

Non-governmental Non-profit Organizations in Central Asian Countries Development Dynamics

Mirkamilov Anvarjon Kazimjonovich

Institute for Advanced International Studies, Independent Researcher

Abstract: This paper explores the dynamic evolution of non-governmental non-profit organizations (NGOs) in Central Asia, particularly focusing on the development of these organizations in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan. Following their independence from the Soviet Union, these countries have experienced varying trajectories in the formation of civil society institutions, influenced by their political regimes, legal frameworks, and international cooperation. The development process of NGOs in Uzbekistan has seen significant growth, supported by governmental reforms and the establishment of institutional infrastructures like NGO Houses. Conversely, in Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, the NGO sector faces stricter state control, limiting their independence and political activities. This paper analyzes the stages of NGO development in these countries, highlighting both successes and challenges, and argues for context-based approaches to strengthen civil society in the region, taking into account the different political landscapes. The findings underscore the critical role of NGOs in fostering democratic practices, addressing social issues, and contributing to the overall socio-economic development of Central Asian nations.

Keywords: Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society development, Central Asia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, post-Soviet transformation, political regimes, international cooperation.

Introduction

The people of the Central Asian republics are considered to be fraternal and close peoples, having lived in the same space for a long time, and their consciousness and mentality are clearly similar. However, the dynamics of the formation of civil society institutions, including non-governmental non-profit organizations, in the countries that seceded from the Soviet Union and became independent differ sharply from each other [1], [2].

Uzbekistan. Naturally, the direct involvement of non-governmental non-profit organizations in state affairs significantly contributes to the development of civil society institutions and enhances their influence. This, in turn, helps to resolve urgent issues, increases public trust in state institutions, and strengthens bilateral dialogue between the state and society based on the principles of transparency, openness and mutual respect. It also increases the effectiveness of cooperation between civil society institutions, business entities and state bodies [3], [4], [5]. According to researcher S. Saidov, "The third sector helps to fill the gaps in state policy in the areas of healthcare, education, social services and culture. It is enough to consider the activities of one higher educational institution as an example. That is why non-governmental non-profit organizations play an important role in the life of the state and people. The system of non-governmental organizations serves as a kind of school of democracy . "

In 1991, only 95 non-governmental non-profit organizations (NGOs) were registered in Uzbekistan. By 2023, this number had reached approximately 9,500 . This clearly demonstrates the dynamic and rapid growth of the sector over the past few decades. The government has implemented a number of legislative reforms to support the development of NGOs [6], [7], [8]. In particular, it has simplified the registration process and introduced financial support mechanisms. The development trends of these organizations are as follows:

Based on the decrees and resolutions adopted in 2021, a number of measures were implemented to stimulate the development of NGOs. In order to improve infrastructure, 14 "NGO Houses" were established across Uzbekistan by 2025. This expanded the possibilities of using special places for the activities of NGOs. In 2021-2025, 750 NGO leaders received special training at the Academy of Public Policy and Administration.

Several key factors have positively influenced the development of NGOs in civil society in Uzbekistan.

Here we will study the dynamics of the formation and development of NGOs in Uzbekistan in stages. The first stage is the period of the emergence of NGOs, covering the years 1990-1995. The distinctive features of this stage include the creation of legal frameworks, the first registration of public associations, limited independent opportunities, strong state control, etc. After gaining independence, Uzbekistan immediately adopted the main legislation for public associations. In particular, the Law No. 223-XII of February 15, 1991 "On Public Associations" established the right of citizens to form associations and regulated the procedure for their registration.

The second stage — (1996-2015) is the stage of strengthening NGOs under state control. According to the ADB report, during this period, non-governmental non-profit organizations in Uzbekistan could be broadly divided into three types: local civil society organizations, government-organized NGOs, and research organizations . Legislation was improved, for example, the Law "On Social Partnership" adopted in 2014 created a legal mechanism for cooperation between the state and civil society. In addition, since the mid-2000s, the development of civil society institutions and the idea of "transitioning from a strong state to a strong civil society" began to gain priority in state policy in Uzbekistan. Therefore, raising the activities of civil society institutions to a higher level was a key issue on the agenda.

The third stage – (2016-2022) is the stage of diversification of NGOs. Important decrees and policy documents have been adopted aimed at strengthening the role of civil society institutions and improving the regulatory system for non-governmental non-profit organizations. For example, the UN-Uzbekistan article notes that reforms in recent years have strengthened the legal framework and created electronic portals for non-governmental non-profit organizations (e-ngo.uz) .

The fourth stage - 2023 - is the stage of strengthening and optimizing NGOs in the civil society of Uzbekistan. At this stage, institutionalization and cooperation between the state and civil society are intensifying. It is noteworthy that the Concept for the Development of Civil Society in Uzbekistan for 2021-2025 has been approved. This Concept sets out such goals as a 4-fold increase in local budget funds for civil society, expanding mechanisms for ensuring the participation of non-governmental non-profit organizations in political and social programs, supporting NGOs in the areas of youth, children, women and ecology, and encouraging the implementation of social projects in cooperation with "state - civil society institutions - business entities". This Concept also sets out a number of priority areas, including: improving the legal framework of civil society institutions; ensuring the active participation of civil society institutions in public administration; wide involvement of non-governmental non-profit organizations in the implementation of state social projects; also put forward issues such as further improvement of legal norms regulating the activities of non-governmental non-profit organizations, expanding the involvement of non-governmental non-profit organizations in the implementation of state social projects. At the same time, in April 2025, a new law was approved that strengthens the obligations of support and public oversight of NGOs. This law will lead to a fundamental revision of the activities of NGOs.

In recent years, serious attention has been paid to the development of civil society in Uzbekistan. In particular, as part of the reforms being implemented in 2017-2025, broad opportunities have been created for many non-governmental non-profit organizations and independent media. Therefore, it is important to study the legal framework for the development of civil society in Uzbekistan and assess the possibilities of their practical implementation. Legislation on the development of NGOs in Uzbekistan is somewhat advanced. However, this does not lead to the conclusion that NGOs in Uzbekistan are institutionalized.

Methodology

This research employs a qualitative approach, utilizing document analysis and case study methods to examine the development of non-governmental non-profit organizations (NGOs) in Central Asia. The study focuses on the post-Soviet transformation in four countries—Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan—analyzing secondary data from government reports, academic articles, and international organization assessments. A comparative analysis is conducted to assess the impact of political regimes, legal frameworks, and international cooperation on the growth and activities of NGOs in these countries. The research further explores the stages of NGO development, from their early emergence to their current state, with particular attention to government policies, legislative reforms, and NGO-led initiatives. This method allows for a comprehensive understanding of the institutional dynamics and the varying trajectories of civil society formation across Central Asia [9], [10], [11], [12].

Results and Discussion

Tajikistan. According to reports from USAID, which has been supporting Tajik NGOs for a long time, the main goals of non-governmental non-profit organizations in Tajikistan are to maintain order in the country; expand the ability to influence government decisions by raising public awareness; protect freedom of speech and communication; and combat inflation [13].

After Tajikistan gained independence, the NGO sector, instead of the collective structures of the Soviet Union, was considered a newly formed civil society institution, developing with the help of international donors. This process largely corresponds to the general dynamics of civil society development and can be divided into the following main stages. The following stages are compiled on the basis of scientific and official sources, and are chronologically arranged taking into account the post-Soviet period, the impact of the civil war and international assistance [14].

1991–1997: The emergence of independent NGOs and the phase of humanitarian aid. This phase began after the declaration of independence and is closely related to the civil war (1992–1997). The emergence of NGOs was mainly focused on international humanitarian aid and post-conflict reconstruction. When NGOs began their activities in 1992, their number was very small (approximately 100–200 organizations), but in the context of war and drought, local NGOs were formed with the help of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Aga Khan Foundation and other international organizations. The main areas: refugee support, medical assistance and food distribution. The development of NGOs during this period is characterized as a “response to the humanitarian crisis”, but there was almost no political activity [15], [16].

1998–2005 - a phase of strengthening and diversification of Tajik NGOs. After the end of the war (1997 peace agreement), the number of NGOs increased dramatically : from 300 in 1997, by 2005 it had reached 1,000–1,500. With the help of international donors (USA, EU, UN), NGO activities expanded to the areas of economic recovery, women's rights, and education. For example, NGOs dedicated to women's issues (such as Liga-i Zanan-i Tajik) promoted political and social participation . The 2005 Tax Code introduced the concept of "charitable organization" for NGOs and simplified the control of grants. At this stage, NGOs began to move from a "donor-led" model to local initiatives, but state control increased [17], [18], [19].

2006–2015 - a period of stabilization of NGO activity. The number of NGOs reached 3,000 by 2013, playing an important role in agriculture, micro-credit and environmental protection. Organizations such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank involved NGOs in development programs. However, political restrictions increased during this period: starting in 2007, the list of NGOs was removed under the pretext of “threats to peace and stability” and foreign funding was strictly controlled. Women's and youth NGOs diversified, but the issue of “local ownership” was discussed, including reducing donor influence and strengthening local leadership [20], [21].

2016–present: A phase of adaptation and increased restrictions for Tajik NGOs. During this period, the number of NGOs reached 4,000–5,000, but doubts arose about their effectiveness . The 2015 National Development Strategy and legislative changes in 2021 established support for NGOs as important institutions, but the Foreign Agents Law (discussed in the 2020s) tightened restrictions. NGOs are now active on climate change, gender equality, and economic growth, but conflicts between donors and the state (e.g., restrictions on political activity) are slowing down development. The 2020s saw an increase in online NGO activity through digital platforms.

These stages are inextricably linked to Tajikistan's overall socio-economic development (from post-war reconstruction to sustainable growth), with NGOs emerging as a key driving force in civil society. However, their independent development is limited by the political environment.

At the beginning of 2020, about 3,000 non-governmental non-profit organizations were officially registered with the country's Ministry of Justice. According to the latest research conducted by the National NGO Association of Tajikistan and the National Legislative Center under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, there are 17,372 non-profit organizations in Tajikistan, of which 5,440 are mainly public organizations, and the remaining 11,932 are non-governmental organizations, which are called civil society organizations.

In 1991, the Law on Public Associations was adopted. At that time, it covered both NGOs and other parties. However, due to the diversity of NGOs, it was impossible to regulate them with a single law. In 1998, new laws were introduced that differentiated their activities. These laws established certain tax exemptions and registration fees. According to the amended law, three founding members are required to establish an NGO, along with a charter and other supporting documents. The legislative process that ensures the orderly operation of NGOs is reflected in the laws. The law regulates the establishment, operation, reorganization, and liquidation of various forms of NGOs in Tajikistan, thereby creating a solid legal foundation for NGOs. The Tajik government currently supports the formation of non-governmental non-profit organizations (NGOs). The legislation has evolved over time. Since 1996, the International Center for Nonprofit Law has been conducting programs in Central Asia and the Caucasus, assisting governments in developing laws regulating the activities of NGOs. Given the above analysis, gaps in the legislation governing the activities of NGOs and problems with funding are still evident in the Republic of Tajikistan.

Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyzstan has achieved a relatively good position among the Central Asian countries due to many positive factors. Over a period of time, both the legal and organizational capacity of non-governmental organizations in Kyrgyzstan has grown in a positive direction. This indicates that the government's attitude towards this area is changing. This is because, based on Akayev's relatively liberal political rule, many other factors have also contributed to the development of civil society. For example, the diversity of opinions and democratic culture in the country are among them.

Donor policy towards NGOs in Kyrgyzstan can be divided into two phases : The first phase, covering the years 1992-1996, during which the United States exerted a strong influence on NGOs in Kyrgyzstan. American funds channeled through the NGO Counterpart Consortium, the Eurasia Foundation, ISAR, the American Legal Consortium, and the Peace Corps encouraged local NGOs to focus on issues in areas such as the environment, human rights, and the rule of law. However, poverty eradication and development were not given sufficient attention. The second phase began

in 1996, during which various European and international donors focused the work of NGOs on approaches to poverty alleviation and public participation. These donors include UNDP, UNHCR, the World Bank, TASIS, NOVIB, the Aga Khan Foundation, the IDB, and some representative offices.

According to data from analytical centers, the main areas of activity of non-governmental non-profit organizations in Kyrgyzstan are: charity, humanitarian assistance; social services for vulnerable segments of the population; improving the level of education of the population; protection of human rights; environmental protection; protection of citizens' health, etc.

Kazakhstan. After Kazakhstan gained independence, non-governmental non-profit organizations, which are an important element of civil society in the country, began to develop rapidly in the 1990s. These institutions, which were practically non-existent during the Soviet era, tried to fill the social "gap" that arose in the new political and economic conditions. It was during this period that the number of NGOs increased rapidly. The activities of international donor organizations are recognized as one of the main factors of this growth. In the mid-1990s, USAID, UNDP, Soros Foundation, Hivos, Eurasia Foundation, INTRAC and many other donors began to provide financial and technical support to civil society institutions in Kazakhstan. These organizations helped NGOs to start their activities by allocating grants, training their staff and focusing on problems in social spheres.

Many NGOs, established on the basis of grants, have attempted to fill social, environmental, and legal gaps in society, working in areas such as disability rights, women and youth issues, legal advice, and environmental safety. This, in turn, has led to the formation of public initiatives in many areas not covered by the state.

During this period, NGOs began to form organizationally and informationally. Organizations were engaged in official registration, development of their charters, and formation of an internal management structure. Through participation in trainings and seminars organized by donors, NGOs began to improve their skills in financial management, planning, monitoring, and evaluation.

Currently, non-governmental non-profit organizations are recognized as an important part of civil society in Kazakhstan. More than 18,000 NGOs operate throughout the country. President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev noted that NGOs have become "reliable partners" of the state in the social and socio-economic spheres. In recent years, significant changes have been made to the legislation aimed at developing civil society in Kazakhstan. In particular, the system of work with NGOs by the state has been improved and the mechanisms for supporting them have been expanded. This includes the provision of state social orders, grants, subsidies, and information resources. At the same time, there is a tendency to strengthen control over the activities of NGOs, which has led to additional reporting and monitoring requirements for organizations funded by external donors.

The activities of non-governmental non-profit organizations in Kazakhstan are regulated by a number of special laws. This legislative framework serves to determine the legal status of NGOs, coordinate their organizational forms, sources of financing and areas of activity. One of the most important laws is the Law "On Non-Profit Organizations", adopted in 2001, which legally regulates the processes of creation, operation, reorganization and liquidation of NGOs. Within the framework of this law, non-profit organizations can be registered in various legal forms - as a foundation, institution, association, etc. The law also determines the procedures for their financial activities, property rights and reporting.

The Law "On Public Associations" is also the main legal basis for civil associations and social organizations in Kazakhstan. This law establishes the procedure for citizens to exercise the right to association, that is, it specifies the areas in which public organizations can be established and operate. The law, among other things, establishes the legal boundaries of the activities of structures such as political parties, trade unions, and professional associations.

In addition, the Law "On Non-Profit Organizations" provides for the possibility of NGOs to

operate through sources of financing, namely grants, donations, subsidies and other sources. The Law also establishes the procedure for providing financial assistance to NGOs by the state through social orders, which serves to strengthen their role in solving social problems in society.

Another important aspect is that in 2025, the Kazakh government is developing a new draft law - the draft law "On Non-Governmental Non-Profit Organizations". The main goal of this document is to improve existing legislation, ensure transparency of NGOs, strengthen accountability in their activities, and clarify legal mechanisms for organizations operating with foreign funds. In particular, this draft law provides for the introduction of a special register for NGOs funded from abroad and an enhanced monitoring system for their activities.

Turkmenistan. The formation and development of NGOs in the Republic of Turkmenistan is under strict state control. Therefore, it is desirable that the activities of NGOs coincide with the interests of the political regime and the political leader.

The "organizational formation" phase of Turkmenistan's NGOs (1991–2000). After independence was achieved in 1991, the legal framework began to be created for the first time. On November 12, 1991, the Law "On Public Associations" was adopted. This law gave citizens the opportunity to establish social organizations, but in practice it was implemented with strong restrictions. Several public associations authorized by the state were registered, but their ability to operate independently was limited. During this period, initial technical assistance projects on civil society were implemented through international organizations (e.g., various UN agencies, USAID, EBRD). However, these initiatives were mainly limited to large cities, and many initiative groups were unable to register or faced official resistance.

The stage of "institutional demarcation and integration with the state" of Turkmen NGOs (2000–2010). In 2003, a new version of the Law "On Public Associations" was adopted, which further complicated the registration of NGOs. In particular, strict control mechanisms were introduced over the activities of international and foreign NGOs. Also, in 2013, a presidential decree tightened the procedure for public associations to receive foreign grants and financial assistance. During this period, government-organized NGOs (GONGOs) appeared. They were often used to demonstrate to the international community that civil society existed in the country. At the same time, NGOs were allowed to operate only in a limited range of social services (youth, ecology, women and disabled people). There was almost no permission in the areas of political activism, human rights protection or independent monitoring.

The "constraint-based institutionalization" phase of Turkmenistan's NGOs (2010s to present). In recent years, the non-governmental sector in Turkmenistan has been institutionally present, but in practice it operates under limited freedoms, bureaucratic obstacles, and strong state control. As of 2022, only around 100–150 NGOs were officially registered. Most of them are social-oriented, closely linked to the state, or GONGO-type organizations. Reports by the UN and the Asian Development Bank note that civil society in the country exists "at a nominal level," and the social, legal, and political environment for independent initiatives is unfavorable. Direct acceptance of external donor funds is prohibited or requires special state consent. Onerous reporting and financial transparency requirements limit the sustainable operation of many small organizations.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the definitions given to NGOs in the laws of the countries of the region. In particular, according to the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Non-Governmental Non-Profit Organizations", "A non-governmental non-profit organization is a self-governing organization established by individuals and legal entities on a voluntary basis, which does not make profit-making the main goal of its activities and does not distribute the income received among its participants."

According to the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On Non-Profit Organizations", "A legal entity whose main purpose is not to generate income and does not distribute the net income received among its participants is recognized as a non-profit organization."

It is noteworthy that the Republic of Tajikistan does not have a law on non-governmental

non-profit organizations; the legal basis for these organizations is provided for in the Law "On Public Associations". Even more interesting is that Article 24 of the National Tax Code of Tajikistan defines the status of non-profit organizations. According to this definition, non-profit organizations are state bodies in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government, social and religious organizations, foundations, institutions, associations, as well as interstate, intergovernmental and other organizations carrying out non-profit activities, which do not aim to receive profit, income or compensation and do not distribute the resulting profit or income among their partners.

In the Republic of Turkmenistan, we can also observe the situation in Tajikistan. All legal and regulatory frameworks for NGOs are set out in the Law of Turkmenistan "On Public Associations". Also, in Kyrgyzstan, the Law "On Non-Profit Organizations" adopted in 1999 defines "A non-profit organization is a voluntary, self-governing organization established by individuals and (or) legal entities on the basis of the commonality of their interests to meet the spiritual or other non-material needs of its members and (or) society as a whole, where profit is not the main goal and the profits received are not distributed among its members, founders and officials."

In short, after gaining independence, the formation and development of civil society institutions, especially non-governmental non-profit organizations, in the Central Asian countries reached a qualitatively new level. However, this process was not uniform and linear throughout the region. Although all Central Asian countries officially recognized the right to freedom of association in the early 1990s and created the initial legal framework regulating the activities of NGOs, the practical development of the sector was deeply connected with the nature of political regimes, the degree of legal liberalization, and openness to international cooperation.

Overall, the post-independence development of NGOs in Central Asia demonstrates that the formation of civil society is deeply linked not only to legal recognition, but also to the type of regime, the relationship between state and society, and forms of international cooperation. These different trends highlight the institutional asymmetry in the region's civil society landscape: NGOs act as active partners in governance in some states, while in others they are limited or marginalized. Therefore, the Central Asian experience demonstrates the need for context-based approaches to strengthening civil society, as the development of NGOs is inseparable from broader processes of political institutionalization and state transformation.

Conclusion

The development of non-governmental non-profit organizations (NGOs) in Central Asia has been a complex and multifaceted process, deeply influenced by the political regimes, legal frameworks, and international cooperation within each country. While Uzbekistan has seen significant progress, with government reforms and infrastructure supporting the growth of NGOs, countries like Tajikistan and Turkmenistan have faced greater challenges due to stricter state control and limitations on political activism. The comparative analysis highlights the varying levels of institutionalization and the crucial role of NGOs in addressing social issues and promoting democratic practices. The findings suggest that strengthening civil society in Central Asia requires context-specific approaches that account for the unique political environments in each country. Moreover, the continued development of NGOs in the region depends not only on legal recognition but also on the political will to foster an inclusive and dynamic civil society.

References

- [1] D. Biryuk, "Status and prospective trends of mechanisms of state financial support for economic development of Ukraine," *Scientific bulletin of Polissia*, no. 2 (29), pp. 449–460, Mar. 2025, doi: 10.25140/2410-9576-2024-2(29)-449-460.
- [2] O. V. Dedova, N. N. Kovaleva, L. V. Ermakova, and Y. A. Dvoretskaya, "Cost accounting

for the provision of hemodialysis services in medical institutions,” *Buhuchet v zdravoohranenii (Accounting in Healthcare)*, no. 3, pp. 6–14, Mar. 2022, doi: 10.33920/med-17-2203-01.

[3] A. Neligan and S. Rajakulendran, “Has the mortality of status epilepticus changed over the past few decades?,” *Epilepsy & Behavior*, vol. 138, p. 109050, Jan. 2023, doi: 10.1016/j.yebeh.2022.109050.

[4] Z. Zamonov, “The Importance of Cooperation Between Civil Society Institutions and Internal Affairs Bodies in The Development of Society,” *International Journal Of History And Political Sciences*, vol. 5, no. 12, pp. 127–131, Dec. 2025, doi: 10.37547/ijhps/volume05issue12-29.

[5] E. Ang, “Openness Builds Mutual Respect and Trust between Leaders and Followers,” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2012, doi: 10.2139/ssrn.2016003.

[6] S. J.J., “Legal Basis Of The Formation Of The Activities Of Non-Governmental Non-Profit Organizations In Uzbekistan,” *The American Journal of Political Science Law and Criminology*, vol. 03, no. 04, pp. 119–124, Apr. 2021, doi: 10.37547/tajpslc/volume03issue04-18.

[7] J. Wolf, “Teacher Training in Linguistic Diversity within Inclusive Education: Cooperation between Non-governmental Non-profit Organizations and Educational Institutions. Situation in Three European Countries,” Universidad de Burgos. doi: 10.36443/10259/6653.

[8] M. Gentile, “Fertility, age structure and demographic transition in the former Soviet republics: the Central Asian Republics in focus,” *Popul. Space Place*, vol. 13, no. 6, pp. 433–454, Aug. 2007, doi: 10.1002/psp.468.

[9] S. F. Starr, “Civil Society in Central Asia,” in *Civil Society in Central Asia*, University of Washington Press, 2011, pp. 27–56. doi: 10.1515/9780295800530-004.

[10] P. Thiers, “Stretching Away from the State: NGO Emergence and Dual Identity in a Chinese Government Institution,” in *China in an Era of Transition*, Palgrave Macmillan US, 2009, pp. 145–163. doi: 10.1057/9780230620155_9.

[11] D. Firdoos, “Role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in education development of post-independent Tajikistan,” *International NGO Journal*, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 35–42, Dec. 2014, doi: 10.5897/ingoj2014.0286.

[12] E. Badawi, “Comparative Analysis of Legal Frameworks Shaping Space Activities in the GCC Countries,” in *IISL Colloquium on the Law of Outer Space*, in IAC 2024. International Astronautical Federation (IAF), 2024, pp. 634–646. doi: 10.52202/078384-0063.

[13] A. G. Khabibulin and A. A. Eremyan, “The nature and procedure for the implementation of prosecutorial supervision over law enforcement activities,” *Gaps in Russian Legislation*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 175–180, Aug. 2025, doi: 10.33693/2072-3164-2025-18-3-175-180.

[14] S. Carapico, “NGOs, INGOs, GO-NGOs and DO-NGOs: Making Sense of Non-Governmental Organizations,” *Middle East Report*, no. 214, p. 12, 2000, doi: 10.2307/1520187.

[15] E. Elahi, “Tajikistan,” in *Insights in Global Health*, CRC Press, 2020, pp. 300–309. doi: 10.1201/9781003141440-63.

[16] S. R. Ravilevich, “Legal Basis For Pursuing Criminal Liability Of Heads Of Non-Governmental Non-Profit Organizations,” *The American Journal of Political Science Law and Criminology*, vol. 7, no. 12, pp. 96–100, Dec. 2025, doi: 10.37547/tajpslc/volume07issue12-15.

[17] T. V Artemenko and S. Y. Titova, “TRANSFORMATION OF STATE SUPPORT MEASURES FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY UNDER RESTRICTIONS,” *Vestnik of Khabarovsk State University of Economics and Law*, no. 2(109), pp. 71–77, Nov. 2022, doi: 10.38161/2618-9526-2022-2-071-077.

[18] P. Calvert, “Understanding Gamification,” *The Electronic Library*, vol. 34, no. 5, p. 0, 2016, doi: 10.1108/el-02-2016-0049.

[19] D. Hellinger, “Conference Papers: 5. International Humanitarian Organizations, NGOs and the Military Humanitarian Action, NGOs and the Privatization of the Military,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 192–220, Dec. 2004, doi: 10.1093/rsq/23.4.192.

- [20] D. Irrera, “Humanitarian NGOs in Peace Building and Reconstruction Operations,” in *The Politics and Policies of Relief, Aid and Reconstruction*, Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9781137026736.0018.
- [21] D. Firdoos, “Role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in education development of post-independent Tajikistan,” *International NGO Journal*, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 35–42, Dec. 2014, doi: 10.5897/ingoj2014.0286.