

# Analysis of County Governors' Administrations Reform of 2010 in Lithuania

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***Abstract.** While 1970s were marked by creation of intermediary (regional) levels of government in Western Europe the wave of administrative reforms reached Eastern Europe in the end of 1980s and beginning of 1990s. Lithuania was not an exception. From 1994 until July, 2010 the public administration system was deconcentrated to County Governors' Administrations and decentralized to local governments in Lithuania. As it was declared in political and legal documents, the reform of County Governors' Administrations abolishment was aimed to improve public administration and decentralize public governance system in Lithuania, but its results were quite controversial. The main aim of this paper is to analyze the reform conducted in Lithuania in 2010s. The main sources of information are semi-structured expert interviews and secondary data.*

**Keywords:** *intergovernmental relations, County Governors' Administrations reform, centralization, decentralization.*

**Raktažodžiai:** *santykiai tarp valdžios lygių, apskričių reforma, centralizacija, decentralizacija.*

## Introduction

Over the second half of the 20th century countries worldwide have witnessed the structural changes of public governance systems. Development of decentralized public governance structures in developed, transitional and developing countries was caused by the economical, political, social, and technological changes described as the worldwide trend toward democratization, the influence of new or enlarged international organizations and dissatisfaction with the performance of central governments. New sub-national levels of government, which have elective bodies assigned to executive and sometimes legislative powers (UK, Spain, Italy, France, Belgium, Portugal – a regional level of government) or enhanced local level (Scandinavian countries), were created. Decentralization processes occurred even in such relatively centralized countries as Jordan, the Kingdom of Morocco, the Central and Eastern European countries, which were experiencing political, economic and administrative changes. The question of how to distribute power between the national and sub-national actors continues to occupy a prominent position in the national policy agenda of most countries [29, p. 3], as these

assignments tend to be fixed over time, even though changing technologies and economic conditions require their revision from time to time [27].

Reform of County Governor's Administrations (*hereafter* – CGA's) conducted in 2010 was one of the most important structural changes in the public administration system in Lithuania. The intermediate (regional) level of administration, which operated for 15 years, was abolished, while the territorial division remained unchanged. It was important to reorganize public administration system because of ineffective management, and significant costs of its administration. Reform was conducted seeking for more effective performance of public sector organizations and public services delivery, public saving, reduction of bureaucracy and avoiding duplicated functions of public administration institutions. Although significant results were reached, there were deviations from the implementation of the goal of decentralization.

The goal of this paper is to analyze reform of CGA's conducted in 2010 in Lithuania.

A secondary data analysis consists of study of legal documents, statistics and other sources published by public authorities, as well as publications on previous research of inter-governmental relations issues in Lithuania. Eleven experts (representing political and administrative branches, central and local levels of governments) were interviewed in the end of 2009. Information obtained during the interviews is generalized and presented in the article.

### **Development of administrative-territorial system in Lithuania in 1990-2010**

Almost twenty years after the restoration of independence and the essential steps in forming public governance system, it cannot be stated that the public governance system in Lithuania has been completely formed. In the context of frequent political, economic, social and cultural changes, improvement of the public governance system becomes a never-ending process. EU integration has a significant influence on the governance and public administration reforms in Lithuania as the EU regional policy as well as legislative and other requirements are contributing to the promotion of decentralization reforms. The formation of local and regional administrations in Lithuania is influenced by the models from the Nordic countries and the experience of Lithuanian local self-government at the beginning of the century and during the interwar period. Lithuania has not developed its own territorial-administrative model and still tries to take over the experience of other countries. Partly this decision can be justified by the fact that Lithuania seeks to transfer already tested models, but the Government does not always take into account the unfolding geopolitical situation and the prevailing traditions of the country.

Lithuanian political-administrative system is based on the *Constitution* [6], which provides legal framework for the institutions of central government and local self-governance system. In Lithuania, public administration system consists of central and territorial entities of state government, local administration bodies and other entities of public administration (see Figure 1). Entities of public administration, empowered to carry out public administration, constitutes a system of subordination and coordination relationships [14].

The system of state government institutions is organised into 14 ministries and institutions (mainly consisting of central and territorial offices at the regional and local levels) subordinated to the Government or ministries. High number of regulatory institutions,

which are more or less autonomous from the Government, and rather low horizontal coordination among ministries cause fragmentation in the public administrative system.

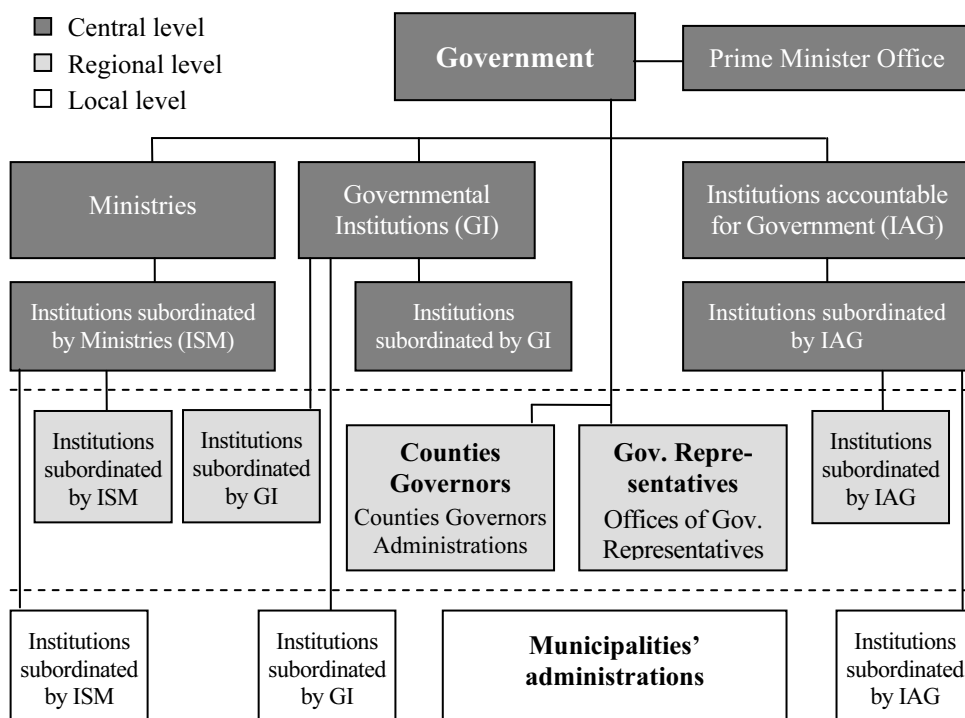


Figure 1: System of public administration institutions in Lithuania before the reform of CGA's in 2010

From 1994 to 2010 the public administration system was deconcentrated to higher-level (regional) administrative units (10 CGA's) and decentralized to local governments (60 municipalities; among them 9 city municipalities, 43 district municipalities and 8 municipalities). Each municipality is divided into wards (about 550). Counties Governors' Administrations were established in 1994 [4]. Each county consisted of 4-8 municipalities, characterized by common social, economic, ethnic and cultural features. The management in counties was organized and supervised by the Government. The Government appointed county's governor and approved the structure of CGA's. County's governor was replaced after parliamentary election. CGA's were financed from state budget.

Centralization of local government functions related to national interests and deconcentration of tasks of the regional scope from the central authorities [2] was fulfilled by forming the management of counties. CGA's took over the functions delegated to local authorities without any major problems, including the functions on land management [31]. Meanwhile, ministries transferred only part of their functions providing explanations about the absence of clear timetable and an authorized person. Later on the CGA's functions had been changed quite often (in 1998 [15], 2001 [16] and 2003 [17]) as these circumstances

repeated. This was due to the controversial assessments of the process of deconcentration, and the unwillingness of the authorities to refuse to function in certain areas [2]. The first idea to abolish CGA's was presented in 2001. The President argued in favour of abandoning counties, but the ruling majority did not initiate such reforms in 2001-2008 [25].

Finally after series of changes, County Governor and its Administration functions [4] were to carry out land reform, to organize regulation on state land use and state control on land use; to implement the state policy of regional development, social services, education, culture, sports, tourism, health care, regional planning, state control on reconstructions and other areas; to anticipate priorities for the county development, to implement state and inter-regional programs, coordinate activities of governmental institutions and municipalities in the implementation of regional programs. The land management issue solving accounted for 60-70% of activities of CGA's. CGA had broad powers granted by laws and were not accountable to the electorate and to a limited extent accountable to Government and ministries. Government had failed to ensure effective control of CGA's functions implementation, performance monitoring and evaluation.

For the implementation of the regional policy Regional Development Councils were established in 2001. Council was formed from county's governor, mayors and 1-3 appointees of each municipality councils. It was responsible for approval of regional development plans, selection of social and economical projects. These Councils performed the initial selection of projects, which received funding from the EU structural funds for 2007-2013.

Local self-governance system was organized on the basis of the administrative-territorial division of Lithuania. After the restoration of independence in Lithuania, administrative-territorial reorganization was achieved quickly by using command methods, removing local governments at the municipal level, and leaving local governments at the county level [3] with the average population over 60.000 among the largest in Europe [30]. The question on territorial division at the local level is associated only with relocation of the "ring-type" municipalities (rural municipality area around the urban one), seeking to solve the issues of territorial development of urban municipality, funding of public services and the movement of rural municipalities' institutions from urban ones.

Municipalities account for less than 1/3 spending of the national budget and are the primary providers of primary and secondary education, public utilities (excluding electricity and gas), and a variety of welfare programs and urban services. Local governments have autonomous budgets, which they draft and approve. While Lithuanian municipalities are significant, both in terms of power and financial capacities *de jure*, still they strongly depend on the state *de facto*. There are no local taxes in Lithuania; local governments have limited powers to determine some tax rates and burnouts. The most significant revenue sources are personal income tax and grants. Municipal governments lack funds to meet their obligations, because of mismanagement and expanding sphere of authority [10].

In 2003, in order to improve public governance system and to increase effectiveness and efficiency of public services it was planned to decentralize and deconcentrate functions, to democratize management of a county, as well as the to strengthen Regional Development Councils [17]. The first stage of the concept was implemented [18], and during the second stage [20] it was planned to democratize county's management and to redistribute responsibilities between central government, counties and local self-

government units in the following areas: culture, organization of social services, vocational and general education, and management of state land. It was planned to further democratize regional management by forming directly elected regional councils. The first election to regional councils was planned to take place in 2011. Optimization of territorial administration was planned to be implemented on the basis of the subsidiarity principle taking into account the recommendations of the Council of Europe.

### **Assumptions and causes of the CGA's reform**

Reforms of public administration system were embedded in different legislative acts of Lithuania (see [8; 19]), aimed at improving the management of municipalities and counties, separating the competence of different levels of government based on alignment of national interests and principles of self-governance, improving the governance through deconcentration and decentralization, determining optimal relationships between different levels of government. Lithuania has achieved a moderate progress in the area of financial management (budgeting, accounting and audit) as well as performance management, but little progress has been made in the area of public administration organisation [24].

The following reasons for the CGA's reform were named: over 15 years of existence the county authorities were unable to realize its goals; citizens were dissatisfied with the work of counties; control system of CGA's was not developed; some functions assigned to CGA's became irrelevant because of the development of IT. Other reasons for the reform included striving to reduce the excessive administrative burden thereby simplifying the provision of public services to citizens, and to strengthen self-governance. Some of these claims can be accepted, while others are doubtful.

The problem of competence distribution between the levels of government had not been solved completely over 15 years. The functions of ministries, CGA's and municipalities were not precisely distributed and coordinated, and were duplicated [11]. The relationships between municipalities and CGA's were irrational due to unsuitable division of competence and political motives. Land management and territory planning represented the areas, in which the competencies of municipalities and CGA's were divided irrationally [1].

The analysis of the performance of CGA's as well as surveys on customer satisfaction with public services had not been carried out. Citizens' dissatisfaction with CGA's performance may be grounded only by the results of the surveys representing public confidence in the institution. In 2007 only 19.8% of respondents demonstrated confidence in CGA's, mistrust was demonstrated by more than 50% of respondents and about 1/3 had no opinion. Similar results were obtained later when the confidence in CGA's was indicated as follows: 22% of respondents trusted CGA's, 52%, mistrusted, 26% had no opinion in 2010, and respectively – 13%, 54% and 33% in 2009. These results may be associated with only one area of the CGA's functions – land management – since this was the only function of CGA's where citizens were served directly. As citizens were not really satisfied with some results of the land reform, thus, it could be assumed that regardless of which institutions would implement this function, its performance would get negative evaluation.

Financial crisis created favourable conditions for the reform although it was not the main reason. Relatively fast economic growth has been the most important feature

of the Lithuanian economy since 2000 until the economic slowdown in 2008. It has exceeded the EU average and has been among the highest in the EU member states, reaching an average of about 7% to 8% per year. Decrease of unemployment level and growth of prices accompanied the economic growth in Lithuania. From 2008 the GDP growth slowed down from 9.8% in 2007 to 2.8% in 2008. In 2009, the global financial crisis hit Lithuanian economy hard: the economy shrank by 14.8%, unemployment climbed to 13.7% and on an average salaries fell by 12.3%, which was the worst performance since 1995s comparable records. Growing unemployment and lower income contributed to some limited social unrest in early 2009.

The economic slowdown and the inability of Governments to use the years of fast economic growth to reach a budget surplus threaten fiscal stability in 2009. Public sector revenue was 9.1 billion EUR in 2009 and 9.4 in 2010, expenditure – 11.7 billion EUR in 2009 and 11.3 in 2010. The fiscal deficit reached 3.3% in 2008 and grew up till 8.9% of Lithuania's GDP in 2009. However, the Government declared intention to manage the budget deficit by keeping it within the limit of 6% of GDP in 2010. Public debt grew up 14% in year reached 30% of GDP in 2009. Government approved heavy budget cuts and passed economy stimulus plan in 2009. Lithuania's GDP demonstrated weak growth of 1.3% in 2010 to 27.6 billion EUR, while the unemployment increased till 17.8% in 2010.

Debates on territorial-administrative reform in Lithuania were going on more than a decade, making intergovernmental relations a domain of public debates without any actions. Though the goals to optimize the functions of different levels of governance, to improve public management and to develop local self-governance system where validated in strategic documents approved in 2002 [8] and 2004 [19], implementation of the goals was fragmented and without a system till late 2008. Public administration reforms may be described as being ad-hoc and sectoral. As governments had no clear and unified vision and long-term strategy on public administration system, each government (more or less) reshuffle public sector institutions according to the objectives of their programs. Frequent organizational restructuring was used to strengthen the political power, thus weakening the influence of representatives of a previous government [23].

Politicians and bureaucrats recognized decentralization as a value in general, and admitted its importance and benefits, but differently understood its development tools. Differences in political ideology were not significant for the decentralization in Lithuania. Politicians presented ideas of decentralization (direct election of mayors, municipal financial empowerment, etc.) just before every local election (the direct elections of municipal mayors were discussed for a decade from 1998), but only a small part of these ideas were transferred to the political agenda and even less were implemented.

Until 2008 politicians did not intervene in the formation and implementation of intergovernmental relations reforms as this sphere was ascribed to the areas of governmental activity. The Parliament was more involved in the establishment of an overall public administration legal framework by adopting new or amending existing laws. The parliamentary control was rather weak, though an audit committee for controlling the executive was established in 2004. Parliamentary control was weak for two reasons: (i) parliamentarians considered that the law itself ensures its implementation; (ii) supervision of implementation of reforms was based on information provided by ministries.

The same scenario was repeated during the reform of CGA's as was moved from the guidelines provided in the annex to the Coalition Agreement [26]. Ultimately, parliamentarians were interested in the final result - liquidation of CGA's - while the conceptual and procedural issues were less important, except perhaps the land management question. On the contrary, attitudes of the President, by publicly articulating her position, were expressed stronger, and impact, by putting veto on laws, was much bigger than in previous intergovernmental relations reforms.

Changes in intergovernmental relations were carried out under the leadership and interests of executive government until 2008. Despite the fact that solution of issues on intergovernmental relations was assigned to the Ministry of the Interior, there were several cases when coordination of obligations on implementation of intergovernmental relations reforms were spread out to several institutions (in 1998 and 2003). In general, as the system of public administration was based on sectoral distribution, inter-institutional communication was based more on personal contacts. Frequent change of governments led to poor coordination of implementation of the reforms. The tight grip of control that the central government holds over the localities continues to hamper efforts at decentralization and national reform [28]. Despite the fact that eventually reform strategies were established, their implementation was blocked (usually by delaying to prepare procedural documents) by the ministries as the central governmental institutions were reluctant to deconcentrate and decentralize the powers.

Local economic capacities may be used as a factor explaining different positions of municipalities in the reform of CGA's. Economically stronger municipalities wanted to get more powers and autonomy, while economically poorer municipalities were more likely to rely on the system of intergovernmental transfers. While the municipalities were supporting this reform expecting more transfer of powers at first, later on they became quite hostile. Municipalities hoped to receive more functions in land management and their enthusiasm was reduced as this did not happen. Municipalities were reluctant to take over functions that have not been adequately funded.

Weak civil society and relatively closed nature of governmental decision-making entailed poor citizen participation in governance. There was no clear position of society (civic/community-based organizations) on intergovernmental relations expressed. There were only single cases when representatives of political, economic or cultural elite spoke on the issues of intergovernmental relations. This did not allow identifying them as the leaders of CGA's reform and their positions. A special phone line to provide information on the reform for concerned citizens was opened in The Prime Minister's Office in June 2010.

The media brought some pressure to the reform of CGA's by disclosing the cases of corruption, abuse or mismanagement in public organizations, but had little interest in intergovernmental relations. With a few exceptions its functions of information provision and formation of public opinion were not fully performed in this field.

### **CGA's reform strategy: goals and means**

The impetus for the reform of CGA's was given as a separate annex to the Coalition Agreement was signed on this issue in 2008 [26]. It was stated that the reform should be implemented immediately, although the clear reasons as well as the aim and goals of this

reform were not listed in the meantime. The agreement provided a brief overview on the strategy of the reform of CGA's – the reduction of the number of counties (4-5) and the change of district management according to the European regional management model, audit and redistribution of the functions of CGA's to ministries or municipal governments respectively in accordance with the logic that everything what the Government does not handle, should be transferred to municipalities rather than regional or county institutions.

The Government took the decision on the reform implementation without a developed and clear strategy and adequate legal framework. The Government decided to abolish inefficient CGA's and to switch from the territory-based to the functional model of administration by transferring the functions of CGA's to municipalities, ministries or agencies subordinated to ministries. While redistributing functions of CGA's, the central government institutions should maintain the functions necessary for the implementation of national policy and governmental supervision (20 planned and 22 transferred), the functions of administration of public services (10 planned and 8 transferred) should be transferred to municipalities, and the rest of the functions should be abolished (58 functions). Functions of municipalities were extended in social welfare, education, health care and other areas of social sphere. It was planned to transfer the management of institutions established by CGA's to municipalities (out of 140 institutions 110 were transferred), to ministries and governmental institutions (78 planned and 111 transferred), and to liquidate the rest (11 planned and 8 actually liquidated). Decisions concerning transfer of institutions was taken on the case to case basis (see *Table 1*).

By the implementation of this reform, the Government planned to improve the Lithuanian territorial management so, that after 2013 it could be possible to reorganize

**Table 1: Redistribution of institutions established by CGA's**

Institutions established by CGA's	Municipalities	Ministries and other governmental institutions
Schools and Special Schools	49	18
Libraries	-	5
Child Care Homes	28	-
Impaired Development Infants Homes	4	-
Social Care Homes	-	29
Foster Homes	-	8
Social Services and Rehabilitation Centers	7	-
Socialization Centers	-	7
Sports Medicine Centers	-	5
Hospitals	13	15
Special Needs Centers, Tourist Information Centers, Regional Development Agencies and others	9	-
Museums, Convalescent Homes, Rehabilitation Centers, Centers of Gestural Language Translators, Conservatory, Nursery Schools and others	-	24



the structure of Lithuanian territory in accordance with the second level units (NUTS 2) of European Union nomenclature. The Government considered another option of the reform, i.e. reorganization of the regional development councils into the second level of self-government institutions having their own administrations and budgets. However, this proposal was not widely analyzed and discussed.

Officially presented goals of the reform were the following: to abolish intermediate level of the central government; to remove duplicated and intermediate functions; to improve the control of functions implementation and to shorten the duration of decision-making; to make processes of management more clear and transparent by preventing corruption; to expand the functions of self-governance; to reduce bureaucratic and administrative burden on business; to bring public services closer to citizens; to ensure the saving of the state budget.

CGA's owned assets of more than 1.8 billion EUR, this accounted for about 1/3 of all state-owned real estate. Part of this property was assigned to the central government and to local government institutions in accordance with the functions and institutions transferred.

Lithuania has signed and ratified the European Charter on Local Self-Government (1999), and therefore had to comply with the provisions contained in this document. The principal of subsidiarity is recognized as valuable, but is not respected in practice. Systemic analysis of functions and institutional capacities and competences was not carried out when redistributing functions between the levels of government. Redistribution of functions among the levels of government was negotiated and based more on traditions and intuition because no methodology was prepared.

### **Management of the CGA's reform process**

Launched in 2009 [5], the reform had to be finished in a year. The reform of CGA's was given a priority in the Government Program [9] implementation action plan for 2010. Because of such urgency the necessary legal framework for the reform was not developed. While there was the fixed date of the end of the reform, a vision for the public administration system functioning after the reform and a strategy for the implementation of the reform were not prepared.

The reform process was institutionalized in the following steps:

- the plan for redistribution of functions carried by CGA's was approved, tools, responsible institutions and terms of implementation were determined [21];
- an inter-agency working group in every county consisting of representatives of ministries (9), institutions subordinated to the ministries (5), CGA's (3) and municipalities (4-8 representatives, depending of the number of municipalities in the county) was formed (16.09.2009), [7];
- the coordinating committee (30.09.2009, 20.10.2009), consisting of representatives of Prime Minister's Office (3), ministries (9), institutions subordinated to the ministries (1), CGA's (1), labour unions (2), Association of Municipalities (1) was formed [22];
- the regulations on working groups (21.10.2009), which defined the functions and accountability system, the responsibility of a group leader for the accomplishment of the tasks and functions in time were approved [13].

Centralized coordination of the implementation of the reform at the Government ensured the sustainability of the reform process and isolated from the impact of individual politicians, if there were any attempts of influence. Coordinating committee coordinated activities of working groups, solved disputes concerning the transfer of material and financial resources to the institutions of central government and municipalities. Coordinating committee held 9 monthly meetings during the period of the reform process.

It seems that, the decentralized model of reform implementation embodied consensus building, but the composition and functions of working groups and Coordinating Committee represented more top-down directions. The working groups were formed representing the interests of all parties concerned, but in many cases, the decisions were more favourable to the central authorities because municipalities were too weak to struggle for their interests.

The reform has been implemented fairly smoothly, and only solution of two issues took longer and required more effort. The transfer of the land management functions remained unsolved longest. The Parliament adopted a law, which set that solving of land issues is transferred to municipalities in the urban areas and to the National Land Agency in the rural areas. The President vetoed these amendments, expressing the lack of confidence in the capacity of local government to address land issues and reasoning the efficiency and effectiveness of services provided by one institution. Solving the land management issues were transferred to the National Land Agency as the remarks of the President were taken into the account.

While all functions were transferred to already operating governmental institutions and agencies, a new department for implementation of the regional policy was established (although this was not intended at the beginning of the reform process) in the Ministry of the Interior. From the 1st of July 2010 the function of the implementation of the national regional policy was transferred to the Regional Development Division, which was a subdivision of the newly established Department of Regional Policy in the Ministry of the Interior. The main function of the division was to administer the activities of Regional Development Councils, 3-5 specialists from the former CGA's were hired to the Regional Development Department.. From the 1st of January 2011 the Regional Development Division was reorganized into the Department of Regional Development at the Ministry of the Interior. This department (consisting of a central agency and territorial units in counties) functions as administration (secretariat) of Regional Development Councils. This fact shows that while planning the reform, the Government failed to evaluate capacities of the existing organizations to take over the transferred functions.

During one year period a dozen of laws (77 laws of 82 laws prepared), Government decrees (124 of 162 prepared) and orders of the Ministry of the Interior solely related to this reform were passed. The allocation of functions was approved mainly by laws, and the transfer procedures were approved by governmental decrees. The quality of legislation is questionable because of such urgency and rush.

Reform was finished on the 25th of November 2010 as CGA's were checked out from the Register of the Legal Entities. It was planned to complete the reform by the 1st of October 2010, but it was delayed because of the resistance of some municipalities to the decisions and reluctance to take assigned institutions or other bureaucratic interference.

## **Results of CGA's reform and assessment of the taken measures**

It is too complicated to assess the benefits of the reform as only one year passed after it was finished. Despite of this fact, the preliminary assessment can be made and the main conclusion drawn – seeking to decentralize public governance in Lithuania, the centralization was increased. By adopting laws and Governmental decrees, 8 functions (of 10 planned) and institutions assigned to CGA's were transferred to municipalities and ensuring funding from budgets of ministries for the year 2010, and later on from grants transferred directly to the budgets of municipalities

Dismissed employees, removed functions and liquidated institutions may lead to saving but there is no data whether the reformed system of public administration will function more efficiently. It remains unclear if the bureaucracy was actually reduced and improvements achieved because citizens continue to be served in the same offices and by the same employees only subordinated to the territorial offices of governmental institutions. The final decisions are taken and complaints considered in the capital city. Performance improvements, bureaucracy reduction (as well as reduction of corruption) in public service provision could also be achieved by improvements in the service delivery system (for example, using "single window" or "one stop shops"). Two thousand thirty five positions of civil servants and employees working under employment contracts were assigned to CGA's. From the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2010, 1400 (946 planned) positions were assigned to ministries and to their subordinate agencies, 42 of them were temporarily assigned (in the Ministry of the Interior) to carry the transferred functions. According to the official reports, the number of civil servants and employees working under employment contracts was reduced by 1089 positions. However, this figure is not exact as the number of positions at the municipal administrations was increased due to implementation of the transferred functions. It is necessary to mention, that by the end of the land reform the number of employees of CGA's would decline per se because till July of 2010 the property rights were restored to an average of 68% of applicants in urban areas and 98% in rural areas.

All dismissed employees were paid severance compensation regardless of whether they were hired in newly established positions, i.e. territorial offices of the centrally coordinated agencies to perform the same functions as in CGA's, the possibilities to continue industrial relations were not considered [12]. In addition, employees at CGA's received lower salaries than in the new positions as the wages in governmental institutions are higher.

The cost of this reform is about 4.1 million EUR. It is planned to save 8.7 million EUR annually needed for salaries as well as to save on maintenance of administrative buildings and other expenditures. This makes a very small part as the budget of CGA's was 218.4 million EUR in 2008 and in 2009 it was 171.5 million EUR. Opportunities for saving are low, since most of the expenses were used to maintain institutions.

## **Conclusions**

1. Essential changes in the intergovernmental relations were made in 1994 when counties were established, in 1998 and in 2001 when functions were redistributed, in 2003 when some centrally implemented functions were deconcentrated and decentrelized, and in 2010 when CGA's were abolished. Intergovernmental relations required systemic

analysis and reforms for all 15 years while the small-scale changes were made. Lack of political will and weak supervision, resistance of ministries to the transfer of function can be identified as the main factors limiting system-scale reforms implementation and development of intergovernmental relations in Lithuania.

2. The reform of CGA's (being the first completed reform of intergovernmental relations) shows emergence of a new approach to intergovernmental relations and improvement of the capacity to manage reform processes. The reform of CGA's was implemented relatively quickly. In general, the reform process has been successfully implemented in accordance with the plans and deadlines, and without major problems. Despite this fact, the need for strategic and deep preparation and information of citizens and public servants on the content of the reform and its benefits is noted. Only after the establishment of a clear model of public governance system it is appropriate to carry out public administration reforms.

3. The reform of CGA's has changed public administration system in two ways: (i) the transition from a multifunctional territorially-based system to a single-function centralized control of territorially-based system in public services provision; (ii) increased centralization and fragmentation in coordination of public policy implementation. Decentralization and sustainable development further remain on strategic documents: (i) while ensuring uniform development of single public service throughout the state territory, due to the difference in financing of the sectors the inter-sectoral divergence will occur, (ii) centralization level increased as the funding for the transferred functions and institutions was granted from the state budget.

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### **2010 metų apskričių viršinių administracijų reformos Lietuvoje analizė**

Anotacija

1994-2010 m. viešojo administravimo sistema Lietuvoje buvo dekoncentruota, perdavus tam tikrų funkcijų įgyvendinimą apskrityse suformuotoms administracijoms, ir decentralizuota, perdavus valdžios galias savivaldybėms. 2010 m. atlikta apskričių valdymo reforma, išlaikanti teritorinį suskirstymą ir likviduojanti administracines struktūras, kuri Lietuvoje įgyvendinta siekiant tobulinti viešąjį valdymą. Reforma buvo gana sėkmingai, be didesnių nesklaidumų įgyvendinta vadovaujantis planais ir terminais. Reforma institucionalizuota suformavus koordinacinę komisiją ir darbo grupes apskrityse, taip pat patvirtinus jų darbo reglamentą ir nuostatus. Ji įvykdyta nustatytais terminais. Tačiau, nors daug dėmesio buvo skirta reformos organizavimui, buvo pasigendama strateginių ir metodologiškai pagrįstų sprendimų. Reformos rezultatai yra gana prieštaringi, neatitinkantys visų reformos tikslų. Apskričių reforma pakeitė viešojo administravimo sistema dvejopai: 1) viešųjų paslaugų teikimo koordinavimo sistemoje nuo daugiafunkcinių teritoriniu pagrindu veikiančių vienetų pereita prie vienos funkcijos centralizuotos kontrolės teritoriniu pagrindu veikiančių vienetų sistemos; 2) padidėjo centralizacija ir fragmentacija koordinuojant viešosios politikos įgyvendinimą.

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