

Organizational Development and Civil Societies: Emerging Social Democracy in Azerbaijan

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Azerbaijan is undergoing myriad changes in its social, political, organizational, educational, economic and religious cultures. Its Caspian Sea oil is a magnet for international companies to open offices and make major investments in the country. Now developing its own identity as a post-Soviet independent state, both the government and nonprofit organizations are learning to function using democratic ideals. The two major themes that characterize these changes are organizational development efforts and the civil society movement. This article reports on the limited success of each and the trends that can lead to more transparency and accountability. Both aspire to involve citizens and employees. Each has different constituencies, yet their limited success is due to history, culture and the desire to hold on to power, control, access and information.

INTRODUCTION

"What the [Soviet] authorities really hated was free jazz and improvised music – for the reason we loved it: it was a powerful symbol of individual freedom."

(Telegraph.co.uk, 2008)

Can music really lead to revolution? That is a question better answered by the political scientists and musicologists. But, if those in power feared jazz because it made people think about freedom, then two contemporary themes help implement this ideal. The practice of organizational development and the civil society international movement ask the important question: how can people (employees and citizens) be empowered to improve their systems (organizations, communities and countries)? The idea that jazz could encourage corporate and social democracies provides the catalyst for this article.

Under Soviet domination, most aspects of life were controlled. Since declaring its independence from the Soviet Union almost two decades ago in 1991, the government and the people of Azerbaijan are adapting to new laws, customs, fiscal policies, technologies and educational systems. These changes have clear generational impacts; the older "parents" grew

up under Soviet rule, understood the power of the central authority, and developed coping skills to get around its dictates when needed. Now the first generation to graduate college in the non-Soviet system, their children see the world as their stage. They understand that social order may still be important, but they are also learning that individual merit and accomplishment matter. International firms, lead by BP, have descended on the capital city of Baku to build an oil pipeline and benefit from the Caspian Sea's rich oil reserves. With this development comes international scrutiny.

This article draws together two important themes: organizational development (OD) and civil society. One empowers individuals and groups within an organizational system to grow, to examine, and to improve internal processes. The other strives to open up the governmental decision making and social institutions in society. If these two processes were at odds, both would fail. Organizations would have no incentive implement OD programs; civil society efforts would fail because they challenge authority's closed decision making. By understanding how these two themes are beginning to co-exist in Azerbaijan, we can gain an understanding of how other societies can move from communism, totalitarian, or dictatorship to more open social institutions, even if they are not democracies as the United States uses the term (Halley, 2003).

CIVIL SOCIETIES

What is a civil Society? Most industrialized countries of the West take the term for granted. But, unfortunately, our nations are not the models in-practice for all others. A civil society includes "the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations...[such as] community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations (World Bank, 2007). The key terms are "a presence in public life" and "expressing the interests and values of their members." These are not hidden groups seeking democracy through covert operations such as web-based newsletters and fax machines. Rather, these organizations openly want to build the civil society without fear of government retribution.

Civil societies are known for their tolerance of, and indeed perhaps support of, the development of non-governmental, non-corporate organizations that encourage citizen involvement. They are independent of the government and exist to meet the needs of their members, associates, clients, and others who use their services or attend their programs. Usually, they are not-for-profit and reflect the concerns, needs and aspirations of the nation's citizenry and residents. Often, they oppose traditional power structures, especially those of the government, thus causing tension and reprisals in many countries.

Through networks, organizations can increase their impact. The Independent Sector is a "nonpartisan coalition of approximately 600 organizations [that] leads, strengthens, and mobilizes the charitable community in order to fulfill our vision of a just and inclusive society and a healthy democracy of active citizens, effective institutions, and vibrant communities" (Independent Sector, 2007).

In the United States, this heritage has its roots in our pre-revolutionary war period. It was studied in depth by French historian Alexis de Tocqueville (1805 – 1859) who noted that "Americans of all dispositions have an incurable tendency to form voluntary associations" (De Tocqueville, 1904). Building on President John F. Kennedy's vision, United States Peace Corps

(2007, 29) has trained volunteers to work across the globe for over 40 years and their definition is instructive. A "civil society generally consists of organizations that fall between the family and the state [and] is characterized by active, diverse, inclusive citizen participation." While there may not be universal acceptance of these principles, they provide a definition based on its decades of international experiences. In order to implement this goal, civil societies:

1. Promote pluralism, diversity, and tolerance while protecting and strengthening cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and other identities.
2. Motivate citizens to act rather than depend on state power and beneficence.
3. Create an alternative to centralized state agencies by providing services with greater independence and flexibility.
4. Establish mechanisms by which governments and the market can be held accountable by the public (Peace Corps *op. cit.* pp. 21-22).

Peterson and Till (2004) define "nine measurable characteristics of civil society;" For the purposes of this article, the following two are appropriate additions to the Peace Corps' perspective.

5. Pursue social justice by (a) consistently and compassionately using the "rule of law in fulfillment of their civic obligations, and (b) advocating for those excluded from the political process and harmed by unjust laws."
6. Have citizens who hold decision-making power and work to strengthen local and regional economies, and exercise sustainable and socially transparent stewardship of societal resources (e.g., human, social, material, and ecological) on behalf of the "common good."

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

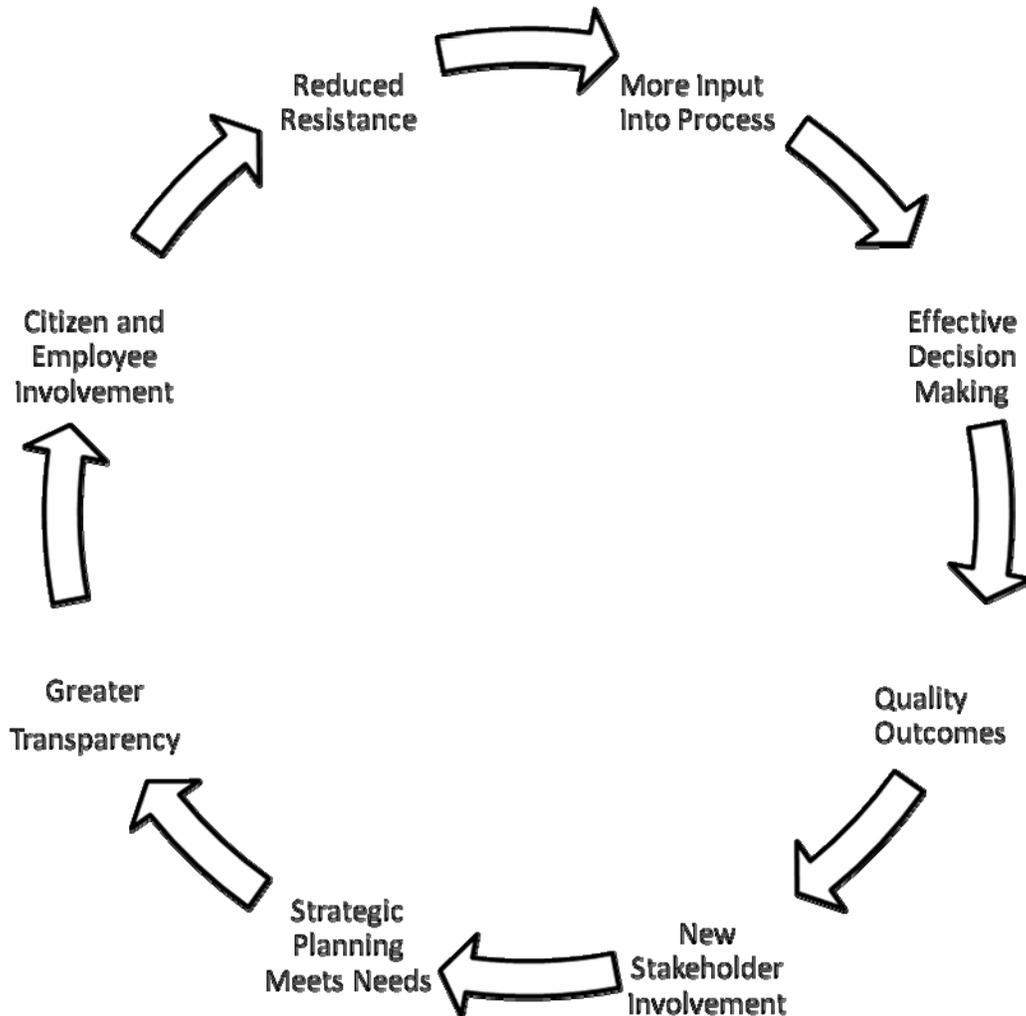
Organizational development is "an effort planned, organization-wide, and managed from the top, to increase organization effectiveness and health through planned interventions in the organization's 'processes,' using behavioral-science knowledge" (Beckhard, 1969). It seeks to improve decision making, empower employees, improving the quality of organizational work life, restructuring jobs to make them both more interesting to employees and building on the skills and abilities that employees bring to their jobs in order to improve organizational effectiveness.

There are major points of congruence between organizational development efforts and civil societies. First, both processes help build consensus. In an organization, OD models most often empower employees through involvement. At the societal level, citizen participation helps define courses of action that meet the needs of many more individuals and groups than a sole government agency may decide on its own.

Second, both approaches stress the development of effective teams, groups, coalitions, networks and partners. It is the classic axiom that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Third, transparency is more than just a buzz word. It means that organizational and governmental decision makers must be accessible to those whom they are responsible for serving. Whether this means employees or citizens, isolation and deceit are the opposite of transparency. Openness enhances accountability; the concept is rooted in meeting one's fiduciary duties to others.

Whether done for legal or administrative reasons, transparency and openness create new stakeholders. Involvement usually reduces resistance and increases the potential for success. Effective societies and organizations also share the desire to have effective and efficient decision making processes. These will ultimately lead to coordinated planning and strategic directions that are both challenging and achievable.

FIGURE 1
ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT APPLIED TO CIVIL SOCIETIES



METHODOLOGY

The information in this article came from two rounds of individual and group interviews, one during the period from September - December, 2006, and the follow-up in November 2007. Each interview was conducted after the university-approved Informed Consent form was signed. An extensive literature search continued up to the date of submission of this article in Fall 2008.

CHANGING AZERBAIJAN – ALBEIT SLOWLY

OD efforts have been shown to work best in countries whose national culture is similar to these emerging corporate values. As such, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Israel would tend to have more receptive national cultures than China, Peru, Cuba or Russia (Jaeger, 1986). Life in Azerbaijan has changed dramatically in the past twenty years. Now free from the chains of Soviet domination, the culture is undergoing major transformations. The first decade of freedom stretched the economy; there were chronic food shortages, power outages, a severe housing problem and high unemployment. Today, oil and natural gas deposits and reserves have changed many aspects of this country. The international business community looks at Azerbaijan as a place for potential investment. Its banking and fiscal policies are adapting to offer greater stability, predictability and security required for world trade. A second part of this new role on the world stage came after the terrorist attacks on September 11th. Azerbaijan borders Iran. This strategic geography gives it a new role in the international arena. Both these factors combine to make the country and its institutions of more than just passing interest to the outside world.

As an organizational development strategy, it is important to start small and build successes along the way. This seems to be the approach that the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) uses. Its Civil Society Project funds a five year effort (2005 - 2010) for several organizations (Counterpart International, Urban Institute and the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law) "to assist citizens and the government of Azerbaijan to develop a dialogue while working towards creation of a more representative and better functioning democracy" (Urban Institute, 2008).

Decision making in the organizational development model values and encourages employee input. Management must learn to be open to staff suggestions and ideas, providing feedback as needed. To make this successful, those in power learn to share information and in the more proactive models train and reward employees for their participation. In the civil society, government officials must also learn to share power. Citizen input through meetings, elections, referenda, petitions and votes are not seen as threats. They are understood to be concerns of the stakeholders. This is often anathema to a government official as is sharing to the founder of a corporation or family business.

The "I" must become "we." Decentralized power and decision making delegate responsibility to the lowest level in the organization where the needed information resides. Instead of viewing organizational development as a win-lose strategy where managerial prerogatives are usurped by employees, the system needs to develop a broader perspective that defines achieving organizational goals as being in everyone's interest. This same concept applies to civil societies. NGOs seek to empower people at the lowest level where information resides – the community and local organizations. The following table summarizes the major connections between OD and goals of a civil society.

TABLE 1
ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY VALUES

	<u>Organizational Development Efforts</u>	<u>Civil Societies</u>
Decision Making	Values employee involvement	Stresses citizen engagement
Perspective	See organizations as systems	View society as network of organizations
Democratization	In the workplace	Throughout the country and society
Changes	Planned and unplanned	Planned and unplanned
Focus	Personal Development and Organizational Functioning	Organizational Functioning and Social Change
Leadership Roles	Critical to support organizational change efforts	Government support required
Primary Knowledge Base	Social Science	Political Science
Power	Decentralize - Expert	Decentralize - Reward

A civil society and its organizations improve when citizens and employees actively seek change through collaboration, engagement and compromise that keeps long term goals in mind. In the same way the citizens have a stake in their country's growth, and development, employees share those same goals of growth and success with management. It is more than just job security. Both OD and the civil society movement see nonviolent change through democratic means. Since the Azerbaijani government remains a central force in the existence and work of NGOs, it is important to assess this relationship. Fear and distrust of the government remain high. "While the government insists the aim is to increase funding for NGOs, some activists are fearful that the real intention is to impose control over their work."...."But critics of the program fear it is designed to counteract the influence of foreign donors and the NGOs they fund – many of which are strongly critical of the government's policies and record on human rights" (Institute for War & Peace Reporting, 2007). This same suspicion accrues to OD efforts when employees do not see the results of the input and receive little or no feedback from management. That has been an

organizational norm and a societal dictate for generations. Information flows upward; orders and decisions flow down from the top.

THE NGO'S ROLE IN BUILDING CIVIL SOCIETIES

The major principles that guide NGOs in emerging societies form the basis for analyzing how OD efforts can make a difference and the resistance they encounter.

1. In civil societies "NGOs promote pluralism, diversity, and tolerance in society while protecting and strengthening cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and other identities." This principle has historical roots in Azerbaijan. "In 1828, the Russian Empire and Iran divided the Azerbaijani people between them, yet an independent Azerbaijani ethnic identity has continued to exist to the present day. The independence of the former Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan has further reinforced their collective identity." (Harvard, 2003) Like planned OD change efforts, new cultures emerge. When unplanned, these changes can create resistance and lead to unsuccessful results. When planned with appropriate rewards and time lines, both civil societies and OD initiatives have a greater likelihood of success.

2. NGOs can learn to operate on their own and this empowers citizens to mobilize to solve local problems without relying on government programs, goodwill and paternalism. Unfortunately this does not happen easily in Azerbaijan. According to the International Center for Nonprofit Law (2007), two of the government's principles for NGOs to be licensed and operate effectively are that they join with state bodies to resolve social problems and coordinate decisions regarding organization, program goals and methods of action.

"People forget that NGOs can pursue both political and social agendas."

College Professor/volunteer in educational NGO

This power to act faces serious governmental impediments. Registration issues have plagued the development of Azerbaijan's nonprofit, nongovernmental sector for years. A comprehensive study was conducted by The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2003) documented numerous problems in the process managed by the Department of Registration of Legal Entities:

- a. Lack of formal decisions keeps applicants in limbo for months, sometimes years.
- b. Letters of denial often refer to incorrect legal or regulatory requirements or misstate them.
- c. Officials can delay the process rather arbitrarily by asking for more information, even if the data are not required by statute, regulation or policy.
- d. Officials have wide latitude to act on their own, sometimes in direct conflict with written rules and procedures. Appeals are difficult if not impossible.
- e. When minor errors are discovered (including spelling), the entire process grinds to a halt while these changes are made, often one at a time.
- f. The procedures and deadlines often change without public notice.
- g. Since NGOs may not register the same name as a previously registered legal entity, the lack of a public, central listing impedes the process.

The report concludes “In order for Azerbaijan to acknowledge the obligations that it undertook by signing the international and European human rights documents it is incumbent upon the State to redefine its policy towards independent NGOs and ensure the full exercise of freedom of association through greater compliance with existing legislation.”

3. The next guiding principle is that "NGOs create an alternative to centralized state agencies and provide services with greater independence and flexibility." The International Center for Nonprofit Law notes that the government employs the responsibility factor: "strict compliance with approved contractual terms for programs and projects funded by the state." This would not pose any problems in the grants are actively and voluntarily sought by the NGO and if they are allowed other sources of funding. But, the Azerbaijan approach constrains domestic NGOs as they are funded in large part by international philanthropies or corporations. There is a burdensome tax levied on these funds.

"NGOs play an important role in developing democracy and building civil society...by giving people opportunity to express their points of view and solve important social tasks."

College student and active NGO volunteer

Ufug (‘horizon’ in Azerbaijani) is a case example of how a few people can make a major difference through inspiration and perspiration. A decade ago, a few children’s advocates and professionals formed an organization “to ease the lives of children who feel excluded from the society, especially those who live in orphanages and special children organizations, to decrease their problems.” (Ufug, 2007) As such it is a mediating organization that attempts to connect children with medical needs with doctors, hospitals and clinics that can help meet resolve these problems. By almost any definition, these children are in desperate need of care which their parents cannot afford. Since Ufug does not have a single sponsor, it must find support, money, volunteers and other needed resources, supplies, space and connections from both within Azerbaijan and other international donors. World Vision International, British Business Group and ISAR/Azerbaijan collaborate with Ufug to offer two programs: “Save the Foundlings” and “Rejected Foundlings Help Center.”

Some nonprofit organizations have been accused of ‘creaming,’ a form of rationing where an organization with limit resources must select those patients, clients, individuals or groups which it believes have the greatest likelihood of successful outcomes. This is easily justified since no system can do everything and be everything to everyone. Limited resources require allocation decisions. Yet, Ufug’s mission statement stresses the opposite: “We choose those children who are the most heavily ill.” (Ufug, *op cit*) Specific steps needed to achieve these results include the mundane (opening bank account, forming alliances with other children’s service agencies, public information efforts) as well as more aggressive initiatives (registration, placing children in hospitals, arranging medical care including surgeries, and providing orphaned children with the needed psycho-social and physical supports.

Except when grants allow the administrative staff to be paid, they work pro bono, without compensation. On Azerweb (2007), Ufug’s major organizational activity is defined as “income generation;” this fits perfectly with its mission. Ufug cannot provide medical services. It links children in need with providers and pays for (or offsets) the costs of care. In Sheki, a city of located approximately 200 miles away from the capital city of Baku, its partnership with the

Scottish Society of Azerbaijan helped establish a mobile clinic to provided care to needy children.

4. Another trait is that "NGOs establish the mechanisms by which governments and the market can be held accountable by the public." The available information seems to reverse this principle. It appears that the government is trying to hold NGOs accountable for operating within the government's guidelines for programs, services, funding, and even the registration process. "In most of the regions local officials are not willing to cooperate with local NGOs; moreover try to hinder their cooperation with municipalities and communities. Local officials attend only those events that are organized by pro governmental NGOs... As there is no coordination between local NGOs, they often duplicate each others' ideas and projects" (Azerbaijan Human Rights Foundation, 2007). This leads to major problems for NGOs in contributing to the development of a civil society since they many are seen as an arm of the authorities. And, within these systems, employees and staff remain suspicious of system leadership because of these alleged ties. The fear of retaliation may prevent employees from greater involvement than just doing the best job they can while maintaining a low profile.

As Azerbaijan struggles to become a more open society, challenges remain. Closely follows events, Transparency-Azerbaijan (2007b) reports several challenges. First, Azerbaijan must increase the transparency in the nonprofit sector. Adherence to international accounting standards will help as will following to donor wishes and contract requirements. Second, public dissemination of the emerging rules and regulations governing NGOs will help stabilize the third sector. Whether this involves registration or inspections, too many problems are created when each governmental entity and NGO act on their own. Yet, the basic underlying philosophy needs to change from one of control (by the government) and mistrust (by the NO) to one of shared responsibility for the future.

The government is not afraid to exercise its power when pressured. In November 2006 it forced the only independent news outlet in the country to close its offices in a rent dispute. While this action received some international condemnation, it served notice of who is in charge (amazines.com, 2006). The following quote summarizes the point and the somewhat predictable governmental backlash:

"NGOs attract younger people; it is a source of change."

Graduate student active in two children's NGOs

5. Justice is the fifth issue. A "civil society is advanced when citizens pursue social justice by (1) consistently and compassionately using the "rule of law" in fulfillment of their civic obligations, and (2) advocating for those excluded from the political process and harmed by unjust laws." If the registration process is any indication, NGOs face heavy impediments in meeting this factor including the cumbersome and sometimes not published governmental requirements to register with the Ministry of Justice (Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, 2007). This is not an easy process and many organizations never successfully complete the process or have their application denied, sometimes without explanation (Ritvo, 2009).

As one of the major funding streams of the Soros Foundation (2007), "the Open Society Institute (OSI), a private operating and grant making foundation, aims to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform" with

special attention to post-Soviet states. Its work in Azerbaijan has helped many NGOs form, manage the registration [process and provide needed services as well as open the doors to international understanding among Azerbaijan's young adults through scholarships and other programs.

Empowering employees and respect for each person's contributions to the whole is a fundamental value of organizational development efforts. The issue of women's roles and rights is part of the development of a civil society. In this area, in Azerbaijan today, women's rights are limited, albeit this is changing. History, traditional roles, and religious beliefs constrain full participation for women in all parts of the country, although these constraints are more pronounced in rural areas. Azerbaijan is about 90% Muslim, even though the Soviets prohibited religious practices. Thus, the development of new systems and organizations may expand the role of women, "because NGOs are busy addressing many of the social problems that women have been left to address for years — disabilities, health, children's issues and education" (Tohidi, 2004). In organizations, the glass ceiling still exists, especially in smaller firms and companies that do not conduct much international business.

6. "Civil society is advanced when citizens hold decision-making power, work to strengthen and improve local and regional economies, and exercise sustainable and socially transparent stewardship of societal resources (e.g., human, social, material, and ecological) on behalf of the "common good." This criterion contains several parts. Most international philanthropy and funded programs now require accountability and transparency. The government in Azerbaijan has 'transparency' as one of its operating criteria for NGOs. This is a pressing need in Azerbaijan because of the legacy of corruption and bribery. According to Transparency International (2007), Azerbaijan ranks 150th out of 179 nations; this is below Russia, Libya and even Uganda. By comparison, the United Kingdom ranks 12th; the United States sits at 20th.

Building sustainable organizations has been difficult in Azerbaijan. "Over the past years, there has been an intensive process of establishing NGOs in Azerbaijan. Their activities now cover most aspects of public life. Around 1,500 NGOs have been established. However, the lack of a general database on all the NGOs operating in the country prevents a complete understanding of all their activities" (United Nations Development Report, 2003). While exact statistics seem impossible to collect or verify, there is a common trend in Azerbaijan. Many NGOs formed, often around a charismatic individual, and provided services, offered programs and did good deeds...for a limited period of time. Without accountability, formal structures, government registration, on-going financial support, they failed to survive beyond a few "good years."

One view of NGOs is that they should receive a major portion of their budgets and funding from government; this is common in Europe. The United States pattern reveals that individual and domestic corporate contributions are significant revenue sources. Azerbaijan's has neither experience; its NGOs rely on international corporate and philanthropic funds to start programs and sustain their structures. This leads to suspicion on the part of some government officials.

International philanthropy often has two major goals: (1) to fund needed programs so they can provide quality services in an effective and efficient manner, and (2) to help NGOs sustain these efforts. In the post-Soviet era, the first goal is succeeding far more than the second. Most of regional NGOs are not transparent and ruled in an authoritarian way (Azerbaijan Human Rights Foundation, 2007).

In addition, "many of the NGOs, including women's NGOs, are formed around a strong person rather than a vision, program, and plan of action. Personality and ego friction often limit

the potential for solidarity, collaboration, and coalition building” (Tohidi, 2004). The International Center for Nonprofit Law (2007) also notes that the government has its own principles regarding NGOs. These were not developed jointly or in consultation with the non-governmental sector. In fact, Presidential decrees define changes in government policy, often just announced without public input, consultation or a planned transition period.

In order to improve local conditions, over time, nations and communities need to develop a culture of social services, assistance and nonviolent resolution of problems. An example illustrates this. In a group interview with college students in Azerbaijan conducted in November 2007 by the author, several of the participants had attended at least one semester of high school in the United States. They recalled fondly how young children collected candy for themselves and coins for UNICEF on Halloween. That early sense of community ("We are all in this together" and "Let's help those less fortunate than we are.") did not have a social counterpart in Azerbaijan.

CONCLUSIONS

One major conclusion of this description is that it is too early to assess whether the growth of nonprofit systems and the civil society movement will have positive results in Azerbaijan. Both are in their embryonic stages and the existing power structures can easily bring either to a halt. Early indications however are somewhat positive. The government seems to be responsive to pressures from internal and international sources. NGOs are continually being formed, even though others cease to exist. This is a positive trend especially in light of the difficulties documented by international observers.

"The lack of more 'modern' forms of self-organization and the experience of liberal democratic rule is the main reason why the building of civil society and the process of democratization in Azerbaijan take place in a parallel rather than linear way. In the result, today Azerbaijan society may be characterized mostly as quasi civil and quasi democratic society the structures and institutions of which having signs of civil and democratic society from the standpoint of their level of development do not correspond to the modern criteria of the modern democratic society" (Hassanov, 2005).

The citizens of Azerbaijan have made important strides toward forming a civil society over the past two decades. Most of the progress has come in the 21st century and much remains to be done. Will progress continue or will the government retreat into the suspicions and mistrust of the past? How important is the development of a civil society? "It constitutes the missing link in the success of social democracy. [A civil society] "remains compelling because it speaks to the best in us – the collective, creative and values-driven core of the active citizen - calling on the best in us to respond in kind to create societies that are just, true and free” (Edwards, 2007).

"One purpose of NGOs is to make the world better by helping people get closer, to join together."

NGO board member

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