On Relationships between Municipal and Non-governmental Organisations in Lithuania

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Abstract. This article analyses the problems of relationships between Lithuanian municipalities and non-governmental organisations in two Lithuanian municipalities. Aiming to disclose the problems of interaction between Vilnius city and Ukmergė district municipalities and non-governmental organizations, the authors have carried out three surveys based on in-depth interviews and “participatory” research. The article not only proves the insufficient level of social capital at the interaction of municipalities and non-governmental organizations, but also presents the measures to improve it by promoting higher level of interaction, enhancing the potential of non-governmental organisations, and reducing the asymmetrical information, which means uneven and unfair distribution of information from the ruling elite disposing information. In many ways asymmetrical information creates disproportional power relations and increases unnecessary transactional costs. Asymmetrical information was a greater problem in Ukmergė district than in Vilnius city.

Keywords: municipalities, non-governmental organisations, interaction, asymmetrical information.

Raktažodžiai: savivaldybės, nevyriausybinės organizacijos, sąveika, asimetrinė informacija.

Introduction

What market demands do not cover, but is required by many members of the society, in principle can be performed only by two forces: state or non-governmental sector. Non-governmental sector is a unique democratic phenomenon [1, p. 17-20]. It is the most “capitalistic” of all economic challenges responding to failures of the free market and filling economic niches by volunteer and charity activities. The needs of more economic community are satisfied by state programmes and services financed from the income received from taxes. Lithuania, as well as many other Eastern European countries, have appeared in an invidious situation in terms of the provision of public and, partly, private goods [5, p. 147]. The state and non-governmental sectors are weak in this area, i.e. nothing can fill the niche that forms when the market does not provide its solutions or when the market fails to [4, p. 15]. Successful interaction between Lithuanian municipalities and non-governmental organizations
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 NGO “pulls” both sectors forward and prevents the formation of even bigger “social niches”. What could social science contribute to the interaction improvement? Is it possible to suggest any research or practical activity models to disclose the interaction better and strengthen it? For this reason the empirical research was conducted in order to understand the relationships between municipalities and NGO in central Lithuanian municipality of Vilnius City and peripheral municipality of Ukmergė district. The research surveys were conducted by the authors in 2006-2007 and observatory “participatory” research conducted in 2010. Aiming to disclose the problems of interaction between Vilnius city and Ukmergė district municipalities the authors of the article have carried out 3 surveys based on in-depth interview. During the first survey (November, 2006) 7 respondents from Vilnius city and Ukmergė district municipalities (3 politicians and 4 administrative staff members), during the second survey (November, 2006) 4 representatives from NGO sector from each municipality, and during the third survey (September, 2007) 6 NGO leaders in both municipalities were interviewed. Total number of respondents is 34. General survey results according to the question topic are presented below.

Results of 1st empirical survey of municipality respondents

Views towards local democracy. Respondents from Vilnius city municipality (both City Council members and officials) say that democracy is missing in practical activities (not only in Vilnius). For example, one respondent has called the phenomenon “the perverted democracy”. A part of Vilnius city municipality respondents have noted that formal conditions for democracy exist. Proposals to improve the situation include: direct election of the mayor, limiting the rule of the minority, etc.

Respondents from Ukmergė municipality had two different opinions. Majority of respondents have said that situation was positive, “no more democracy is needed”. The reasons behind the sufficient level of democracy, in their opinion, have included media, which enhanced democratic development and ensured its transparency, the programme “Leader Plus”, which was financed from the EU funds and, as a result, 28 rural communities were established. Despite these factors a part of respondents have acknowledged that communities were not active enough and activity needs to be encouraged. A part of respondents have listed additional factors that contribute to the development of democracy including the direct election of a mayor and providing municipalities with more functions. Despite different assessments of local democracy, majority of respondents have acknowledged that the situation is changing in the positive direction of local democracy.

Relations with NGOs and their enhancement. Respondents from Vilnius city municipality have claimed that it was easy to get NGO lists (contacts) but they were really used only by respondents working in specific areas (protection of children rights, social support, etc.) and those having direct contacts with NGOs. The list of organisations was viewed as a mean that help to give (allocate) support. In the opinion of one respondent the list was needed as an additional means for monitoring and control. Respondents from Ukmergė District municipality said that they had known about the NGOs operating in
their municipality, many of them had their lists and used them quite frequently, especially organisations working with specific groups (the disabled, children). The lists have served as a means for NGOs to receive support from the municipality. Thus, respondents from both Vilnius City and Ukmergė District municipalities operating in specific areas (social, for example) face NGOs more. It was interesting to observe that unlike respondents from Vilnius City municipality respondents from Ukmergė have maintained close relations with NGOs and active local community groups. A part of them called themselves active. To be more specific, a part of Ukmergė respondents listed such NGOs as “Trade Union”, “Choir”, and “Young Social democrats”.

Processes and areas where municipalities can establish contacts with the non-governmental sector (cooperate and encourage community’s activities). Respondents from both Vilnius and Ukmergė municipalities have listed many forms of communication between municipalities and NGOs (“open door” hours, meetings, e-government, conferences, involvement into municipal budget planning, personal conversations, etc.) but have acknowledged that NGO have a weak influence in making important decisions, such as budget allocation. Thus, although officially non-governmental organisations have many conditions to influence processes, not all of them are effective in reality. Respondents from Ukmergė District municipality have noted that NGOs are weak in their district but thanks to the EU support 28 active rural communities were established. Respondents from Vilnius NGOs have emphasized the implementation of “single window”, “e-government”, while respondents from Vilnius City municipality have highlighted regular meetings with the community as important factors of strengthening local democracy.

The role of municipalities in regard to NGOs. Only respondents working directly with NGOs that operate in social sphere have referred to the real relations and real role of the municipality (contracts of cooperation were signed, NGOs were contacted regarding certain issues). Other respondents noted the desirable relations. It was suggested that NGOs should work with the community to make it more active and the municipality should provide non-governmental organisations with material resources (project financing, etc.), establish joint public bodies. It was also noted that the municipality should encourage NGO activity for the sake of transparency, to discuss more with non-profit organisations. One respondent has noted that only those NGOs that support the ideology of the City Council leaders receive material support. A part of Vilnius City municipality respondents have said that municipality should take steps aiming to cooperate with NGOs but only municipal officials working in social sphere and directly facing NGOs providing social services were able to name the initiatives. Respondents from Ukmergė District municipality emphasized the role of the municipality as a care-provider (which supports projects and proves consultations). An opinion that NGOs have to make the first step in establishing contacts and expressing their needs was presented. Only one respondent suggested that the relations should be partnership-based.

Tendencies in municipal and NGO cooperation. Respondents from both municipalities have noted that during the recent years financing of NGO sector has increased and it was based on long-term projects, municipalities started to buy NGO services, the quality of NGO work has increased and financing has contributed a lot to
the development of the non-governmental sector. A part of respondents having direct relations with NGOs have stated that the attitude of municipal officials towards NGOs is changing in a positive direction. An opinion that NGOs duplicate the activities of the municipality, demand payment and try “to dictate municipality” was also expressed. Thanks to financing from the EU, 28 active local rural communities were established. When analysing the differences between the elected politicians and those working in the municipal administration, some respondents expressed an opinion that politicians were more active before elections and used the problems identified by NGOs in their electoral programmes. Majority of respondents noted that politicians have greater influence in making the situation more benevolent to NGOs and municipal officials put into practice only the policy formulated by politicians.

**NGOs impact on the relations between the public and NGO sectors.** Municipal representatives listed some NGO activities that would be useful in cooperating with municipalities: 1) identifying priorities (indication of themes and problems that are important to target audiences); 2) participation in strategic planning by formulating goals and tasks; 3) decision-making on budget allocation issues; 4) results evaluation.

It is noteworthy to mention that not all respondents had equally evaluated the importance of NGOs activities. An opinion that NGOs have only to share their ideas and let the competent persons that are municipal officials, to implement them was expressed. When evaluating civil activity, municipality respondents noted that the level of activity is not very high, that the same people changing every two or three years take part in cooperative activities. New active citizens engage only after the emergence of new problems or before the election.

**Influence of NGOs on local democracy and social areas.** Municipal respondents noted that cooperation with NGOs was very useful. Respondents from Vilnius have emphasized positive NGOs’ changes in the areas of the disabled people and children (the area of the elderly was not evaluated) while respondents from Ukmergė District municipality have noted that the situation is quite problematic, there were few active youth organisation but the activities of NGOs working with the disabled persons or the elderly are developing in Ukmergė.

**Relations between politicians (elected municipal respondents) and NGOs.** When talking about the responsibilities of politicians, a big part of municipal respondents have said that politicians should communicate more and initiate meetings with the society and NGOs. A part of the respondents have emphasized that politicians have to form an approach that NGOs are equal, non-profit partners and, thus, represent the public interest that can provide municipalities with useful information. It was also noted that if NGOs were strengthened, a higher level of democracy would be achieved. It is interesting that the respondents from Ukmergė District municipality have emphasized the need for politicians to meet with the society and non-profit organisations while the respondents from Vilnius City municipality have expressed a need for partnership and political initiatives when making contacts with NGOs.

**NGO relations with political parties.** Majority of respondents from Vilnius non-governmental organisations have pointed out that the relations between political
parties and NGOs are weak or they do not exist at all. A part of the respondents have expressed an opinion that political parties sometimes draft NGOs in their electoral campaigns as, for example, refer to the problems and solutions as provided by NGOs. Respondents from Ukmergė non-governmental organisations have noted that politicians sometimes use NGOs for their own purposes as, for instance, before elections they establish new NGOs for their own benefit.

**Results of municipal and NGO cooperation.** Talking about concrete results Vilnius respondents have listed the following results: a café employing past drug addicts was opened; public opinion regarding vulnerable groups was being formed; a joint venture was established; a new festival for Children Day Care Centres was organised; the community made successful efforts to use a part of the beach by the lake; public transportation suitable for the disabled (blind) people was launched, etc. Respondents from Ukmergė District municipality have mentioned the following results: an event for artists was organised, rural development strategy was created, as a result of which a rural community was established, the disabled persons were employed and social assistance centres were established.

**Identified problems and ways to enhance local democracy.** Respondents from Vilnius City municipality have listed the following factors that could improve the situation of local democracy:

- To provide municipalities with as much freedom as they have in other countries of the European Union;
- To increase citizen activity in neighbourhood government, to enhance the relations between local government and its inhabitants;
- To influence community activity by involving their representatives into municipalities;
- To change electoral system into majoritarian, to decrease the number of municipal officials and increase their communities;
- To explain municipal role and functions to inhabitants;
- To create barriers for narrow interest groups to make profit at the cost of the other people (majority).

Respondents from Ukmergė District municipality listed the following factors that could improve the situation of local democracy:

- The importance of direct elections of a mayor, the lack of political culture, weak argumentation of decisions;
- The importance of making society’s public spirit more active and empower people to express their opinion;
- To improve legal regulation of local governance and prevent populism;
- “We need more new politicians”;
- To provide municipalities with more functions, not all communication’s with the community channels and tools are applied.

NGOs in Vilnius city were characterised as having more independence and variety of activities as well as having more critical approach to municipal administration and politicians. Only one respondent from Ukmergė district was critical towards his/her municipality.
Results of 1st survey of NGO respondents

NGO cooperation with municipality. Talking about cooperation with municipality, respondents from Vilnius non-governmental sector have emphasized projects (won in the contest, which is announced annually by the municipality). One respondent has mentioned that their NGO received premises from the municipality. Other respondents said that it is important to get engaged in lobbying, to organise “thanksgiving” events because such measures foster cooperation and help to establish contacts, change prejudice into a positive direction. A negative attitude towards NGOs, avoidance of responsibility and joint projects were mentioned as main aspects of unwillingness to cooperate from the municipality’s side.

Respondents from Ukmergė non-governmental sector have noted such facts of cooperation with the municipality as provision of premises, transport, consultations on different issues. Other respondents have mentioned that the municipality had organised meetings with NGOs, sent children to day-care centre. One respondent has called the municipality as a partner, but did not specify in which respect. It is noteworthy to mention that respondents from Vilnius non-governmental organisations have emphasized the aspects that are characteristic to the concept of partnership, discussed the possibility to make mutual influence, while respondents from Ukmergė NGOs have highlighted the role of the municipality as a caregiver.

Areas of cooperation between NGOs and municipality. The respondents from non-governmental organisations have listed some areas where NGO activities could be beneficial: rendering social services, fostering civil society, cooperation in decision making on issues important to local democracy, implementing e-government, forming municipal budget. They have also pointed out conferences, lectures, and discussions. The respondents have evaluated cooperation with the municipality in a different way. All respondents from Vilnius NGOs have noticed the approach of an unequal partner (“Municipality views us as pigmies and does not understand what NGO means”). Despite the cases of cooperation, municipality views NGOs as competitors, establish new services and duplicate activities carried out by NGOs. Majority of NGO respondents from Ukmergė have evaluated cooperation with the municipality positively. Noteworthy to mention that an organisation providing relatively new services (children day-care centre) and having no relations with political parties, has expressed a greater need for attention and more stable financing. Despite numerous areas of possible cooperation between municipalities and NGO in Vilnius municipality, seeking for equal and partnership-based cooperation is not sufficient. The style of cooperation as described by the respondents from Ukmergė District municipality raises some doubts regarding equal relations because the majority of respondents from the municipality and NGO sector consider the municipality more as a patron than as an equal partner.

Impact of NGOs on the relations between public and non-governmental sectors.
The respondents from the NGO sector have listed several activities that would be beneficial to the society when cooperating with the municipality:

- Identifying priorities (marking themes and problems that are important to target audiences);
• Participation in strategic planning by formulating goals and tasks;
• Decision-making on budget allocation issues;
• Results evaluation.

Noteworthy to mention that the listed areas correspond if we compare them with both cities and the responses received from the municipal respondents.

**NGO relations with municipal officials.** The respondents from both Vilnius and Ukmergė non-governmental organisations maintain relations with the municipal officials working in the same social areas as NGO. Non-governmental organisations operating in Ukmergė and having relations with political parties also communicate with the municipal leaders.

**Relations between municipal politicians and NGOs.** The respondents from both municipalities have stated that politicians are more active during elections and emphasized personal priorities of politicians. Majority of respondents from Vilnius have regretted that they seldom receive support from the municipality while respondents from Ukmergė have noted tangible material support. In the opinion of the respondents from Vilnius City municipality politicians should be more active and seek closer cooperation and partnership. An idea that politicians should treat NGOs as equal partners that render social services and take them into consideration when establishing strategies for social services was expressed. It is important to deepen society’s understanding about NGOs. The respondents from Vilnius non-governmental sector have noted that they had not had any contacts with politicians, though they had reached for them. It is worthy mentioning that the NGOs from Ukmergė that maintain close relations with political parties positively evaluated the present situation while the NGOs that do not have any relations have expressed the need for partnership.

**Differentiating the municipal representatives’ perspective towards non-profit organisations.** Two areas – rural communities and the disabled people - receive the most support in Ukmergė. Meanwhile respondents from Vilnius have stated that the municipality gives priority to the NGOs established by the municipality, that is international NGOs. Religious communities are being discriminated and the lists of favourite NGOs, which are invited to certain meetings, exist in Vilnius City municipality.

**Analysis of 2nd NGO survey results**

Asymmetrical information, which means uneven and unfair distribution of information from the side of ruling elites is one of the biggest obstacles in inter-institutional cooperation including relations between municipalities and NGO in the modern world. In many ways asymmetrical information disproportions power relations and increases unnecessary transactional costs. The fact, that many non-governmental organizations simply “do not have access” to more favourable terms of public purchase or more useful international cooperation, hinders their development. Often NGOs lack information about necessary funding, legislative changes, the attitude of municipal officers, etc. In September 2007 the authors of this paper carried out the third empirical research and surveyed 6 leaders from Vilnius city and 6 leaders of Ukmergė district non-governmental organizations. The survey results indicated that Ukmergė district non-governmental organizations (except one out of
six) were directly dependent on the information as provided by the municipality and did not know or use much alternative information. Several NGOs from Vilnius, in their turn, although had broader access to information sources were often discriminated by the municipality as the information was either late or did not reach them at all as compared with other, “more privileged” non-governmental organizations that were given informational priority. NGOs in Ukmergė district, as compared to NGOs in Vilnius city, were discriminated because of the lack of information on international contacts. This way the asymmetry of central and peripheral information became evident. Higher informational asymmetry in Vilnius and Ukmergė district made us claim that there is no equivalent partnership between municipalities and NGOs and there is a lack of social capital and social trust in Lithuania. The situation encourages favouritism and asymmetric information causes the increase in transactional costs. The relations between Vilnius municipality and NGOs as well as between Ukmergė municipality and NGOs are developed on the basis of municipal dominance and sometimes even on the basis of contra-opposition and there is a lack of equal partnership based relations.

To diminish transactional costs and asymmetric information, the levels of relations including municipal and NGO relations have a great importance. On the first level, i. e. the attempts of individual NGOs to receive support or help (funds, premises, equipment) from local government is possible to provide on the level of individual search for cooperation. Transactional costs and asymmetric information is the greatest on this level. Another level includes public legalization of municipal and non-governmental organizations relations where transactional costs and informational asymmetry is smaller. They are even smaller on the third level when non-governmental representation forms (coalitions) are developed and on the fourth, the highest level, when the principles of cooperation between non-governmental organizations and municipalities are developed.

It should be noted that whereas all four and especially the first three levels of cooperation were used in Vilnius City municipality, cooperation in Ukmergė district was based on individual agreements between municipality and individual organizations, the partnership of which was consolidated by individual contracts. It means that cooperation in Ukmergė district would reach the second level. There were exceptions as well. The association of Ukmergė district communities and the coalition unifying 7 NGOs working with children operated in the district, i. e. the third level of cooperation was reached. The Council of Youth Affairs, the Council of Community Health, Educational and other Councils in the activities of which NGO representatives took part, operated as well in the municipal area. NGO related issues were coordinated by the deputy director of municipal administration. Municipality itself evaluated the cooperation with NGOs rather positively. Ukmergė district NGO representatives that took part in the survey also commended cooperation with the municipality though it was evident that they were afraid to loose municipal support because they avoided inconvenient questions, prevaricated clear answers and cajoled municipal administration. Although cooperation forms in Vilnius City municipality were more diverse than in Ukmergė district municipality, Vilnius City municipality and NGOs evaluated this cooperation more critically.

The reasons hindering cooperation between municipalities and NGOs were identified. The most obvious ones include: a) lack of funding which cumbers organizations
to function independently throughout a year; b) municipal representatives lack knowledge about the third sector’s place in the society (as it was noted by respondents that took part in the survey “inability of officials to envisage the benefit of NGO activities”). It should be noted that a part of the respondents (both in Vilnius and in Ukmergė district) think negatively about possibilities to receive funding, project funding, etc. and claim that the processes are not transparent and objective, based on “political sympathies” and “economic calculation”. In terms of non-governmental and municipal forms of cooperation a big contrast between organizations was identified. Non-profit organizations operating in Ukmergė district that have strong informal relations with the municipality and have positively evaluated municipal activities have listed much more cooperation forms as compared to the general average. Whereas NGOs operating independently and seeking transparency of municipal decisions claim that officials avoid cooperation, declare it only and real cooperation is absent. Thus, in the regions where partnership traditions between non-governmental organizations and municipal officials are week catch-22 situation is formed. Municipalities tend to support the “politically presentable” organizations and become one of the major funding sources for them. This way dependency from municipality and benevolent approach to municipal activities is strengthened. Communities that develop independently of municipality, criticize municipal activities and seek transparency, are ignored and not given equal conditions for activities. The manifestations of civil society are suppressed, too. It should be noted that not partnership-based, adversarial approach of officials towards NGO is milder in municipalities that together with non-profit organizations implement joined EU financed projects. Municipalities and NGOs take part in the programmes financed by the EU funds (for example, EQUAL projects) as equal partners and municipalities are interested to cooperate with NGOs and mind their image.

The survey respondents have claimed that the major reason for avoidance to join NGO is lack of human activity caused by different factors, including the following:

- The society is dominated by unfavourable approach to volunteer and NGO activities (this type of work is not appreciated);
- Only a small part of Lithuanian citizens can allocate time and engage in volunteer activities;
- The society is dominated by frustration in politicians that ignore the attempts of the society to have a profile to their problems;
- NGO employees lack knowledge and skills.

The problems of the interaction between municipalities and non-governmental organizations were revealed by NGO activity nature as presented by the following social scenarios:

1 scenario – NGO requests help on the basis of personal contacts. If a non-governmental organization carries out charity activities (not the functions of political control), has good first level contacts (an old acquaintance, familiar person whose request is inconvenient to reject) and help solicited is not too expensive, the request brings results – financial support or in-kind support (for instance, transport) is given.

2 scenario – NGO charity activities. If a non-governmental organization carries out charity activities (not the functions of political control) and the first level contacts
are not good, municipal bureaucrats ignore or avoid contacts (“elude to waste time on meeting NGO representatives”).

3 scenario — NGO tries to carry out civil control. If a non-governmental organization tries to carry out civil control or tries to do something that does not serve municipal bureaucrats, the reaction is hostile and aimed to block NGO activities — not to give support or just to defeat the organization. It is related to the fact that bureaucrats often view non-governmental organizations as interceptors of state functions [2, p. 14].

The results of the empirical research carried out by the authors of the paper indicate that relations between citizens and authorities are dominated by the traditional public administration approach and submission. Interaction between municipalities and NGOs is characterised by non-democratic, asymmetrical power relations; therefore, there is a lack of social capital and social trust. Non-governmental organizations are influential when carry out charity or similar functions and loose their influence when try to pursue the functions of, for instance, political control. The research results make it clear that NGO representatives are afraid to evaluate municipalities negatively except respondents that have nothing to loose or are angry at municipal officials. The results of the empirical research carried out by the authors point out that municipal administration and politicians have to change their approach to NGOs and to treat them as associates and partners and not as competitors or marplots of their work. The research results have revealed that in order to strengthen cooperation between NGO and municipalities it is expedient to:

- Promote NGO potential in the areas of material (by providing more stable financing, premises, etc.) and human resources (by increasing NGO employee competence, etc);
- Promote civil society (by developing socially oriented values, promoting sociality, etc.);
- Educate state officials about different aspects of the third sector;
- Promote project developing on the national or international levels in which municipalities and NGOs take part as equal partners [2, p. 14]

However, as the results of the research “Undiscovered Power” carried out by the Civil Society Institute suggest political distrust (even “political depression”) is widely spread in the Lithuanian society [8]. People do not trust activity perspectives of the democratic institutions they themselves have elected, state institutions, and non-governmental organizations. Thus, people choose not partnership but “recession”, bear dominant bureaucratic administration and do not support the activities of non-governmental organizations. Thus, the implementation of new management models and improvement of the municipal and non-governmental interaction under present Lithuanian situation remains a problem that requires long-term attempts [3, 7, p. 161]. Present cultural-political-economic discourse is not highly favourable for NGO activities. To increase the level of social capital and to promote civic activity in Lithuania it is necessary to apply the means of “more active social policy”.

Additional, “participatory” research, conducted in Vilnius city and Ukmergė district in 2010 showed that some „old diseases“ of differences between Vilnius and Ukmergė were still in place – there was observed only slight improvement in Ukmergė district and
slight decline in Vilnius city. Is it a shift to more just or equal relationship across Lithuania is an open question to answer for future research. Nevertheless, clientelistic relationship in many other peripherical municipalities of Lithuania are widely noticed by research, simple observation and mass media reports [6, p. 126].

Conclusions

The results of the empirical research and the interview-based surveys of Vilnius City and Ukmergė district indicate that interaction between municipalities and NGOs is characterised by lack of social capital. Therefore, inadequate type of social administration that causes the problems of democratic consolidation is being developed. To increase the level of social capital and to decrease civic apathy it is necessary to apply the means of “more active social policy” in Lithuania. They would open more favourable possibilities for cooperation between municipalities and NGOs, make municipal administration and politicians treat non-governmental organizations as partners that take certain “social niches” and often are able to provide social services more efficiently. Interview results have indicated that subordinate, subservient non-governmental organizations that have good personal contacts and avoid political control most often receive support from municipalities. Asymmetrical information that hinders non-governmental organisations to find out the information for project proposals and to develop international relations is a big problem of interaction between municipalities and non-governmental organizations in both Vilnius city and Ukmergė district. Asymmetrical information was bigger problem in Ukmergė district than in Vilnius city. In many ways asymmetrical information disproportions power relations and increases unnecessary transactional costs. NGOs in Vilnius city were characterised as having more independence and variety of activities as well as having more critical approach to municipal administration and politicians. Only one NGO leader out of 6 in Ukmergė district was more open and critical about municipal activities. Three scenarios of NGO activities as developed by the authors of this article demonstrate the domination of the traditional public administration model that impedes the cooperation between municipalities and non-governmental organizations in Lithuania.

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Straipsnis įteiktas redakcijai 2011 m. sausio mėn.; recenzuotas; parengtas spaudai 2011 m. vasario mėn.