



CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES
DE TRABAJO SOCIAL

ISSN 2244-808X
DL pp 201002Z43506

PERSPECTIVA INTERACCIÓN Y

Revista de Trabajo Social

Vol. 16 No. 1
Enero – Abril
2026

Universidad del Zulia

Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Políticas
Centro de Investigaciones en Trabajo Social

INTERACCIÓN Y PERSPECTIVA

Revista de Trabajo Social

ISSN 2244-808X ~ Dep. Legal pp 201002Z43506

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17666279>

Vol. 16 (1): 85 - 105 pp, 2026

ARTÍCULO DE INVESTIGACIÓN

Instituto familiar y desafíos modernos en Azerbaiyán: investigación histórica y etnológica

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Resumen. Este artículo examina en detalle la evolución histórica del instituto familiar azerbaiyano, así como los cambios que ocurrieron en las relaciones familiares tradicionales durante la era soviética y los años de independencia. Utilizando métodos histórico-etnológicos, observación etnográfica y enfoques interculturales, se analiza la transformación de la familia azerbaiyana tradicional desde el pasado hasta el presente. Se discute ampliamente la influencia de las políticas nacionales aplicadas durante la era soviética sobre la estructura familiar y las normas sociales. Durante este período, se analizan en detalle los cambios en la estructura y funciones de la familia, así como la preservación de los valores tradicionales. Asimismo, se abordan la restauración de los valores familiares tradicionales y los desafíos sociales y culturales en la era moderna durante el período de independencia. El artículo trata sobre la vida laboral de las mujeres, los roles cambiantes dentro de la familia, la adaptación de los jóvenes a un nuevo estilo de vida y la influencia cultural y geográfica de la región del Cáucaso. También se destacan los cambios en los valores morales tradicionales de la familia azerbaiyana moderna y el impacto de estos cambios en la estructura social en el contexto de la globalización. Se debate ampliamente el impacto de la urbanización y otros cambios sociales sobre la dinámica familiar. Se presenta en detalle la importancia científica y práctica del artículo, los cambios en las estructuras familiares y las consecuencias a largo plazo de estos cambios.

Palabras clave: Azerbaiyán, instituto familiar tradicional, valores familiares, política familiar soviética, globalización.

Family institute and modern challenges in Azerbaijan: historical and ethnological research

Abstract: This article examines in detail the historical evolution of the Azerbaijani family institution, the changes that took place in the traditional family relationship during the Soviet era and the years of independence. Using historical-ethnological, ethnographic observation and cross-cultural methods, the transformation of the traditional Azerbaijani family from the past to the present is analyzed. The influence of national policies applied during the Soviet era on family structure and social norms is widely discussed. During this period, the changes in family structure and functions and the preservation of traditional values are analyzed in detail. Restoration of traditional family values and social and cultural challenges in the modern era are also brought to the attention during the period of independence. The article covers women's work life, changing roles within the family, young people's adaptation to a new lifestyle, and the cultural and geographical influence of the Caucasus region. Also, changes in the traditional moral values of the modern Azerbaijani family and the impact of these changes on the social structure are highlighted in the conditions of globalization. The impact of urbanization and other social changes on family dynamics is widely debated. Scientific and practical importance of the article, changes in family structures and long-term consequences of these changes are presented in detail.

Keywords: Azerbaijan, traditional family institution, family values, Soviet family policy, globalization.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization reduces the economic dependence of people on each other, the large family type is replaced by small families. Preservation of traditional family values and transmission to new generations is one of the main problems that concern the middle generation. Respect for parents and grandparents plays an important role in family relations. In order to stabilize the institution of marriage and family and protect high family values, thereby preventing negative situations in family-marriage relations, common and mass-thinking traditional national-moral values should be strengthened and their influence should be increased. Thus, the modern Azerbaijani family institution is a unique social institution developed in complex socio-political and spiritual-moral conditions. Modernity and tradition in the family, the challenges of modern times affect traditional family values and subject them to transformation. In order to find answers to all these questions, first of all, the factors affecting the formation of the traditional Azerbaijani family institution should be analyzed.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Azerbaijani family institution has been affected by a number of historical-political and ideological processes. It was part of the Russian Empire for 200 years and the USSR for 70 years and was affected by the policy of Russification. Therefore, the institution of the family in Azerbaijan was studied from different aspects in each period, and the results of

the studies were influenced by the ideological influence of the Soviet government. However, despite this, even during the years of Soviet rule, Azerbaijani researchers tried to investigate the family institution as a social institution that lives and consumes the traditional values of the people. We would like to draw attention to some of them: Manayev G. Rights and duties of family members according to Soviet family law (Baku: Azerbaijan State University, 1986); Manayev G. Soviet family law (Baku: Azertadrisnashr, 1963); Kocharli F. How the Soviet family should be (Baku: Azernashr, 1962), A. Asadov's "Measures of the party and the government to further strengthen the Soviet family" (Baku: Azernashr, 1959), ethnographer H. Guliyev's book "Some issues of family life in Azerbaijan" shows the positive aspects of the Soviet ideology to the Azerbaijani family institution, but mainly issues such as the structure of the traditional family institution and family values were investigated. Ethnographers S. Maharramova's "Historical-ethnographic study of the southeastern region of the Lesser Caucasus in the 19th and early 20th centuries (based on the materials of Zangezur, Jabrayil and Javanshir districts)" (Baku: "Apostrophe-A", 2020), N. Guliyeva's modern Azerbaijan village family and family life. Baku: Elm, 2005) etc. in the monographs, the structure of family institution and traditions of Azerbaijanis were investigated. Sh. Nuruzade's monograph entitled "Ethno-confessional situation in Azerbaijan in the 20-30s of the twentieth century" (Baku: Khazar University, 2010) examines the traditional family of Azerbaijanis and the consequences of the family policy of the Soviet government and the blows to the moral values of the people. However, in these research studies, the historical transformation of the family institution in Azerbaijan and the impact of globalization have not been investigated.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Historical-comparative, cross-cultural and ethnological-theoretical methods should be used to investigate the influence of a number of processes, primarily globalization and integration into Europe, on the Azerbaijani family institution in modern times. For this, the structure of the traditional Azerbaijani family, intra-family relations, rights and powers of family members, economic and religious factors were analyzed. Analyzing the changes that took place in the Azerbaijani family and the Soviet national policy during the Soviet period through archival documents, periodicals of that period, scientific literature and ethnographic observation allows to determine the characteristic features of the period. By using comparative analysis, observation and survey methods, it was possible to determine the impact of the collapse of the USSR and globalization processes on the family institution.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Traditional family institution in Azerbaijan

The unique characteristics of each nation are manifested in its residences, clothing, food and the performance of various ceremonies, as well as in family-household relations.

As in many peoples of the world, Azerbaijanis also had two family forms as a result of the historical development process: large and small families according to the number and structure of family members. Researchers put forward the idea that small families were typical in Azerbaijan in

the 19th century (Maharramova, 2020, p. 193). In addition, at the beginning of the 20th century, there were also reports of the existence of large patriarchal family remains.

Large families consisted of representatives of three, four and sometimes five generations. Such families could have up to 50-70 or more members (Maharramova, 2020, p. 193). In Azerbaijan, “big families” were called “kulfat”. In modern times, families with many children are called “kulfat” (meaning family members).

Several families (father and mother; families of their sons; families of grandchildren and great-grandchildren) formed a joint economic unit. A characteristic feature of the family community was the joint use of land, tools, domestic animals and other property by all its members. In large families, the relationship between family members was regulated on the basis of traditions and Sharia norms. Family members were based on certain rules in their behavior depending on the age limit. The head of the family was considered an “Agsaqqal” (that is, the head of the family). As a rule, “agsaqqal” was the oldest in the family - grandfather, father. The great powers of the elder included the division of powers among family members, management of the household, division of the family budget. However, according to tradition, the head of the family sought the advice of the older members of the family (men and women) in discussing important issues related to the economy or family life. All household chores in the family were managed by the elder mother of the family – “agbirschak”. After the death of “agsaqqal”, the head of the family would be “agbirschak” (the one with white hair), i.e. grandmother or mother. After that, the family property would not be divided. Even after the dissolution of the family community, family members lived in houses close to each other, thus maintaining a common household and domestic life. Large families, covering several generations, consisted of those from the paternal line. The living of members of one generation mainly in villages was characteristic of all Caucasian peoples (Kosven, 1963, p. 178), (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. The family of Azerbaijani writer Yusif Vazir Chamanzaminli, Shusha city, 1906.



Even until the end of the 20th century in Azerbaijan, there were cases where the houses of paternal descendants, i.e. brothers and cousins, were built in one yard even after they got married. In Baku, which is the capital of Azerbaijan, it considered negative that the male children of the family leave their father's house and move to a new house after marriage. Because, even now in Azerbaijan, one of the main responsibilities of a son to the family is to support the parents and other needy family members, for example, their sisters who do not have financial support, if their brother has passed away, they have to support his family not only financially, but also morally.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, in addition to large families, small families began to spread widely in Azerbaijan. During that period, the development of capitalist relations and productive forces in the country strengthened the process of formation of small families. Thus, patronymics began to lose their economic unity, monogamous families were formed, which were the basis of patronymics, and ideological and social unity was maintained to a certain extent (Quliyev, 1986, p. 15). The rights of family members and the distribution of property were regulated according to tradition and sharia. The father's and mother's share in the division of property was called "xeyratlıq" ("kheyratlıg") (Quliyev H. S. 9). In the regions, the mother had great rights after the death of the father within the family. After the mother, this power passed to the eldest son of the family. In the family, the widow of the deceased brother with children also got a share. In some regions of Azerbaijan, the property of the father is called "ocaq" ("ocaq" – "ojak" / hearth - means father's house). When the girls got married, the brother had to give her a dowry. Sometimes, the father would divide the yard area, land share, and equal amount of property to his children who wanted to leave during his lifetime. Although separated brothers lived in the form of independent farms, within a yard, or in places close to each other, in most cases they maintained social, ideological and economic unity. This traditional division of property still exists to some extent.

In ethnography, these associations are known as patronymics. In Azerbaijani villages, neighborhoods often reflect the names of neils or paronymic groups. For example, in the Yukhari Koy-nuk village of Sheki region, there are neighborhood names such as "Mudhaddin's child", "Akhund's child", "Shahmurad's child" (Quliyev, 1986, p. 12) and others. In modern times, the local names reflecting the great generation and family unity have remained only in the spoken language of the people.

A small family consisted of two or three generations. Although economic and household life differed in this type of family, kinship relations, the concept of "agsaqqal", "agbirchek" and other relations typical of the Azerbaijani family remained traditional. Small families, in turn, were divided into simple and complex families. A simple family consisted of father, mother and children, and a complex family consisted of grandparents (1st generation), parents (2nd generation), son and child (3rd generation). As in large families, in a small family the head of the family was the father, while the mother was responsible for bringing up the children according to traditions. According to the tradition in the Azerbaijani family, the father had three obligations towards the child: to bring him up, to give him an education and to marry him. In traditional family education, three principles - children's training, moral and labor training are in the center of attention of parents (Quliyeva, 2005, p. 135). Azerbaijan's prominent thinker Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov highly appreciated the role of parents in raising children and wrote

that “the beauty of morals should be taught to them as children. Science learned in childhood is like a picture engraved in the head” (Bakıxanov, 1982, p. 6). In the Azerbaijani family, the main focus is on bringing up the child useful for his family and society. It should be noted that even in modern times, parents in Azerbaijani families consider it their duty to educate and educate children based on moral values.

The family is the main social institution that consumes and protects moral values. Therefore, one of the main functions of parents is to educate their children's family members in values such as respect for society, loyalty among family members, hospitality and respect for elders. For example, when parents, grandparents, and generally older people enter the house, they should stand up and greet them as a sign of respect (Quliyeva, 2005, p. 111). At the same time, the father must maintain his respect in the family. Therefore, most of the time, problems related to their children would be reported to the father through the mother. According to the rules of etiquette, the eldest of the family should sit at the top of the dining table.

Hospitality has a special meaning in the Azerbaijani family. The traditions and moral values of the people are reflected in the custom of hospitality. Among Azerbaijanis, hospitality served peace, brotherhood and peace, the custom of “cutting bread” (eating bread together with another person), “opening a table” (serving various types of food in one's home) is a symbol of bravery, masculinity, kindness, and humanity. The hospitality of the people is reflected in the works of poets and writers.

In the poems of Nizami Ganjavi (12th century), the attitude towards the guest is clearly visible:

“You are my guest, O pure person

It is necessary to cherish the guest” (Nizami Gəncəvi, 1983, p. 139).

In the past, there were caravanserais in large residential areas in Azerbaijan, but there were also private guest houses (Qədirzadə, 2012, p. 92). Travelers and travelers would spend the night in that guest house. Every house would definitely have a “living room”. In some regions, a special room built for guests was called “balakhana” (Quliyev, 1986, p. 40). This room would be kept specially for the guest. That room would have fresh bedding and dishes for the guest. The concept of “living room” remains in modern times. Showing respect and honor to a guest is characteristic of all Turkic and Caucasian peoples. Alexander Dumas writes: “If you knock on any door in Azerbaijan, as well as in the entire Caucasus, and say that I am a foreigner, I have no place to stay, the owner of the house will give you his biggest room at that hour. And he will settle in a small room with his family” (Duma, 1985, p. 17). In Azerbaijan, the expressions “God's guest”, “The guest's sustenance comes with him”, “He who loves the guest will have plenty of food”, “The guest is the nightingale of the house” are widespread. According to this belief, if a family were to open a table for a guest (even an accidental guest), that family would be rewarded by God. Therefore, every Azerbaijani family considers it their “serious duty” to prepare a table of various dishes for guests. British sailor Antony Jenkinson, who was a guest of Abdull Khan in Shamakhi in the 16th century, writes that Azerbaijanis are very hospitable and notes that 290 types of food and fruits were laid out on the table in his honor (Путешественники об Азербайджане, 1961, p. 110). In Azerbaijan, the arrival of a guest in every house would become a wedding-festival. From the moment the guest entered the house, he was surrounded by care, the host would not only take care of the comfort of the guest, but also of his horse. The guest was seated in the most respected place in the house - the place of the owner of the family, and various types of food were laid out on the table. In each region, a special room

was set aside for guests, that room was decorated with carpets, and expensive and decorative dishes were arranged on the shelves. A person who receives a lot of guests in his house would be considered a person of great respect in the village. Here, every family kept a special reserve for the guest, welcomed the guest who came at any time with dignity, made a sacrifice at his feet, and opened a table full of specially prepared meals for him, not everyday food prepared at home. "Even if the guest is an enemy of the host, they will give him shelter and protect him from the bad situation he is in, even if a guest leaves a house offended, it would be considered an insult to that house and village" (Maharramova, 2020, p. 244). When the guest left, he was definitely given various gifts. To a certain extent, this custom remains in modern times. In general, like other Turkic and Caucasian peoples, if he did not follow the "adat" norms (unwritten norms formed according to traditions and sharia) in his Azerbaijani family, he was expelled from the village and settlement where he lived with his family.

The attitude of family members depended on the status and condition of the woman in the family community. In poor and middle-class families, women worked in the farm as well as men. For example, women worked in fruit farming in the Guba region, in rice cultivation in Lankaran, in silk farming in Sheki, Shirvan, Karabakh and Nakhchivan, and in sheep farming in Khakhaz and Zangilan. Women who were active in almost all economic activities had a stronger social status in the family. In such a situation, the man consulted with the woman about economic issues.

The main function of the family includes reproduction, children's upbringing, economic occupation. These functions are regulated by customs among all members of the family, so intra-family relations were formed. Family relationships, primarily marriage, were based on traditions as well as Sharia norms. Despite the fact that the vast majority of the population of Azerbaijan is Shiite, the monogamous form of marriage was characteristic (Guliyev, 1986, p. 15). The families depicted in Azerbaijani epics, fairy tales, other examples of oral folk literature, and artistic works are based on monogamy (Maharramova, p. 197). For example, in the epic "Kitabi-Dade Gorgud", only Burla Khatun is the wife of Gazan Khan, only Banuchichk is the wife of Beyrey (Kitabi-Dade Gorgud, 2004), only Nigar Khanum is the wife of the legendary Koroglu. Mrs. Nigar has no children. Despite this, Koroglu did not marry a second time. The monogamous family form is characteristic of the Turkic peoples, as well as the Caucasian peoples. In the Caucasian peoples, the defender of the mother's rights in the family is mainly the son.

There were different forms of marriage in Azerbaijan. These include "besikkərtmə" ("Besikkertma" - Cradle betrothal), "göbəkkəsmə" ("gobekkesma" - Cradle betrothal), "deyikli" ("deikli" - engaged girl), "qız qacırma" ("Bride kidnapping"), etc. Today, the remnants of these customs are still alive to one degree or another. "Besikkertma" or "gobekasma" marriage customs had the same essence, there was an agreement between the two families that the parents would marry their children after they grew up. According to the "Besikkertma" custom, the cradle of a newborn girl was cut with a knife and the parents of both children promised each other that their children would marry each other when they grew up. The custom of beshikkertma and umbilical cord cutting, which is considered an ancient marriage, is also reflected in our fairy tales and epics. "Kitabi-Dada Gorgud" describes the custom of umbilical cord cutting as follows: "Bayböra bey said: "May I also have a son, let him stand in the service of Bayındır Khan, and I will look after him and trust him, be happy and rejoice. Having said this, the Oghuz Beys turned to the sky (that is, they took permission from Tengri - Sh.N.). They raised their hands and prayed. "May Allah grant you a son!"

- they said. Baybican stood up and said: "Beys (is a Turkic title for a chieftain, and an honorific title traditionally applied to people with special lineages to the leaders or rulers), pray for me too. May Allah give me a daughter too," he said. The Oghuz men raised their hands and prayed: "May Tengri give you a daughter too," they said. Baybican bey said: "Beys, be witnesses, if Allah gives me a daughter, let her be married to the son of Baybora bey!" (Kitabi-Dada Gorgud, 2004, p. 150). As it can be seen from here, Baybica's daughter, Banichichek, was "betrothed" (betrothed) to Baybora's son Bamsi Beyre before he was even born.

The custom of "bride kidnapping" occurred for two reasons. One of them is the kidnapping of the girl by force, and the second is that the girl runs away with the boy she loves. In the second case, when the parents of the girl and the boy (mostly the girl) did not agree to their marriage, young people who loved each other ran away from home and got married without their parents' permission. In Azerbaijan, "qız qacırma" in some cases led to bad results, blood enmity arose between two generations and this enmity continued for a long time. In both cases, it was considered disrespectful to the girl's father and brother. After "bride kidnapping", the boy's parents or relatives come to the girl's parents and ask her to reconcile. Most of the time, the girl's father did not accept and did not reconcile with his daughter. Cases of abduction of a girl by force are not found in modern Azerbaijan, but there are cases of a girl marrying a boy at her own will without the permission of her parents. Traditionally, according to Sharia, girls could get married at the age of 15-16, and boys at 16-18. Based on ethnographic materials, it can be said that in the 19th century, marriage in Azerbaijan had a "patrilocal" character (Quliyev, 1986, p. 21). That is, the man brought the bride to his house. This custom remains in the modern era, as in Azerbaijan, a man's going to a woman's house after marriage is viewed negatively by the society. Such people were called "damagir" or "damagirën" (meaning roof-house, one who lives in someone else's house) in the northwestern region. In modern times, in some cases, it is observed that young people are moving away from traditions and the man lives in the woman's house.

Ethnographic observations allow us to come to the conclusion that from the day a child is born in Azerbaijan, parents prepare for the wedding ceremony. A dowry is prepared for a girl from a young age. The dowry includes household items. For the boy, a gold ring, necklace, and bracelet were bought for the girl he would marry in the future, and money was set aside for the wedding ceremony. Poor families also made this preparation within their means.

Traditionally, "kabin" (religious marriage) was performed in Azerbaijan according to Sharia norms. The bride and groom went to the mosque with the presence of a witness and the mullah concluded their religious marriage. Traditionally, the religion defined "Mehr" for the woman when the marriage was concluded. "Mehr" is the money that the husband will pay to the wife during the divorce. The document on the conclusion of a religious marriage legalized the obligations of a woman and a man to each other. In modern times, since "Mehr" has no legal status, it is almost formal in nature, only religious people pay "Mehr" to their wives when they divorce.

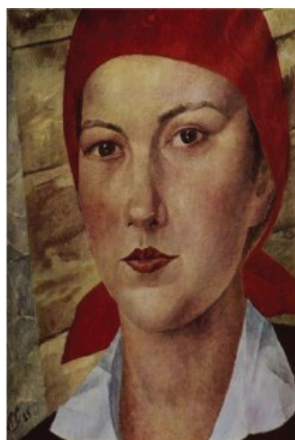
Family policy of the Soviet government

In the first years of the Soviet rule in Azerbaijan (the Soviet government was established in 1920), the family policy implemented by the Soviet state in the field of legal and family-marriage relations led to the disintegration of the traditional patriarchal Azerbaijani family. The national policy of the Soviet government was aimed at the formation of Soviet life. All this had to affect

family-household relations. The atheism policy of the Soviet government was aimed at weakening Sharia laws in the family. In order to achieve this, women's education, involvement in social and political life, and other such measures were planned. In 1929, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party adopted a resolution "On conducting propaganda work among women of Transcaucasia" (Nuruzadə, 2010, p. 58). The resolution provided for the establishment of women's clubs and women's departments as the forms and methods of propaganda, the organization of workshops, artels, literacy schools and libraries, drama and ballet theaters, etc. under the women's clubs. In December 1928, at a special meeting of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party, it was decided to give instructions to literary and artistic figures to create images of Soviet women who would implement Bolshevik ideas in society in their works (Nuruzadə, 2010, p. 56). After that, images of Bolshevik women began to be created in fiction, works reflecting the new Soviet structure, mainly the new Soviet family and family-household problems, began to be covered in the press, and the issues of the new Soviet family and socialist life began to be covered. Women's education, their involvement in social and political life, and the propaganda campaign against traditional dress forms also resulted in radical changes in family relations. Involvement of women in production led to radical changes in family life. Already at the end of the 20s of the 20th century, domestic life, especially the family, had to be subordinated to the conditions of production and labor. This policy was implemented in all Soviet republics. According to the policy implemented by the Soviet government in those years, "a Bolshevik woman could not spend her golden time caring for a man and raising children." One of the steps taken towards the socialization of the household was to "free the woman from domestic cares". For example, "Reject kitchen slavery!" (Figure 2) and "For a new household" (Figure 3) posters were one of the propaganda methods of the Soviet national policy. For this purpose, the campaign "to move from an individual household to a collective, communal economy" was conducted. It was intended to organize common facilities in communal houses - canteens, laundries, children's homes, pioneer corners, etc. In the 1930s, in the press, it was planned to build communal houses for 500-1000 people (a collective household house is being built in Baku, 1929, p. 4; Nur uzadə, 2015, p. 48). Those houses had to have a common kitchen. This campaign was not supported by the population and failed.

FIGURE 2. "Reject kitchen slavery!"

FIGURE 3. "For a new household"



The most frequently described problem in the literature was the women's issue, including the headscarf. Some Soviet writers likened the modern woman to a man freed from housework. Images of women with "sticks", "whips", "economic freedom" and "preferring not to marry than to live as slaves" were created in literature. In the new literature, women's freedom was seen in their celibacy, economic independence, and so on. According to this ideology, a Soviet woman could not spend her time caring for a man. The Soviet writer B.A. Talybli, in his work "Male Tukazban", presented Tukazban, a village woman, as "gender unknown" and wrote: "Men, that Tukazban is not a wife, but a man" (Family and household problems in our literature, 1930, p. 35-36). There was a difference of opinion among intellectuals about this. Even articles criticizing such writers were published in the press (Nuruzade, 2010, p.143-145). It goes without saying that even communist men could not accept slogans such as "women should not marry" and "family is a remnant of slavery", human nature inevitably opposed these slogans put forward by the Bolsheviks. One of the campaigns for women's freedom from male slavery was propaganda against traditional national and European clothing. The shape of the clothes was hotly debated. Many opposed the national clothes and *kalghayi* (national women's scarf), considering them "a symbol of slavery and serfdom" (Одежда, являющаяся симболом рабства и крепостничества, 1927, p. 5). Party functionaries believed that national costumes were a "sign of obsolescence" and related to religious relics. Others criticized European-style trousers, patent leather and high-heeled boots, silk stockings and cosmetics as "bourgeois fashion". In order not to attract the attention of men, the Bolshevik woman had to cover herself mainly with thick clothes and a red scarf (a symbol of the revolution). It should be noted that even though such a critical attitude towards modern clothes was not widely expressed in the public, it affected the style of clothing of Soviet women.

In the 1920s and 1930s in the Soviet Union, there are three main directions put forward by the public regarding family policy - the complete abolition of the family based on communist ideas; maintenance of the family for the purpose of raising children together with the state; to give the function of maintaining the family and raising children to the state. A number of steps were taken to implement the last two directions (Современные этнические процессы в СССР, 1977. p. 433). But each of these directions was unsuccessful. Because it was contrary to human nature and the worldview of Azerbaijanis, as well as other Soviet peoples.

As in other republics of the USSR, one of the methods of formation of the Soviet family type in Azerbaijan was new weddings and child dedication ceremonies. The names of these ceremonies were related to the symbols of the Bolshevik revolution. For example, events called "Oktobrists" (in honor of the revolution of October 15, 1917 in Russia) and "Red Weddings" (red color was a symbol of the Bolshevik revolution) can be shown. The events were organized mainly in Balakhani oil refineries and Binagadi, which are the industrial districts of the city. The "Octoberists" event opened with the anthem "Internationale" and continued with a report on the new life by one of the party or Soviet leaders. Later, the baby was handed over to the organization that adopted him. Names for babies appropriate to the era - Labor, Council (Soviet government), Comintern, Revolution, Communist (На "Октябринах", 1924, p. 3; Новый быт в Балаханах, 1924, p. 4), Oktyabrina, Aprilina, Ninel (when Lenin's name is read backwards), Revmir (Revolution (revolution) and mir (peace)), Rosa (in honor of Rosa Luxemburg), Maya (International Workers' Solidarity Day - May 1) with), Marlen (Marx, Lenin), Rem (revolution, Engels, Marx), Electrification (reflecting the scientific and technical progress of the country), etc. names were given. The event was closed with the slogans "Long live the Comintern", "Long live the Soviet government, the new life and

its creators". Parents' speech was more effective. For example, in 1924, a mother who handed over her child to the chairman of the Women's Council said: "We women must pay special attention to the issue of building a new household. Because these "Octoberists" will take our children away from the churches where lies, oppression and ignorance reign." I hand over my child to you to be brought up as a true Bolshevik (Nuruzade, 2010, p. 50-51; 272. "Октябрыны", 1925, p. 3) (Figure 4). "Red weddings" or "Komsomol weddings" were organized directly in production to make radical changes in traditional family life. For example, in 1935 in Baku, with the participation of "active" communists, a film depicting the construction of socialism was shown in the workers' club after the marriage (Nuruzade, 2010, p. 50-51; На "Октябринах", 1924, p. 3; "Комсомольские свадьбы", 1935, p. 5). The purpose of implementing all these measures was to prevent the participation of religious figures in family-household relations. But "red weddings" or "Komsomol weddings" were performed only in cities and did not spread widely. Since Muslim religious marriages are solemnized without the presence of outsiders, the new household rules did little to change Muslim marriage customs. In the case of Christians, religious marriage was solemnized in the church and in front of the public, so they were subjected to more pressure. "Komsomol wedding" was usually held in a student or worker's dormitory without the presence of parents and relatives. This was against the family values of Azerbaijanis.

FIGURE 4. "Octoberists" event, 1925.



Based on the information obtained during the ethnographic expeditions in the regions of the country, it is mainly concluded that, despite the struggle of the Soviet government against religion, one of the important issues for the Azerbaijani family was the conclusion of a religious marriage.

In January 1923, the legal force of religious marriage was abolished by the Decree on the right to marriage by the MIK of the ASSR (Sattarov, 1964, p. 61) and the Citizenship Code of the ASSR adopted at the III session of the Central Executive Committee of Azerbaijan. Acts of marriage and other citizenship statuses were considered legal only when executed in state bodies - Civil Status Act Registration bodies and notaries. However, despite these laws, a certain part of the population still

married only in mosques (Əsədov, 1959, p. 165). Thus, in the 1920s, marriages were registered in the Shirvanlilar mosque, the Kazan Tatar mosque, the Jewish synagogue, and the Molokan-Baptist societies in the city of Baku (Archive of Public-Political Documents of the Affairs Department of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, p. 163).

In November 1923, the Baku Soviet adopted a decision “On the performance of religious rites by religious figures related to civil status acts”. With this decision, the government informed all religious figures (mullah, priest, ksendz, pastor, rabbi, heads of houses of worship, etc.) in Baku district that if religious people apply to them regarding religious rites related to acts of civil status (birth, death, marriage and divorce), they can perform it. However, they are not authorized to issue an official document confirming this. Otherwise, clerics who do this will be prosecuted under Article 123 of the ASSR Criminal Code (Asadov, 1959, p. 17). With that, the decisions made by the government and the measures implemented led to the decline of the position of Sharia in the family.

In addition to state registration, young people who got married also had a religious marriage (kabin). Ethnological research shows that even in some families, the girl's parents demanded the “kabin” before the wedding. According to a survey conducted during the years of Soviet rule, in the 1970s and 1980s, the number of marriages concluded at the Registration of Civil Status Acts offices in Azerbaijan was more than 60,000, while the number of religious marriages was about 3,000-4,000 (Əhadov, 1991, p. 111). Religious marriages accounted for 3 percent of marriages of citizens in the state administration. It goes without saying that the government's propaganda campaign to remove religion from the institution of the family had its results. On the other hand, the religious marriage had no legal force. Therefore, traditional marriage could not protect the rights of women and children in the family.

Thus, in the first years of the Soviet rule, as in other Republics of the USSR, the Bolsheviks' unique approach to the “Soviet family” - the policy of evaluating the family as a “bourgeois remnant” did not bring the expected results. In later times, the policy of the Soviet government regarding the “Soviet family” changed: the slogan “the family is the core of society” began to be put forward. In the book “Modern Ethnic Processes in the USSR” (Moscow, 1977), the family is defined as follows: “The family is the social nucleus of the society formed from the social and cultural development of mankind, it is connected to the main systems of social relations and relationships - includes socio-economic, state, legal, ethnic, etc. Relations within the family and the relationship of the family with other social institutions are regulated by the laws specific to that system. The family has a great role in the socialization of the personality, in the formation of its main moral characteristics” (Современные этнические процессы в СССР, 1977, p. 433). One of the methods of the Soviet government to form the Soviet family was that it was a part of a certain ethnic group, and the family played an important role in the socialization of young people and in the “formation of national self-awareness” and in the internationalization of the life of the Soviet people, great importance was attached to “mixed” marriages, mainly to marriages with Russian girls.

In later times, the changes in the economic, demographic, socio-cultural, socio-psychological functions of the Soviet family were the basis for the state's family policy. Although large families have broken up, economic support for each other has been preserved among family members. Ethnographic research shows that according to the Soviet family policy, it was considered that the family performs several functions in the field of socialism and later communism

construction: demographic function: it is a social institution that plays a key role in increasing the population; socio-cultural function: plays an initial role in the socialization of personality, implements social control over people's behavior, etc.; socio-psychological function: in the family, the individual needs of a person are fulfilled, thus emotional tension is removed, conditions are created for the formation of him as a personality in order to regulate the norms of behavior in the society. Ethnographic research shows that in the Soviet period, due to the result of the party body, because of all this, Soviet families, especially those working in state and party bodies, had a very negative attitude towards the dissolution of their families. They should be an example to other members of the society. Men who divorced their families were reprimanded by the party or fired.

Thus, during the Soviet rule, the structure of the family in Azerbaijan underwent some changes, with the entry of women into the labor market and education, the distribution of roles in the family changed somewhat. The decrease in economic dependence on her husband resulted in an increase in her rights. A woman who does not depend on the economic aspect has already increased the chances of divorce. However, the Azerbaijani society is still loyal to traditions and a woman's divorce from her husband was treated negatively.

Soviet ideology prioritized collective interests over individual interests, which affected family values. At the same time, the state regulated family policy, controlled marriage and divorce, and played a role in the upbringing and education of children based on Soviet values. Thus, during the Soviet rule, the family in Azerbaijan underwent a series of changes closely related to the ideology and social policy of the Soviet Union. Family structure, gender roles and family values had some specific characteristics during this period. If traditionally Azerbaijani women were mainly housewives, during the Soviet rule, women were employed in factories and other establishments. During that period, as a result of increased urbanization and industrialization, the model of the "nuclear family" (father, mother and children) became more widespread. Migration of young people took place from villages to cities in order to get education and employment. This, in turn, resulted in young families living apart from their parents, as well as marrying without their parents' permission or choice. In many cases, young men who immigrated to other Republics of the USSR for certain reasons married girls from other nationalities. This type of marriages led to changes in family values. It was not clear what language the children of this type of family should speak, what religion and values they should acquire. Unlike the cities, traditional family values and extended family patterns still existed in the villages. Collective labor activity through agriculture and collective farms, intra-family and kin relations were still important.

During the years of Soviet rule in Azerbaijan, family-marriage relations underwent certain, rather radical changes due to the requirements of the time and the policy implemented by the Soviet government, but family values have preserved their traditionality to a certain extent. For example, in an Azerbaijani family, family honor, the status of parents in the family, respect for elders, not telling lies, hospitality, family relations, religion, etc. forms the foundation of family values. Even during the years of Soviet rule (mainly in the years after the Second World War, when the struggle against religion weakened), every Azerbaijani family would definitely have a Holy Quran at home. Despite the family policy implemented by the Soviet government, the Azerbaijani family preserved its traditionality, albeit to a certain extent, based on its national mentality and religious beliefs.

Challenges of the modern era and the Azerbaijani family

In modern times, the foundations of socio-cultural inheritance in the field of family relations of Azerbaijanis are subject to certain changes. The changes in family-marriage relations are mainly manifested in the relationship between spouses, relatives, child-parent relations, children's education and so on. Changes in family-marriage relations are historically a naturally conditioned process. Historical experience shows that the traditional family values of the nation are formed on the basis of its historically formed traditions, religious beliefs, mentality, and economic life. At the same time, the ideology of society and the state also affects family values. Islamic religion, especially Sharia, has an important role in the formation of traditional family values of Azerbaijanis.

The family values of Azerbaijanis are an indicator of the uniqueness of their culture. Even in modern times, despite the influence of a number of historical and political processes, the family institution of Azerbaijan has preserved its basic values even though its traditions have been transformed. For example, concluding a religious marriage before the wedding, reading the Holy Quran when the girl leaves her father's house on the wedding day, performing religious rites at the child's birth ceremony and so on show that religious beliefs, especially Islam, have an important role in family-marriage relations. The customs of the Islamic religion have become syncretic with the traditional customs of the people, so that often people cannot distinguish between Islamic values and national values. Historical-ethnological research allows us to come to the conclusion that everything in family relations is connected with Muslimism and Azerbaijaniism. For example, expressions like "you are an Azerbaijani girl", "an Azerbaijani girl doesn't do that" or "you are a Muslim girl", "a Muslim girl doesn't do that" are used in order to educate or condemn. After the fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the removal of the "iron curtain" as well as globalization processes caused certain changes in the family values of Azerbaijanis. Ethnological research shows that traditionalism and modernity are opposed to each other in Azerbaijan.

As a result of globalization, the growing interdependence and coordination process between different cultures, economy and social structures has also had a number of effects on the Azerbaijani family institution. These effects can have a negative or positive function. Some changes in family values are observed as a result of socio-economic, political and ideological changes occurring in the society and thus socio-cultural changes. Historical experience shows that economy and traditional values are related to each other. As the economy develops, family values change. The economic dependence of family members on each other decreases, and the material attachment of people to each other weakens over time. Protecting traditional family values and passing them on to future generations is one of the main problems that worries the middle generation in Azerbaijan. The patriarchal character of family-marriage relations has weakened. As a result of globalization, modern Azerbaijani society does not fully accept new family-marriage relationships that are not typical for it. As a result of social change, a number of changes in family-marriage relations took place: re-evaluation of various prohibitions and restrictions related to marriage; changes in the nature of family and personal relationships; women are more interested in social activities; liberalization of premarital sexual behavior; change of attitude towards divorce in the society, etc. For example, since consanguineous marriages were considered a threat to the formation of healthy families, a law was passed to ban them in 2024, and society welcomed it (*Milli Məclis qohum evliliyini qadağan edən qanunu təsdiqləyib*).

On the one hand, the changes in family relations are evaluated as a “family crisis” in connection with the transition to market (economic) relations, and on the other hand, in the context of the general transformation of civilization. Even in modern times, traditionalism has been preserved to a certain extent in family relations. For example, respecting father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, and treating them ethically is still an important issue. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan, “Article 34. It is the child’s duty to respect parents and take care of them. Able-bodied children who have reached the age of 18 are obliged to support their incapacitated parents” (Azərbaycan Respublikasının Konstitusiyası, 2012, p. 13).

A number of traditions are disappearing under the influence of globalization. For example, until recent years, younger children stood up when their father and grandfather entered the room, but now this tradition is rarely seen. Regardless of age, as in all Caucasian peoples, smoking in the presence of parents and elders is not welcomed among Azerbaijanis. This is considered disrespectful to adults. In recent years, it is observed that this custom is slowly disappearing. However, even though these cases are encountered, the Azerbaijani society does not accept it.

Currently, “small families” are nuclear families. For example, if the son lived in the same house with his parents when he got married, now the vast majority prefers to live separately. Azerbaijani people traditionally prefer to start a family between the ages of 20 and 25. However, ethnographic studies and observations of recent years show that as a result of globalization, the age of marriage has increased and the forms of marriage have changed. In modern families, cohabitation, divorce and remarriage have increased. On the other hand, the tendency to return to traditionalism is strengthening in Azerbaijani society. For example, the younger generation attaches special importance to religious marriages. It is impossible to determine the statistics of religious marriages in Azerbaijan, as they are performed in mosques. However, the ethnographic study shows that the percentage of religious marriages is higher in the southern and Absheron regions of the country, as well as in the cities of other regions, compared to other regions. This trend is increasing mainly among the younger generation.

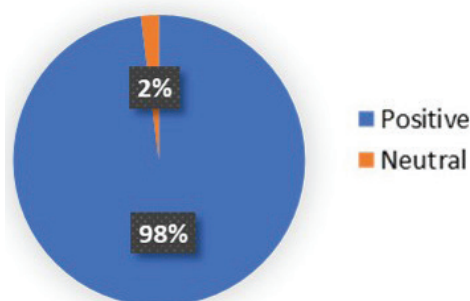
Family-marital relations in the country are regulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Family Law. According to the Constitution, “Article 17. The family, as the main core of society, is under the special protection of the state; Taking care of children and the family in the Republic of Azerbaijan is under the special protection of the state, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood are protected by law (Azərbaycan Respublikasının Konstitusiyası, 2012, p. 8). The State Committee on Family, Women’s and Children’s Problems was established in 2006 by order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan as an indicator of special care for solving family problems in the Republic (Azərbaycan Respublikasının Ailə, Qadın və Uşaq Problemləri üzrə Dövlət Komitəsi haqqında ƏSASNAMƏ). One of the most important tasks facing the committee is comprehensive development and strengthening of the family institution, protection of family values, minimization of its problems, improvement of the role of the family in the society and increase of well-being.

Historical-ethnological studies show in detail the transformation of cultural norms and social structures in Azerbaijani family relations. Changes in the modern era result in the blending of traditional and modern elements. These changes are caused by various social and economic factors. First of all, there is a transformation of cultural norms. Azerbaijan’s traditional family values are affected by globalization and social changes in modern times. There is a need to harmonize traditional norms and customs with the modern way of life.

In order to determine the impact of globalization on the Azerbaijani family, a survey was conducted among 200 young people aged 18-30 (mostly university students), and 30 people aged 35-60. All the respondents were representatives of the Muslim nations living in the country - Lezgi, Tat, Talish, Kurd, Avar, Sakhr, Ingiloy and others. The reason for conducting the survey among the Muslim population of Azerbaijan was that regardless of the ethnic composition of the country's Muslim population (here we are talking about ethnic Muslimness, not the degree of religiosity), the family institution was formed under the influence of the same historical, political, ideological processes and they had common family values.

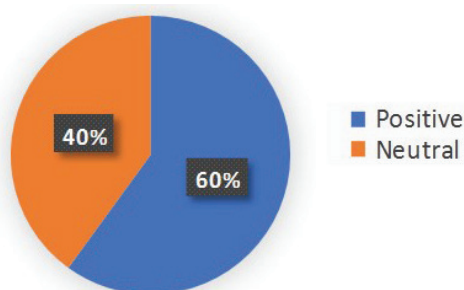
"How do you approach the tradition of respecting elders in your family and society?" 98% of the respondents of both age groups gave a positive answer to this question and associated it with Azerbaijanism and Islamism. 2% of the respondents said that they are in favor of mutual respect (Figure 5).

FIGURE 5. "How do you approach the tradition of respecting elders in your family and society?"



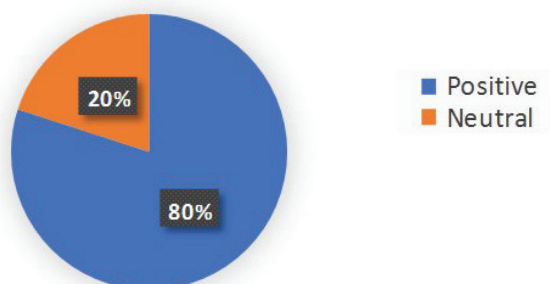
"Do you want to use examples of national culture in the design of the house, for example, traditional carpets, chests, lamps?" 60% of respondents aged 18-30 gave a positive answer to this question. 40% of the respondents of that age limit said that they prefer modern design, but the possibility of using certain national decorations (Figure 6).

FIGURE 6. "Do you want to use examples of national culture in the design of the house, for example, traditional carpets, chests, lamps?"



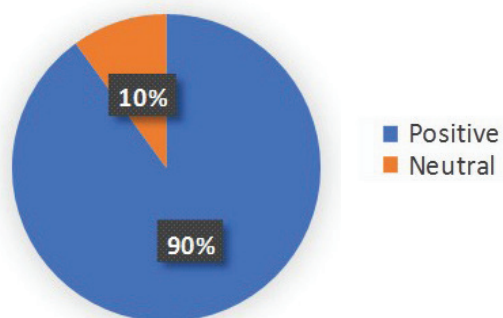
About 80% of respondents aged 35-60 years said that they are positive about using national carpets, traditional shelves and lamps in their home design because they are associated with memories from their childhood and grandparents. 20% of the respondents stated that they have a neutral approach to this issue (Figure 7).

FIGURE 7. “Do you want to use examples of national culture in the design of the house, for example, traditional carpets, chests, lamps?”.



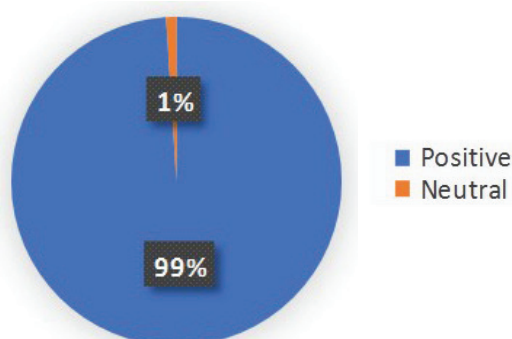
90% of respondents aged 18-30 gave a positive answer to the question “Do you celebrate religious and national holidays and ceremonies with your family?”. 10% said that it is not so important in their lives. It should be noted that Novruz holiday and Qurban holiday are celebrated by almost everyone in Azerbaijan at family and state level. The attitude to religious holidays and ceremonies is ambiguous (Figure 8).

FIGURE 8. “Do you celebrate religious and national holidays and ceremonies with your family?”.



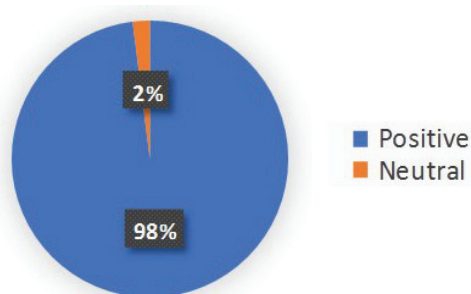
99% of the respondents aged 18-30 and 35-60 years said that they are in favor of keeping the traditional wedding ceremony as a beautiful tradition of the people to the question “Do you prefer tradition in the wedding ceremony?” 1% of respondents said that it is not so important. It should be noted that at Azerbaijani weddings, the bride and groom are accompanied by the national music “Vazhali” when the wedding ceremony starts and ends (Figure 9).

FIGURE 9. “Do you prefer tradition in the wedding ceremony?”.



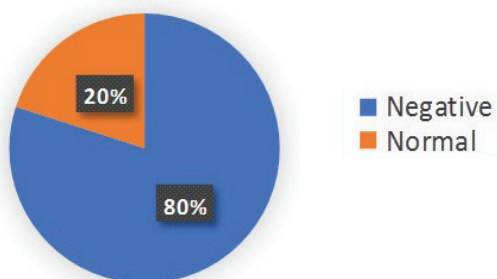
To the question “What is your attitude towards religious marriage (kabin)?” the vast majority of the respondents said that they are in favor of religious marriage. 98% of the respondents aged 18-30 were positive about it. 2% said that it is not very important for their family life. Let’s take into account that they were mostly university students, the ethnographic research on the regions of Azerbaijan shows a different result. In relation to this question, no survey was conducted among the respondents aged 35-60 (Figure 10).

FIGURE 10. “What is your attitude towards religious marriage (kabin)?”



Regarding the question “How do you feel about your parents’ divorce?”, a survey was conducted only among respondents aged 18-30. 80% of them said that they had a negative attitude, and 20% had a normal attitude. The main reason for not conducting a survey on this question among the respondents aged 35-60 is that in Azerbaijan, until about 2000, they had a very negative attitude towards the breakup of the family and the divorce of a woman from her husband. This approach is observed to some extent even now (Figure 11).

FIGURE 11. “How do you feel about your parents’ divorce?”



It was also clear from the results of the survey that the preservation of traditionalism for Azerbaijanis is related to their national identity. For them, the preservation of traditions is an indication of the uniqueness of their people. The main reason for answering the survey conducted among the respondents in this way is that Azerbaijan was under the occupation of the Russian Empire for a long time, and then the USSR for 70 years. Undoubtedly, ethnological and historical research shows that the enslaved people try to protect their traditions and national identity in general. After Azerbaijan gained independence in 1991, the people began to restore their traditional system of moral values. However, the challenges of globalization inevitably affect the Azerbaijani family institution, albeit to a certain extent.

Second, as a result of globalization, a transformation is taking place in the social structure. If in the Soviet era, the main mass of the population considered relatively the same morals, norms of behavior, and educational methods acceptable under the strong ideological pressure of the political regime, today observations show that diversity is evident in the thinking of Azerbaijanis: on the one hand, the influence of globalization and European culture, on the other hand manifestation of Islamic culture. Changes in family relations, such as women becoming more active in public life, the liberalization of premarital sex, and the increase in divorce rates, are causing important changes in the social structure. These changes reveal the need to adapt traditional family values to the modern social context. Third, future perspectives should be considered. Historical-ethnological studies show that finding a balance between traditional family norms and modern social requirements is difficult. In order to adapt to cultural and social changes, the approaches of different sections of society to this problem with a new perspective can be important in protecting family values, as well as in reshaping them according to the requirements of the modern era. In this regard, it is important to better understand cultural and social transformations in the future and to develop appropriate policies.

CONCLUSION

This ethnological study shows how the family institution and cultural norms of Azerbaijan have been transformed in modern times. According to the results of the research, the changes in Azerbaijani family relations are manifested in several main directions:

- 1) Historical and religious traditions, including classical norms in family-marriage relations, are being transformed under the influence of modern times. The measures implemented for the protection of Islamic values and national traditions are trying to be adapted to modern social changes.
- 2) Globalization and socio-economic changes have had new effects on family structure and relationships. These effects are manifested in economic independence, increased social participation of women and changes in society's attitude towards social phenomena such as divorce.
- 3) The impact of economic development and market relations on family values leads to changes in traditional norms. People's economic independence and social changes have led to the emergence of new approaches and norms in family relations.
- 4) Women's more active participation in social and economic spheres leads to changes in family roles and wider protection of women's rights.
- 5) Adaptation of family law in the Republic of Azerbaijan to modern requirements, as well as adaptation to international standards, ensures regulation of family-marriage relations within the framework of legislation. With the support of family legislation and state authorities, positive changes have taken place in the direction of the development and protection of the family institution.

Thus, the results of the historical-ethnological and ethnographic research show that the transformation of the Azerbaijani family institution takes place as a result of the challenges of the modern era. The synthesis of traditional and modern values, in connection with the social and economic development of society, requires the effective regulation of family-marriage relations. At the same time, the ethnological research shows that Azerbaijanis were loyal to traditions and despite the influence of the challenges of the modern era, the basic values of the family institution were preserved.

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