

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

On the rights of the manuscript

ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Philosophy

**HIJAB PROBLEM IN SECULAR DEMOCRATIC TURKEY
(social ideological aspects)**

Speciality: 7207.01 – Social philosophy

Field of science: Philosophy

Applicant: **Bagirova Azada Bakhtiyar**

Baku-2024

This work had been performed at the department of "History of religion and public opinion" of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Academician Ziya Bunyadov.

Scientific supervisor: DSc on Philosophy, Professor
Sakit Yahya Huseynov

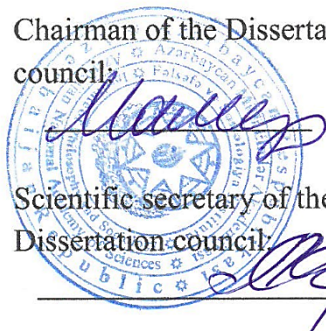
Official opponents: DSc on Philosophy, Professor
Rana Rza Mirzazade

DSc on Philosophy
Muslim Hatam Nazarov

PhD on Philosophy
Vasila Afgan Mohsumova

Dissertation council FD.1.33 of Supreme Attestation Commission attached to the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences

Chairman of the Dissertation
council:

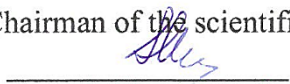


DSc on Philosophy, Professor
Ilham Ramiz Mammadzade

Scientific secretary of the
Dissertation council:

PhD on Philosophy, Docent
Sevinj Arif Hasanova

Chairman of the scientific seminar:



PhD in Philosophy, Professor
Mina Telman Hajieva

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THESIS

Relevance and investigation level of the topic:The innovations that took place in the 19th-20th centuries in the world were observed with structural changes in some countries, and were remembered by wars, revolutions, coups and reforms. Mainly, the priority issues in recent times are the principle of equality of all people living on Earth, regardless of religion, race, or gender. The issue of protection of rights has gained great relevance. The fact that this problem involved in the study is directly related to the human factor, the issue of concern at the international level regarding the life of the individual and society, has included it in the composition of topics with a high degree of relevance. The application of the principle of secularism, to the Eastern society, which contains the features typical for the Western traditions, especially in a country with a different religious system, i.e., its application to Turkey following France and Japan, acceptance of the idea of the superiority of the West, caused to the creation of many new trends like "Westernization, modernization". The process of applying it directly to the society from Europe and putting it to practice, especially since the reforms carried out in the direction of modernization were directly related to the beliefs of the society, caused sharp contradictions and continued its influence for a long time. Bans have been in force for nearly thirty years, especially on the hijab - a head covering worn by Muslim women. All this has made it necessary to investigate and properly analyze the contradictions and polarizations arising in the social structure of the society from historical, socio-philosophical and legal aspects.

The relevance of the research topic is determined by the following factors:

- The issue of "hijab", which limits women's freedom in every way, regardless of religious-secular distinction, is still relevant as a problem regarding human rights;
- As a result of the processes taking place in the world related to the human factor in recent times, the emergence of different approaches in this field and the directing of the attention of many fields of

science to the investigation of problems related to human rights in a new context have increased the relevance of the issue;

– It is specifically important to emphasize the problem of the hijab, which has created the modernity-backwardness of the duality of secularism-Islamism in Turkey for years, and to find out the causes of the issue based on facts, referring to the laws and decisions adopted at the international and state level;

– The application of secularism in Turkey in connection with the reforms carried out in the direction of modernization and Westernization makes it very urgent to involve in the study of its peculiarities and development trends in the Eastern example;

– Since Turkey and Azerbaijan have the same traditions of statehood, it is very important and relevant to study the issue in our country as well;

– Since the presented research topic is developed for the first time from the point of view of socio-ideological analysis, it serves to eliminate the gap in this field.

The degree of development of the researched topic is fundamentally different from other philosophical problems due to its relevance for modern times. The problem of secularism, democracy and hijab has been the subject of research by many Turkish scientists as well as other foreign and international law scholars, philosophers and sociologists.

Following topics related to Turkish society was studied by Azerbaijani researchers - the democracy in Turkey was studied by A.Karimov¹, Sh.Adilli², religion and society – K.Bunyadzade³, secularism and role of women in Turkish society, state-religion relations were studied by – E.Hasanova⁴, religious tolerance by –

¹ Kərimov, Ə. Demokratiya: bəşəriyyətin bu günü və gələcəyi. Sosial-fəlsəfi yanaşma. / Ə.Kərimov. – Bakı: Elm, – 2009. – 187s.

²Ədilli, Ş. Milli ideologiyamız: Türklük, çağdaşlıq, İslam / Ş.Ədilli. – Bakı: Elm və təhsil, – 2013. –288 s.

³Bünyadzadə, K. İslam fəlsəfəsi: tarix və muasirlik / K.Bünyadzadə. – Bakı: Çarşıoğlu. – 2010. – 154 s.

⁴Гасанова, Э.Ю. Лицизм и ислам в республиканской Турции. / Э.Ю.Гасанова. – Баку: Нурлан, – 2002. – 198 с.

S.Hüseynov⁵, Türksih modernization – R.Rzayeva⁶, secularism – E.Fıǵlalı⁷, M.Akın⁸, respectively. Secularism and state-religion relations in Turkish society were studied by following foreign researchers E.J.Zürcher⁹, T.Christos¹⁰ etc.

Since the issue of secularism and hijab is one of the most discussed topics of the agenda in Turkey, numerous studies have been conducted in this topic. Analyzing the problems related to the establishment of state-religion relations, made it necessary to approach the issue from different aspects. In this thesis, the issue of hijab in Turkey was comprehensively studied from the socio-philosophical and ideological level, from the perspective of religion-state, religion-society, as well as the principles of freedom of religion and conscience defined by the Constitution, which is the legal basis of a secular-democratic state. In Turkey, Niyazi Berkes¹¹, Recep Yıldız¹², Haldun Gülalp¹³, Metin Gurses¹⁴, D.Nick¹⁵, Şerif Mardin¹⁶,

⁵Hüseynov, S.Y. Azərbaycanda dini tolerantlıq mədəniyyəti: Tarix və müasirlik / S.Y.Hüseynov. – Bakı: Təknur nəşriyyatı, – 2012. – 176 s.

⁶Рзаева, Р.О. К вопросу о символической политике постмодернистского мира (на примере проблемы “тюрбана” в современной Турции) // – Вопросы философии, 2011. № 9, – с.110-119.

⁷Fıǵlalı, E.R. Atatürkün din ve laik anlayışı // – Ankara: T.C. Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, – 2022. – 117 s.

⁸Akın, M.H. Türkiyede modernleşme: Din, siyaset ve toplumsal deǵişme / M.H.Akın.– İstanbul: Matbu Kitap Yayınları, – 2022. – 232 s.

⁹Zürcher, E.J. Modernleşen Türkiyenin Tarihi / E.J.Zürcher. – İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, – 2019. – 464 s.

¹⁰Christos, T. The 2023 Elections: Legitimization of the New Turkey. // – Tel-Aviv: Turkey scope, – 2022. Vol. 6, No. 6, November- December, – p.1-5

¹¹Berkes, N. Türkiyede çağdaşlaşma / N.Berkes. – İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, – 2018. – 598 s.

¹²Yıldız R. Başörtüsü tartımlarına dair bir araştırma // Üsküdar: İçtimaiyat, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, –2023. – s.455-487.

¹³Gülalp, H. Kimlikler siyaseti: Türkiyede siyasal islamın temelleri / H.Gülalp. – İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, – 2021. – 232 s.

¹⁴Gurses, M. State and Faith: The Supply- Side Theory of Religion and The Case of Turkey / M.Gurses, F.Jonathan, O.Erdi. // Southeastern European and Black Sea Studies, London: – 2023. – p.1-21.

¹⁵Nick, D. Ploicy notes. The outlook for Turkish democracy: 2023 and beyond. // – Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, – 2022. V 25, –p.77.

Binnaz Toprak¹⁷, Mustafa Erdoğan¹⁸ and other authors investigated secularism and state-religion relations from different aspects.

In general, the focus of the research topic is problem related to the hijab, which is a women's head covering. The essence of the methods applied in the management of many areas that have a role in the regulation of public life, and the results of the reforms carried out in the direction of modernization are summarized and analyzed, consequently the research covers a wider field. In particular, the essence of the concepts of secularism and democracy, which are a condition of each other, the gaps allowed during their application and the inference of the shortcomings that appeared in the society were revealed with the help of the deductive method, comparative analyzes were carried out, and results were obtained.

Object and subject of the dissertation: The object of the research is the problem of hijab, which has left its mark on the agenda of Turkey and has become acute along with the change of government. The subject of research is to study the basics of the hijab problem in Turkey, to analyze the arguments of those who support the hijab ban, and to assess whether it is a social or ideological problem from a socio-philosophical and ideological point of view.

Aims and objectives of the study: The main purpose of the study is to determine the socio-ideological nature of the hijab problem in Turkey from the beginning to the present day on the basis of ideas, trends, decisions and prohibitions. Achieving this goal requires a number of tasks:

– To analyze the socio-cultural structure of Turkey, the role of religion in society and the process of modernization with reference

¹⁶Mardin, Ş. Jön türklerin siyasi fikirleri: 1895-1908 / Ş.Mardin. – İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, – 2023. – 340 s.

¹⁷Toprak, B. Türkiyede dinin denetim işlevi: Türkiyede Politik Değişim ve Modernleşme./ B.Toprak. – Bursa: Dora Basım Yayıncılık, – 2009. – 421 s.

¹⁸Erdoğan, M. Türkiyede anayasalar ve siyaset / M.Erdoğan. – Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, – 2012. – 287 s.

to the works of various philosophers, sociologists and anthropologists;

- To provide a comparative analysis of the reasons for the emergence of contradictions in the society related to the application of the principle of secularism in the regulation of state-religion relations in the Republic of Turkey;
- Identifying and highlighting the deficiencies in the regulation of the issue of freedom of religion and conscience in accordance with state laws in the construction of a democratic society;
- To analyze the religious and socio-philosophical bases of the hijab problem;
- The hijab problem in the modern Republic of Turkey and its socio-ideological evaluation from the perspective of secularism.

Research methods. The methodological basis of the research is general philosophical and socio-philosophical methods. In the study of the problem, scientific abstraction, induction, deduction, historical and logical connection, analysis and synthesis methods, dialectical method, which takes events in development and studies them in interaction, were used. Facts were summarized, legal and accidental relationships were determined between them, comparative analysis and historical-comparative approach has been used.

In the course of the research, as a result of the analysis of the philosophical, socio-political literature on the subject, the ratio of acceptance of the hijab problem at the theoretical and practical level from the social and ideological point of view was determined, and the reasons for its resonance in the social level were clarified. International agreements in the topic of foreign relations, the results of surveys conducted by various companies, domestic legislation of the Republic of Turkey and the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, as well as constitutional materials of various countries were used in the study. In the research work, the political basis of multiculturalism, traditions of secularism and religious tolerance

reflected in the clauses, decrees, and legislative acts of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan were interpreted.

The information source of the research consisted of: works of local and foreign researchers written in this field, historical data, constitutions of various countries, and especially articles related to changes in the Turkish constitution, decisions made by various government departments regarding the hijab, international declarations, Quran and hadis, religious works, form the electronic database of the Directorate of Religious Affairs of Turkey. The regulation of state-religion relations in our country, the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan, speeches and orders of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, periodicals of the State Committee for Work with Religious Organizations, the Administration of Caucasian Muslims, various international organizations, as well as information from local and foreign scientific journals and newspapers, the materials of questionnaire surveys held in Turkey were used as information sources.

The main provisions to be defended. As a result of the fulfillment of the tasks set in the thesis, the following main provisions were defended:

- The analysis of the "hijab" problem in Turkey from a socio-ideological point of view has made it possible to clarify the important role and importance of the values that affect the life of the society. Since the problems arising in the regulation of state-religion relations in Turkey are not evaluated in terms of secular and democratic principles, the banning of the style of clothing - "hijab", which symbolizes the unique traditions of the Islamic religion, for many years has resulted in the violation of human rights;
- During the implementation of the "principle of secularism" in Turkey, the introduction of many strict reforms was incompatible with secular and democratic principles, so the struggle that resulted in women's movements became a necessity. From this point of view, the important role played by women in the social life, who have the opportunity to use their rights such as allocation, freedom of religion and conscience reflected in the constitution, should be evaluated by looking at the statistical data before the ban, during the ban and after the

ban;

- Evaluating the abolition of the "Hijab" ban in terms of human rights is a clear indicator of Turkey's steps towards democracy. As a result of many years of struggle, the application of the principle of mild secularism instead of the principle of strict secularism, the emergence of a new "Turkish model" based on the Western example, guarantees that this model will give positive results in the Eastern countries as well;
- Nowadays, the work carried out in Azerbaijan related to interreligious and intercultural issues is implemented in accordance with secular and democratic principles. Turkey and Azerbaijan, as "Eastern" models of secularism, give importance to values from the religious, social, mental and legal aspects in the modern era, and create conditions for ensuring the unity and equality of the society.

Scientific novelty of research. The issue involved in the research is the first scientific research work in our republic from the socio-ideological approach. The scientific innovations of the dissertation are specifically reflected in the following clauses:

- The novelty of the research work is directly related to the new approach to the solution of the controversial issue, which has not been studied until now because it is not a special research subject;
- In the research work, the hijab-related problem and the stages of development of its solutions were extensively and comprehensively analyzed in the example of the Republic of Turkey, which has a long and comprehensive experience;
- Following the progress of this process in our country, which has a national religious belief different from the West, and which religiously has the same values as the Republic of Turkey, it is necessary to identify the common aspects in the social structure of the society of both countries and to analyze the features that distinguish them from each other, to establish a new state-religion relationship far from dogmatism.

Theoretical and practical significance of research. In the research work, the causes of hijab problem were analyzed theoretically and practically as a result of reforms carried out in the direction of modernization. Since the research work includes information from a number of fields, it serves as a source for

scientific research works to be conducted in these topics. The obtained results justified clauses can be widely used in the teaching of Constitutional Law, International Law and International Relations Law, Philosophy, Geopolitics, Sociology, Political Science, Oriental Studies and Cultural Studies.

As a result of the research, a number of new ideas of theoretical and practical importance were expressed and examples were proposed, which can be formulated as follows:

- Based on the world experience, the formation of a practically new, unique model - the Turkish model - during the application of secularism in Turkey for many years, was based on facts;
- The results obtained during the research significantly deepened and clarified the existing socio-philosophical and ideological ideas about the problem.

Approbation of dissertation. The dissertation work was discussed in the Department of Religion and Public Thought of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Academician Ziya Bunyadov Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. The results obtained during the research of the dissertation, its essence, and the author's articles on the subject have been published in our country and abroad. Presentations and posters were presented at international and local conferences related to the subject of the dissertation.

The name of the institution where the dissertation work was performed. The research work was carried out at ANAS Institute of Oriental Studies, "Religion and Public Opinion" department.

Structure and volume of dissertation. The dissertation was prepared in accordance with the requirements set by the Higher Attestation Commission attached to the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Dissertation consist of introduction (14335 characters), three chapters (first chapter with two paragraphs – (65559 characters); second chapter with two paragraphs – (64451 characters); third chapter with three paragraphs – (94114 characters); conclusion (4153characters) it consists of a list of used literature. The total volume of the dissertation work is 256929 characters. Excluding the 4 tables, 4 diagrams and the literature list used in the dissertation, it consists of 241642 characters.

MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the "Introduction" part of the dissertation, the religious and historical basis of the problem of hijab, the sources on which the veil is legally justified, and other issues were discussed. Particularly the socio-psychological, religious and philosophical aspects of the hijab was discussed.

The first chapter entitled "**Social and cultural situation in the Republic of Turkey**" consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph is entitled "**Socio-cultural situation in Turkey: religion and society**". In this paragraph, the religious-political and ideological foundations of religion and society relations in Turkey have been extensively studied. The "secularism" brought by modernization has always caused controversy due to the fact that the majority of the citizens of the Republic of Turkey are Muslims since the time of the Ottoman Empire until now, the socio-cultural structure has developed in different directions, especially in the duality of secularism and Islamism. Different definitions were given to religion and its role in social life, by sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers from different countries, especially A.Toynbi¹⁹, U.Gunay²⁰, Sh.Mardin²¹, W.Walter²² etc. By referring to above mentioned works, the more interesting and different aspects of the state management system, which was adopted from Europe and distinguished by its uniqueness, were applied in Turkey and the results were brought out for research.

The second paragraph of the first chapter is called "**New approaches and ideological trends in building a democratic society**" in this part, the social and political history of the transition from the 18th century to the 20th century in the Ottoman Empire the

¹⁹ Тойнби, А. Цивилизация перед судом / А.Тойнби. Москва: Директ-Медиа, – 2007. – 393 с.

²⁰Günay, Ü. Dinsosyolojisi / Ü. Günay. – İstanbul: İnsanYayımları, –2020. – 680 s.

²¹Mardin, Ş. Türkiyede politik değişim ve modernleşme / Ş.Mardin. – İstanbul: Alfa BasımYayımları, – 2000. – 565 s.

²²Wolter, F.W. The Modernization of Turkey: From Ataturk to the present day F.W.Weiker. – New York: Holmes & Maier, – 1981. – 303p.

adoption of secularism instead of the religious outlook, from the monarchy-caliphate to the Constitution and Republic, from the ideology of Ottomanism to the ideology of the Turkish nation has been discussed. Even after the transition to the Republic period, the Turkish society faced certain radical changes in the fields of politics, state, economy, and culture, and met the methods prepared to ensure social change "*However, at that time, the complexity of the society's structure, the deep stratification between the conservative and intellectual classes resulted in the adoption of new applications and modernization in a different way*"²³. Modernization, as a process that emerged in Western Europe and affected all societies with its consequences, included the Ottoman society in this process and the Republic of Turkey, which built the new on the old, adopted ataturkism as the main ideology and as the main principle to overcome the weaknesses in various fields accepted the principle of secularism. As a result: "*Secularism in ataturkism is to follow the path of reason in state affairs, to modernize the Turkish society within the framework of one's self, to make material, spiritual and cultural progress*"²⁴.

The second chapter is entitled "**Religion-state relations in the Republic of Turkey: secularism and democracy**". This paragraph called "**Religion-state relations in the Republic of Turkey: freedom of religion and conscience**" is dedicated to the issues of secular principles, freedom of religion and conscience in the Republic of Turkey. In modern times, human rights have become the subject of serious scientific studies, the subject of heated discussions and debates about domestic politics, the main line of the constitution of most countries, and the main core of international agreements on peace and cooperation. However, the implementation of the idea of

²³Багирова, А.Б. Социальные аспекты секуляризма молодой Турецкой республики // – Новосибирск: Научное сообщество студентов XXI столетия Гуманитарные Науки, СибАК, – 2020. №12 (96), – с.10-17.

²⁴Bağirova, A.B. Türkiyədə Cümhuriyyətin qurulduğu ilk dövrlərdə dünyəvilik probleminin ideoloji əsasları // – Bakı: Dövlət və din ictimai fikir toplusu, Azərbaycan Respublikası Dini Qurumlarla iş üzrə Dövlət Komitəsi, 2016. 5 (46), –s.93-99.

human rights has still become the source of many misunderstandings, contradictions, domestic and international tensions. The fact that some administrators who ignore the laws in the management of society in Turkey and apply secularism according to their mentality has caused certain conflicts for years. In order to determine the source of the problem that has arisen, in order to understand the world experience that considers freedom of religion and conscience as the main principle and to create an ideal order, examples of how these freedoms are expressed and explained in the declarations and constitutions adopted by various states were reviewed.

The second paragraph of the second chapter "**Social-philosophical and ideological foundations of secularism in Turkey**" is devoted to the issues related to the long-term misunderstanding and wrong application of secularism in the past and now. In the constitutional texts and court decisions adopted in different years in the history of Turkey, there is no legal basis for imposing restrictions justified based on the principle of secularism: *"It is stated that everyone should have equal right to education without any discrimination. In other words, it was stated that education is a basic human right, that is, the state should provide education free of charge without any discrimination"*²⁵. Among the bans imposed on hijab, the ones who suffered the most injustice were the students studying in universities. In fact, the decision regarding the education fee was adopted in 1982, "Article 42 of the Turkish Constitution, paragraph I, was included in the section of social and economic rights. In this article, the statement "no one can be deprived of the right to education and learning" is expressed. Therefore, everyone should have and benefit from this right and education equally. Because: *"The application of these artificially created bans by the High Education Committee (HEC), which is responsible for the right to education, is contrary to the Turkish Constitution and has created discrimination and artificial restrictions in the provision of education"*²⁶.

²⁵Bağirova, A.B. Türkiyə Cümhuriyyətində din və vicdan azadlığı məsələləri // – Bakı: BDU İlahiyyat fakültəsinin elmi məcmuəsi, – 2015. №23, – s.113-129

²⁶Багирова, А.Б. Социальные аспекты секуляризма молодой Турецкой

The third chapter is entitled "**Hijab problem in modern Turkey and its socio-ideological foundations**". In the first paragraph of the third chapter called "**Religious and socio-philosophical causes of the hijab problem**", where the reasons of problem is investigated. The place of hijab in religion, the verses related to it, and its philosophy were analyzed with reference to the Holy Quran and the works of various philosophers, theologians, sociologists and lawyers. For years, the hijab ban has deprived women of their rights in education and work in government structure. The first decree on women's clothing was issued in 1725 and prohibitions on their clothing, behavior, and relationships were defined. As the empire declined, restrictions on women's clothing became stricter. In fact: "*In Turkey, clothing bans in public places, which are the subject of controversy today, existed even then.*"²⁷ Opinions about the hijab in Turkey reached their peak in the 1950s, and a few years after the coup of May 27, 1960, when all these bans were focused on the hijab. The topic of the hijab and women suffered from this violence were no longer discussed in the rising Islamic opposition movements or Islamic publications.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the number of hijab-wearing students in universities increased rapidly, and the hijab was banned in government offices according to the "dress code in government offices" law, which was adopted after the 1980 military coup and was in force for about 31 years. Despite the 1984 ban, it was not strictly enforced in the 80s and 90s. After the election of 1987, after making some changes in the law of the Higher Education Committee, it was decided to make the hijab free again, and the law was submitted to the Constitutional Court. On September 25, 1990, the third law on the freedom of hijab in universities was adopted.

Республики // – Новосибирск: Научное сообщество студентов XXI столетия Гуманитарные Науки, СибАК, – 2020. №12 (96), – с.10-17.

²⁷Bağirova, A.B. Türkiyədə Cümhuriyyətin qurulduğu ilk dövrlərdə dünyəvilik probleminin ideoloji əsasları // – Bakı: Dövlət və dini-ictimai fikir toplusu, Azərbaycan Respublikası Dini Qurumlarla iş üzrə Dövlət Komitəsi, 2016. 5 (46), – s.93-99.

In the period after the 1997 military coup, the hijab problem reached its peak. The first ban deprived thousands of students of the right to higher education. In 2002, fundamental changes were made in the social, economic, political and legal structure of Turkey. All restrictions on the hijab were abolished in 2007. University students were given the freedom to wear the hijab, and the lifting of the hijab ban on women working in government jobs was announced on September 1, 2013 with the "Democratization Package". Those who support the freedom of the hijab have accepted it not as a religious requirement, but as a freedom of dress and lifestyle of a person in accordance with international human rights.

The second paragraph of the third chapter is entitled "**The hijab problem in the modern Republic of Turkey and its socio-ideological assessment from the perspective of secularism**". Due to the hijab ban, Turkey's main problem has turned out to be the official ideology. Many studies, social surveys and analyzes conducted in Turkey have shown that, in fact, there is no problem called "hijab" between secularists and religious people, people with head covering or uncovered. As D.İşiker noted in his book "February 28 and women with headscarves: an untold story of a change of mind and spirit: *Thousands of women lost work, education, etc. the bans applied without ignoring their activities in the fields have not only hit them materially, but also morally and psychologically, and made them suffer from this shock for years. In particular, that process has caused women to distance themselves from society, even from the country, instead of bringing them into the society*"²⁸.

Questionnaires were conducted in order to investigate which problems are mainly on Turkey's agenda, among the answers, 73% said that unemployment is the most important problem in Turkey. The problem of hijab-wearing students continuing their studies at universities, which was mentioned by only 5.7% of respondents, took the fourth place due to its importance. Hijab ranked only 4th among

²⁸İşiker, D. 28 Şubat ve başörtülü kadınlar: bir zihinsel ve ruhsal dönüşümün anlatılmamış hikayesi: / Kültürel İncelemeler Yüksek Lisans Programı / – İstanbul, 2011. – 199 s.

the 5 most important problems surveyed. In the first study conducted by A.Çarkoğlu in 1999 they determined what percentage of women using headscarf. In 2007, the authors used the same questionnaire form to determine whether there had been any changes in the past 7 years. survey was conducted. The obtained results showed that the emerging picture is more different than what is reflected in the mass media ²⁹. In 2010, according to the results of a survey conducted by TIKAD's Metropoll research company, 78.2% of the respondents noted the importance of leaving the issue of whether or not to cover up to women. Namely, this survey clarified many controversies and showed that those who think that women in Turkey cover their heads because they are political symbols are the least compared to all groups - only 0.7%. 3.5% of those who think that the reason for head covering is family and husband's pressure, and 1.3% of those who think that it is traditions.

In the results of the conducted survey, it has been proven once again that the issue of hijab in Turkish society is not of a political nature and is not an acute problem. Presenting the hijab as a tradition of patriarchal society or as a political symbol does not justify banning the hijab. Based on the result of the analysis of surveys conducted in the Turkish society: *"The issue of hijab is not an actual problem for the society, and the work of women with hijab in education and public service is considered as a normal situation"*³⁰. Because the restriction of the right of women wearing hijab to serve in state structures and the fact that they can only work in the private sector contradicts their constitutional rights: *"This restriction has deprived them of their right to serve the state, and the state has lost the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge and skills of those citizens"*³¹. As it can be seen, the desire to shape the entire society

²⁹ Çarkoğlu, A. Deyişen Türkiye’de Din, Toplum ve Siyaset / A.Çarkoğlu, B.Toprak. – İstanbul: TESEV Yayınları, – 2006. – 100 s.

³⁰Багирова, А.Б.Хиджаб в исламской теологии и восприятие хиджаба в современном турецком обществе // – Саранск: Научное обозрение, – 2020. №4, – с.1-10.

³¹Багирова, А.Б. İslam dinində hicabın fəlsəfəsi // – Baku: Khazar University International Asian Congress on Contemporary Sciences-IV, – 2020. – p.336-339.

only in the format of modernity, intelligence and advancement, it goes without saying that accepting only the ways of life that seem to be in line with the official ideology as legal, and other ways of life as illegal and primitive, was incompatible with the concept of democracy. As a result: *"In order to eliminate the issue of hijab as a problem, discrimination based on the way women dress, it is necessary to stop using the hijab as a symbol of Islam and an ideological tool in the struggle of political parties"*³².

The third paragraph of the third chapter is entitled **"Comparative analysis of Turkish experience and Azerbaijani realities within the framework of state-religion relations"**. In a result of the historical conditions created by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the state of Azerbaijan regained its independence for the second time in 1991. The processes taking place in Turkey, which is considered the main ally of the USSR in the Muslim East, had a serious impact on the religious policy in the region. Despite all the efforts of the Soviet Government, the people of Azerbaijan did not stray from their traditions and religious beliefs, and managed to preserve their national mentality and moral values. Even at that time, a unity of opinion and ideas was formed between Turkey and Azerbaijan. Starting from the first years of independence, the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan, adopted in 1995, included provisions regulating state-religion relations, ensuring freedom of religious belief, and paying special attention to national traditions. (Turkey's experience) took a tolerant approach to this issue considering its uniqueness.

On the initiative of the National Leader Haydar Aliyev, who constantly gives importance to national-spiritual and religious values and pays attention to the solution of legal-organizational issues in state-religion relations, the State Committee for Work with Religious Organizations was established in June 2001. In a result of their tolerant approach to religion with common values, the two brother

³²Bağirova, A.B. Türkiyə Cümhuriyyətində dövlət-din münasibətləri: dünyəvilik və demokratiya // – Bakı: Dövlət və din ictimai fikir toplusu, Azərbaycan Respublikası Dini Qurumlarla İş üzrə Dövlət Komitəsi, – 2015. №6, (35) – s.28-37.

countries (one nation - two states) created the "Eastern model" of "secularism" different from the West, and laid the foundation for a new way to protect the highest freedom, equality and justice in society. It is no coincidence that the "Shusha Declaration" signed on June 15, 2021, after the 44-day Patriotic War ended with victory, consolidates the reality of Azerbaijan-Turkey friendship, brotherhood, "One nation, two states", political-military, economic, and spiritual alliance. This document confirmed Turkey's support for Azerbaijan in the strongest form. Experiences have shown that it is impossible to use a single ideal model in the West as well as in the East. Years of experience have revealed how convenient these models are. Turkey and Azerbaijan, which benefited from world experiences and adhered to their national and moral values, created an example of more progressive models of secularism, raised the model state model to a level that can be used by all countries of the East and the world. This proves that ideas are limitless and serve a purpose among our countries, where the traditions of religion and statehood are the same. The government of Azerbaijan is constantly carrying out religious education activities. These activities are a good example of the implementation of the religious policy of the secular state. In the example of Turkey, secularism plays an auxiliary role in the young Azerbaijani state in a certain sense in approaching issues with reality.

Analyzing the experiences of hundreds of supporters of the approach that we came across during the research, we can come to the conclusion that no matter how deep the structural changes in society are carried out, it has not been possible to remove the spiritual and psychological layers and layers rooted in the subconscious. The ability of cultures to maintain their existence directly depends on this factor. In the age of technology, it is neither science nor logic to attribute the cause of backwardness to a small symbol.

In the **Conclusion** part of the dissertation, the scientific-theoretical conclusions obtained from the research are summarized as follows: at the beginning of the 21st century, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, considered that the only way to get rid of the exploitation of

the West and for the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, was westernization, modernization, and europeanization. One of the six principles of the so-called "Ataturk revolutions" - the principle of "secularism" - began to be applied.

The practice of "secularism" that continued until 1947 led to more contradictions with the emergence of multi party system. The division of the society into the supporters and opponents of secularism caused conflicts between the supporters of the ruling parties. The banning of the hijab was justified in Turkey constitutions and court decisions regarding the ban on the grounds of secularism, and the basis for further sharpening of contradictions was created.

In Turkey, after the military coup of 1980, which remained in force for more than 30 years, the "Dress Rules in State Offices" and the "28 February Post Modern Coup" in 1997, including women's headscarves, in state structures and higher education institutions bans were started to be applied. However, none of the hijab bans implemented by the Higher Education Committee, which was created in 1981 and interfered with everything in universities, including the hijab, had legal basis and violated the right to education and was in contradiction by law defined by Article 42 of the Turkish Constitution. According to the conducted analyses, the reasons for the lack of solid foundations of secularism in Turkey were its application as a ready-made European model and in a short period of time, and the complex and unique structure of the society was not taken into account. Dual treatment of women in society contradicts democratic principles and human rights.

The issue of hijab is mentioned as one of the most important problems of Turkey in the political arena and in the mass media. On the contrary, according to the results of surveys conducted in different years, among the five most important problems considered important by the people, "hijab" made up only 4% of the respondents, economic, education has not become relevant compared to the problems of fighting terrorism. With the increase in the number of parties, in the struggle for power, the hijab was used as a religious symbol and political-ideological tool in propaganda companies, and for this purpose, it was constantly brought up in the

mass media. Among these stated reasons, the concept of religious symbols has become one of the nuances faced by the members of the Islamic religion in the world. In fact, if we look at all religions and religious teachings, it should not be surprising that one of the symbols in the Islamic religion is the hijab, just as there is no form of belief without a symbol. Likewise, whether all veiled women are religious or not is a matter of conscience, as it is always said, and since it carries irrationality, it is impossible to determine. If the issue here is focused only on clothing, it is included in the natural rights of people. The right to use the laws established in the constitution by the state has been given to every citizen who believes, does not believe, whether his head is covered or uncovered, because everyone is equal before the law.

In order to solve this issue, a new step was taken in 2002 and the hijab ban, which was treated differently in each changing government period, was abolished, and many decisions in this regard were made in a positive direction - education at a higher school, the opportunity to work in government offices was created. Experiences have shown that, in fact, in a country where the majority of citizens believe in Islam, the rules should be taken into account according to the lifestyle of the citizens living in that country.

The hijab issue, which seems to have been resolved during the last government period, is not a problem from the point of view of society, and should not be a problem during the change of power. Because, if this problem is repeated again, it will be inevitable that those in power will rule the state in a totalitarian way, not a democratic way.

Thus, as a result of many years of struggle and conflicts in the life of Turkish society, secularism gained a new name - the name of "Turkey model" of secularism. Although he created polarizations in the society, he managed to bring the concept of absolute secularism to a new level of moderate approach, and he clearly proved it. The recent results of Turkey's experiments in the application of secularism can play an important role in the regulation of state-religion relations not only in our country, but also in the Eastern countries belonging to Islam, in the management of people of the

modern era based on democratic principles. The results of the dissertation work can be used in the teaching of social philosophy for the comprehensive analysis of the principle of secularism with women's rights, freedom of religion and conscience in the states based on secular-democratic principles in the example of Turkey, as well as some theoretical propositions named "Turkish model of secularism".

The following scientific works of the author related to the topic of dissertation have been published:

1. Bağırova, A.B. Türkiyə Cümhuriyyətində din və vicdan azadlığı məsələləri // – Bakı: BDU İlahiyyat fakültəsinin elmi məcmuəsi, – 2015. №23, – s.113-129.

2. Bağırova, A.B. Türkiyə Cümhuriyyətində dövlət-din münasibətləri: dünyəvilik və demokratiya // – Bakı: Dövlət və din ictimai fikir toplusu, Azərbaycan Respublikası Dini qurumlarla iş üzrə dövlət komissiyası, – 2015. №6, (35) – s.28-37.

3. Bağırova, A.B. Türkiyədə Cümhuriyyətin qurulduğu ilk dövrlərdə dünyəvilik probleminin ideoloji əsasları // – Bakı: Dövlət və din ictimai fikir toplusu, Azərbaycan Respublikası Dini qurumlarla iş üzrə dövlət komissiyası, 2016. 5 (46), – s.93-99.

4. Багирова, А.Б. Проблема хиджаба в светской демократической Турции // – Москва: Фундаментальные аспекты психического здоровья, – 2018. №1, – с.85-89.

5. Bağırova A.B. Azərbaycan dövlətçiliyində dünyəvilik // – Bakı: Dövlət və din ictimai fikir toplusu, Azərbaycan Respublikası Dini qurumlarla iş üzrə dövlət komissiyası, 2019. № 02 (61) – s.90-96.

6. Багирова, А.Б. Основные права человека: «Модель Турции» в обеспечении свободы религии и совести // – Москва: Евразийский Союз Ученых, – 2019. №7 (64), – с.50-54.

7. Вағырова, А.В. İslam dinində hicabın fəlsəfəsi // – Baku: Khazar University International Asian Congress on Contemporary Sciences-IV, – 2020. – p.336-339.

8. Багирова, А.Б. Социальные аспекты секуляризма молодой Турецкой Республики // – Новосибирск: Научное сообщество студентов XXI столетия Гуманитарные Науки, СибАК, – 2020. №12 (96), – с.10-17.

9. Багирова, А.Б. Хиджаб в исламской теологии и восприятие хиджаба в современном турецком обществе // – Саранск: Научное обозрение, – 2020. №4, – с.1-10.

10. Вағырова А.В. Türkiyə respublikasında dünyəvilik və din - dövlət əlaqələri // Международная научно-практическая конференция «Общественные науки в современном мире: политология, социология, философия, история», – Москва: Интернаука, – 2021. № 1(34), – s.59-65.

Defense of dissertation will be held on _____
during meeting of Dissertation Commission FD.1.33 acting under
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology ANAS

Address: Az. 1143, Baku, H.Javid avenue, 115. Conference Hall of
the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of ANAS

It is possible to get acquainted with the dissertation in the Central
Library of ANAS

The electronic version of the abstract is Philosophu edu.az. of the
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the ANAS posted on the
official website.

The abstract was sent to the necessary addresses on _____
_____ 2024.

Signed for publication: 27.12.2023

Format of the paper: A5

Volume: 34422

Copies: 20