

## “Life follows myth!”: A Jungian reading of Orhan Pamuk’s *The Red-Haired Woman*<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

*The Red-Haired Woman* (2016) by Orhan Pamuk mirrors the east-west dichotomy by father-son relationship. The author integrates the narratives of *King Oedipus* and *Rostam and Sohrab* in the nucleus of the text and the protagonist’s experiences; thereby, he not only brings a dual approach to the question of becoming an individual but manifests the inevitability of fate via myths turning into reality. Pamuk’s literary modus operandi in the novel lets coincidence find a palpable meaning and become the repetition of past incidents. Carl Gustav Jung’s concepts of collective unconscious and archetype, in this respect, shed considerable light on the ways in which Pamuk’s characters are led by some collectively shared entities. According to Jung, every individual possesses some reflexes, tendencies and instincts shared by all humanity and stored in the very depth of human mind. Jung argues that collective unconscious, being of primitive and universal quality, appears in dreams and myths and latently influences the way man thinks and behaves. Cem Çelik, the protagonist of *The Red-Haired Woman*, acts so as to exhibit this holistic influence particularly in terms of father-son relationship; to a great extent, his experiences are presented as recurrences of historical/mythical situations and occurrences that have been repeated throughout human history with cultural changes and manifested in myths. Hence, this paper aims to elucidate Pamuk’s use of myths and discourses of patricide/filicide in *The Red-Haired Woman* through Jungian perspective.

**Keywords:** Orhan Pamuk, *The Red-Haired Woman*, Jung, collective unconscious, archetype.

## “Hayat efsaneyi tekrar eder!”: Orhan Pamuk’un *Kırmızı Saçlı Kadın* adlı romanına Jungçu bir bakış

### Öz

Orhan Pamuk’un *Kırmızı Saçlı Kadın* (2016) adlı romanı, doğu-batı ayrımına baba-oğul ilişkisi üzerinden ayna tutar. Yazar, Sofokles’in Kral Oidipus ve Firdevsi’nin Rüstem ile Sührâb anlatılarını, romandaki olay akışının ve ana karakter psikolojisinin temeline oturarak, bir yandan özgün birey olma tartışmasına çift yönlü bakış açısıyla yaklaşır; diğer taraftan ise kaderin kaçınılmazlığı görüşünü, gerçeğe dönüşen efsanelerle yansıtır. Rastlantının, geçmişte karşılık bularak anlam kazandığı, tekrara dönüştüğü ve romanın ana karakteri Cem Çelik’in duygularını, düşüncelerini ve davranış biçimini etkilediği bu bakış açısı, Carl Gustav Jung’un, analitik psikoloji kapsamında ortaya attığı kolektif bilinç dışı ve arketip kavramları ile açıklanabilir. Jung’a göre her birey, tüm insanlık

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tarafından paylaşılan ve zihnin kolektif bilinç dışı alanında yer alan reflekslere, eğilimlere ve içgüdülere sahiptir. Jung, kolektif bilinç dışının ilkel ve evrensel nitelikte olduğunu, kendini rüyalarda ve efsanelerde arketiplerle gösterdiğini ve istem dışı şekilde bireyin davranış ve düşünce sistemini etkilediğini ileri sürer. *Kırmızı Saçlı Kadın*’da Cem’in baba-oğul ilişkisi bağlamında hissettikleri, düşündükleri ve aldığı kararlar kolektif bilinç dışının bir yansımasıdır. Cem’in başından geçenler, ilkel şekliyle hissettiği aşk ve kıskançlık gibi duygular, insanlık tarihi boyunca, kültürel değişiklikler geçirerek tekrarlanmış, Kral Oidipus ve Rüstem ile Sührâb gibi eserlerde açığa çıkmış tecrübeler olarak sunulur. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma, *Kırmızı Saçlı Kadın*’daki olay örgüsünü ve karakter psikolojisini, Jung’un görüşleri ile açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Orhan Pamuk, *Kırmızı Saçlı Kadın*, Jung, kolektif bilinç dışı, arketip.

### Introduction

Orhan Pamuk (1952-) draws on his inspiration taken from a variety of writers, genres and disciplines in writing his novels. Pamuk’s place among contemporary post-modern novelists largely depends on his adeptness in making use of intertextuality. A wide range of issues from Sufism to modernity and tradition, and from subjectivity to memory and sociocultural transition nurture Pamuk’s works. His artistic creativity and imagination are combined with his powerful discourses on becoming an individual within the society and culture of his native country and particularly, of Istanbul, which, indeed, supplies his fiction with originality.

A motif which recurrently appears in Pamuk’s writings is the relationship between father and son. Pamuk is a writer who, in one way or the other, refers to the connection (or lack of a connection) between a father and his son in most of his novels. Above all, he is a writer who begins his literary career with a novel on father-son relations (*Mr. Cevdet and His Sons*, 1982) and whose Nobel Prize speech, *My Father’s Suitcase* (2006), explores such significant issues as literature, writing and being a writer via notes on his unstable relationship with his father. In fact, absence of a father figure, rather than its presence, and the impact of this absence on son’s individual psyche are what Pamuk frequently touches upon in his works, which is doubtlessly related with the author’s own *fatherlessness*<sup>3</sup>. Telling of the experiences of a son abandoned by his father and temporarily fostered by a surrogate father, Pamuk’s *The Red-Haired Woman* (2016) can be regarded as the author’s work in which he most intensively and explicitly deals with father-son relationship.

As implied at the very beginning of the novel, *The Red-Haired Woman* is about “the enigma of fathers and sons” (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 1, para. 1). With the intricate storyline of the novel, Pamuk concentrates on the innermost need for a father figure to develop individuality and selfhood and associates the protagonist’s experiences with two mythical stories which represent the East and the West. The protagonist is Cem Çelik, a high-school boy from Istanbul who, in the course of the novel, becomes a wealthy business man and gets killed by his son at the end. Explicitly in his interviews and symbolically in his novels, Pamuk thinks that Istanbul is an exclusive city in that it not only connects Asia and Europe but bears the characteristics of both cultures as well; and in the novel, he makes this connection by means of presenting Cem’s experiences in a way closely intertwined with two mythical and canonical narratives belonging to the two continents, namely, Ferdowsi’s *Rostam and Sohrab* and Sophocles’ *King*

<sup>3</sup> In an interview, regarding his father’s frequent departures, Pamuk states as follows: “I was raised by a father who was not around too much and who never tried to control me. In fact, that’s how my father was—did not know much about me” (Pamuk, 2017b).

*Oedipus*. Therefore, rich in metaphors and relatively short, *The Red-Haired Woman* is a novel by which Pamuk highlights universality through locality; he utilizes myth in weaving the leitmotif of father-son relationship and conveys Cem’s experiences as mythical recurrences of some primeval incidents and emotions. Cem’s relationship with his father, mother, Master Mahmut and the eponymous ‘the red-haired woman’ forms the basis of the plotline while his association of what he experiences with some mythical incidents and figures operates as the subtext and deepens the narrative. In this respect, this paper argues that a Jungian reading of Pamuk’s novel, and particularly Jung’s concepts of collective unconscious and archetype, will considerably illustrate the significance and operation of myth in commanding the protagonist as well as shaping the plotline.

### ***The Red-Haired Woman: A novel on myths coming true***

A remarkable quality of *The Red-Haired Woman* is that the incidents and characters depicted in the novel explicitly correspond to pre-existent mythical stories and figures. Interestingly, all of the major characters (Cem, Master Mahmut, Gülcihan, Cem’s wife) let the reader know about their awareness of that what happens to them evinces the solid connection between the past and present. The novel begins with the disappearance of Cem’s father, a leftist pharmacist who already had some troubles probably due to his ideological activities. Psychologically as well as financially affected by the absence of the father, Cem and his mother move to Gebze, a peripheral province of İstanbul, to live with the protagonist’s aunt; and that is where Cem meets Master Mahmut, an experienced well-digger. Cem accepts the master’s offer to work on digging a well at a site in a town called Öngören with him. At Öngören one night, Cem sees a red-haired-woman whose beauty (especially the way she glances at him) instantly strikes him. Day and night he thinks about the woman, who is about ten years older than him, and finally, he encounters her while she is on a walk with a small group of people. After a short talk with them, he learns that they are in fact a traveling theatre troupe and that the red-haired woman is a stage actress. At another night, he goes into the theatre tent and sees the sketches presented including the stories of Abraham and his son as well as Rostam and Sohrab. After the performance, Cem and the red-haired woman, whose name is revealed as Gülcihan, meet and have a long conversation by which Cem feels extremely jealous of Master Mahmut; for he learns that the master secretly came to the tent the earlier night, saw the plays and talked to the red-haired woman. Cem and Gülcihan warm to each other so as to end up having a sexual intercourse. The next day, Cem, being sleepless and tired, accidentally drops the heavy bucket filled with soil into the well over Master Mahmut and hears the latter’s scream of pain. Fearing that he might have killed the master, Cem leaves the site and takes the train to go back to İstanbul.

Though Cem keeps what he did to the master secret and struggles to continue his life as if nothing happened he hardly copes with his inner distress and feelings of guilt and remorse. As he conveys, “inside my head there was a well where, pickaxe in hand, Master Mahmut was still hacking away at the earth” (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 23, para. 1). He gives up the idea of becoming a writer; he studies geology, becomes an engineer and gets married. On a business trip to Iran about twenty years after digging the well, he sees a picture which depicts “the scene from the Shahnameh in which Rostam weeps over his son Sohrab, whom he has just killed” (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 26, para. 11). Back in İstanbul he finds a Turkish translation of Ferdowsi’s epic and eagerly reads the story of Rostam and Sohrab. Developing a profound and almost obsessive interest in the tale and juxtaposing it with the story of King Oedipus, Cem feels that his experiences as well as the life itself are, on a great scale, recurrences of such myths. He establishes a construction firm named Sohrab which rapidly flourishes and lets him become a wealthy man. He gets an offer for a property in Öngören, near where he and Master Mahmut dug the well, and

decides to buy it. From the owner of the property he learns that Master Mahmut had actually survived after the accident, found the water and died five years ago. Furthermore, to his astonishment, he learns that the red-haired woman once had been his father’s lover and that she has a son now. The son soon contacts Cem and informs him that he is his father. Cem decides to go back to Öngören almost thirty years after the well-digging and meets the red-haired woman there. Then, he goes to the well with a guide who is in fact his son whom he has never seen and in the end he is accidentally killed by his son by being shot from his eye. The last part of the novel is narrated by the red-haired woman; she makes it clear that her son is imprisoned and that the novel is written by him in the prison.

So, the storyline of *The Red-Haired Woman* is replete with references to and similarities with *King Oedipus* and *Rostam and Sohrab*. In a way, Pamuk’s text blends the accounts of these two mythical narratives through the story of Cem Çelik; as a youth, he has an affair with his father’s ex-mistress and he almost kills a man whom he takes as a father, which echoes King Oedipus’ tragic fate. On the other hand, he is abandoned by his father and he attempts to kill his son, as reminder of *Rostam and Sohrab*. However, the novel is not structured merely upon associations with these mythical stories; rather, the intrusion of myth in one’s life and its active and controlling presence in it form the main theme and subject matter. As indicative of this, repeatedly in the novel, Cem has a feeling that what he experiences is “like reliving a forgotten memory” (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 17, para. 22). Especially during his involvement with the well, the emotions of love, remorse and jealousy are experienced by him in their most primordial and pristine form, as if they were inborn sensations directly inherited to him from humanity. Therefore, the issues of repetition of myth and a vague and unconscious connection with a remote past serve as the nucleus of the novel. And a profound understanding of these phenomena will be provided by Carl Gustav Jung’s concepts of collective unconscious and archetype.

### **A jungian reading of *The Red-Haired Woman***

Orhan Pamuk, in an interview on *The Red-Haired Woman*, acknowledges that he is familiar with Jung’s theories on human mind. Regarding Jung’s ideas on innate impulses and memories common to mankind, Pamuk asserts as follows: “myths, literature, philosophy and the theory of morality have a quality that shape societies. I [Pamuk] am close to the ideas of Jung, who is a disciple of Freud. Jung tells about archetypes. He says that man is born with some cultural structures with which he moves in the depths of his soul and the back of his mind” (Pamuk, 2016). It is precisely the predetermined ‘cultural structures’ what puts the characters in *The Red-Haired Woman* into a particular mould and regulates the way Cem Çelik moves, feels and thinks. In Jungian formulation, there are some “in-born and universally present formal elements” located in the collective unconscious and exerting an influence on “our imagination, perception, and thinking” (Jung, 2014a: para. 92). According to Jung, apart from an individual’s personal unconscious and “in addition to our immediate consciousness ... there exists a second psychic system of a collective, universal, and impersonal nature which is identical in all individuals. This collective unconscious does not develop individually but is inherited. It consists of pre-existent forms, the archetypes, which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents” (Jung, 2014a: para. 90). Jung argues that the collective unconscious, which “comprises in itself the psychic life of our ancestors right back to the earliest beginnings” (Jung, 2014b, para. 230) operates in a similar way to urges and instincts and that the archetypes are “patterns of instinctual behaviour” (Jung, 2014a: para. 91).

Jung’s theory of a predetermined and universally shared psychic matrix provides a distinctive perspective to the occurrences Cem Çelik faces in *The Red-Haired Woman* as well as to the ways in

which he reacts to and is influenced by them. Besides, images such as well and water attain a deeper meaning when approached through Jungian lens. First of all, Cem's first sight of Master Mahmut is critical in understanding the nature of the protagonist's perception of the master well-digger. Cem describes the master as follows: "he was tall, slender, and handsome, like my father. But unlike my naturally calm and cheerful father, the well-digger was irascible. He frequently scolded his apprentices" (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 2, para. 6). Cem's acceptance of the Master's offer and his staying with him in spite of the hard and hopeless work can be construed as a result of his inner and latent urge to be connected with a father figure of archetypal quality whom he lacks due to his biological father's tolerant and indifferent attitude and later disappearance. Master Mahmut, in manifold ways, epitomizes the archetype of father. As identified by Jung, the father archetype represents authority, law and the state (Jung, 2014c: para. 65) and Master Mahmut, though being affectionate at times, with his orders, scolds, teachings and forbidding manner, not only becomes the sole figure of authority ruling over the protagonist but operates as a replacement for his disappeared father.

The master's archetypal presence paves the way for the repetition of myth and manifestation of collective unconscious because, as will be seen, Cem will be involved in an act of almost killing his master, which echoes the Oedipus complex. Jung, "taking Freud's emphasis on childhood sexuality as evidence of his one-sidedness" and deviating from the essentials of Freudian psychoanalysis, "treats the Oedipus complex as one among several universal myths in the psyche" (Davis, 2008: 52). So, Jung thinks that the enmity between father and son which leads the latter to patricide develops as an inherited instinct rather than as a sexual urge. In Cem's case this 'universal' instinct is activated by his subjection to the master's authoritative and superior attitude as well as his (master's) undefined link with the red-haired woman. Therefore, Cem's feelings of resentment and jealousy against the master, which appear intermittently, turns his relationship with the master into an Oedipal conflict. Being well aware of his feelings and also of the hold of myth over his actions, Cem questions himself about dropping the bucket whether accidentally or intentionally: "had the bucket fallen entirely by accident?" (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 22, para. 17); such a critical self-evaluation of his conduct and motive lets the accident be interpreted as a Freudian slip<sup>4</sup>. In a parallel, being already familiar with the story of Oedipus and telling the story to the master, Cem senses that he might be following the same tragic path: "in turn, I had told him the story of Prince Oedipus only to upset him, but then somehow I had ended up retracing the actions of the protagonist whose story I'd chosen. That was why Master Mahmut wound up stuck at the bottom of a well: it was all owing to a story, a myth" (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 23, para. 13). Hence, Cem's meeting with an archetypal father figure, his later enmity against him and his arguable attempt to kill him are all incidents which possess mythical counterparts: in a way, Cem Çelik's actions turn to be echoes coming out of the depths of all mankind's history.

Father archetype appears in the final part of the novel as well in the form of 'state' as the supreme authority peculiar to Eastern society. As the red-haired woman herself informs, Enver, Cem's son, is accused of murder even though his father was the one who pointed his gun to him and eventually got shot at a moment of grappling. However, the court, newspapers and society act in a way that backs and glorifies the dead father and curses the son, which suggests the superiority of patriarchy over

<sup>4</sup> Freudian slip points to the intentionality in an accidental deed; it is an action or mistake which indicates "some serious unconscious drives" (Jones, 2002-2019) behind its seeming simplicity and ordinariness. In his *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, Freud suggests that "to fall, to make a misstep, or to slip need not always be interpreted as an entirely accidental miscarriage of a motor action. The linguistic double meaning of these expressions points to diverse hidden fantasies, which may present themselves through the giving up of bodily equilibrium" (2003: 111). Thus, Cem's 'accidental' drop of the bucket can be considered a covertly intentional act engendered by his unconscious and primeval wish to kill his father.

individualism. In the newspapers Enver is accused of killing his father for his money and property after setting a plot with his mother. Hence, all of the mechanisms of the state and society ignore the fact the son had actually acted in self-defense. Enver, being within a typical eastern society and state which is redolent of the patriarchy portrayed in *Rostam and Sohrab*, becomes a figure of *padarkush*<sup>5</sup>. In this way Pamuk highlights the weak and awkward position of Western individualism in the Eastern world; he also underlines the intolerant and unwelcoming posture of an Eastern society confronting a figure or incident that embodies Western defiance and individual liberty.

Manifestation and activation of collective unconscious and archetype occur with a change of place. Cem’s movement from city to the isolated site of the well represents a transition from the civilized to the primitive, from the conscious to the unconscious, and from the ‘word’ to the ‘image’, which resonates Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. This movement is towards the unconscious also in that the main motivation of it is to find water by digging a well; and, as Jung suggests, water is “a living symbol of the dark psyche”, that is, “the commonest symbol for the unconscious” (Jung, 2014a: para. 33). The practice of digging to find water and construct a well, a symbol Pamuk typically employs<sup>6</sup>, has a pivotal role in the novel as it operates as a metaphor for going down deep into one’s psyche and, eventually, facing the content of the collective unconscious. In other words, the digging in *The Red-Haired Woman* corresponds to, in Jungian perspective, “dig[ging] down to the primitive in us”, which is generated by “the conflict between civilized man and the Germanic barbarian” (Jung, 2015: 40). And the archetypal father-son relationship developing between Cem and the master at the remote and rural site is only a part of the primordial incidents and emotions which the protagonist experiences as echoes of a remote past. What Cem goes through after this spatial movement is of primeval quality representing the content of the unconscious; that is, his love for the red-haired woman, the feeling of remorse after seeing the sketch of *Rostam and Sohrab*, and his occasional feeling of jealousy and anger at his master are all reverberations of experiences universally undergone by mankind. It is precisely for this reason that Cem recurrently feels as if he already experienced what he comes across at present time. At the night of an all-day toil he feels as follows: “my unpracticed passion, the action onstage, and the rakı I’d been drinking had conspired to leave me unable to grasp that this was the present. Instead I felt that I was somewhere in the past. Everything seemed fragmented, like a memory” (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 18, para. 3). Cem’s amorphous feeling of remembering or re-experiencing an unknown past can be considered the sign of collective memory’s reaching out to his conscious from the very depth of his mind. The universality as well as intensity of his experiences and sensations lies in that they come to him in their very pure, natural and primitive form. For this reason, when he leaves Öngören and goes back to Istanbul he says “I felt like a savage who had returned to civilization” (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 22, para. 5).

Cem’s affair with the red-haired woman, which he describes as “my primitive love”, is another manifestation of collective unconscious’s influence on his psyche. Even though Cem gets immediately infatuated with her, Gülcihan embodies a mother figure for him: she is about ten years older than him and Cem frequently refers to the tenderness in her expression. Just before sleeping with him, she says as follows: “she turned to me as she switched the lights on. “Don’t be scared,” she said, smiling. “I’m old enough to be your mother” (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 18, para. 78). Furthermore, the fact that she looks like

<sup>5</sup> Patricide (n.) in Persian, retrieved from <http://www.farsidic.com/en/Lang/FaEn>

<sup>6</sup> In *The Black Book* (1990), there is a well right next to the apartment building where Galip used to live when he was a child. The well is implied to be the one into which the dead body of Persian poet Shams Tabrizi (1185–1248) was dumped. In *My Name is Red* (1998), well operates as the place where the novel starts and ends; at the beginning, miniaturist Elegant Effendi is murdered by a well and his corpse dumped into it and the novel ends with the death of Black, another miniaturist and the main character of the novel, by the well. Umer O. Thasneem argues that in these novels as well as *The Red-Haired Woman*, “well is used as the symbol of the unconscious and a repository of past guilt and trauma” (2019: 167).

his mother brings the red-haired woman closer to a mother-like position for Cem. And it is her mother-like state as well as her past affair with Cem's father what associates Cem's passionate affair with Oedipus' myth and turns it into a repeated archetypal situation. To some extent, Cem's case is also a repetition of the story of Rostam and Sohrab. Later in the novel, reading Ferdowsi's story, Cem feels as if he relives a forgotten memory: he says "more than the inherent violence and pathos of the story, what unnerved me so was the feeling of reading something that had actually happened to me" (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 27, para. 11). He partly but compulsively repeats the myth when he grapples with his son to kill him in the end. Regarding such an archetypal situation's inexorable realization, Jung suggests as follows: "when a situation occurs which corresponds to a given archetype, that archetype becomes activated and a compulsiveness appears, which, like an instinctual drive, gains its way against all reason and will" (Jung, 2014a: para. 99). Accordingly, Cem's role in almost killing his surrogate father and his "overpowering urge to return to Öngören" (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 26, para. 18) and to the site where he had last seen Master Mahmut, and there, his being killed by his own son are all indicative of this compulsiveness and the activation of a given archetype. Initially he almost becomes King Oedipus and at the end he attempts to be Rostam. Yet, by his nature, Cem can not be Rostam; he is not the Eastern, authoritarian father who is capable of killing a son. Therefore, the archetype that steers Cem's fate is the one belonging to the Western culture, as implied by that he is killed at Öngören which is located at the European side of Istanbul. Towards the end of the novel, the dialogue between Cem and his wife, in which Cem's wife, Ayşe, foresees her husband's tragic end, reveals the East-West duality as follows:

If it's true, everything we've always believed about Oedipus and his father, and about Rostam and Sohrab...then if that young man is your son, he is going to kill you! He's a textbook case of the rebellious Western individualist..." "Don't worry. If he tries anything, then I'll be the authoritarian Asian father, like Rostam, and kill the brat myself," I said lightheartedly. "You would never do anything of that sort," said Ayşe (Pamuk, 2017a: ch. 42, para. 40)

Ayşe's prediction comes true and Cem is killed by his son right beside the well where he himself, accidentally or not, had been involved with a quasi act of killing. Thus, from being a son who attempts to kill a father figure, Cem turns into a father who is killed by a son, which can be interpreted as yet another repetition of myth. Therefore, in the last part of the novel, when the red-haired woman says "life follows myth!" (Pamuk, 2017a: part 3, para. 73) she, in fact, refers to the subject matter of the novel. Representing man's collective unconscious and manifesting itself through archetypal patterns, myth originates in the past and stretches out to the present.

### Conclusion

Orhan Pamuk's storyline and characters in *The Red-Haired Woman* illustrate the hold of some universal incidents, ideas and emotions on one's present life; the novel portrays a mythical and mystical connection between past and present. By primordial qualities of Cem Çelik's emotions, thoughts and imagination within particular conditions, Pamuk reveals that man's connection with his remote past is not broken at all. Pamuk also implies that some universal and impersonal patterns operate in a similar way to instincts and determine the way man thinks, feels and behaves. Jung's ideas on collective unconscious and archetype significantly contribute to gaining an insight into Pamuk's text. Furthermore, more specifically, the novel hints Turkey's in-between position through myths and tales: Cem's story is not a replica of *Rostam and Sohrab* because even though he is deserted by his father, he is reconnected with him and, apparently, he does not kill his son. Neither is he completely identical to Oedipus because he does not sleep with his real mother or kill his father. That is, he bears the qualities of mythical figures emerging from the East and West and his fate does not let him choose one side and

turn his back on the other. Instead, his experiences are formed and presented as a unique mixture of both tales and cultures, which mirrors Turkey’s sociocultural texture.

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