

## Environmental Activism and Partnership Networks of Lithuanian Environmental NGOs

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### Abstract

Environmental activism and partnership networks created by Lithuanian environmental NGOs are the main objects for analysis in this article. Referring to the results of an empirical qualitative research titled “Lithuanian non-governmental organizations’ environmental activities”, the article identifies and describes the activism forms and the partnership networks created and used by Lithuanian NGOs in their environmental activities. Theoretical analysis of various typologies of environmental activism and thorough description of empirical research methodology are also presented.

**Keywords:** environmental activism, NGOs, qualitative research.

### Introduction

#### *Scientific problem, novelty and relevance.*

Preservation of natural resources for future generations, protection of populated areas, conservation of wilderness are some of the most pressing global issues of today’s societies. Increasing industrial pollution, growing quantities of secondary waste and associated recycling problems, raising the awareness of the civil society are particularly important socio-environmental questions. In Lithuania tasks of environmental protection are taken on by different types of institutions: public authorities, science and research institutions, NGOs, local communities. These organizations (non-governmental organizations and local communities in particular) undertake various environmental activities, aiming at direct solutions of environmental problems or at indirect solutions, such as raising public awareness.

Lithuanian environmental nongovernmental organizations rarely become an object of a scientific study. One of the first scientific works on this topic is “The Green Circle of the Mind” (Lith. “Zalialis minties ratas”) by Braziulis, Brazauskiene and Baltrukonis (1994). Several significant studies, especially on the activities of *Lithuanian Greens’ Movement*, were conducted by sociologist Leonardas Rinkevicius (2000, 2002, 2006). Environmental movement and the range of environmental problems tackled by the

NGOs were analyzed by NGO activist Linas Vainius (1996, 2000). A detailed work that examines the legal basis for Lithuanian and international environmental NGOs activities is prepared by Venckus (2007). A sociological study of the activities of the various Lithuanian environmental NGOs has not been conducted so far. In most cases, information on environmental activism is being presented by the environmental non-governmental organizations themselves in their established internet sites or special publications.

Activism of environmental NGOs is assessed controversially in Lithuania. In many cases, environmental activities of the NGOs fail to solicit public interest and support. Society is purely informed about such activities and the problems solved. The effectiveness and purposefulness of such activities, as well as the possible cooperation of NGOs with societal groups, thus is being questioned.

**Subjects of the article.** This article analyzes the following aspects: 1) diversity of environmental activism forms undertaken by Lithuanian NGOs, 2) cooperation and partnership networks created by Lithuanian environmental NGOs.

#### *Aim of the article.*

This article aims at sociological analysis of the environmental activities of the Lithuanian NGOs.

#### *Objectives of the research.*

The research had several objectives: to theoretically analyze the various typologies of environmental activism as presented by western and Lithuanian scientists; to analyze the forms of environmental activism most often used by Lithuanian environmental NGOs; and to analyze the partnership networks being built by Lithuanian environmental NGOs.

In this article, an environmental non-governmental organization is defined as a non-governmental organization which sets environmental protection, environmental ethics and worldview or direct environmental action as its main priority. Non-governmental organization is a democratic organization established by free will of citizens which serves the community sake, not for profit or direct participation in public administration (Praktinis vadovas Lietuvos..., 1998, p. 3). The term “non-governmental organization” co-

vers all possible forms of non-governmental organizations in the legal status of the social movements, communities, public institutions, public organizations, associations, clubs, charities and support funds (Simašius, 2007, p. 87–91). Environmental activism (activities) is defined by the authors of this article as a deliberate action aimed at protecting the environment and ensuring bio-rights, as well as any action aimed at social or political change enabling the achievement of environmental goals.

**Research methods.** The analysis is based upon the results of empirical research “Lithuanian non-governmental organizations’ environmental activities”, conducted at Kaunas University of Technology, Department of Sociology in 2007–2008. The methods used during the research: document analysis and interview (for data gathering), qualitative and quantitative content analysis (for data analysis).

Theoretical and methodological grounds of the research are presented in separate sections of this article.

### **Theoretical grounds for sociological research on environmental activism**

Ontologically environmental activism in this article is understood as a form of collective action. Enthusiastic environmental activism is especially characteristic to post-industrial and post-modern societies. Beck (1992) calls this new state the risk society. Giddens (2001) calls it reflexive modernization. Beck’s theory of risk society and Giddens’ theory of reflexive modernization enable sociological explanation of the background and context of contemporary environmental activism. The main assumption is that in risk society the prioritized concern is the concern for security and risk distribution (and not the concern for welfare and the distribution of goods). Technogenic and environmental risks are uppermost in Beck’s theory. Thus, collective action that deals with these technogenic and environmental risks becomes of utmost importance and popularity in a risk society. The second important theoretical assumption is that society is able to understand these risks (is reflexive) and strives to regulate or somehow deal with them. This understanding and striving to deal with risks act as stimuli for collective environmental actions. Thus environmental movements (as collective action involving various forms of environmental activism and incentives) are justly characteristic to nowadays societies.

Empirical research requires operationalization of the term “environmental activism”. This will be completed by presenting the theoretical typologies of environmental activism as developed by Western and Lithuanian scientists. As a result of the scientific literature

review, a general theoretical typology of forms of environmental activism was composed: 1) media strategy; 2) cyber-strategy; 3) radical activism; 4) lobbying; 5) pragmatic forms of activism; 6) creative activities; 7) direct environmental actions; 8) group action and local community actions. These forms are briefly presented in the text below.

*Media strategy* is understood as the use of various media tools and channels a) for spreading of environmental information or information on the activities of a NGO; b) as arena for worldview exposure or polemics; c) for catching public attention and for moulding of public opinion. Various researchers state that the most common forms of media strategy are articles, news broadcasts, letters to editor, chat shows, publicist programs, etc. Media strategy also includes special publications, e.g., newspaper “Green Lithuania” (lith. “Zalioji Lietuva”) published by the Lithuanian Greens Movement. In Castells (2006) view, this strategy also includes media events. Castells argues that media strategies are of utmost effectiveness in nowadays societies, as media has acquired high rates of public trust. (Castells, 2006; Sweetstep, 2008; Venckus, 2007)

The main feature of *cyber-strategy* or *electronic activism* is the usage of virtual environments and the internet as tools for environmental purposes. Cyber-activism is a non-direct environmental action that mostly includes creation of various topical internet sites and usage of e-mail. These are used mainly for spreading information or attracting new members. (Castells, 2006; Scarce and Brower, 2006; Venckus, 2007; OneWorld, 2008; Sweetstep, 2008)

*Radical forms of activism* are direct or indirect environmental actions, often directed against certain decisions of public authorities or against the general public opinion, and lifestyle trends. Radical activism is used together with sharp criticism and often aims at public shocking. Radical forms of action include demonstrations (also rallies, protests, pickets), actions in violation of the law (e.g., destruction of logging machinery), consumer campaigns and the boycott campaigns, the judicial processes (in order to prove that not all the required official procedures were followed while using the resources, etc.). (Scarce and Brower, 2006; Venckus, 2007; OneWorld, 2008; Sweetstep, 2008; Barsauskiene and Januleviciute-Ivaskeviciene, 2007)

*Lobbying* is an indirect form of public activism. Political lobbying may include sending out letters, petitions, and organizing meetings with government leaders or public figures. Political lobbying also includes a formal mediation, informal contacts with persons who may influence the passage of green-friendly laws or projects. (Castells, 2006; Sweetstep, 2008; Venckus, 2007)

*Pragmatic activism* includes the most common activities of professionalized non-governmental organizations, such as various studies of environmental monitoring, public opinion surveys, environmental policy research, statistical databases, etc. Pragmatic activism also includes action-coordination activities undertaken by NGOs and business enterprises in order to jointly look for solutions to various environmental problems. (Venckus, 2007; Barsauskiene and Januleviciute-Ivaskeviciene, 2007).

*Creative activities* as a form of environmental activism usually take shape of various media and art expressions, e.g., designing, drawing (Sweetstep, 2008). This form of activism is very popular in Lithuania and in most cases includes art projects, drawing and essay competitions, sculpture or collage exhibitions, etc.

*Direct environmental action* (also called nature conservation activism) is also a common and popular form of environmental activism. Usually environmentalists and activists are trying to directly (in a physical sense) solve some of the environmental problems, e.g., by planting trees, gathering rubbish or cleaning public parks, etc. (Scarce and Brower, 2006).

*Group action* and *local communities' actions* are mainly directed towards protection of communities' rights to decent quality of environment of their living areas. In many cases social and environmental interests of a community are opposed to business interests or government decisions. Communities or groups of citizens then organize protests against, e.g., construction of a factory or any other industrial object, road construction, environmental contamination, etc. in their neighborhood. Communities' activities directed towards protection of their living areas are called the movement of NIMBY – "Not in My Backyard" (Castells, 2006) and is of increasing popularity worldwide (OneWorld, 2008).

The theoretical typology of forms of environmental activism, as presented above, is the theoretical ground for empirical research underlying this article. The categories of the typology serve as primary analytical categories for text analysis.

### **Methodology of the research on environmental activities of Lithuanian NGOs**

Empirical research "Environmental activities of Lithuanian non-governmental organizations" was conducted following qualitative perspective of social research. Still principles of both deduction and induction were combined in the research: the analytical categories were firstly developed on the basis of the theories (as presented above) and then revised during the pilot study. The main aim of the research was

to identify and describe the various forms of environmental activism as applied by the Lithuanian environmental NGOs.

The sources of social information were texts placed on internet sites of Lithuanian NGOs that set environmental tasks as priority for their activities. Additional sources of information were leaders of these NGOs (interview transcriptions). There are several reasons for choosing internet sites as the main source of information:

- accessibility of the information – texts are easily accessed and represent current and recent activities;
- concentrated and objective presentation of information – internet sites usually present well organized and concentrated information on their activities, networking as well as other relevant information;

Virtual texts (from the internet) are characterized as of low reliability. To compensate for this drawback it was decided to lean on additional information solicited from the leaders of the NGOs.

Unstructured document analysis and interviewing were used as data gathering methods.

Research was conducted in several stages. Firstly, in April, 2007, the pilot study was conducted. During this pilot study the list of researchable NGOs was compiled. The study used the list of all Lithuanian NGOs and the sample was drawn purposely (criterion sampling), based on several criteria. The first criterion – an organization (or local community) must have set environment protection as its main objective. The second criterion – an NGO must have a functioning website. Thus the researchable set of 22 NGOs was compiled.

Secondly, in February and March, 2008, review of the internet sites of the sampled NGOs was conducted and a purposeful sample of texts was drawn. The sampled texts represent environmental activities of the NGOs. These texts were mainly placed in rubrics such as "Activities", "Archive", "Projects", "News", "Events", "Press-releases", "Competitions", "Eco-news", and "Partnership". Sample size was 481 texts. Texts were of different length: some texts were composed of only several sentences and some texts were quite long, e.g., analytical articles.

Qualitative and quantitative text analyses were chosen as methods for data analysis. The analyzed texts represent environmental activities of Lithuanian NGOs done in the period of 2000–2008.

In 2008 interviews with leaders of several Lithuanian environmental NGOs were conducted (purposeful sampling, N = 5). Interviews had a justificatory and a supplementary functions thus increasing reliability and comprehensiveness of the results of texts

analyses. Interviewing is quite often used as a “control method that increases the quality of description and analysis of researched characteristics, as well as a complementary method for ensuring the reliability of results acquired by using other social research methods” (Luobikiene, 2004, p. 77). In our research interviews were carried out with formal as well as informal leaders of the NGOs, e.g., a president, a chairperson, an expert, etc., that voluntarily agreed to take part in the research.

Interview data were analyzed by applying the method of qualitative data analysis.

For qualitative content analysis of texts (as sampled from internet sites of the NGOs) the list of analytical categories was drawn up: form of activism, scope of activity (local, national, regional or global), addressee of the actions, environmental problem tackled, partners, effectiveness of the activities. The main category was the form of activism. For analysis of this category the theoretical typology of environmental activism was used. As stated above, the typology was drawn up based on several theories; still it was revised after the pilot study. After the pilot study several subcategories were added: recreational activities (e.g., camps, concerts, etc.) and informative-educational activities. Qualitative content analysis was treated as the main data analysis method.

In quantitative content analysis the terms/words were used as units for counting. Terms identifying forms of environmental activities, environmental problem, partner, etc. were counted. The frequency of word occurrence was measured. The results of quantitative content analysis were treated as complementary and supportive to the results obtained through qualitative data analysis.

Difficulties with access to information were encountered during the research. Some environmental organizations in their websites do not store information about the activities carried out in previous years, they have no “archive” rubric. Several websites present their activities fragmentary, lacking details. Most of the websites of local communities were under construction or in update stage. Such problems reduce the representativeness of the research results, but do not diminish their scientific value.

In order to ensure the scientific value of the obtained scientific data, several reliability and validity testing methods were used (Telesiene, 2007):

- Inclusion of the researched. Results were presented to the leaders of the researched organizations for review. They reviewed the results and confirmed their credibility (that is, affirmed that the results represent the true experiences of their organizations).

- Triangulation of methods and information sources. Different sources of information and combination of different research methods increases the likelihood that phenomenon was researched comprehensively. Several types of triangulation were applied: the triangulation of data gathering methods (document analysis and interviews), triangulation of data analysis methods (qualitative content analysis and quantitative content analysis), and triangulation of information sources (texts from internet sites and interview transcriptions).
- Peer-reviews and consultations with colleagues. The process and the results of the research were discussed with qualified colleagues who did not take part in the research project. We consulted the colleagues from Kaunas University of Technology, Department of Sociology. The point is that if more than one researcher agrees with the process and results of the research, then they are considered being more credible and trustworthy.

Results of reliability and validity testing suggest that the research presented in this article is scientifically valuable and meaningful.

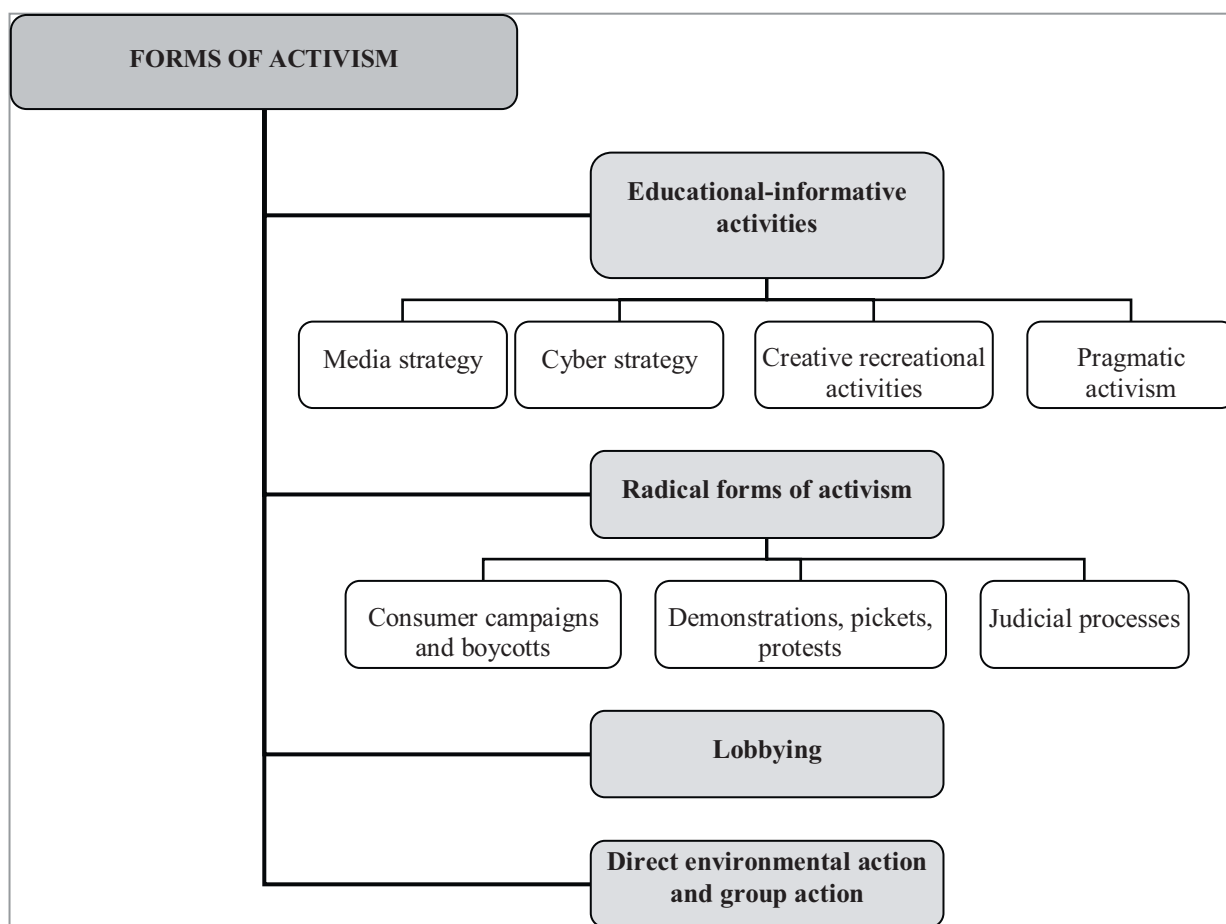
### **Forms of environmental activism applied by Lithuanian environmental NGOs**

The typology of forms of activism of Lithuanian environmental NGOs was composed according to the empirical data as gathered through the analysis of texts placed in websites of Lithuanian environmental NGOs and the analysis of interview data (see Figure 1).

Firstly it should be noted that four forms of environmental activism – media strategy, cyber strategy, creative-recreational activities, and pragmatic activism – fall within one group of activities called “educational-informational activities”. This grouping of different forms of activism into one group is rational as all these activities have the same purpose – spread of information and education of society. It also should be remarked that theoretical typology of the forms of environmental activism is revised and a new category of “creative and recreational” activities is added. This is reasonable as creative and recreational activities are very popular in Lithuania.

Secondly it should be noted that direct environmental action and group action also fall into one group of activities. These forms of environmental activism are closely intertwined and in case of activities of Lithuanian NGOs it is difficult to differentiate between direct and group action.

Further in the text we present detailed analysis of all the groups of activities as depicted in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Forms of environmental activism applied by Lithuanian NGOs

*Educational–informational activities* are the most popular activities applied by Lithuanian environmental NGOs. *Media strategy* is considered as the most influential. One of the interviewed NGO leaders states: “You have to attract society’s attention to ecology through press <...> it is difficult to attract people”. Media strategy in our case includes such forms of activities as television, radio broadcasts, press conferences, publishing of special publications and environmental newspapers (“Green Lithuania“, “Green World”, “Motherland’s nature”, etc.). Special publications are intended to attract and inform certain social groups and their genre and format is usually age-sensitive. Media strategy is widely applied because it has the potential of quick spread of information to wide range of social groups – even those not interested in environmental issues. Stickers, leaflets, flyers, postcards, posters are all used for attraction of society’s attention, also for the purposes of education of society and spread of environmental information.

“Cards with schoolchildren paintings, posters with photos of hibernating bats are published“. (Projektas (2000). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-04]. Available online at: <http://siksnosparniai.apicentras.lt/?id=2>).

The term “flyers” appeared 26 times in the analyzed texts. Various kinds of publications are widely used because of attractiveness, also because information is presented in concentrated manner and because they have broad public access. Less widely, but also significantly often NGOs apply such forms of activism as publishing specialized books (mentioned 6 times) and writing articles to national press (mentioned 11 times).

Media strategy also includes development and dissemination of special films and videos (each mentioned 5 times).

“In the course of the project, the educational film “Water for the Future” was created. <...> The film was demonstrated in all eight schools participating in the project during various seminars. Every school was presented a copy of the video” (Mokomasis kino filmas (2008). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-04]. Available online at: <http://www.ateitiesvanduo.lt/index.php?lang=1&page=29>).

Educational-informational activities also include *cyber strategy*. This kind of activities is of growing popularity in nowadays network societies. The very fact that almost all the environmental NGOs in Lithuania have better or worse functioning websites is eloquent. Specialized sites are also being develo-

ped, e.g., [zaliasiskuras.lt](http://zaliasiskuras.lt) – a website for issues of alternative fuel. By applying media strategy NGOs usually use websites and virtual exhibitions as their tools (mentioned 23 and 10 times respectively).

Creative-recreational activities are also attributed to the group of educational-informational forms of environmental activism. Creative recreational activities include organization of various concerts, parties, festivals or other events, creative art projects, hiking, excursions, camps, development of tourist tracks, etc.

Lithuanian environmental NGOs often organize creative-recreational activities outdoors and invite for an active way of recreation in wilderness. This is done on purpose – the more a person experiences direct contact with nature, the greater environmental consciousness he develops. Environmental camps are organized most often (mentioned in texts 31 times), and hiking (mentioned 20 times).

“Tours to forests will be organized where we will not only be able to learn about the methodology of the research into woodpeckers and the planned programme of their study, but we will also try to see rare woodpeckers” (2005 – *geniu metai*. (2005). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: <http://www.birdlife.lt/index.php/naujienos/?newscatid=1&newsid=13>).

Creative recreational activities are often associated with promotion of eco-tourism, bicycle tourism, ornithological tourism. Thus Lithuanian NGOs promote environmentally friendly way of life and respond to the eco-communal worldview as characteristic to ecocentric thinking (Pepper, 1984).

“ATTENTION!!! Tour by bikes to Vente <...>. Bring along a tent, a group of friends and full pockets of good mood! On our way we will visit Svencele swamp, the old fishermen settlements (Dreverna and Kintai), Vydunas culture centre of Kintai, the ornithology station of Vente Horn and other places of interest” (*Judriosios savaites 2006 programa* (2006). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: <http://www.conferece.lt/?do=list&id=2165&name=news&p=48>).

“Those who love travelling are invited to bicycle tour along the Curonian Spit to Nida on September 17-18, on the way visiting places of interest. <...> Do not forget your bike, tent, food and drinks for you and your friend, the hiking spirit and endurance!” (*Mieste be savo automobiliu*. (2005). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: <http://www.bicycle.lt/lt/main/news/archive?year=2005>).

“In cooperation with the manager of the company “Juodasis gandra” (“White Stork”) working in the fishery pools of Baltoji Voke, and the organization “OMPO Vilnius”, the cognitive bird watching path was established, several information stands were built. The LOD prepared brochures for ornithological tourism in the country as well as separate brochures for the promotion and advertising of fishery pools of Baltoji Voke. For the same purpose, several events were organized in the territory of this fishery farm. Among them, the international bird watching camp

was the most distinguished” (*Baltosios Vokes project*. (2002). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: <http://www.birdlife.lt/index.php/projektai/baltojivoke/>).

Recreational activities also include lessons organized in nature. This form of environmental activism focuses on children of school and pre-school ages. In order to engage children with the natural world, to raise their awareness of the environmental problems and to convey the information understandable for young audiences, lessons of non-traditional forms, e.g., “entomological school”, or “researching wilderness”. are organized in nature.

“Lesson of nature science. <...>. Nature science classes became more attractive and interesting for children who, laying, walking, touching, watching with the help of describers learn about nature. During the last five years, the Nature school classes were held in the open air” (*Gamtos mokykla Kauno Mariu regioniniame parke*. (2005). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: [http://www.parkai.lt/show/lt/news/id\\_22.html](http://www.parkai.lt/show/lt/news/id_22.html)).

Lithuanian environmental NGOs often organize various kinds of competitions (drawing, writing, photography), exhibitions and mass events (jamborees, fashion shows, festivals). These forms of environmental activism focus on attracting social groups close to artistic activities. Various kinds of competitions were mentioned 52 times in the analyzed texts. Exhibitions are mentioned 13 times. Various events are mentioned 62 times. Mostly special events (mentioned 22 times) such as Earth Day, Water Protection Day are described or announced.

“Contests of pictures were organized in all eight schools of the project. The proposed themes were connected to water resources and their protection. The schoolchildren were encouraged to think about the importance of water in our daily life, about the water route in the nature and the possibilities of everyone to contribute to the clearness of the water drop. After the contest, we received 33 pictures selected of all works by teachers” (*Konkurse dalyvave piesiniai*. (2008). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: <http://www.ateitiesvanduo.lt/index.php?lang=1&page=30>).

“<...> fashion show during which works of Lithuanian designers were demonstrated: the white shirt made of natural, ecologically produced material. At the same time, films about ecology were being shown in the yard” (*Nacionaline mados dizaino asociacija „Balti marskiniai“*. (2007). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: <http://www.apicentras.lt/?pid=124>).

In addition to the above-described media and cyber-strategies and creative recreational activities, educational-informational group of environmental activities includes forms of pragmatic activism: scientific research, various reports, databases, etc. These forms of environmental activism focus mainly on so-

cial groups with higher education. Conferences and seminars are most often mentioned in the texts (62 and 194 times respectively). Pragmatic activism of Lithuanian environmental NGOs also includes delivery of public lectures, organization of public debates.

“You are kindly invited to the seminar “Environmental Television on the Internet and its Benefit for Siauliai Region”. <...>” (Kvietimas dalyvauti seminare. (2005). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: <http://www.aukuras.lt/data/tvseminaras.php>).

Educational-informational activities, as already stressed, are the most popular activities of Lithuanian environmental NGOs. Thus it might be stated that the main focus and aim of Lithuanian environmental NGOs is spread of environmental information and raise of public environmental awareness through education. During the research we observed that the different forms of informational-educational activities are used depending on the age or educational background of a targeted social group. Creative-recreational activities mostly focus on children and youth, media strategy may aim at various age groups, but it is mainly used to reach the older population, cyber strategy is targeted towards middle-aged, working age persons, and pragmatic activism is targeted towards social groups with higher educational background.

In addition to educational-informational activities, Lithuanian environmental NGOs also apply radical forms of activism: consumer campaigns, boycotts, demonstrations, peaceful protests, judicial processes. Various radical forms of environmental activism were mentioned 833 times in the analyzed texts. The experience of international environmental NGOs shows that radical environmental activism is particularly effective in terms of reaching the environmental objectives. Highly effective are the most radical forms that violate the law and attract media, e.g., stopping of whale hunter vessels at Japanese shores. Lithuanian NGOs are much more moderate and apply only relatively mild forms of radical activism, e.g., demonstrations, pickets, marches, judicial processes. For example, The Association of Lithuanian State Parks and Reserves appealed to Commission of Ethics and Procedures of the Parliament of Republic of Lithuania (15<sup>th</sup> March, 2008) for investigation into behaviour of a member of the Parliament who, as it is thought, behaved environmentally unfriendly (from one of the analyzed texts, [http://www.parkai.lt/show/lt/news/id\\_298.html](http://www.parkai.lt/show/lt/news/id_298.html)).

Lithuanian environmental NGOs did not apply such forms of radical environmental activism as strikes, actions violating the law, rallies, and stand-takings. This can be explained by the lack of public participation as radical activities need mass scale.

As already mentioned above, mild forms of radical environmental activism dominate the activities of Lithuanian environmental NGOs. One of the examples of these mild forms is a peaceful protest. Peaceful protests organized by Lithuanian environmental NGOs are usually characterized as having features of theatrical performance: noisy instruments are used, mocks are made based on folk tales, ironic poems are recited.

“Siauliai Natural and Cultural Heritage Protection Club “Aukuras” is organizing a group for protest rally. <...> We are preparing posters, banners and other stuff on Thursday <...> When going to the protest rally, you are asked to bring along musical instruments (drums, etc.) or other means of the expression of your opinion” (Protesto akcija pries misku privatizacija. (2006). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-01-22]. Available online at: <http://www.aukuras.lt/data/protesto-akcija.php>).

“With a wood-block and a huge axe, on early Thursday morning, near the residence of Forester General, a butcher appeared, calling himself an executor seeking to find out the wreckers of the forest. Behind him, there was a group of the “greens”, protesting against the planned forest management reform” (Pasitelkiant zaliuju akcija uzsimota stabdyti valstybiniu misku valdymo reforma. (2007). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-02-05]. Available online at: [http://www.forest.lt/lit/\\_Pasitelkiant\\_zaliuju\\_akcija\\_uzsimota\\_st/1513](http://www.forest.lt/lit/_Pasitelkiant_zaliuju_akcija_uzsimota_st/1513)).

Low number of participants is usually the characteristic feature of the peaceful protests organized by Lithuanian environmental NGOs. Close to the peaceful protests are such environmental activism forms as consumer campaigns and boycotts. Several examples of these are given below in the quotations from authentic texts.

“Members of three nature protection organizations in Vilnius and Kaunas arranged the protest rallies next to the fur product shops owned by the company “Nijole”, encouraging not to buy any clothes. The participants of the rally were shocked by the killing of fur animals, and encouraged people not to buy fur clothes, fur toys or decorations. The passers-by were given brochures by the participants of the rally where they encouraged not to buy fur clothes, as it poses threat to living nature <...> The protesters did not insult people passing by who were wearing fur. Passers-by also did not pay attention to a small group of the protesting youth” (Karaliunas A., (2002). Gyvunu globeju akcija praeiviu nedomino. [Interactive, accessed on 2008-02-10]. Available online at: <http://www.zvejone.lt>).

“In 2001, the Lithuanian “green” people continue the long term campaign of “Statoil” boycott in all Lithuania during which they encourage conscious drivers not to use the services of “Statoil”. The “greens” started this campaign because of the scandalous cases of construction of “Statoil” related to the destruction of nature <...>” (Statoil degaliniu boikotas tesiasi. (2001). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-02-10]. Available online at: <http://www.zalieji.lt/temos/Degalines/Statboikotas2?print=1>).

Explaining the low public interest and participation in campaigns or boycotts, one of the leaders of the surveyed NGOs said: “environmental movements

were popular before <...> in their time <...> there were abundant opportunities to speak. Now only a small part of society is interested in protecting the environment. A serious protest can't be organized, we lack people <...> as there are much more themes and ideas to be worked upon". While such protests or campaigns are rarely held, however, the NGO leaders recognize that this is one of the most effective forms of action: "The public really likes affrays <...>". Often the environmental NGOs apply radical forms of activism hoping for the attention of authorities. However representatives of government or other legal institutions pay little attention to such activities.

"The protest rally attracted about 100 "greens". They sang songs and demonstrated how the county destroys recreational forests. The protesters held posters with notes "Brothers, let's create a scandal – let's protect the forest from vandals", "We deserve to cut more", "The land cried managed by scoundrels". However, the protesters did not manage to meet the authorities of the county" (Zalieji teatraliskai protestavo pries misku naikinima. (2002). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-02-05]. Available online at: <http://www.zvejone.lt/index>).

"During the campaign the funeral wreath with the sympathy for the death of the conscience of the ministry was placed, candles were lighted. <...> the protest will be a warming up before the mass protest demonstration" (Kultūros ministerijos sažines laidotuves. (2007). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-02-05]. Available online at: [http://www.zalieji.lt/temos/Naujienos/2007/2007-02-12\\_01](http://www.zalieji.lt/temos/Naujienos/2007/2007-02-12_01)).

The analysis of the texts revealed a very interesting characteristic of environmental activism of Lithuanian environmental NGOs – in the case of absence of the expected results, they gradually apply more radical forms of environmental activism. Leaders of one of the environmental NGOs during the interview said: "In most cases, we use various mild forms of activities <...> in the sphere of public education we organize awareness raising campaigns, projects, give lectures. If this fails, we write a letter to the Ministry of Environment, municipalities, county authorities of Klaipeda. So far we did not apply to the court, but if nothing works, we will use this opportunity."

**Lobbying** is another form of environmental activism of Lithuanian NGOs. Lobbying here most often takes forms of formal meetings, petitions, and official letters. International environmental organizations identify lobbying as one of the most effective forms of environmental activism and apply it when trying to influence environmental policy, policies of urban and rural development, economic policies, etc. Lobbying is mentioned rarely in the texts sampled from websites of Lithuanian environmental NGOs: meetings are mentioned 2 times, letters and petitions are mentioned 16 times. Lithuanian environmental NGOs usually write letters or petitions when trying to influence Lithuanian politicians, representatives of

European institutions or global environmental organizations.

"A group of Lithuanian, German and Russian environmentalists visited nine private German, Dutch and French banks on April 5-15, 2005, met the parliament members of the Baltic Region Group of the European Parliament and three lands of Germany. The main <...> aim of the meetings was the problems related to the extraction of oil in D6 deposit and their solution, the criticism of the company LUKOIL <...>" (Vainius L., (2005). Aplinkosaugos aktyvistų D6 naftos pėdsakai nuvedė i Vokietijos bankus. [Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-05]. Available online at: <http://www.atgaja.lt/index.php?id=0-40-0&block=49-1>).

"Not long ago, members of the Lithuanian Green Movement (LGM), representatives of government institutions and members of Parliament gathered at Seimas Committee of Environment regarding this issue. By the initiative of the LGM, the possibilities to preserve the present squares, parks, spaces and separate trees in cities were discussed. The chairman of the LGM R. Braziulis said that at present the green places of the city do not have their law and they are not protected by anything, therefore it is very hard to manage the green areas that are massively under destruction". (Gadliauskiene J., (2008). Naujos statybos - visuomenės ir valdininkų galvos skausmas. [Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-07]. Available online at: [http://www.zalieji.lt/temos/Vilniaus\\_senamiestis/Naujos\\_statybos](http://www.zalieji.lt/temos/Vilniaus_senamiestis/Naujos_statybos)).

"The gathered signatures will be submitted to the United Nations Organization, asking for the announcement of the global declaration regarding the well-being of animals" (Gyvunai man yra reiksmingi. (2007). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-05]. Available online at: [http://lggd.lt/taxonomy\\_menu/7](http://lggd.lt/taxonomy_menu/7)).

"Let's help to stop the resolute destruction of wolves – sign the petition for Prime Minister Algirdas Brazauskas and Minister of Environment Arunas Kundrotas regarding the prohibition of wolf hunting. You can find the e-mail..." (Gaidamavičius A. (2008). Apginkime girios vilką! [Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-05]. Available online at: <http://www.aukuras.lt/data/vilkas.php>).

Rare application of lobbying activities might be explained by gaps in NGO management, lack of authoritative leaders (so that persons of influence would agree to listen, and biased public image of Lithuanian environmental NGOs ("as noisy and unprofessional").

Another form of environmental activism applied by Lithuanian environmental NGOs is **direct environmental action and group action**. These forms of environmental activism also include activities of local communities when protecting their environmental rights. Although the theoretical typology distinguishes between direct environmental action and group action, practically, in the case of Lithuanian environmental NGOs, we cannot differentiate between these activities – almost always direct environmental action is taken in context of or together with group action. There are only several exceptions when direct environmental action is taken by professional specialists, e.g., hunters or foresters. But activities of professionals are not considered to be environmental activism and thus are not analyzed in this article.



Direct environmental action of Lithuanian NGOs usually takes forms of voluntary unpaid work performed collectively and eco-campaigns. Most often these are the initiatives of local or school communities inspired and mobilized by regional or national environmental NGOs. Environmental NGOs are able to mobilize not only members of communities, but also representatives of local authorities, mass media or other organizations. Most often these initiatives take part in the biggest cities of Lithuania or in regional parks. In the analyzed texts, local communities of Kazokiskes, Pilaite and others were mentioned. The excerpts from authentic texts as presented below show other examples of group action:

“We will come, be it raining cats and dogs”, – said representatives of Petrasuonai Community Centre. And soon a group of senior citizens arrived who were determined to climb the slopes of Kaunas Artificial Sea and collect the “property” left by the youth. But the youth were also responsive – about 30 boys and girls came from Juozas Grusas secondary school, <...> another group of pupils came even from Neveronai secondary school. <...> I did not recognize others, except for several determined “greens” (Gaidamavicius A., (2007). Pazaislio talkininku lietus neisgaidino. [Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-09]. Available online at: [http://www.zalieji.lt/temos/Aplinkosaugos\\_naujienos](http://www.zalieji.lt/temos/Aplinkosaugos_naujienos)).

Text analysis reveals another inherent characteristic of Lithuanian NGOs environmental activism – the complexity of their activities. NGOs tend to apply several forms of activism at the same time. In an example from an authentic text one can see the coordination of two forms of environmental activism: creative activities and direct environmental action.

“On September 21, 2007, in the square between the shopping centre Gedimino 9 and the Central Post Office, people who brought used plastic shopping bags were given brand bags of Lithuanian designers that were made of ecologic material. There was a concert at the square during which a song created specially for the event under the theme of ecology was performed, and a sculpture from brought bags was built” (VSI “Europos namai” – “Dizaineriai uz ekologija” (2007). [Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-05]. Available online at: <http://www.apicentras.lt/?pid=124>).

Various forms of environmental activism are used together in different variations. Usually various forms of informational-educational activities are combined with each other, e.g., seminars are combined with excursions, or conference is combined with releasing a special publication. Mostly such complex activities in the texts are named “project” (the term “project” was mentioned 343 times in the analyzed texts).

“Upon implementation of the project a publication “Waste: everyone can contribute”, brochures “Let’s recycle!” and “Useful at home – harmful for environment!”, and educational video film “Clean! Economize! And you’ll have it!” were prepared, seminars for NGO representatives and teachers were organized. With the help of TV program “DNR” on Lithuanian National Radio and Television three TV broadcasts about management of harmful waste were prepared.” (Interactive, accessed on 2008-03-05. Available online at: <http://www.rec.lt/frames.html>).

During the interviews with the leaders of Lithuanian environmental NGOs the researchers sought to find out what forms of activism are considered to be most successful and effective. In the opinion of the interviewees, most successful and effective are the following forms of environmental activism: festivals and parties, recreational activities, peaceful protests, media strategy, environmental campaigns, political lobbying. Interviewees also stressed that the most effective tactics in reaching environmental goals is the combination of several forms of activism, that is, complex activities: “complexity... I wouldn’t focus on a single form of activism... all activities of our organization are successful, but the highest effectiveness is reached by combining different activities <...>” (interview data). One of the respondents stated that non-traditional forms of activities have the highest influence upon society: society “can be attracted through, say, various campaigns, e.g., maintenance of grasslands in protected areas. We bought specific grazing animals for Rusne island – they appear very interesting and can stay outdoors even in winter. Thus people get attracted immediately ... what are these?”. Respondents also stated that effectiveness of environmental activism depends on the channels chosen for spread of information, social awareness of the problem solved, time devoted, and legal knowledge.

### **Partnership networks of Lithuanian environmental NGOs**

By referring to the qualitative content analysis of the texts from internet sites as well as the data of the interviews, the cooperation of Lithuanian environmental NGOs and their joining into partnership networks were analyzed. Generally it can be stated that broad partnership among each other is not characteristic to the analyzed environmental NGOs. It is noticed that only half of all analyzed organizations indicate that they cooperate with one another. The cooperation is formally established and the long-term partnership is declared only by seven NGOs out of all the analyzed ones – these are the coalition uniting *Environment Information Centre*, *Baltic Environment Forum*, *the community Atgaja*, *Environment Mana-*

gement and Technology Centre, Lithuanian Nature Fund, Lithuanian Society of Ornithologists. Still, formal establishment of cooperation and partnership network in the environmental sector in Lithuania is more an exception than a rule. Often the cooperation of Lithuanian environmental NGOs is informal, organizations co-operate not on the constant basis, but for solving narrow issues or problems. The widest partnership networks in their own internet sites in the period of analysis were declared by *Lithuanian Nature Fund*, *Lithuanian Society of Ornithologists* and the community *Atgaja*. Also, in the course of the analyzed period, according to the analysis of texts of internet sites, there was a cooperation of *Lithuanian Green Movement*, Klaipeda Ecology Club *Zvejone* as well as Siauliai Nature and Culture Heritage Protection Club *Aukuras*. It is a long, multi-directional cooperation, the origin of which can be explained by the fact that the aforementioned clubs are establishers of *Lithuanian Green Movement*. One of the respondents said that “we cooperate with Lithuanian greens, as there are no other actively working NGOs on the national level” (data of the interview).

The researchers also analyzed the international co-operation of Lithuanian environmental organizations. Only half of the analyzed organizations indicate that they co-operate with at least one international organization. Those NGOs that create local partnership networks are more inclined to engage in international networks. One of the features of international cooperation is that NGOs tend to cooperate with those international NGOs that work with the same topics as their Lithuanian counterparts, e.g., *Lithuanian Society of Ornithologists* cooperate with *Danish Society of Ornithologists*. It should also be stated that each of the analyzed Lithuanian environmental NGOs has relations with different international organizations – one cannot detect the relations of international partnership among several Lithuanian environmental NGOs and one specific international NGO (an exception can be the case of the community *Atgaja* and Klaipeda Ecology Club *Zvejone* – they both co-operate with the *Clean Baltic Coalition*). It shows that the search for partners is carried out by Lithuanian environmental organizations independently and they do not intend to make multi-networks, i.e. belong to the same international networks with the same local environmental NGOs.

Lithuanian environmental NGOs co-operating both on the local and international levels most often choose the pragmatic forms of environmental activism (scientific research, conferences, seminars) as well as educational-informational activities. Various Lithuanian NGOs together sign various petitions or letters to the representatives of the government, i.e. they together implement the lobbying activities. The

organizations most rarely co-operate when implementing radical forms of environmental activism. International co-operation is mostly directed towards the environmental information dissemination “without borders”.

There is a tendency that only a small part of the environmental NGOs co-operate among themselves. They evaluate the activity of one another critically (according to the interview data) by stressing the passiveness of other organizations, and their lack of interest. Thus, there is a lack of solidarity among the Lithuanian environmental NGOs, which burdens the implementation of most of the forms of activity, hinders the creation of the strong image of the NGO sector that is able to fruitfully solve environmental problems.

### Generalizations and conclusions

1. Sociologically environmental activism of NGOs might be treated as a collective action and a synonym for environmental movement. Such activities aim at civic and environmental awareness raising, and direct assistance in addressing environmental problems. Globally environmental activism becomes an indicator of reflexive modernity. General theoretical typology of forms of environmental activism includes: 1) media strategy; 2) cyber strategy; 3) radical activism; 4) lobbying; 5) pragmatic forms of activism; 6) creative activities; 7) direct environmental actions; 8) group action and local community actions.
2. Following the results of the empirical research titled “Environmental activities of Lithuanian non-governmental organizations” it might be stated that environmental activism in Lithuania has the following main features: priority to mild (rather than radical and aggressive) forms of activism, low effectiveness of the activities, low public and political attention, narrow and episodic partnership networks.
3. The forms of environmental activism characteristic to Lithuanian NGOs might be grouped into four groups: educational-informational activities, radical forms of activism, lobbying, direct environmental action/ group action.
4. Lithuanian environmental NGOs most often apply educational-informational activities. These include media strategy, cyber strategy, creative-recreational activities and pragmatic activism. In the opinion of the interviewed leaders of the NGOs, the media strategy is the most effective. Media strategy usually involves such activities as television and radio broadcasts, press conferences, publishing of special environmental publica-

tions or newspapers, creation and distribution of specialized films or videos. When applying cyber strategy, usually websites are created or virtual exhibitions and forums are organized. Creative recreational activities usually include parties, concerts, festivals or other events, creative art projects and competitions, hiking, excursions, camps, informational stands, tourist tracks. Lithuanian environmental NGOs apply such forms of pragmatic activism: scientific research, reports, conferences, seminars, public lectures and debates.

5. Lithuanian environmental NGOs also apply several forms of radical activism: consumer campaigns, boycotts, demonstrations, peaceful protests, judicial processes. The NGOs tend to apply mild/moderate forms of radical environmental activism and the researchers did not notice any application of other forms of radical activism such as strikes, actions violating the law, rallies, stand-takings. This can be explained by the lack of societal attention to and public participation in such activities. Although radical activism is rarely applied, leaders of NGOs state that these forms of activism are among most effective ones.
6. Rarely applied yet recognized by environmental NGO leaders as one of the most effective forms of activism is lobbying. In the activities of Lithuanian NGOs lobbying usually takes forms of official meetings, letters and petitions. The addressees of lobbying usually are Lithuanian politicians, institutions of European Union or international environmental organizations. Rare application of lobbying as a form of environmental activism might be explained by gaps in management of Lithuanian NGOs, lack of authoritative leaders, biased public image of environmental NGOs.
7. The fourth group of forms of environmental activism used by Lithuanian environmental NGOs is direct environmental action/ group action. Usually these actions take form of ecological campaigns and voluntary unpaid work performed collectively. Most often these are the initiatives of local or school communities inspired and mobilized by regional or national environmental NGOs.
8. Talking about the effectiveness of environmental activism it might be stated that in the case of Lithuanian environmental NGOs the most effective way is the complex application of various forms of activism. Effectiveness also depends upon ability to attract media and ability to use non-traditional, provocative, artistic forms of expression. In the opinion of the interviewees, effectiveness of environmental activism also depends on the channels chosen for spread of information, social awareness of the problem solved, time devoted, and legal knowledge.

9. Lithuanian environmental NGOs cooperate with each other and with other organizations. More than a half of the analyzed NGOs are involved in various partnership networks. Mostly partnership at the local and international levels is informal. Lithuanian environmental NGOs do not tend to get involved in broad partnership networks and rather create new ad hoc problem related narrow networks. The lack of solidarity among the Lithuanian environmental NGOs results in less effective and less successful solution of environmental problems and hinders creation of a strong and influential sector of environmental NGOs in Lithuania.

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## Lietuvos aplinkosauginių nevyriausybinių organizacijų (NVO) aplinkosauginis aktyvizmas ir partnerystės tinklai

Santrauka

Aplinkosauginių NVO aktyvizmą sociologiniu aspektu galime traktuoti kaip kolektyvinį veiksmą, aplinkosauginio judėjimo sinonimą. Tokios veiklos tikslas – pilietinio ir ekologinio sąmoningumo kėlimas, tiesioginė pagalba sprendžiant aplinkos apsaugos problemas. Pasauliniu lygiu aplinkosauginis aktyvizmas tampa reflektvios modernybės indikatoriumi. Ontologiniu požiūriu aplinkosauginis aktyvizmas šiame straipsnyje suprantamas kaip kolektyvinės veiklos forma, įgavusi ypatingą reikšmę ir būdinga daugiausia postindustrinėms, post-modernioms visuomenėms. Beck (1992) naują būvį vadina rizikos visuomenė, o Giddens (2001) – reflektvia modernizacija. Beck ir Giddens teorinės išvalgos leidžia paaiškinti aplinkosauginio aktyvizmo (šio straipsnio objekto) kontekstą ir prielaidas šiuolaikinėse visuomenėse. Pagrindinė prielaida ta, kad rizikos visuomenėje pirminis rūpestis – saugumo paieškos (o ne gėrovės kūrimas ar teisingas persikirstymas). Beck pirmiausia kalba apie globalias technogeninės kilmės ir ekologines rizikas. Įvairių rizikų plitimo akivaizdoje svarbi prielaida, kad rizikos visuomenėi būdingas refleksyvumas: visuomenė supranta ir stengiasi reguliuoti kylančias grėsmes. Viena visuomenės pastangų reguliuoti ar bent reaguoti į kylančias grėsmes – aplinkosauginiai judėjimai.

Lietuvoje veikiančių aplinkosauginių NVO veiklos ištirtumo lygis yra gana žemas. Vienas pirmųjų tokių objektų analizuojančių darbų – Braziulio, Brazauskienės ir Baltrukonio „Žalioji minties ratas“ (1994). Reikšmingų publikacijų, ypač analizuojančių Lietuvos žaliųjų judėjimo veiklą, yra parengęs sociologas Leonardas Rinkevičius (2000, 2002, 2006). Aplinkosauginių judėjimų tematikai ir jų sprendžiamoms aplinkosauginėms problemoms publikacijų yra parengęs ir aplinkosauginių NVO atstovas Linas Vainius (1996, 2000). Vienas išsamiausių darbų, kuriame analizuojamos Lietuvos ir tarptautinės NVO organizacijos, apžvelgiama NVO sektoriaus įstatyminė bazė ir sprendžiamos problemos, parengtas Venckaus (2007). Sociologinė įvairių Lietuvoje veikiančių aplinkosauginių NVO vykdomos veiklos analizė nėra atlikta.

Straipsniu siekiama pateikti teorinį aplinkosauginių aktyvizmo formų klasifikavimą, išanalizuoti Lietuvos aplinkosauginių NVO taikomas aplinkosauginės veiklos formas. Straipsnyje analizuojami šie aspektai: 1) Lietuvos aplinkosauginių NVO taikomų aktyvizmo formų įvairovė; 2) Lietuvos aplinkosauginių NVO bendradarbiavimas ir partnerystės tinklai. Analizuojant minėtus klausimus remiamasi Kauno technologijos universiteto Sociologijos katedroje 2007–2008 m. atlikto tyrimo „Lietuvos nevyriausybinių organizacijų aplinkosauginė veikla“ rezultatais. Tyrimui atlikti taikyti dokumentų analizės, interviu apklausos, kiekybinės (*Content*) ir kokybinės turinio analizės metodai. Empirinė bazė – 481 tekstas, atrinktas iš Lietuvos aplinkosauginių NVO interneto svetainių, ir 5 interviu, atliktų su aplinkosauginių NVO lyderiais, transkripcijos.

Remiantis Vakarų šalių mokslininkų išskirtomis aplinkosauginio aktyvizmo ir aplinkosauginio judėjimo klasifikacijomis bei Lietuvos mokslininkų pateikiamomis kolektyvinės ar NVO veiklos formų klasifikacijomis, buvo sudaryta teorinė galimų aplinkosauginio aktyvizmo formų tipologija: 1) žiniasklaidos strategija; 2) kibernetinė strategija; 3) radikali veikla; 4) lobizmas; 5) pragmatiškojo aktyvizmo formos; 6) kūrybinė veikla; 7) tiesioginė aplinkos apsaugos veikla; 8) grupinis veikimas arba vietos bendruomenių veiksmas siekiant apsaugoti savo aplinką. Šios tipologijos kategorijos panaudotos kaip pirmininės analitinės kategorijos empiriniam tyrimui, tačiau pakoreguotos žvalgomojo tyrimo metu.

Remiantis empirinio tyrimo rezultatais, straipsnyje teigiama, kad tiriamuoju laikotarpiu Lietuvos NVO aplinkosauginę veiklą galima suskirstyti į keturias pagrindines grupes: šviečiamojo-informacinio pobūdžio veiklos, radikali aplinkosauginės veiklos, lobizmas, tiesioginiai aplinkos apsaugos veiksmas / grupinis veikimas.

Šviečiamojo-informacinio pobūdžio veiklos Lietuvos NVO taikomos dažniausia ir apima žiniasklaidos strategiją, kibernetinę strategiją, kūrybines bei rekreacines veiklas ir pragmatišką aktyvizmą. Tirtų NVO lyderių nuomone, didžiausio poveikumo – žiniasklaidos strategi-

ja (t. y. televizijos ir radijo laidos, spaudos konferencijos, specializuotų aplinkosauginių laikraščių leidimas, įvairūs specializuoti leidiniai, filmai ir vaizdo klipai). Kibernetinė strategija dažniausia apima specializuotų interneto svetainių, forumų, parodų kūrimą, el. pašto naudojimą. Kūrybinė rekreacinė veikla apima vakaronių, koncertų, švenčių ar kitų renginių organizavimą, kūrybinius meno projektus ir konkursus, žygių, ekskursijų, stovyklų organizavimą, informacinių stendų, pažintinių takų rengimą, gamtoje organizuojamas pamokas. Šviečiamojo-informacinio pobūdžio veiklų grupei priskiriamos ir pragmatiškojo aktyvizmo formos: moksliniai tyrimai, ataskaitos ir pranešimai, konferencijos, seminarai, viešos paskaitos.

Lietuvos aplinkosauginės NVO taip pat taiko radikalo aktyvizmo veiklas: vartotojų kampanijos, boikotai, demonstracijos, taikingi protestai, teisiniai procesai. Taikomos tik nuosaikios radikalių veiklos formos – tiriamuoju laikotarpiu nepastebimos tokios radikalių veiklos formos kaip streikai, veiksmai, pažeidžiantys įstatymus, mitingai, budėjimai, užėmimai. Tai galima paaiškinti visuomenės aktyvumo dalyvaujant tokioje veikloje stoka.

Reta, tačiau NVO lyderių pripažįstama kaip labai veiksminga, aplinkosauginio aktyvizmo forma – lobizmas. Lietuvos aplinkosauginių NVO veikloje lobizmas dažniausiai įgyja susitikimų, raštų ir laiškų, peticijų formas. Retą lobistinės veiklos taikymą Lietuvos aplinkosauginių NVO veikloje galima paaiškinti aplinkosauginių NVO vadybos spragomis, autoritetingų lyderių stoka, tendencingu aplinkosauginių NVO įvaizdžiu visuomenėje.

Tiesioginė aplinkos apsaugos veikla arba grupinis veikimas įgyja talkų ar ekologinių akcijų formas. Dažniausiai šios veiklos – vietos bendruomenių aplinkosauginės iniciatyvos, palaikomos ir mobilizuojamos regiono ar nacionalinių aplinkosauginių organizacijų.

Veiksmingiausia aplinkosauginės veiklos forma buvo išskirtas skirtingų formų kompleksiškas derinimas pritraukiant žiniasklaidą ar veiklai panaudojant netradicines, iššaukiančias meninės išraiškos priemones. NVO lyderių

teigimu, aplinkosauginio aktyvizmo veiksmingumas priklauso nuo informacijos perdavimo kanalų pasirinkimo, sprendžiamos aplinkosauginės problemos aktualumo socialinio suvokimo, laiko, skiriamo aplinkosauginei problemai spręsti, trukmės, organizacijų turimų teisinių žinių.

Lietuvos aplinkosauginės NVO bendradarbiauja tarpusavyje su kitomis vietinėmis ir tarptautinėmis organizacijomis, spręsdamos aplinkosaugines problemas. Tačiau šis bendradarbiavimas nėra intensyvus, partnerystės tinklai neplatūs. Pastebėta, kad tik apie pusę visų analizuotų organizacijų nurodo bendradarbiaujančios tarpusavyje. Dažniausia Lietuvos aplinkosauginių NVO bendradarbiavimas yra neformalus, organizacijos bendradarbiauja epizodiškai, spręsdamos siaurus klausimus ar problemas. Tyrėjai analizavo ir Lietuvos aplinkosauginių organizacijų tarptautinį bendradarbiavimą. Tik pusė analizuotų organizacijų nurodo bendradarbiaujančios bent su viena tarptautine organizacija. NVO, kurios kuria vietos partnerystės tinklus, labiau linkusios įsitraukti ir į tarptautinius tinklus. Išryškėja NVO tarptautinės partnerystės bruožas – bendradarbiavimas su tokios pačios tematikos tarptautinėmis ar užsienio aplinkosauginėmis NVO, pvz., *Lietuvos ornitologų draugija* – su *Danijos ornitologų draugija*. Kiekviena analizuojama Lietuvos aplinkosauginė NVO palaiko ryšius su skirtingomis tarptautinėmis organizacijomis – negalima atsekti tarptautinės partnerystės ryšių tarp kelių analizuojamų aplinkosauginių Lietuvos NVO ir konkrečios vienos tarptautinės NVO. Tai rodo, kad mūsų šalies aplinkosauginės organizacijos partnerių paiešką vykdo savarankiškai ir nėra linkusios sudaryti mišrių tinklų, t. y. su tomis pačiomis vietos aplinkosauginėmis NVO priklausyti tiems patiems tarptautiniams tinklams.

Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad aplinkosauginis aktyvizmas Lietuvoje pasižymi nuosaikių veiklos formų įvairove, tačiau būdingas žemas tokios veiklos veiksmingumas, žemas visuomenės ir valdžios dėmesys aplinkosauginei veiklai, neplatūs, epizodiški bendradarbiavimo tinklai.

**Prasminiai žodžiai:** aplinkosaugos agitavimas, NVO, kokybinis tyrimas.