into a reactionary attitude that embraced religion and non-Muslim hostility. On the contrary, it turned into a structure that forced the center on the way to modernization and even produced an alternative to it (Bora, 2013: 41-45).

Everywhere except the center is rural. So much so that except for Istanbul and Ankara, places in Turkey are seen as rural. The province defines everything it owns in terms of the center. In this context, the relation of the province (periphery) with the center is important. Sometimes it can be pure, peaceful, natural, and sometimes it is portrayed as ignorance,

poverty, and primitiveness. In the same way, the city is sometimes described as a place where human relations are weak, artificial and difficult to live in, and sometimes it is seen as a place of civilization and development. These oppositions do not allow communication between the center and the periphery. Naturally, mutual blessings and humiliations of this kind, which cancel each other out, nullify the possibilities of dialogue between the center and the province (Bora, 2013: 281). The center preserves its power by excluding the provinces and marginalizing its surroundings. In fact, a similar situation is observed in the medieval city-province relationship. In the Middle Ages, cities were trying to establish a superiority over the provinces. First of all, the city sought to eliminate competition from the provinces that came under its rule. It tried to prevent the province from engaging in trade; forced the villagers to meet their needs from the city. It was also in the city's interest to force the peasants to sell their goods only in the city (Weber, 1958: 259).

Although the word "province" refers to a place, it is actually appearing as a word with a flexible meaning in a broad frame with no clear boundaries. In this context, a town is a provincial city in terms of its location, but a center in terms of a village around it. With the same view, Bursa or Kocaeli is a center in terms of the towns around them, while they are provinces compared to Istanbul. Therefore, it can be said that the village is the province of the town, the town is the city, the city is the metropolis, and the metropolis is the province of the nation-state. The inconsistency and flexibility of the word province is also reflected in the word 'provincial', it is difficult to draw the frame of the country or the city precisely as it will vary.

Capitalism also enters the province, so the class structure, culture, worldview and production system of the province have also changed. In this context, it can be said that the unique lifestyle of the province has begun to disappear. It is clear that it will push back the province, which it had recently shared its lustiness, not only spatially but also temporally, and create from it a profoundly alien, sinister, dangerous deep province. Capitalism emerges from every crisis it enters by creating a deep province for itself (Gürbilek, 2004: 138). The meaning to be deduced from this definition is that there are provinces within the centers as well. However, with the rapid increase in immigration to Istanbul and it's becoming an increasingly crowded and irregular city, it is clearly seen that this density cannot be lifted and cannot provide the qualified life opportunities. Therefore, province and provincialism spread all over Istanbul. Parallel to this situation, it can be said that under the influence of capitalism, rural

areas have also begun to urbanize. On this subject, Tanil Bora says: “Two opposing processes are actually going on, closing on each other. Both cities are becoming provincial and aspects of urbanization are appearing in the province” (Bora, 2013: 44). Based on these words, even though any settlement has the appearance of a large city, traces of the province can be seen on each of the building blocks that make up that settlement. It is possible to come across provincialism in the roots of the city at any time, from a student who has just arrived from the province, to a newly appointed official, to a family whose grandfather came to the city years ago, to families who moved due to the wars in the past (Nacak, 2018: 9-11). Therefore, it can be said that with the transformation of the province along with globalization, cities have started to become provincial in terms of space. With the concept of slums coming to the fore, provincialization in cities began to be discussed both culturally and economically.

The perspective of the province is also a very important issue. Bora says the following about the provincial characteristics of our country: When we take the province with the negative connotations of the adjective meaning, it is hard not to encounter the provincial face of Turkey. Narrow horizons, a devastating monotony, a suffocating bigotry, the limitation of the communication universe – which can be deepened by technology – a sterile public realm stuck in communities, a 'wild' state that perceives everything foreign as a strange plant, the domination of mediocrity. We can see the face of provincialism – with 'distilled styles' - not only in steppe towns, but also in the most modern and neighborhoods 'opened to the world. This is the eternal issue of Turkish modernism: the settled urban culture lacks the strength and quality to absorb the large population and the rapidly flowing province. The result is that the province covers the city. In a typical expression: In Istanbul, there is a greater Sivas than Sivas, and a greater Erzincan than Erzincan (Bora, 2013: 40). Here, Bora states some of the reasons why cities cannot get rid of provincialism. In addition to this, he mentions the opposite situation and states the following about the resemblance of the province to the city: Isn't there an Istanbul –or: a little Istanbul- in Sivas or Erzincan? Sections of metropolitan landscapes do not appear in rural towns and towns, do not the signs of metropolitan electricity spill over here? There is also this: The dictatorship of mass housing, estates, automobiles and traffic is disrupting the stagnation (if we look at the bright side) of the province. Goods, brands, films that cannot be seen, window dressings, forms of entertainment, daily language and manners, urban technology toys, which could not be found anywhere, but in big cities and even partially in Istanbul in 70s, now reached a very wide range and spread to the provinces.” (Bora, 2013: 40-41). Bora emphasizes that the province has begun to embody urban features

and even imitates it a bit. "There are actually two opposing processes at work that close on top of each other. Cities are becoming rural and aspects of urbanization appear in the province," he says, thus opening a door that will allow us to see the city in the province and the province in the city.

The province, which we have so intensely defined and whose characteristics we see, it can be seen that reflected in the cinema in a different way, especially with the neoliberal conditions after 1980, when capitalism had a different spread. Before 1980, especially after 1960, in the conditions of the escape to the country, which started with village films in Turkish cinema, it was fed by the social realism movement, and this was actually a new trend conceptualized by Italian cinema. With the formation of a relatively liberal political environment after the 1961 Constitution, the space shifted from the center to the periphery in Turkish cinema, just like in world cinema. In a sense, the provinces had also become the site of political cinema. These films, which were mostly based on the sharecropper-landlord relationship and its problems, customs, murder and poverty, reflected the conjuncture of the period exactly.

With the neoliberal movement after 1980, the city and the province, which became very different and, in a sense, the same with the concepts of city and province, became the subject of cinema with a completely different aspect at the end of the 1990s and enlarged its meaning. We can see that producing unique new modernity, the province is also reflected in the cinema as a place of escape.

2.2. The Theme of City and Province Reflections in Turkish Cinema

The main feature of works of art is to reveal the universal feelings, thoughts and themes that exist in human nature. However, cinema reveals these data, which are especially stable, within the framework of historicity. For this reason, there is both historicity and criticism in cinema. However, it supports the success or failure of some directors in describing human nature in the styles or schools they have created. Of course, the process of searching for themselves in these films is usually the case when they return to the basis of their existence and reconcile with the province within themselves.

Various movements in world cinema have also emerged for this reason. The French New Wave or the Italian Neorealism tried to reveal the other self that resides in the secret passages of the human soul. The same situation is partially valid in Turkish cinema. In the Yeşilçam period, the main purpose was to shape a cinema according to the demands and wishes of the audience rather than revealing human nature. In fact, in this case, the human spirit and human desires create a similarity indirectly. The main axis of the new cinema, which started to emerge after 1990, is the human spirit, often the director's own spirit. From the beginning of his career, we see the search for 'me' at the basis of Nuri Bilge Ceylan and Semih Kaplanoğlu's films. Of course, the process of searching for themselves in these films is usually the case when they return to the basis of their existence and reconcile with the countryside within themselves.

According to Durkheim, the city is a structure and formation in which division of labor and solidarity are essential. For Marx, the city is the arena of social struggle based on the ownership of the means of production and class. In the Ecological Approach led by Luis Wirth and Robert Park, the city is an integrated social settlement that has reached a certain population size and density, and has a heterogeneous structure dominated by secondary relations. According to Park, the city, like a living organism, sorts out the urban actors, classifies them on the urban space and distributes them properly. It directs the work of dividing cities, districts and neighborhoods into zones according to their characteristics. According to this separation, commercial establishments, business and entertainment places are densely located in the city center. In the surrounding area, there are mostly residential areas (Gül & Ergun, 2011: 42).

The urban environment provides the opportunity to recognize individuals only visually. It is very rare to get to know people by their personalities. The fact that the necessity of meeting many people every day has become normal, it creates a situation that can be called as a hyper-acquaintance among these people. Based on the intensity of physical relations, it is possible to add a phenomenon called as hyper-sociality to this expression. Likewise, in cities, secondary, not primary, relations are decisive and dominant. Since the population is large, dense and heterogeneous, and the relations are physically close but personally distant, in order to prevent the irresponsible behavior of individuals in the urban environment, it is necessary to resort to a formal control, not a private control, unlike in rural areas (Giddens, 2000: 507).

In addition to these inferences, cities are areas where the individual feels free. Cities give people freedom; people gain freedom of movement in cities. However, the individual is alone in the crowded city. Today, the metropolitan man is "free" in a spiritual and refined sense, unlike the townspeople, who are surrounded by petty calculations and prejudices. Because the mental life conditions in big circles, mutual caution and indifference make their effects on the independence of the individual felt most in the crowded crowd of the big city. The reason for this is that the physical proximity and the narrowness of the space make the mental distance even more visible (Simmel, 2009: 324).

In cinema, especially after 1990, the urban environment allows us to get to know the individual only physically. The tumult of the city, the intensity of human relations, the brutal trap of capitalism and the confusion of human relations are the insanity point of modern man. For this reason, the return from the country to the city, from the city to the country again, which we constantly repeat, has become the main theme of the new cinema.

The province, which points to a culture and a state of life, has its own characteristics like other places. These features partly resemble other places and partly differ from them. The province is actually the reality of people living in the province, just like the center. The province creates its own culture and characteristics with the reality of the people living in the province. Ortega Y. Gasset (1997: 15) says, "the essence of each life lies in the occupations that compose it," and explains the center, the province and other places.

According to Pekdemir (2006: 88), the countryman lives in amazement. He wonders about the center and watches the developments there with amazement. Sometimes it imitates and imitates it. When confronted with him, he is surprised, surprised and amazed. It is necessary to add something to the word astonishment. Surprise is essentially a subtle look; it cannot be an expression of astonishment. The way to be amazed is through looking; looking and seeing opens the door to wonder. A person who somehow ends up in the province, especially if he is a foreigner or someone from there where his acquaintances have decreased since he has not been there for a long time, observes that everything and everyone is spying on him and looking at him. Because the country looks at people, in the country people are looked at for a long time. The countrymen are incurable watchers.

Gürbilek (2005: 50), who sees the province as a state of mind outside of its spatial dimension, speaks of rural distress and expresses it as 'the experience of staying at home, a contraction, an exclusion'. According to Şükrü Arın, in a spatial context, the province is an 'outside' established against the center, 'it owes its existence to the existence of a 'center' outside itself (Bora, 2013: 274). The province was left outside and left to its own devices. While discussing the broad meaning of the concept, Arın states that he is gradually moving away from a spatial relationship, that it directly transforms into a state of narrowness and exclusion that people live in: Province is not a place or an environment, but the name of an experience style, a mood. It has now begun to point to a spirit climate of which lines have become blurred, rather than a place with definite borders; in time, it has become a word that directly evokes 'distress' (Bora, 2005: 279, 280). This is an endless source of distress. But this situation is not only experienced in the province, but also in the city. In fact, it is not the province and the center, which is a squeezing space, it is the human being.

According to Durkheim (2006: 345): *“People who want to break away from traditions and customs in small cities sometimes face very harsh resistances. Any attempt at independence is considered shameful by the public, and this public condemnation discourages individuals who would resort to it. In large cities, individuals are liberated from social pressure to a much greater extent than in the province; this is a concept determined by experiment, which cannot be denied. The more closely the public controls the initiatives of individuals, the more strictly individuals become dependent on it. In cases where everyone's attention is focused on what all individuals are doing, the slightest deviation is immediately noticed and punished. On the other hand, the easier it is to get rid of this control, the easier it is for each individual to act as he thinks. As the density and breadth of a social group increases, social attention spreads over a wide area, the behavior of each individual becomes untraceable; because while the number of people increases, the power of social attention decreases. The greater the number of objects and people to be inspected, the weaker the inspection.”*

All the determinations made about the province; elements such as the smallness of the space, the slowness of time, and the immediacy of human relations are also important in terms of their reflection in the cinema. In our new cinema, where it is a great skill to reflect the province as it is, the characters complete their nature, emotions and selves with a return to the province.

The use of space in cinema was an important issue from the first years. It would not be wrong to say that Yeşilçam cinema, which even takes its name from a street in Beyoğlu, is the cinema of Istanbul or Istanbul's cinema. Until the 1990s, we can say that Istanbul played the leading role in Turkish cinema. According to Adlı, the city takes place in Lütfi Ö. Akad's film 'In the Name of the Law', in 1952, as a real place. The audience watches Istanbul's cinema, except for the occasional village films until the 1980s. Urban donees welcome the audience. Sometimes there are mansions, seaside residences, and sometimes there are slums with unplanned urbanization. As Suner stated, symmetry opens directly to the Bosphorus, to the sea, namely to Istanbul, regardless of the rich or the poor (Adlı, 2017).

Migration has become one of the frequently used themes in Turkish cinema since the 1960s. Families or people who migrated to Istanbul, their lives, the process of getting used to the city, and what happened in this process were among the main subjects of our cinema for a long time. Although reverse migration has not emerged as a main theme in Turkish cinema, we know that the return of the characters is to the provinces again. In the films of this period, the main reason for returning from the city to the village, that is, to the province, is the mood of being unable to hold on to the city and being defeated. For example, Halit Refiğ's immortal classic film 'Gurbet Kuşları' (1964), Tahir Ağa and his family, who came to Istanbul for better living conditions from Maraş, could not hold on to the city and returned after suffering great losses.

In the 1960s, the transformation began in the cinema, and it peaked in the 1970s. With this alteration migration and squatting have become the main subject of cinema. These conditions, which heralded the process of cultural degeneration, killed Istanbul in Atıf Yılmaz's movie 'Ah, Güzel İstanbul'. The Immigration Trilogy (Gelin, Düğün, Diyet) shot by Lütfi Akad between 1973-1975 tells the story through the eyes of an immigrant provincial. Neither the city dweller nor the immigrant is satisfied. In this period of multifaceted losses, political life was divided by coups every ten years. In this impact environment, we see that the city-province tension increases. In the end, the most fundamental break happens with the coup d'etat of September 12, 1980. We can say that 'Yusuf ve Kenan' (1979) is the last film of this period that reflects real urban tension. After 1980, urban and provincial films are made, but the background will change completely.

Village films, which have existed since the early years of Turkish cinema, provided us with information about the province and its dynamics. It even allowed us to see the contrasts between the city and the province. However, in the social context cinema made after 1960, according to Eren, the rural-urban relationship sometimes reflected his dilemma well. In these films, the country was the place that one day longed to return to. Although it had a somewhat nostalgic meaning, it was describing a structure with its own new dynamics and social network. However, in this period, the province has become an important place for social realist political cinema. Perhaps it was used as a tool rather than a purpose. In the films “Yılanların Öcü” (1962), “Susuz Yaz” (1963), “Endişe” (1974), “Sürü” (1979), and “Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde” (1980), the province appears beyond its spatial characteristics as the place of sharecropper-landworker and worker-employer pre-capitalist relations, the order of exploitation and organized agricultural labor. The inclusion of this instrumental function of the province in films since the 1960s expresses a distinct richness (Eren, 2008: 7).

According to Torun, the concept of the city that changed with the 1990s turned into the image of 'beautiful Istanbul'. The fact that Istanbul has become a feminine and haunted city and the emphasis on this in the cinema has caused the urban space to shift to inner districts and closed spaces. The new cinema, which was pushed into the private sphere, caused a vicious circle in which individual stories were told intensely as an extension of this (Torun, 2017:149).

The reflection of the 1990s' cinema on the city made us feel the tension of the city and the country, rather than questioning ourselves through individual stories. In this period, cinema now emerges as a market where other identities are presented. On the silver screen, not Aziz Istanbul, but its back streets, suburbs and spiritual misery are reflected. Those who try to hold on to the city, workers working in the informal sector, Issues such as the Kurdish question and homosexuality have become the main characters of othering. In this sense, the bond that New Turkish cinema has established with the city, especially with Istanbul, is a kind of indifference. Therefore, Istanbul is a character in itself. In the films of Yeşim Ustaoglu, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz and Derviş Zaim, Istanbul, the city, is the loneliness of the individual (Torun, 2017: 156).

2.3. Province as the Homeland of the New Turkish Cinema

Although the reflections of the New Turkish Cinema on the city mostly make inferences on othering, the other point of view has been to turn to the province. Before 1990, the mobility from the province to the city was on the contrary, towards the province again. Time, timelessness has changed. For this reason, the homeland of the new Turkish cinema is the provinces.

The important directors of the period coincided with this reverse movement with their individual stories and it was observed that revealed a new province in these films. In this period, there are various motives for the transformation to the country. Worn out in the city, tired characters rebuild themselves in the province, face the trauma that the city has created for them, try to find solutions to their intellectual depressions in the province, and have to face the dark trace of the past.

3. Social Mobility Process from City to Province in Turkish Cinema and Its Historical Process

Migration in Turkish cinema has become one of the frequently used themes since the 1960s. Generally, the location of the films is Istanbul. And the families or people who immigrated to Istanbul, their lives, the process of getting used to the city, and what happened in this process were among the main subjects of our cinema for a long time. This migration was not limited to only domestic, especially with the start of worker migration to other European countries such as Germany, the theme expanded to transnational migration. For Turkish cinema, these films, which included working class problems, reflected the spirit of the period very well. The problems of nomads, in films that have both internal and external migration themes, were founded on the logic that there is a home to return to after having a certain economic maturity or power along with the struggle for harmony and existence. In the movies, this situation sometimes appeared as a hidden theme and sometimes as the main theme of the movie.

Although reverse migration did not emerge as a main theme in Turkish cinema in this period, we know that the return of the characters was to the provinces again. In the films of

this period, the main reason for returning from the city to the village, that is, to the province, is the mood of being unable to hold on to the city and being defeated. For example, in Halit Refiğ's immortal classic film 'Gurbet Kuşları' (1964), we see that Tahir Ağa and his family, who came to Istanbul for better living conditions from Maraş, could not hold on to the city and returned after suffering great losses. Even the medical student Kemal and his wife Ayla, who are the most attached to the city in the family, state in the movie that they will return to Maraş one day to work and serve the country.

In the process up to the 1990s, the economic-political climate and the technical and economic dilemmas of Turkish cinema also determined the way and model of film production. The sectoral structure formed especially by the producers had become quite fragile. Since the mid-1970s, there has been a great decrease in the number of movies shot due to sexually explicit films. It continued with the shooting of films about arabesque music in the 1980s. During the 1980s, very few quality cinema productions met with the audience. Most of these films that meet with the audience are either highly trusted by a very powerful producer or are the heralds of post-1990 cinema, shot with a small and independent budget. To give an example, Yavuz Turgul shot a movie like 'Muhsin Bey' in 1987 without any box office concerns due to the trust of his producer, Abdurrahman Keskiner, and left a classic work in our cinema. In this period, the great master directors of the directors' period, Atıf Yılmaz and Halit Refiğ, shot the stories they trusted as producers or with great difficulty. Or, Erden Kıral's film 'Hakkâri'de Bir Mevsim' (1983) surpassed the cinema of the period with his small budget individual storytelling technique and received the silver bear award from the Berlin Film Festival, or Ömer Kavur's cinema of this period can set an example. His career, which started in 1974 with the movie 'Yatık Emine', 'Yusuf ile Kenan' (1979), "Ah Güzel İstanbul" (1981), "Kırık Bir Aşk Hikayesi" (1981), "Göl" (1982), "Amansız Yol" (1985), "Körebe" (1985), "Anayurt Oteli" (1987), "Gece Yolculuğu" (1987) paved the way for auteur directors after 1990. After all, New Turkish Cinema is not a cinema that created itself out of nothing, it has settled on a legacy and revealed its own conditions and techniques.

We can reveal the process of social mobility from city to province in Turkish cinema by changing the center-periphery approach. The center-periphery relationship, which was put forward by Shils in 2002, focuses more on political power relations and focuses on the effects of these relations on the social structure. The Center generally has the authority to direct and control the society. By this means, it creates its own ideological elites, and tries to organize

the social relations network through these people. In fact, the center-periphery relationship does not mean a disconnected process for western societies that have gone through the process of modernization and nation-state. The academic sociologist Şerif Mardin, who examined this issue in Turkey in 2011, on the other hand, examined the tense relationship between the center and the periphery from the Ottoman period to the present. In fact, the biggest problem in Mardin's political life in Turkey is the disconnection and conflict between this center and periphery. While the center, the state and its institutions were expressing the big cities, the periphery was expressing the local and the province. The center-periphery relationship, which is widely used in the political field, also manifests itself in cultural life. Therefore, the practices of the citizens and townspeople, which started from the Ottoman Empire, were the most basic indicator of this (Geçkin, 2018: 94-97).

The conflict between the empire – reaya class, the conflict between official and folk Islam, or the conflict between divan literature and folk literature, which was created since the Ottoman Empire, was tried to be abolished with the phenomenon of secularism in the Republican era, but a new conflict and dilemma emerged. This duality caused not only the center-periphery conflict, but also the formation of new circles within the center and new different centers within the circles (Geçkin, 2018: 96-97).

This model can be adapted very closely to the chronological and social structure of Turkish cinema. Cinema, as a western art, is an art that was born in the center, appeals to the audience in the center and takes its subject from the life of the people in the center. We can say that the transition from the center to the periphery emerged with the first village films. The disintegration in rural life since the mid-1950s caused large cities to receive intense immigration. This is where the tense relationship between the center and the periphery began. The rural people, whom they had difficulty in accepting into the cities, could not adapt to the city life and therefore became alienated from the place where they were suffering from various existence problems. This situation was reflected in Turkish cinema as well. 'Gurbet Kuşları', films such as the 'Immigration Trilogy' have revealed the most important representations of this period. While 'Gurbet Kuşları' is one of the first films in this field, it also deals with the difficult conditions created by migration on people and the forced return conditions. The Migration Trilogy, on the other hand, is more about the transformation of the immigrants in the city than the return. It is about people who change themselves to adapt to

the society they migrated to and forget their identity and existence with the greed of making money from time to time.

As Mardin states, this immigration situation has led to the formation of provincial representations for the city and city representations within the province over time. In Tanıl Bora's book 'Taşraya Bakmak', he thought that 'like the urbanization of the provinces, the cities were also becoming provincial' (Bora, 2006: 38). This process, of course, first accelerated the formation of provinces within the cities. Immigrants who came to the big city by immigration also carried their own life practices and lifestyles. Established shantytowns later grew into suburbs belonging to them and became living spaces. It was shot in movies that show this duality in our cinema. For example; The movie "Sultan" (1978), shot by Kartal Tibet for the movie Arzu, is a striking example in terms of seeing the new province formed in the city, understanding the life practices, and seeing how immigrants create their own living space in the city and compare it to the province. Other than that, films from the newer period, 'Başka Semtin Çocukları' (2008) and 'Kara Köpekler Havalarken', just like the movie Sultan, take a look at the province that is in the city, its change and the insecure and informal society.

Likewise, the most important independent directors of Turkish cinema after the 90's have followed the traces of both the province within the city and the province, which has changed and transformed into a small city structure. For example, the socio-economic and cultural structures of the character in the films of Zeki Demirkubuz, one of the leading directors of the period, mostly draw the image of the children of 2nd or 3rd generation immigrant families who experience alienation in the city, and we see that they create their own special rural areas within the city.

Nuri Bilge Ceylan, who is the first to come to mind when provincial films are mentioned, has established the main ground of his films on the provinces since the beginning of his career. After his short film 'Koza' (1995), the main setting of his films 'Kasaba' (1998), and 'Mayıs Sıkıntısı' (1999) is Çanakkale, his hometown, and he reflected the province very well with its pluses and minuses. 'Uzak' (2002) focuses on the story of an old nomad clinging to Istanbul and a relative who has just come and wants to try his luck, which is actually the main theme of this film; city-province opposition. Starting from the movie 'İklimler' (2006), he focuses on the stories of characters who go to the province from city or from the province to the city to work permanently or temporarily. In the movie 'Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da'

(2011), there are characters who come to the country from big cities to work. It would not be wrong to say that 'Kış Uykusu' (2014) is the culmination of this theme. The main male character, Aydın, has returned to his inner province after many years, and has already fallen into the trouble of creating other cities in this province.

Likewise, Semih Kaplanoğlu has placed the rural theme at the center of the films since his first film. Beginning with the movie 'Herkes Kendi Evinde' (2001), the province has started to deal with the problem of rootlessness. Likewise, the 'Yusuf Trilogy' is a work based on the province. The first movie of the trilogy, 'Yumurta' (2004), which is about the three different age zones of the character of Yusuf, is about Yusuf's return to the province after a trauma, the effect of this return on him and his rebirth.

Senem Tüzen, whom we will refer to in our study, questions the perception of the province with the character of a female writer who returns to her mother's country to work in the movie 'Ana Yurdu' (2015) to gather and rebuild herself. 'Ana Yurdu', as the name suggests, tries to harmonize the inner province with the outer province.

Tolga Karaçelik's movie 'Kelebekler' will be about the story of three siblings who return to their father's country after a trauma, and follow the traces of their childhood, dreams and past, and the perception of a new person and a new city from the country.

The films 'Yumurta', 'Kış Uykusu', 'Ana Yurdu', and 'Kelebekler', which we will cover within the scope of our thesis, feature characters returning from the city to the province, trying to re-establish life there, carrying some elements of the city to the province, and trying to create new cities out of the province at this turn. stands out.

3.1. Social Mobility from City to Province in Cinema During Yeşilçam Period

Yeşilçam appears as an urban cinema mostly in terms of its subject, content and production practices. Although dozens of films have been made since the beginning of the 1960's, examining the issue of migration from the province to the city, the number of movies about a sharp turn from the city to the province is almost non-existent. Even movies with a return to the province at the end of the movie, such as the movie 'Gurbet Kuşları', cannot provide us with a definitive conclusion.

But apart from that, village films that have existed since the early years of cinema allowed us to provide information about the province and its dynamics. It even allowed us to see the contrasts between the city and the province. However, in the social context cinema made after 1960, according to Eren, the rural-urban relationship sometimes reflected his dilemma well. In these films, the country was the place that one day longed to return to. Although it had a somewhat nostalgic meaning, it was describing a structure with its own new dynamics and social network. However, in this period, the province has become an important place for social realist political cinema. Perhaps it was used as a tool rather than a purpose. With the films “Yılanların Öcü” (1962), “Susuz Yaz” (1963), “Endişe” (1974), “Sürü” (1979), and “Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde” (1980), the province is more than just a spatial feature of the sharecropper-landlord and the worker-employer emerges as the place of pre-capitalist relations, the exploitation order and organized agricultural labor. The inclusion of this instrumental function of the province in films since the 1960s expresses a distinct richness. (Eren, 2008: 7).

Cinema is the mirror of society. It reveals the manifestations of social changes in Turkish cinema. For the former nomads, whose social and political life is interrupted by coups every ten years, crushed by neo-liberal policies after the 1980 coup, and pushed to the very edge of the city, returning to the province was sometimes an inevitable end, sometimes a product of a nostalgic and existential search for belonging. Although the inevitable last part of the work is not one of the subjects that our cinema deals with a lot, the nostalgic side of returning to the province in the light of the individualistic tendencies of the cinema after 1990 has become one of the basic elements of the cinema of the period.

According to Barış, it started to mean something else for our provincial cinema in the 1980s. Especially in this period, the province, which became a political space in cinema, experienced another transformation with the 1990s. In this period, the characters in the provincial films evolve with melancholy and boredom, so that the environment is shaped by boredom, and the character shapes the boredom (Barış, 2013: 142).

3.2. Social Mobility from City to Province in the New Turkish Cinema

Although we cannot separate social cinema due to its commercial nature, we have drawn our boundaries within the framework of the New Era Turkish cinema and the concepts of

reverse migration reflected in the cinema. Therefore, we look at the social relationship of cinema at the level of representation rather than economy. In New Turkish Cinema, we see that provincial representation plays an important role both in mainstream cinema and in independent cinema, which we call an art house. Contrary to the situation in Yeşilçam, provincial directors such as Nuri Bilge Ceylan and Semih Kaplanoğlu prefer to go to the countryside instead of pushing the countryside aside. Migration from rural to urban, examples of which we saw in Turkish Cinema until the 90s, is replaced by rural migration, that is, "return". Although the return refers to various reasons, it is based on a return to the self and nostalgia for the past. While implying a return to the rural homeland and innocence, it also tells the situation of the heroes: These are the children who cannot get along with women, succumb and cannot hold on to the center. They want to achieve the narcissistic power of their infancy by returning to their mothers (Civan, 2009). As in the films we discussed in the last chapter, for the main characters, the province is a haven to escape and find themselves. They see the countryside as a solution to heal the wounds they have in the city and to return to their essence and past.

We can chronologically examine the post-1990 cinema, which we call the new Turkish cinema period, in two main axes. It is necessary to evaluate the period from the 1990s to the 2000s, the first period of the new Turkish cinema, and the period after 2000, within their own specific dynamics. Especially from the 90s, the beginning of the New Turkish cinema, the social movement from the city to the province in the cinema showed itself in the form of the cinema's return to the province rather than the return of the characters in the movies. Of course, before 1990, there are village films and after that, there is the country, which has become a more political tool that has been instrumentalized as a social realist element. However, the province, which became the new place of cinema in the 1990s, is mostly the product and result of wanting to tell a story about that geography. These kinds of provincial films were mostly produced in the hands of mainstream cinema directors or former Yeşilçam masters.

For example, Ömer Kavur, who started production during the Yeşilçam period but produced works close to independent cinema in terms of style and style, is a director who often chose the province as the location in his adventure that he started in 1974 with the movie 'Yatık Emine'. Films such as 'Kırık Bir Aşk Hikayesi' (1981), 'Göl' (1982), 'Anayurt Otel' (1987), and 'Gece Yolculuğu' (1987) are films that put the province on their basis and

tell a story from there. In these films, he establishes an emotional, melancholic bond with the province, with an approach far beyond its time. The characters in these films are the ones who question themselves and find themselves again in the province.

These characters, who are in a general sense of alienation, also appear in films such as ‘Gizli Yüz’, and ‘Akrebin Yolculuğu’ in 1991. For this reason, long before independent cinema chose the province in the 2000s, Ömer Kavur dealt with his troubles with the country from time to time, reflecting the state of distress that Yusuf Atılgan drew in literature from time to time. It stylizes the province but is realistic. He describes the effect of the introverted nature of the province on people, more like examples in western cinema. There is a character who makes an inner journey, does not exist, and has a tendency to alienation that follows. This tendency is against both the characters themselves and the country they live in (Barış, 2013: 135-138).

The new independent filmmakers, mostly inspired by Ömer Kavur, have passed the depressed and melancholic provincial stories in the 1990s and early 2000s, taking into account the autobiographical elements. In the 2000s, returning from the city to the province, which is a product of capitalist schizophrenia and also connected to emotional causes, emerges as a reflection of a different cinematic language. A constant propensity to consume forms the basis of capitalism. The body becomes clumsy and the soul clumsy and gluttonous. This situation leads to unconsciously consuming it, even free from itself and society, and turning it into schizophrenia. Returning from the city to the countryside, which is a kind of capitalist schizophrenia and also connected to emotional causes, emerges as a reflection of a different cinematic language. This cinema language has been used by a new generation of auteur directors, which we call independent directors today. These new generation directors first focused on the province's own story, and then started shooting stories that returned from the city to the province, and created their own city in the province.

3.3. Returning to Province in New Turkish Cinema

New Turkish cinema represents a period that emerged in the 1990s, but started to experience its heyday in the mid-2000s, a period that surpassed the years without cinema in terms of the production process and the box office revenues. However, this period refers to a period in which the main place and thematic structure of the films changed along with the

change in the way of film production, distribution and consumption. The change in cinema is not limited to this; we can see a new cinema structure that is financially independent and intellectually ideational, where schooled filmmakers make films together with former filmmakers.

New Turkish Cinema (Independent Cinema or Intellectual Cinema), which started in the mid-2000s and made the province its main venue, can be seen as "a critical cinema that seeks originality instead of imitating traditional models, and in search of self-discovery and re-creation of people and society" (Büyükdüvenci & Öztürk, 2007: 45). Here, critical cinema should not be seen only as a thematic change, it means the change of all formal features of old cinema in technical and organizational norms.

The place of New Turkish cinema, which started in the 1990s and reached its peak in the mid-2000s, is undoubtedly rural. The province has always been an important place in Turkish cinema. Sometimes it is the place of village movies, sometimes it is the space where a political existence is experienced. With the new Turkish cinema, it had a different meaning and importance. It is the place of the characters who return to the country and try to transform the country within itself and create new cities from the provinces, while telling their own stories.

The countryman knows almost everyone in his area. Although this seems positive in terms of relationships, it creates a situation that restricts the individual. The countryman is used to this situation, but this limitation creates a problem for the individual who comes from the city to the country. Even today, a metropolitan inhabitant of a town feels a similar constraint, at least in terms of genre. The narrower the circle constituting our environment, and the more restricted the relationships that the individual establishes with others, which dissolves his own boundaries, the more the circle in question watches the activities, lifestyle and perspective of the individual, the easier it is for a quantitative and qualitative specialization to break the framework of that small circle (Simmel, 2009: 324).

The size of the area controls human relations, life and environmental pressure. The smaller the area where the individual lives, the more dominant the role of that area in controlling relations and freedoms. According to Simmel, the ancient polis seems to have carried the character of a very small city. Simmel argues that his concept of the 'general

human character' blossomed in Athens. The reason for this is Athens, the great awakening power and excitement of full life, the unique colorfulness, perhaps the constant internal and external pressure of a small city to destroy individuality, on the basis of the phenomenon of a people's struggle made up of incomparable, individualized personalities.

One of the most important elements separating city and country life is people's relations with each other. We find that life in the metropolis is essentially intellectual, as opposed to psychic life in the towns, which is based on emotions and emotional relationships (Simmel, 2009: 318). The provinces are small places, so people have more information about each other. In this context, there are more cordial and warm relations in the province since it is smaller than the city life. Relationships in the town are rooted in more unconscious layers of the psyche and thrive in the regular rhythm of the most comfortable, uninterrupted habits (Simmel, 2009: 319). However, this small environment also restricts the people living in the country, people control each other, and someone who comes from the city to the country will feel this situation. Province shows the reaction caused by the psychology of being pushed aside against the center. The change of the province always lags behind the center, so the province is more traditional and conservative than the center.

Another important impression is the entry of capitalism to the province, which is seen as both a cause and a result of the increasing migration from the city to the province, especially in recent years. Thanks to the effect of the modernization attitude integrating the independent from each other, the provinces began to turn into a uniform province. In this understanding, with a reactionary provincial mystification against the modernization experience, provincial conservatism is reproduced as a native, humane and cultural essential homeland (Bora, 2013: 51-52). Globalization also breaks the locality of the province and prevents it from being on its own. With the change of the world system, the meaning of the province, which has a historical characteristic, also begins to change. The province, which was introverted at first, then begins to transform under the influence of capitalism.

While talking about the provinces from the early Republican period to the 60s, the flattening effect produced by rapid globalization today transforms the provinces with different internal dynamics into the provinces. While the provinces have diversity and local characteristics, the 'province' has turned into a place that is defined by standards, defined not by its difference, but by its similarity (Bora, 2013: 46). Capitalism also enters the provinces,

thus changing the class structure, culture, worldview and production system of the province. It is the lifestyle of the lost country.

It is possible to clearly analyze the latest situation of modernism and globalization in Turkey by looking at the provinces. This analysis can be made by looking at the reflections of the province and the concept of the daily rural in the new period Turkish Cinema. While he may slip into provincial conservatism, It should not be overlooked that the value produced by the province derives from the tension between the city and the center. One of the experiences that allows artistic production is the rural-urban tension. The relationship, which is based on the unfixable and changing balances between the center and the periphery, contains the driving force of the mutual transformation of the parties due to its productive nature (Bora, 2013: 63-64). It is important to understand the migrating community to make cultural and political analyzes of cinema works based on the concepts of provincial and provincialism.

As Bayrakdar stated, New Turkish cinema is a bit like a panorama of 'Scenes from My Country' (Bayrakdar, 2008: 36). Cities, which have been the most important venues of Turkish cinema for a long time, have been replaced by the province with this new cinematic understanding. As Akça stated, New Turkish Cinema reveals the soul of Turkish people who are stuck between the country and the city, by making use of religious norms and transformations, mythology, architecture, photography and painting (Akça, 2013: 176).

It is possible to encounter the two faces of the province; the province as a place, and the narrowed and excluded moods that people experience in big cities and metropolises in the post-1990 Turkish cinema. These moods are often told through the eyes of Istanbul, the center, and sometimes from the province. It has become an important trend in fictionalizing the space by adding a certain romance to the situation in the stories told from inside the province or by returning to the province. According to Akbal, romanticizing the province in such films is a 'global' situation. This is the result of the close relationship that the post-modern mind has established with the province. Cities were based on modernism; post-modernism chooses the province as its place with its new eclectic mind. Post-modernism is thus a spatial factor, not a temporal one. For this reason, those who return to the province do not return to space but to time (Akbal, 2010: 95).

When we look at the films about "from the city to the province", what we will see is the fact that the main characters of the films return to the province within themselves rather than the province, and the fact that they want to return is not a place but a time. They are in trouble to find and replace.

Nuri Bilge Ceylan was the first director to make the concept of the province the central and fundamental subject of the film in the new Turkish cinema. The view that Ceylan creates against the country, the city, the home and the concept of belonging from time to time, from the inside, and from time to time from the outside, has been the harbinger of a new cinema. Although this is a kind of image cinema, it also heralds a much deeper political cinema.

In the following section, we will begin to reveal the mobility from city to country in four films and four main titles.

The main motivations of the characters returning from the city to the province are returning to the province as a form of reconstruction, returning to the province after trauma, returning to the province as an intellectual crisis, and returning to the province in the pursuit of lost time. The films that are in our field of interest are Semih Kaplanoğlu's 'Yumurta' (2007), Nuri Bilge Ceylan's 'Kış Uykusu' (2014), Senem Tüzen's 'Ana Yurdu' (2015), and Tolga Karaçelik's 'Kelebekler' (2018).

3.3.1. Changing Turkey In the 90s and Its Reflection on The Cinema

The 1990s was a period in which social, economic and political life in Turkey changed completely. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990, which was pushed into the embrace of capitalism due to the neo-liberal policies that started in the 1980s, production and distribution relations began to change completely in our country, which became capitalist with an increasing momentum. This change may have mostly affected the environments. The most important reflection of capitalism on local practice is that it reconstructs production and reproduction environments and ensures that environment is reproduced as a commodity. It is clear that this capitalist dominant power over the environment also plays an important role in the change of local aesthetics and existence (Harvey, 2019: 338).

Akbal, in her article ‘Taşrada Saklı Zaman Geri Dönülemeyen’; she described the effect of capitalism on environment as follows:

“According to Lefebvre, environment is something that is produced socially. And according to Harvey, if capital is a social relation, it always needs new environments and the seizing and transforming of existing environments.” (Akbal Sualp, 2010: 89)

With the rapid penetration of capitalism into cities, cities have transformed at a speed that has never been seen before, and the necessity for those living in them to keep up with this transformation has emerged. This rapid change has led to the emergence of a new hegemony and a new bourgeoisie (Akbal Sualp, 2010: 91-92).

Turkish cinema, which developed in 1990 and after, went through this turning point with all its elements such as production, distribution and consumption. Both the practice of producing films have changed and thematic and spatial diversity has entered the cinema. This transformation, which was not reflected in our cinema in the early 1990s, found a form for itself only with the nostalgia for the past. The venue of the cinema has shifted to the province, but we watch a sad, enthusiastic story full of friendship and brotherhood from there. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Suner made important determinations about the films that took the province as their center. According to her, these films shot in the province are popular examples of New Turkish cinema. Movies such as ‘Propaganda’ (1999), ‘Şelale’ (2001), ‘Vizontele’ (2001), ‘Vizontele Tuba’ (2004), ‘Babam ve Oğlum (2005), and ‘Eğreti Gelin’ (2005) can be given as examples of this trend. These films are mostly based on the past, but this is not a painful past that is the subject of social realist cinema. It can be seen as a happier, ‘social childhood period’.

In addition to these examples, it would be appropriate to mention two films that look at the countryside and the return from different perspectives. In Fatih Akın's 2004 film "Duvara Karşı", Cahit, a second-generation immigrant, appears as a character who prefers to live almost like a German, even accepting to be a German. The movie also underlines the concept of homeland imaginatively, as it contains many metaphors and ideas about Turkey. In the context of all these traces, we come across an idealized country on the one hand. The fact that Cahit, who lives by putting aside his Turkish identity at the beginning of the film, sets out

to return to his hometown, Turkey, is actually like returning to his Turkish identity. We can also see the transformative effect of the invisible bond between conditions and traditions that reveal the concept of belonging. Since the imaginary issue is important to us, the bond between the image and the reality itself is established at the end of the film when Cahit embarks on a journey back to Turkey, the land where his previous generation family came from.

Another movie we should mention is Özcan Alper's movie "Sonbahar" from 2007. In the movie Autumn, we come across a character who chooses to die in the country. The main character of the film, Yusuf, was imprisoned for political reasons when he was a young university student at the age of twenty-two in 1997 and spent the last ten years of his life in F-Type prisons. The film tried to create a humane and conscientious view of the conditions of detention and the F-Type prison. In "Sonbahar", which is a witness film, a gray story is told among the rural greenery. In each of the films shot in the 2000s, the political and class repression is politically prominent only in the "Sonbahar". In other words, while the movie "Sonbahar" looks at reverse migration from a realpolitik point, other movies claim that the individual is political. That's why, in my thesis, I prefer to look at the 2000s as motion pictures towards a country where the political and the class are suppressed.

"The country expresses deprivation, limitation, and sadness on the one hand, and intimacy, enthusiasm, and joy on the other." In this sense, the backwardness and deprivation of old village films are absent in these films. The province has its own unique richness of ancient possibilities. It is not in a cultural dilemma, there is a province that is longed for and presented with its most beautiful features (Suner, 2005: 55–56).

Nuri Bilge Ceylan, who started production in the late 1990s and early 2000s, incorporated a different provincial perception into his films from the popular provincial films that Suner had mentioned. The province, which is fictionalized as a new environment in these films, is also the place of belonging and melancholy. The reality of the environment, which Ceylan tries to reflect with non-professional actors in these early films, forms the basis of the perception of provincial films of the period.

Semih Kaplanoğlu, who made his first film in the early 2000s, will focus on the province. His first film, 'Herkes Kendi Evinde' (2001), which is close to the themes of the end

of the 90s as the logic of describing the province and making a story out of it, on one side deals with the depression inside the province and the dead end of the province, on the other hand, it deals with a trauma created or will be caused by losing one's roots. For the character of Selim, who is stuck in the province, the province is not a place to come back to, but a place to live in an obligatory way.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, independent filmmakers mostly turned to the province in their films. This province they are headed towards is quite different from the provinces in the middle and end of the 2000s. In this period, it was defined as the place where people were stuck in the province, wanted to go away and generally negativities.

3.4. Returning to Province as a Reconstruction Form (Kış Uykusu & Yumurta)

Man is in the process of rebuilding himself every day within the social norms he lives in. This construction process includes all the steps of setting new goals for oneself independently of the place and chasing after these goals, but also expresses a human change and transformation. It is necessary to look at the idea of existence while explaining the process of reconstructing one's self. The person who chooses to be himself also chooses his destiny. *'Man is nothing but his own life'* (Sartre, 2005: 81).

Existentialism, in essence, means creating one's self and rebuilding oneself in the modern life conditions in which they are alienated from themselves. Such a person seeks safe harbors, especially in the uniform structure and mechanics of big cities. We, who founded the modern city life, become its captives over time, and in Sartre's words, human beings will become more than one being. Since this person is a rational being, he will give up the search for meaning in the world, which is the result of the order he has established with his own hands, and will try to realize himself. Undoubtedly, Oğuz Atay is the first to discuss this existential writing with its characters in Turkish literature. Atay revealed that in order to make sense of the dilemma that the individual is in, he must first question himself and then recognize his identity (Gül, 2014: 28-30).

We can trace the same feeling in Turkish cinema. The search for meaning that develops as the characters, who have become alien to themselves, the society and their whole life after moving from the city to the province, appear in provincial films today, with an

existentialist line. In this sense, returning to the province is like returning to one's essence in an existential way, purging oneself and yearning for his pure childhood days.

According to Elias Canetti, *'looking at the province means looking within oneself'* (Canetti, 2015). Childhood is the place where one should look most intensely in order to rebuild himself. For this reason, the country where the main characters spend their childhood is a nostalgic place, but also the center of consciousness and reality.

In this direction, the first film that we will take into the lens is 'Yumurta', the first film of the Yusuf Trilogy, which was shot in 2007 by Semih Kaplanoğlu, which achieved great success in national and international festivals. Kaplanoğlu's third film, 'Yumurta', seems to herald a new turn in the director's career. The director, who shoots close-ups to the province and himself, returns to his childhood, which has autobiographical features as part of the film strengthens the city-province dichotomy and carries these two situations to a very different position. According to Akça, Kaplanoğlu is in this movie, the return of the poet Yusuf, who lives in Istanbul in the squeeze of capitalism, to his roots, which he has been holding on since his childhood, even though he has a Marxist background, in a sense means the beginning of the process of creating himself (Akça, 2013: 176).

The first film of the Yusuf trilogy, 'Yumurta', is about the middle-aged version of Yusuf, around 35 years old. The second film of the trilogy, 'Süt' (2008) covers the teenage years and 'Bal' (2010) features Yusuf's childhood. In the first film of the trilogy, which runs chronologically in reverse, the poet Yusuf returns to the town he left when he was young, similar to the way he was purified by dipping his head into water in his childhood. Years later, in the town where he came to due to the death of his mother, the fact that he first became a foreigner and then realized that the geography was his own fact hinders the rebuilding and even rebirth of Yusuf. Just as he puts his head in water to be purified in his childhood to be reborn, in the 'Yumurta', he reinforces his soul hidden inside an egg by being reborn when he confronts the dog in the finale of the movie. In this sense, before the egg is the name of the movie, it also means that the character of Yusuf reconstructs himself with the past and is reborn.

In the trilogy, which runs chronologically in reverse, the character of Yusuf, unaware of everything, returns to the countryside where he spent his childhood and looks inside

himself, causing him to have seizures with fear of heights. A new and special bond that Yusuf has established with both himself and the province over his mother Zehra and Ayla lowers his resistance. At the root of Yusuf's epileptic crises is the rush and anxiety of rebuilding himself. For Yusuf, rebuilding himself is a bit like a rebellion against his unfinished state in the city. Yusuf is looking for a way to create a new Yusuf from himself by using his choice for the province.

“I think the intense migration in Turkey is based on the distances – where you were born, where you live, from our home and other places later on, up to the distance from the family – distance from them, distance from its own climate. But on the other hand, I think it has something to do with the search for the essence; In other words, I think that the directors' search for a metaphorical expression is their search for their own selves, their own existence, their own state. Maybe on the one hand, there is this: It is not said that we are very happy in the place we live and in the present time, maybe in the environment we are in, or that we are very good there. Maybe that's why the country is something nostalgic in a way; In other words, it is actually a matter of turning to the past life, past values, past concepts, the things we left behind, to take a look at them again (Tice, 2008).”

Nuri Bilge Ceylan shoots his trilogy, which also reflects his own life story in his career, which he progressed step by step after the short film 'Koza' (1995). This trilogy is used as '*a tool in his own existential adventure*'. In Ceylan's films, there is reckoning in the province, not nostalgia for the province. Everything that people left and postponed in childhood, together with environment is questioned again in the province. This query is like Yusuf's search for himself in the movie 'Yumurta'. Similar to Yusuf's re-creation of himself in the province, the character of Aydın in Nuri Bilge Ceylan's film 'Kış Uykusu' (2014), which won the grand prize at the Cannes Film Festival, re-creates himself in the province, which he has established within himself and, in a sense, transformed into a new city formally.

According to Suner, the original aspect of Nuri Bilge Ceylan's films is that the province, which he deals with the theme of belonging, is not presented as a nostalgic place. There is no nostalgia in Ceylan's cinema. According to Suner, Ceylan's cinema is a kind of “counter nostalgia” because “these films will never leave home, childhood and the province behind, they will always remain issues of the present” (Suner, 2005: 106). For Ceylan,

province is a place of reckoning in this sense. The same issue is also present in the movie 'Kış Uykusu'.

The movie 'Kış Uykusu' is about the conflict that Aydın, a former theater actor, has with himself, his wife, his country and his dreams in Cappadocia. On the Turkish poster of the movie, the helpless depiction of Aydın and his wife's desperate look at his helplessness reveal the theme of the movie (http://www.nbcfilm.com/mayis/press_positifinterview.php).

The character of Aydın in the movie is a person who has lived in Istanbul for years and dealt with art. The country he returned to years later, probably with financial concerns, is not only the source of his unhappiness, but also the reflection of what his childhood wanted to transform again. Aydın always wants to escape from this country somehow; he even intends to go when the snow comes down, but he cannot do it, so he comes back to himself every time. Aydın is not only conflict with the province, but also with the two women in his life. His wife Nihal and his sister Necla, who stayed with them after her divorce, is both Aydın's biggest tests and supporters. Aydın, who we see in constant conflict in the movie, seems to be at war with the whole country. That's why it is so difficult for him to create a new Aydın from himself. Aydın will also find himself in his childhood.

If we look at Yusuf and Aydın, who are trying to rebuild themselves in both films, the processes of getting rid of all their burdens and obtaining a new self are fed by timelessness. The timelessness of the province; melting the past, the present and the future in itself has caused both of the characters to find the change in themselves. But like the provinces, they have changed and rasped the troubled aspects of their existence. The reverse of Yusuf's chronology of the trilogy and the fact that time fell asleep in 'Kış Uykusu' best reveals the lives of the two characters and their transformation in the province.

3.5. Returning to Province After Trauma (Yumurta & Kelebekler)

In the majority of the films based on the return to the province in the new Turkish cinema, the characters will have to go back to the countryside of their childhood due to a traumatic event, even though they have lived in big cities for many years, to cling and built a life.

Trauma means that a person perceives that he is facing a real threat, he has suffered or witnessed physical or mental harm. Traumas have various effects on people such as fear, helplessness, pain and confusion (<https://www.dbe.com.tr/tr/adult-ve-family/8/trauma-nedir/>). The common theme of the most of the films about returning to the province in the new Turkish cinema is to return to the province after a traumatic event in the city, sometimes due to emotional and sometimes financial conditions. The main traumatic event in the films we included in our study is the loss of a mother or father. The loss of mother and father is an opportunity to regain one's roots, because it expresses rootlessness in a sense.

In Kaplanoğlu's movie 'Yumurta', our main character Yusuf went to Istanbul in his early teen ages. He is someone who has managed to survive. As far as we know, he had poetry experiments and he is a second-hand bookkeeper. Yusuf, who is sometimes sad in his own order, returns to his province after losing his mother. With the news of his mother's death, he goes to his hometown Tire. This return actually causes him to experience two traumas together. The fact that he does not feel at home due to both the loss of his mother and the change of place makes him tired. For this reason, Yusuf returned to his province, not knowing where home is, and where the foreign land is. In fact, the trauma of home changing exhausts him only with the change part. Otherwise, we see that he is very unhappy with his life in the city (Büker & Akbulut, 2009: 3).

The character of Aydın in the movie 'Kış Uykusu' is a retired person who has been acting in Istanbul for many years. The question of whether to retire from a profession such as theater preoccupies our minds. Although Aydın feels privileged because of his profession when he returns to the province, in fact, he has quitted from his job during the peak years of his profession and returned to the province, which is an indication that things are not going well in the city. Maybe his only success is his young wife, Nihal. Just like Yusuf's character, Aydın has returned to the province after a death, too. There remained both the image of a father to be defeated and a hotel in Cappadocia. Although Aydın's return to the countryside is due to an emotional-spiritual reason, the financial consequences outweigh. The basis of the class conflict in the film in general lies here.

In the movie 'Ana Yurdu' (2015), director Senem Tüzen made a movie about Nesrin's return to the province. After going through an emotional trauma such as divorce and even quitting her job, Nesrin returns to her grandmother's village house to write the novel she has

been dreaming for years. With the arrival of her mother, with whom she never gets along, this process becomes poison for her. Both the introverted and sometimes corrupt environment in the village and the novel somehow make it difficult for her to cling to the province. For Nesrin, the province is an escape port to which she came, after the trauma she experienced. Nesrin, who couldn't hold on here for a long time and couldn't get into social relations, became a provincial again only after she cut herself loose at the end of the movie.

In the movie 'Kelebekler' (2018), Tolga Karaçelik shows that three siblings, who have been living in the city for many years but have not come into contact with each other, are looking for the emotional weight they endured to return to their village due to their father's illness and they are looking for a way to be siblings again. Returning to the village of Hasanlar, an anonymous provincial town, the three siblings, despite coming to terms with the past, saved the present and took very good steps in the future. According to three siblings who get to know countryside, while getting to know their fathers, returning to province is as natural as one of the main songs of the movie says, "Let's get out of here, I can't stand it," and it is from us.

3.6. Returning to Province as an Intellectual Depression (Yumurta, Kış Uykusu, and Ana Yurdu)

Another reason for returning to the province is the intellectual depression. The main characters in these films that we take as examples are people who have gone from the province to the city and are kept there, who have made literate careers and have ideas for themselves and the society.

The word "intellectual" is actually a western concept. We can define an intellectual as a knowledgeable person who has a systematic thinking system, is literate, and thinks within himself and his country. As Edward Said said that *the image, actual intervention and performance of the intellectual have not been adequately evaluated; whereas all these constitute the life of water of every true intellectual* (Said, 1995: 28). In other words, although the intellectual actually reads, writes and thinks as the basic motive, *in any case, the intellectual should have a voice and cause practical discussions, and even conflicts if possible. But total inertia or total revolt are not the only options* (Said, 1995: 71). Of course, apart from expressing his intellectual ideas, he should stand up to the government, if

necessary, go out to the streets and contact people, and fulfill his responsibility as befits an intellectual. The issue of whether the intellectual should go to the streets, which has been discussed since Sartre, has been defended by Said as the intellectual's having '*always a dynamic, sleepless counter-memory*' (Said, 2002: 56).

Since the concept of intellectual is a concept borrowed from the west for us, it actually does not have a well-established meaning. Of course, there are people who direct people and are socially ahead in cities and in the countryside. However, in the 1980s, when the concept of intellectual came to the fore in Turkey, it was often defined with depression and distress, like the fate of intellectual figures in Turkish cinema.

The character of Yusuf in the movie 'Yumurta' is a person who studied in the city after he came out of the country, became a poet and works as a second-hand bookkeeper. And even in the city, he is shy and depressed. He displays an image of trying to forget something, and constantly drinking. With his return to the countryside, the intellectual crisis will experience its climax. Many intense elements such as not keeping up with the province, being withdrawn because he can't get used to it, confrontation will enable Yusuf to reproduce himself and his province in the film.

During the transition from the 90s to the 2000s, Nuri Bilge Ceylan's showdowns about the town and the attention of the film "Uzak" about the town encouraged other directors. In this example, we will consider Nuri Bilge Ceylan. However, I think that Nuri Bilge Ceylan's reckoning with the town or making a film over the town is his choice rather than a trend. For this reason, I have discussed only one of his films, especially "Kış Uykusu", as his comeback film. At the same time, among the films we have examined, the film that thinks the most about the concept of intellectual is undoubtedly 'Kış Uykusu'. Class relations in the province and sometimes even the ruthlessness of intellectual snobbery is questioned through our main character, whose name is 'Aydın', not coincidentally. It is clear that the intellectual class, who went to the countryside to escape from the problems of life in the city and establish a new and comfortable life, took the problems of the city with them. According to Kula, the contrast created between the character of Aydın and the character of imam is, in a sense, an effort to read the province through the intellectual (Kula, 2010: 507). And the two faces of these two characters, who are actually the opposite of each other, are the same.

According to Kesova, 'Kış Uykusu' is very important in understanding how the intellectual in the western sense is conceived in the country. At the same time, with the basic dynamics of the return to the countryside, it reveals the image of the east seen by the west in a very realistic way. While the film criticizes Turkish intellectuals, it also criticizes the western approach of cinema art. The character of Aydın is also reflected in the film in an emptied way within the frame of costume modernity. In a sense, this is just like an objection to formalist westernization, which is lacking in the case of intellectuals. Aydın reflects the Turkish identity. We can say that in France and Germany, which is the origin of the concept of intellectual, there is still an intellectual segment that is at peace with the values of the society and does not create a class perception.

Likewise, in the movie 'Ana Yurdu', Nesrin is one of the modern faces of the city, who lived, studied and had a profession in her own way as the second generation who broke away from the countryside. The act that Nesrin wants to do in the province, namely writing, is actually a reflection of intellectual concerns and has no meaning in those lands. In the Anatolian countryside, where the oral tradition is dominant, it is natural for the provincials to look at her as a bogeyman and her coming across bogeys around the corner. As a depressed intellectual identity, Nesrin is important for us to understand the spirit world of someone who came to the province from the city but whose roots are hidden there.

The most important common aspect of the intellectual characters in these films is to be neither from the province nor from the city, but to stay in a purgatory. This is exactly why they carry other forms of life wherever they find and live.

3.7. Returning to Province in the Search of the Lost Past (Kış Uykusu, Yumurta, Kelebekler, and Ana Yurdu)

Time is one of the most important elements in provincial films. Daily life in Turkey focuses only on the present, free from the past and the future. It is an old tradition to define the countryside according to time, because time does not flow in the countryside. The heaviness of life in the province is due to the reason to remind and make people think. For the last 20 years, provincial content and form have been defined as heavy rhythm in Turkish cinema. Even if the province establishes a close connection with the city, when we return to the province, we see an inviolable temple, and there is no longer any meaning of time. It is the

land where tradition encompasses everything and becomes a symbolic oppression in the future (Elmacı, 2011: 162-167).

For this reason, those who go from the city to the province, partially break their ties with time. Lost and incomplete past tires their minds less. The future is an uncertain pressure tool. There is only today; today you can eat, be happy, sleep. The countryside, which is seen as a place to escape from worries and depressions from the past, has a structure similar to the city's perception of time after a certain stage. In order for the province to be differentiated as a province, it is inevitable to follow the lost time.

The characters need to be aware of another life denied to them, a center to which they are pushed to the edge, to see themselves through its eyes, to feel incomplete and deprived in front of it. The horizon of the province is always the big city. It is the big city that opens the horizon for it, closes it to the other side of the horizon, and turns it into a province. Only then, it will be too narrow for those who live in the province; it starts to feel like a hollowed-out exterior, then suffocates them (Gürbilek, 2005: 57).

In the four films 'Yumurta', 'Kış Uykusu', 'Ana Yurdu' and 'Kelebekler' that we included in our study, the province, which was escaped to by our characters forcedly and sometimes for financial reasons, was also the place to get rid of the burdens of the past.

In the movie 'Yumurta', Yusuf also confronts family secrets from the past by rebuilding himself. In 'Kış Uykusu', Aydın is freed from the burdens of the past when he realizes his own worthlessness and helplessness. In 'Ana Yurdu', Nesrin thought that she would be freed from the ghosts of the past by writing, but it did not happen. At the end of the movie, when she defines herself side by side with another body, she gets rid of the past. Three siblings in the movie 'Kelebekler'; Cemal, Kenan and Suzan have not seen each other for many years, because they are in wounds and bruises. The three siblings, who are stuck between the loss of their mother, and indifference of their father and whose lives are not in order, are freed from the burdens of the past with the death of their father. Confronting the past, admitting that they are from the province and their childhood secrets, Hasanlar found a balm with the timelessness of the province. All the characters stuck in the province today, are the dark shadows of the past.

Conclusion

Cinema, which is both an art and a mass media tool, is in a dynamic relationship with the social structure. Today, movies are read with various analysis methods such as sociological, psychological, political, structuralist, feminist and Marxist and they are the subject of serious analysis. A cinema approach that takes the pulse of society sociologically also ponders on concepts such as urban change, transformation and migration. Social realistic cinema, which started in Turkish cinema at the end of the 1950s, is a living witness of the social disintegration experienced during the 1960s and 1970s; it has ensured that basic subjects such as migration, urbanization, unplanned housing, rural-urban duality, women and family problems have become the most important subjects in our cinema.

With the urbanization and migration movements in our country, the social change that has occurred since the 1960s has changed over time. The beginning of this painful process in Turkish cinema has accelerated with the social realism movement, so many directors have started to touch on the issue of migration at the point of spatial separations in cities. Films have started to be shot on subjects such as immigration, the process of immigrants' attachment to the city, slums, worker problems, and patronage relations.

In today's world, it is possible to live migration which is the most important type of social mobility, in the opposite way. This reverse migration is from the city to the countryside. Especially this reverse migration movement, which is the most important subject of New Turkish Cinema, reflects today's world. We can reveal the process of social mobility from city to country in Turkish cinema by changing the center-periphery approach. As a western art, it can be said that cinema is an art that was born in the center, appeals to the audience in the center and takes its subject from the life of the people in the center. We can say that the transition from the center to the periphery emerged with the first village films. It has been observed that the tense relationship between the center and the periphery begins right here.

As a result of the research, it can be said that the venue of New Turkish Cinema, which started in the 1990s and reached its peak in the mid-2000s, is undoubtedly the province. The countryside has always been an important place in Turkish cinema. Sometimes it is the place of village movies, sometimes it is the location where a political existence is experienced.

With the New Turkish Cinema, it had a different meaning and importance. It is the place of the characters who return to the country and try to transform the province within itself, and to create new cities from the provinces, together with telling the own story of the province. New Turkish Cinema, which started in the mid-2000s and made the countryside its main venue, is to be seen as “a critical cinema that seeks originality instead of imitating traditional models, and in search of self-discovery and re-creation of people and society”.

That's why we discussed the intellectual migration from the city to the countryside in New Turkish Cinema in our study. Today, we tried to trace the migration of intellectuals and white-collar people from the city, which is an important part of both cinema and our social life, and their tendency to cling to the countryside, to change and transform the countryside as they wish, in New Turkish Cinema.

The four esteemed directors of New Turkish Cinema; Semih Kaplanoğlu, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Senem Tüzen and Tolga Karaçelik impress with their films and win important awards at festivals in Turkey and around the world. Semih Kaplanoğlu received the Golden Bear for the film "Bal" and Nuri Bilge Ceylan received the Golden Palm Award for the film "Kış Uykusu", which we analyzed in our study. These films have been of research value in the sense that they contain certain festival forms.

The most important common denominator of the four films we chose which are “Yumurta”, “Kış Uykusu”, “Ana Yurdu” and “Kelebekler” is production, manufacture, design and thematic affinity. We tried to examine their thematic affinities under four main headings. "Returning to the countryside as a form of reconstruction", "returning to the countryside after trauma", "returning to the countryside as an intellectual crisis" and "returning to the countryside in the pursuit of lost time". The most basic common theme in these four films is that the characters, after a trauma, throw themselves into the country where they were born and grew up and believe that they will recover there. The common theme of most of the films made in New Turkish Cinema about returning to the country is returning to the country after a traumatic event in the city, sometimes due to emotional and sometimes financial conditions.

The search for meaning, which develops with the movement of the characters, who have become alien to themselves, the society and their whole life, from the city to the countryside, appears in provincial films with an existentialist line. In this sense, returning to

the country is like an existentialist return to one's essence, self-purification and yearning for pure and naive childhood days.

The main traumatic event in the films we included in our study is the loss of a mother or father. The loss of mother and father is an opportunity to regain one's roots, since the loss of parents in a sense means rootlessness. Our characters, who came from a traumatic process filled with the loss of their mother in "Yumurta", not being able to find their old life in the city in "Kış Uykusu", the loss of parents in "Kelebekler", and not being able to write their novel in "Ana Yurdu", found the solution by returning to the countryside.

Another reason for returning to the countryside is the intellectual crisis. The main characters in these films that we have taken as examples are people who have gone to the city from the country and are kept there, who have been educated and have made a career and have ideas for themselves and the society. When these characters return to their own provinces, it is not known how much they find what they are looking for, but it will not be wrong to say that they try to make the country look like them. Among the films we have examined, the film that thinks the most about the concept of intellectual is undoubtedly "Kış Uykusu". Class relations in the countryside and sometimes even the ruthlessness of intellectual snobbery is questioned through our main character, whose name is not coincidentally, "Ayдын (Intellectual)". The most important common aspect of the intellectual characters in these films is to be neither from the country nor from the city, but to stay in a limbo. This is exactly why they carry other forms of life wherever they find and live.

In Turkish cinema, provincial content and form are defined as heavy rhythm. Even if the country establishes a close connection with the city, when we return to the country, we see an inviolable sanctuary. And there, time has no meaning anymore. It is the land where tradition encompasses everything and the future becomes a symbolic pressure. For this reason, we can say that our characters in these films are characters in the traces of the past rather than the future.

In the process of our study, we tried to make various inferences from four films about returning from the city, which is an element of reverse migration, to the countryside. The judgments we reach through these four films and their characters and the subjective data we

obtain are only the results obtained in line with this study. By expanding the subject of the study and diversifying the sample films, more in-depth analysis results will be achieved.

It is aimed that this thesis study will be instrumental in more comprehensive studies to be carried out in the New Turkish Cinema. Another potential research area pointed out by this study can be shown as the change of social movements. However, based on the theoretical and methodological framework in which this study works, it is thought that studies that deal with a wider time period in Turkey and examine different periods of Turkish Cinema can be done. In this context, it is clear that there is a need for more in-depth studies that support the cinema and human relationship with field researches.



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