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**BUREAUCRACY AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AS CONCEPTS  
OF MANAGEMENT IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

**BIUROKRACJA I ZARZĄDZANIE PUBLICZNE JAKO  
KONCEPCJE ZARZĄDZANIA W ADMINISTRACJI PUBLICZNEJ**

**Summary:** Defining public administration, emphasis is placed on the fact that this is a social phenomenon and that it is expected to take care of the problems of the community and the members of this community. Being aware of the fact that these are elements characterized by constant change, one may conclude with absolute certainty that it also administration that has to be subjected to changes. These changes encompass not only the organizational structure of administration, but they are also relevant to the sphere of management, for it is only administration that changes itself that is capable of fulfilling its role in the state and in the society. The evolution of the models of administration occurs under the influence of combining the expectations in the field of the high effectiveness of actions with taking under consideration public interests and the political structure of managing, and also under the influence of changing challenges faced by the public sector.

**Key words:** bureaucracy, public management, management in public administration

**Streszczenie:** Przy definiowaniu administracji publicznej kładzie się akcent na fakt, że jest ona zjawiskiem społecznym i ma zajmować się sprawami wspólnoty i jej członkami. Mając świadomość tego, że są to elementy charakteryzujące się ciągłą zmianą, można wnosić z całą stanowczością, że także administracja musi ulegać zmianie. Zmiany obejmują nie tylko strukturę organizacyjną administracji,

ale także dotyczą sfery zarządzania. Tylko bowiem zmieniająca się administracja jest zdolna do spełniania swojej roli w państwie, w społeczeństwie. Ewolucja modeli administracji następuje pod wpływem oczekiwań wysokiej efektywności działań z uwzględnieniem interesów publicznych i politycznej struktury kierowania, a także pod wpływem zmieniających się wyzwań, stojących przed sektorem publicznym.

**Słowa kluczowe:** biurokracja, zarządzanie publiczne, zarządzanie w administracji publicznej

## Introduction

Expansion of state functions, emergence of new social institutions, ever more widespread use of new technologies in the area of communication and provision of services, and change of citizens' expectations towards administration – all this makes it necessary to adapt the forms of management of social life and state, including administration, to current needs. Creation and functioning of a modern bureaucratic apparatus is a necessary element of organisation of a collective life in a society. Thus, the priority is to improve the way in which public tasks are performed, and to increase the effectiveness of activities of public administration. The key issue is to establish the approach - namely: administrate or manage in public administration? Which one will better ensure that the role of public administration in a state is fulfilled.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the development of the forms of functioning of administration, from bureaucratic administration to administration that is based on the principles of modern public management. Comparison of the elements characterising these two models of management in administration should indicate the direction of changes occurring in public administration itself. Special attention has been paid to the reasons for moving away from the bureaucratic model of administration and adopting management solutions used by entities operating in the private sphere.

### 1. Model of ideal bureaucracy by Max Weber

Max Weber presented his model of ideal bureaucracy in the classical work *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, first published in 1922. His model of organisation, which he called bureaucratic organisation, constitutes a basis for sociological studies and explorations in the area of public administration.<sup>1</sup> It is a model of state administration in a system of “legal rule”, which can be contrasted with administration of a patrimonial state. The model of bureaucratic organisation - in a positive sense of this word - is examined in the context of rule and struggle for power among political parties. In a modern state, struggle for power may result in changes that affect the bureaucratic apparatus, but the latter it always necessary.<sup>2</sup>

According to Max Weber, the emergence of the modern bureaucracy was inseparably connected with the development of the capitalist economy. He claimed that the characteristic feature of capitalism is rational way of organising production. “Rational” in the terminology used by Weber means “bureaucratic.” The term bureaucracy has not a negative connotation here.

<sup>1</sup> Z. Leoński, *Nauka administracji*, Wydawnictwo C.H. Beck, Warszawa 2004, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 5.

Bureaucracy is a rational way of organising human activity in all its areas, which is based not on the rule of people but on impersonal, normative principles and rules established by the mind.<sup>3</sup>

Bureaucracy, as an integral element of rational power, is characterised by a few crucial features:

- continuity of exercise of official functions which are subject to specific rules,
- specified scope of competences:
  - a) exercising functions appointed as part of organised labour division,
  - b) providing the person holding office with due powers to be able to exercise these functions,
  - c) clearly defining necessary coercion measures and clearly specifying conditions of their use.An entity exercising such power is called an “administrative organ”,

- organisation of offices is hierarchical, i.e. each lower office is subject to control and supervision of a higher office. It is possible to appeal against decisions of lower offices and submit complains about them to higher offices. Hierarchically, they differ in terms of whether and in which cases a complaint may cause the issue of decision by other higher authorities of various levels and whether changes are imposed from top-down, or responsibility for their introduction lies with the lower office whose conduct became the subject of the complaint,

- rules governing the conduct of offices have the character of technical rules or standards. In both cases, if they are to be followed in a fully rational way, specialist training is necessary. Therefore only person with appropriate professional training may become a member of administrative staff and only such persons may apply to be appointed to official posts. Thus, administrative staff comprise “officials” irrespective of the objectives of an organisation,

- members of administrative staff should be completely detached from the ownership of the means of production and administration. Such means are at their disposal in kind or money, and an official is obliged to account for their use,

- establishment of a “right” to hold office, as e.g. in the case of judges, cannot lead to “appropriation” of office by an official, but it is only intended to ensure full objectivity and independence of a given office so that it is focused only on appropriate standards,

- acts, decisions and administrative regulations are formulated and documented in writing even in cases when oral discussion is a rule or obligatory. The written form of documents and requirement of continuity of official activities require that an “office” is set up, i.e. a point where all organisational activities are focused.<sup>4</sup>

The model by Weber turned out ineffective in practice.<sup>5</sup> The evolution of public administration led to negation of many of his assumptions of an ideal bureaucracy. Its most important flaws are as follows:

- administration is served by itself,
- patronage,
- lack of social control.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A. Czarnota, *Teorie nauki administracji od początków nowożytności do national choice theory*, [in:] B. Kudrycka, B. Guy Peters, P.J. Suwaj (red.), *Nauka administracji*, Wydawnictwo Oficyna a Wolters Kluwer business, Warszawa 2009, pp. 156-157.

<sup>4</sup> M. Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, The Free Press, New York, s. 330-332, after: J. Hausner, *Zarządzanie publiczne*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, Warszawa 2008, pp. 13-14.

<sup>5</sup> J. Hausner, *Od idealnej biurokracji do zarządzania publicznego*, Studia z zakresu zarządzania publicznego. Materiały seminarium naukowego. Tom II, Akademia Ekonomiczna w Krakowie, Kraków 2002, p. 54 and literature cited therein.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, p. 51.

Negative elements of bureaucracy also include:

- learned ineffectiveness - which means that actions based on learned skills were effective in the past, but don't guarantee desired results in the future,
- professional psychosis - a person employed in a bureaucratic institution perceives reality from the angle of the work he/she does,
  - selectivity of perceiving the reality of an organisation - a person employed in such an organisation focuses only on this fragment of its activity that directly concerns him/her and does not see the problems of the whole organisation,
  - shifting feelings from the objectives of an organisation to specific details of conduct required by regulations - in this case a person employed in such an organisation focuses on what the organisation has been established for and what tasks it performs,
  - activity characterised by technicalism and formalism - people employed in such an organisation boil everything down to observance of rules and principles stipulated by law; lack of ability to adapt oneself to individual problems,
  - attitude of domination towards the client of the organisation - people employed in such an organisation take advantage of the fact that they work on behalf and under the authority of the state and have a stronger position in the established administrative and legal relationship as well as a dominant position in relation to the person that approaches them to settle a matter.<sup>7</sup>

Other dysfunctions of this model of functioning of administration have also been identified. They include, among other things:

- functioning of civil service is based on the politics/administration dichotomy and on the concept of "neutral competence" (representatives of civil service should not express any political attachment or sympathies, and be prepared to support every democratically established government). Meanwhile, in practice civil service plays a significant, if not dominating, political role in modern governments. The concept of separating administration from politics proved to be too simplified in the situation of increasing complexity of social phenomena.
- functioning of administration results from establishment of hierarchical order and observance of rules. In practice, modern political organisations do not implement their tasks and programs directly by using law and other autocratic measures - they have to undertake negotiations to achieve their objectives. Governing is based more on bargaining and mediation than authoritative decisions, and public organisations are not separated from other types of organisations, but participate in multi-actor networks of coordination of activities.
- Weber's model assumed permanence and stability of organisational structures. In practice, flexible organisational structures dominate in the public sector where employment is often flexible.
- institutionalised civil service constituted a separate professional corporation. In practice, recruitment and assessment of usefulness of public administration employees result more from the logic of the market than logic of bureaucracy.
- functioning of public administration was subjected to rigorous and formalised internal regulation. In practice, tendency towards deregulation and subjecting public administration to rather external than internal control dominate.

<sup>7</sup> More on this subject in: A.K. Koźmiński (ed.), *Współczesne koncepcje zarządzania*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 125-126.

- in Weber's model officials should treat all clients in the same way. In practice, bureaucracy has much more freedom and can offer different services to different groups of clients.<sup>8</sup>

Another highlighted weakness of the bureaucratic model of public administration is focus on the procedure, not on its results. Combined with formalised hierarchy, this leads to significant limitation of flexibility of administrative structures and their low effectiveness. Practice has shown that monitoring the activity of bureaucratic structures and assessing its results is hindered due to technical reasons and lack of transparency of these structures, which - protecting their interests - consolidate their monopoly on information and powers.<sup>9</sup>

The existence of dysfunctions of Weber's model of ideal administration caused change in the assessment of its functioning. The term "bureaucracy" lost positive meaning and this has continued to this day. According to a present dictionary definition, bureaucracy is a system of governance where the main role is played by administrative clerical apparatus characterised by excess of formalism in the activity of officials, routine leading to heartlessness in treating applicants and dealing with their matters, and the process of detachment of the institution from the needs of society which it is supposed to serve.<sup>10</sup> We should thus agree with the view of B. Dolnicki that bureaucracy, as it is commonly understood, is a mechanism of rigid, slow, sluggish, routine activity based on rigid and complicated rules, principles and views. It is accompanied by a mindset of an employee who is isolated from matters he/she is dealing with and from the public interest which he/she serves, and the only objective of his/her activities is to make career.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Causes of changing the model of management in public administration

Some changes in the area of management in public sector in the period of fast scientific and technological progress over the last two decades of the 20th century had to occur.<sup>12</sup> These changes were also determined by processes which resulted from the following changes in the organisation and functioning of the state, economy and society, i.e. in the model of social order:

- decentralisation of the state and development of territorial self-government,
- moving away from the separation of the state, economy and civil society towards co-operation of the entities constituting these fundamental systems of modern civilisations, while preserving their autonomy,
  - internationalisation and globalisation of a range of economic, political and social phenomena. They led to the emergence of transnational and global forms of economic, social and political organisations that assumed part of traditional powers and competences of a national state.
  - change of the organisation of a state at central level. There is an increasing process of separation of powers which goes beyond Montesquieu's scheme: executive, legislative, and judicial.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> J. Hausner, *Zarządzanie publiczne*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR Warszawa 2008, pp. 29-30 and literature cited therein.

<sup>9</sup> A. Przeworski, *The State in a Market Economy*, [in:] J.M. Nelson, Ch. Tilly and Lee Walker (eds), *Transforming Post-Communist political Economies*, National Academy Press, Washington, DC 1997, p. 421.

<sup>10</sup> J. Tokarski (ed.), *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, Warszawa 1980, p. 85.

<sup>11</sup> B. Dolnicki, *Sprawność i demokratyzm w strukturze i działaniu polskiej administracji lokalnej*, [in:] E. Uraz (ed.), *Sprawność działania administracji samorządowej*, SEAP – Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, Rzeszów 2006, p. 125.

<sup>12</sup> J.E. Ireisat, *The New Public Management and Reform*, [in:] K.T. Liou, Marcel Dekker Inc (ed.), *Handbook of Public Management Practice and Reform*, New York – Basel 2001, pp. 542-543.

<sup>13</sup> J. Hausner, *Od idealnej biurokracji ...*, op. cit. pp. 52-54.

As a consequence, reform of the state became one of the most important and urgent issues. Its aim was to establish a new, desired model of a state. J. Hausner thinks that implementation of this model required a reform characterised by the following four basic components:

- more precise definition of the boundaries of the state's activity, such as, among other things: limitation of their scope, privatisation of state-owned enterprises, ensuring autonomy of the non-profit sector and inclusion of social services and scientific activity into this sector - while it is still financed by state - and transferring all tasks of the state except the basic ones outside,
- limitation of the scope of the state's regulation of the private sector, replacing the state's function as the protector of national economy against the international competition by the function of promoter of competitiveness of a given country,
- strengthening of the function of state governance, i.e. ensuring an effective implementation of the government's decisions through correction of fiscal solutions to restore financial efficiency of the state and through an administrative reform aimed at establishing public administration that functions according to managerial (not bureaucratic) principles,
- strengthening governability by means of political institutions that ensure more effective agency in the pursuit of interests, strengthen legitimacy of governance and make it more democratic, thereby improving the system of representative democracy and creating space for social control and direct democracy.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Essence of public management

Criticism of bureaucracy led to evolution of administrative model of management, which adopted some new achievements of the theory of organisation and management, especially those connected with changes taking place in public management.<sup>15</sup>

There is no doubt that study of management is about scientific organisation of work in different organisational units. It started as management of a private enterprise, then was applied in the field of public administration. Transferring results of certain activities and specific methods was possible due to the fact that both private and public administration, as social organisms, apart from differences share some similarities (e.g. the problem of lowering costs of administration).<sup>16</sup> This view is also shared by H. Izdebski and M. Kulesza. According to them, management studies usually try to cover all organisational phenomena regardless of whether they refer to private or public spheres. They long ago went beyond the stage of dealing with physical phenomena (studying ways of increasing work productivity by maximum simplification of production).<sup>17</sup> Also B. Plawgo holds the opinion that modern management as practice, and consequently science, resulted from experiences of leading entities of the private sector, in particular large corporations. High effectiveness of these organisations has become a source of their unprecedented expansion over the last hundred years. Largely due to continuously improved methods and techniques of management, the private sector managed to achieve rapid increase in production, profits and national income.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, pp. 55-56.

<sup>15</sup> A. Zalewski, *Reformy sektora publicznego...*, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

<sup>16</sup> Z. Leoński, *Nauka administracji*, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> H. Izdebski, M. Kulesza, *Administracja publiczna. Zagadnienia ogólne*, Wydawnictwo Liber, Warszawa 2004, p. 383.

<sup>18</sup> B. Plawgo, *Zarządzanie publiczne*, [in:] B. Kudrycka, B. Guy Peters, P.J. Suwaj (ed.), *Nauka administracji*, Wydawnictwo Oficyna a Wolters Kluwer business, Warszawa 2009, p. 179.

In the theory of management studies, while stressing the distinctness of the public sector as the subject of studies and change of the paradigm of its operation (from passive administration to active management), emphasis is placed on the existence of social innovation, i.e. an intentional change introduced within the social system, which is novelty for this system and results from a decision-making process aimed at solving a problem that arose in the course of functioning of this system and causes change of the existing rules of conduct and its structure.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, we should agree with A. Frączkiewicz-Wronka that the process of describing what is happening in these systems from the perspective of management problems is difficult because of the necessity of paying special attention to standards and values used as the reference point when making decisions and later implementing them in the social and economic reality. From the perspective of theory and practice, appearing social problems are solved mainly through actions taken by public organisations in the area defined as public sector.<sup>20</sup> Thus, by definition, public management is a field of knowledge exposed to practical and public verification with theoretical references both in the sphere of economic sciences and humanities. Because of its deep relations with the practical sphere, public management can be also understood dynamically, which means effective organisation of the process of implementation of public projects, i.e. actions that satisfy important social needs.<sup>21</sup>

According to B. Koźuch, what distinguishes public management is managerial intervention by public authority which involves:

- administration, i.e. regulating current affairs, performing the functions of management,
- performing ownership obligations: acquisition, sale, fusions,
- allocation of public funds which are at the disposal of public authorities,
- monitoring and evaluation of functioning of an entity.<sup>22</sup>

In turn, B. Plawgo stresses that the terms “administration” and “management” entail different meanings, even if they refer to the same subject of activities, i.e. public sector.<sup>23</sup> T. Markowski thinks that administration consists in performing organisational and executive activities, or permanent and coordinated organisation of activity.<sup>24</sup> Academic literature stresses that the basis is formal competences, or power is a mandate to manage; such management assumes the form of administration, supervision or direction, depending on the type of an organisation, type of authority or customarily established (or by legal norms) forms and means of interfering in the functioning of an organisation. Existing legal standards create situations when specific public institutions are authorised to exert influence on the whole society or specific social groups, e.g. inhabitants of gminas. Some researchers, usually administrative law specialists, call it administration, other. e.g. representatives of management studies - governing. When the title to direct is material powers, in other words, holding or even potential possession of the resources determining the functioning of an organisation, directing takes form of managing. Here, the mandate to exert influence is ownership of resources, e.g. possessing shares in a company. In contrast, when the basis for exercise of power by the person in control over those controlled are intellectual and emotional competences, i.e. personal authority of the person in control result-

<sup>19</sup> A. Frączkiewicz-Wronka, *Zarządzanie publiczne w teorii i praktyce ochrony zdrowia*, Wydawnictwo Wolters Kluwer, Warszawa 2009, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, p. 14.

<sup>22</sup> B. Koźuch, *Zarządzanie publiczne w teorii i praktyce polskich organizacji*, Placet, Warszawa 2004, pp. 43-53.

<sup>23</sup> B. Plawgo, *Zarządzanie publiczne ...*, op. cit., p. 180 and literature cited therein.

<sup>24</sup> T. Markowski, *Zarządzanie rozwojem miast*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1999, p. 19.

ing from his/her intellect and high morale, professional knowledge and skills, creative activity and flexibility in acting, as well as ability to coexist with other people, then directing takes form of leadership.<sup>25</sup> This view is shared by A. Christu-Budnik. According to this author, what distinguishes management from governing is the specificity of the relationships between those in control and those controlled. These relationships are based on formal legitimisation of power, lack of acceptance of this power leads to recourse to a state's constraint. The basic way of governing is hierarchy, which refers to macro-social level. At the same time, the author stresses that at present management is regarded as one of methods of governing. One - as not all processes of functioning of state institutions are identical with management. Nevertheless, the geopolitical situation across the world and ongoing transformation in post-communist countries, whose key element is building a market economy connected with the emergence of private sector which constitutes the driving force for economic development, and modernisation of the economic sphere of the state cause management, as an economic method of governing, to occupy the central place next to the socio-political method aimed at consolidation of democratic system.<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that those who argue that only administration should be used in this sphere rightly stress that among the forms of organised activity of people, administration, and in particular public administration, is characterised by the following features:

- acting on behalf and account of the state,
- special links with politics,
- acting on the basis of law and only within its boundaries,
- acting in the public interest, understood as common good,
- acting within a competence granted by law,
- impersonal character of actions,
- authoritarian character of actions,
- hierarchical character of subordination of organs at various levels,
- entrusting professional, specialist officials with the performance of tasks,
- continuity and stability of actions.<sup>27</sup>

B. Koźuch put up a thesis that administration, involving mainly supervision and control, and sometimes also directing, was rarely included into a set of basic terms connected with managing an organisation.<sup>28</sup>

Public management covers not only administration, but it also means organising activities for the purpose of achieving specific objectives, following the principles of organisational effectiveness and efficiency, taking into account real responsibility of public managers for the results achieved. These elements did not appear in traditionally understood administration in the public sector. Public administration was rather focused on legal regulations, ownership right and administrative procedures. Public management is expected to be much more. Public managers, rather than focussing only on following formal procedures, should achieve objectives and take responsibility.<sup>29</sup> F. Kuźnik notes that the provision of public services or - at least - organisation of provision of such services combined with the disposal and use of

<sup>25</sup> B. Koźuch, *Zarządzanie publiczne ...*, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

<sup>26</sup> A. Crisidu-Budnik, J. Korczak, A. Pakuła, J. Supernat, *Nauka organizacji i zarządzania*, Wydawnictwo Kolonia Limited, Wrocław 2005, pp. 241-241.

<sup>27</sup> B. Koźuch, *Zarządzanie publiczne ...*, op. cit., p. 32 and literature cited therein.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> B. Plawgo, *Zarządzanie publiczne...*, op. cit. p. 180 and literature cited therein.



public resources involves management, which can be referred to as public management. This means a shift from rigid, legal and impersonal procedures and regulations towards individualisation and autonomy of decisions. This however requires practical managerial skills, and initiative in respect of the affairs that concern individuals or groups of people.<sup>30</sup>

Comparison of the principles of functioning of public administration managed according to the traditional model and as part of public management is presented in table 1.

**Table 1.** Comparison of the approach of traditional administration and public management

Area	Traditional administration	Public management
<b>Structure of public organs</b>	Services are provided based on a universal, aggregated organisational structure	Division of the traditional structure into quasi-autonomous units
<b>Control of public organisations</b>	Control is exercised from the central level by means of a uniform hierarchical structure	Control is handed over to professional managers who have clearly defined objectives and performance indicators
<b>Control of achieved results</b>	Control of investment and procedures	Stressing the role of results rather than the control of procedures
<b>Management practice</b>	Use of standard procedures for the different services	Use of ways of management applied in the private sector
<b>Discipline of the use of resources</b>	By way of procedures and social control	Analysis of needed resources and attempt to achieve better results based on less resources.

Source: B. Plawgo, *Zarządzanie publiczne*, [in:] B. Kudrycka, B. Guy Peters, P.J. Suwaj (ed.), *Nauka administracji*, Wydawnictwo Oficyna a Wolters Kluwer business, Warszawa 2009, p. 181 and literature cited therein.

## Summary

The answer to the question about what should be done for public administration to function effectively and appropriately is mainly searched for in management studies. It turns out that apart from the specificity of public administration, equated with legalism, law and order and following the provisions of law, in order to establish how it should function, it is necessary to use principles developed in studies of an organisation. Such approach to developing the desired model of organising the functioning of administration was represented by Max Weber. While evaluating the model of ideal administration developed by him it should be stressed that he strived to create an organisation that is characterised by clearly specified procedures and principles. This can be seen in special emphasis placed on the formal aspects of all kinds of activities and specification of the scope of tasks to be performed by a specific official. However, the idea of this model was distorted during attempts to improve the assump-

<sup>30</sup> F. Kuźnik, *Stare i nowe koncepcje zarządzania publicznego w strukturach samorządu terytorialnego*, [in:] B. Koźuch, T. Markowski (ed.), *Z teorii i praktyki zarządzania publicznego*, Fundacja Współczesnego Zarządzania, Białystok 2005, p. 71.

tions based on which the traditional model of administration was build. It turned out that the aim was formalism of organisation and efficiency of its operation, rather than the quality of performance of a specific public task. An official was interested not so much in the human being (applicant) and his/her matter as in the issue of the technical way of settling a matter. Such objectification of humans did not receive social approval. Moreover, it became unacceptable that administration was focused only on activities aimed at its own improvement, neglecting what it has really been established for. Awareness of these flaws led to corrective actions. They are mainly intended to cause a change of emphasis in terms of the fundamental objectives of functioning of administration. Administration should be properly understood exercise of executive power, which is concentrated on the performance of public tasks not only from the perspective of legality, but also quality, economy and utility. It is also important that achievement of appropriate effects of the activities of administration is expected by society. I am convinced that the models of management in public administration presented here are not the final ones. They will be further modified, and changed. Only public administration that takes up new challenges in the area of organising its activity and that is ready to accept new challenges from recipients of its services is able to fully perform its regulatory tasks and thus its role in the modern state.

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