Abstract

The article investigated the processes of establishment, continuous development, and transformation of the civil service in Ukraine from the period of the establishment of Kyivan Rus to the present-day Ukrainian state. The historiographical components of the formation and institution of the civil service were identified, and the objective principles and significant differences in its developmental periodization were characterized. The methodological framework of this research was based on the institutional and structural methods, normative-legal description of events, the method of communicative support of historical consequences and facts, the functional and structural methods, and the professional and cultural substantiation of historical and state-building results. It was demonstrated that the progressive and complex development of the civil service system accompanied the physical development of the state. The research confirmed that the civil service and governance system received a significant impetus during the period of convergence and subsequent integration with the Russian Empire. The article proves that significant changes in the civil service system were introduced by the Austro-Hungarian

Historical evolution of civil service in Ukraine

Історична Еволюція Державної Служби в Україні

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Abstract

The article investigated the processes of establishment, continuous development, and transformation of the civil service in Ukraine from the period of the establishment of Kyivan Rus to the present-day Ukrainian state. The historiographical components of the formation and institution of the civil service were identified, and the objective principles and significant differences in its developmental periodization were characterized. The methodological framework of this research was based on the institutional and structural methods, normative-legal description of events, the method of communicative support of historical consequences and facts, the functional and structural methods, and the professional and cultural substantiation of historical and state-building results. It was demonstrated that the progressive and complex development of the civil service system accompanied the physical development of the state. The research confirmed that the civil service and governance system received a significant impetus during the period of convergence and subsequent integration with the Russian Empire. The article proves that significant changes in the civil service system were introduced by the Austro-Hungarian

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Empire. It is determined that the institutional framework of the civil service appeared in Ukraine between 1917 and 1921 due to the activities of Hetman Petro Skoropadskyi. The authors substantiated the pathways and prospective consequences of modernizing and developing the civil service of independent Ukraine.

**Keywords:** civil service institution, civil service, public administration, society, government system, reforms, state authorities, historiography, historiographic process.

**Introduction**

Throughout history, the civil service has not been an authentic creation of self-organization within Ukrainian society. Along with the governance system, it was brought in for the convenient and efficient management of Ukrainian lands. Since the first territorial settlements and the XVI century, Ukrainian lands have had unstable but quite modern state structures and civil service models. Then, first on the Left Bank, and at the end of the XVIII century on the Right Bank of Ukraine, the self-government of the Polish gentry (shliakhta) was replaced by a cruel, centralized system of Russian Empire governance. This system brought to the Ukrainian lands both positive features (legislative framework and legal regulation of the civil service, high level of organization, system consistency, and retirement benefits) and negative ones (corruption and bribery, dependence, and insecurity of civil servants - "civil service slaves," unnecessary paperwork, etc.) (Averianov, 2006).

The creation and functioning of an effective system of state governance and organization of the civil service have always been the key elements of Ukraine's state development. Today, significant attention is given to the civil service reforms. It is primarily due to the phenomena and processes in our society and state since gaining independence in 1991. The main tasks that are currently being formed for Ukrainian society and the power system include:

- creating conditions for the further development of the civil service as an effective institution for the functioning of executive power and local self-government (Friedman, & Laurison, 2019);
- ensuring the rights and freedoms of citizens;
- providing quality public and civil services (Halay, 2019).

These tasks determine the relevance of this research.

The success of achieving the set goals for the development of the civil service in Ukraine largely depends on the level of systematization and scientific preparation of civil servants at all levels of governance, as well as the creation and implementation of scientific and information-tolerant approaches to the institution of the civil service (Kristalina, 2022). Successful performance of its functions requires the civil service to continue becoming a leading institution that realizes the great essence of public administration, shapes the nation's well-being, and ensures that public administration provides society with high-quality state services.

**Literature review**

As the subject of comprehensive and historical research, the civil service occupies a prominent place in a state and legal research due to its functional purpose. In the studies by Fuenzalida and Riccucci (2019), and Gregory et al., (2020), it is stated and argued that "the civil service ensures the progressive participation of the most capable managers, the best citizens of society, in addressing the tasks that society faces in its development and expressed in the functions of the state" (Bason & Austin, 2022; Schuster, 2017). The works by Boyle, O'Leary, & O'Neill (2022), Zulkarnain & Prasojo (2021) suggest that the "institution of civil service coordination" represents a combination of organizational elements (a system of state bodies, procedural elements (rules and procedures established by law for recruitment, progression, and termination), and personnel components (a body of individuals assigned ranks of civil servants). Several researchers (Kobzeva & Mykhailovska, 2018; Makedon et al., 2020) note that the
formation and establishment of the civil service institution, including within the judicial authority system, have been greatly influenced by its history, legal traditions and peculiarities of Ukrainian public administration. An alternative scientific opinion should also be highlighted. It states that the features of the formation and functioning of the civil service in different countries are largely determined by the historical and cultural specifics of the country's internal development.

Prudyus (2016) outlines the components that influenced the choice and formation of a particular model of the civil service, such as:

1) "the specifics of the historical development of these countries (the emergence and normative-legal regulation of the professional civil service institution);"
2) "the specifics of the legal system (Anglo-Saxon (Anglo-American legal system) or Romano-Germanic legal systems);"
3) "the specifics of the political system (whether the state is federal or unitary, totalitarian or democratic)."

According to professional opinion (White et al., 2014), "some progressive experience of the world countries shows that effective organization of the civil service is the key to a successful implementation of the state policy since the civil service is a way to implement the functions of the state welfare through a combination of personal, group and public interests. The modern states that have achieved high levels of economic development and social welfare while respecting democratic standards, guarantees, and human rights could not have achieved these goals without consistent and effective development of professional civil service" (Hong & Kim, 2019).

Several studies (Persson, 2021; Yavorsky et al., 2019) suggest that by attracting and using positive foreign experience in the civil service, a certain increase in the level of professionalism and professional discipline and compliance with traditions in public administration can be achieved.

Reeve (2009) and Shevchenko & Starostiuk (2017) are among the researchers who have studied the organization of civil servants work in the courts of developed countries.

Thus, a detailed analysis of the theoretical, methodological, and descriptive components of the formation and organizational support of the civil service institution becomes the basis for further research on the building and development of the civil service institution in Ukraine.

**Aims**

This study aims to comprehensively and systematically substantiate the historical, legal, cultural, and organizational components that have contributed to the formation and development of the civil service institution in Ukraine.

The research goal shapes the circumstances for the scientific analysis of public administration and civil service concepts. The practice of public administration and civil service strongly demands considering the historical roots in the development of political, economic, social, and other development programs of Ukrainian society while addressing the current management tasks. The generalized historiographical experience becomes an invaluable source of professional knowledge about the organization and functioning of the civil service.

**Methods**

The following methods and practices will address the specifics of this study:

1) The method of institutional structure involves the set of public governance bodies and positions in the staffing table of state and municipal authorities. They are created on the legislative basis of the country, the administrative apparatus, and all defined levels of government administration. The institutional structure includes the administrative machinery and civil service that performs the functions of state and municipal authorities. It also encompasses state and municipal management institutions: the Office of the President of Ukraine, the apparatus and structure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, ministries, and other executive bodies. At the regional level, the institutional subsystem includes local self-government bodies. The method of institutional structure allows for determining who directly holds the governing powers, implements executive power, ensures the implementation of official state decisions, and provides control.

2) The normative-legal method is formed as a set of administrative and constitutional law norms based on which the institutional subsystem is built and functions. The activities of state institutions are more regulated than the activities of private
individuals. The normative-legal component of the civil service consists of constitutional and legislative norms, as well as administrative-legal decisions of higher management bodies - at the "input" level of the system, and administrative-legal acts, management decisions addressed to the public (external) environment - at the "output" level, the effect of the state-administrative management system itself.

3) The method of communicative support. Its defining feature is the predominance of unequal, subject-object, and subordinate relations in the communication and interaction system of government institutions and "officials." Alongside official connections between management subjects regulated by provisions, statutes, regulations, and job instructions, there are also horizontal unofficial (business and informal) relations as balanced and discretionary interactions. Established communication within a government institution ensures results and efficiency of administrative activities as collective work of officials in preparing and implementing organizational and managerial decisions.

4) The functional-structural method is a fundamental component in the organization of the civil service institution. The state institutions differ in their management functions regarding the subject matter (content), scope, and methods of influence. It allows not only describing the types of activities of state institutions but also analyzing the distribution of functions between management bodies vertically and horizontally within the pyramid and within a state institution itself. Based on this analysis, the optimal structure of a state institution and its subdivisions can be determined, and a methodology for organizational changes can be proposed. The optimal functional-structural arrangement of a specific management body or the entire public administration system can also become a subject of scientific research and lead to socially significant results.

5) The method of professional-cultural description and substantiation. Its goal is to present public administration as a social phenomenon, which cannot be adequately developed without emphasizing its component, such as the professional-cultural subsystem. The culture of management and organization (governing body) largely determines the integrity and maturity of public institutions. The professional-administrative culture is a subjective factor in management, a fusion, and materialization of civil servants and state organizations' intellect and actions. It includes legal, political, and professional-qualitative culture: culture of communication, decision-making culture (management technologization), motivational and informational culture, etc.

Results

The study results will be based on the historiographic principle, highlighting the historical stages of formation and sophistication of the civil service mechanism in Ukraine.

Public administration in Ancient Kyivan Rus

The ancient Ukrainian state went through three stages in its development:

The prerequisites matured during the first stage of the formation of the Ancient Ukrainian state (from the VIII to mid-IX century), and inter-tribal alliances and their centers, known as principalities (princedoms), were established, as mentioned by the Eastern authors. By the IX century, the system of "poliudie" emerged. It involved collecting tribute from the community members to benefit the Knyaz. At that time, this tribute was still voluntary and perceived as compensation for military and administrative services. The formation of the Ancient Ukrainian state is associated with establishing the Kyivan state, a long and complex process that united various Eastern Slavic tribes.

When the Ancient Ukrainian state was formed, there were already several large cities, including Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereyaslav. In the IX century, there were 25 major cities in Kyivan Rus. At the same time, the consolidation of three major Slavic tribal alliances occurred:

- Kujawy - the lands around the city of Kyiv;
- Slavia - the area of Lake Ilmen with the center at Novgorod;
- Arthania - the exact area is not defined by historians but is called the Baltic States, the Carpathians, and Northeastern Rus.

Thus, a unified state was formed in the first half of the IX century. This period represents the earliest stage of the Ukrainian state and civil service development.

The second stage (2nd half of the IX–mid-X century) of state formation accelerated mainly due to the active intervention of external forces -
the Khazars and the Normans (Varangians - Vikings). Currently, many scientists point to a long, unbiased process of state formation and a secondary, biased factor. Today, the failure of the "Norman theory" based on the thesis that it is possible to "teach a state" is quite apparent. In contrast, any state emerges only through long-term internal development and society's complexity. However, this statement does not deny the role of the Varangians and Scandinavians in contributing to the creation of the Kyivan Rus. Today we can assume that the chronicle story about the "calling up of the Varangians" led by Rurik accurately reflects the real events. The Varangian origin of the first Kyivan rulers is undeniable: Rurik, Olga, Ihor, Olha, and Askold are Scandinavian names. Also, there are dozens of Scandinavian graves found in Eastern Europe.

It should be noted that the Scandinavians actively participated in the creation of the Ancient Ukrainian state, providing it with a ruling dynasty. However, they quickly dissolved among the local Slavic population: for example, Ihor and Olha's son bore the Slavic name Sviatoslav.

Modern researchers, overcoming the extremes of the Normanist and Anti-Normanist theories, have reached the following conclusions:

- the process of state and civil service formation began before the Varangians;
- the fact of their invitation to rule indicates that this form of power was already familiar to the Slavs.

Simultaneously, there was a consolidation of the local ruling-warrior elite, their integration with the Varangian warriors, and the Slavicization of the Varangians themselves. Oleh, who united the Novgorod and Kyiv lands and paved the trade route "from the Varangians to the Greeks," laid the economic base for the emerging state.

The third and final stage of state formation begins with the reforms of Kniahynia Olha (Olha of Kyiv). Seeking revenge against the Drevlyans for the death of her husband, she establishes a fixed tribute norm and sets up "tsvynitary" (outposts) for its collection, which became the backbone of Knyaz authority at the local level. The policies of her son, Sviatoslav (964-972), who gained fame for his victory over Khazaria and campaigns on the Danube that failed, required the mobilization of significant forces for external conquests. It slightly delayed the internal development of Kyivan Rus. During the reign of Volodymyr the Great (980-1015), the complete elimination of tribal principalities took place. In 981, continuing the policy of expanding the territory of the intertribal federation, he annexed the southwestern and western lands to it. The lands of the Vyatichs (the Oka River) were also incorporated into the Ancient Ukrainian state. The authority of Kyivan Rus extended further to the east.

Public administration in Kyivan Rus during the Mongol-Tatar invasion

The Golden Horde was a symbiosis of nomadic governance and traditional law institutions with the Islamic state-legal paradigm. At the same time, the Rus statehood was the institutionalization of an agricultural society and an Orthodox understanding of power and law. The formation of a unified Orthodox Kyivan State occurred in conditions of mobilizational development. It led to the preservation of military polygenesis and a shift from a polycentric system of governance to authoritarian rule by the Grand Knyaz and gradually increased centralization. An essential central governing body became the Knyaz and the council, whose activities were based on the principles of vassalage and functional differentiation. The administrative-territorial division and local governance were unified, aiming to centralize state administration (Melnuychuk, 2021).

In terms of civilization, the synthesis of two qualitatively different spiritual, ethnocultural, and political systems was impossible. It is confirmed by specific historical studies that do not reveal any Horde traditions in Kyiv's state governance system and legal culture. The attempts to link the emergence of the feudal estates, Zemsky Sobor's (councils, parliament), and autocracy, based on certain analogies (sometimes far-fetched), with similar phenomena in the Mongol khanates are extremely unconvincing, if not ridiculous. These institutions' roots and evolution are clearly visible in Rus history. They find more straightforward explanations in national-Orthodox notions of statehood, property, etc. The borrowings were (as always during the interaction of different civilizations) of a purely technical nature - elements of military art, the tax system, the yam postal service (Mongolian postal service, "yam" means the "road"), etc. Another thing is that the Golden Horde, as one of the powerful foreign policy factors in the reorganization of the Ukrainian state, had no way of not influencing the pace and nature of Ukrainian political genesis.
Public administration in the XVI-XVII centuries

At the turn of the XV and XVI centuries, the process of unifying Ukrainian lands around Moscow was completed. Kyiv lost its leadership in terms of state, cultural, and economic positions. The consolidation of lands also implied the creation of a centralized governance system. However, several factors prevented characterizing Ukraine's formed system of governance as centralized. These factors included:

– Underdevelopment of centralized state authorities.
– Central governing bodies lacked representation at the local level and were not duplicated.

There were also remnants of feudal disintegration, such as (Kobzeva, & Mykhailovska, 2018):

– feudal dominions;
– "hoduvannia" (lit. - "feeding" - a system of rewarding by the great and local lords of their viceroy or governors, who performed judicial and administrative functions and received the right to collect taxes, duties, etc., in their favor);
– the principle of patronage and localism in appointing to state positions;
– the relative autonomy of the church.

The Sobornoe Ulozhenie in 1649 (lit.- the "Council Code") solidified and propelled the further development of the administrative command system in governance. In the 1640s, there was a change in the generations of diaks (clerks), and the image of the clerical rank changed due to the arrival of people whose careers developed under the new dynasty. Among the prikaz judges (administrative, judicial, territorial, or executive offices), the number of nobles decreased. However, their role became more critical as the boyars, particularly close to the tsar, concentrated the leadership over several offices. By the middle of the XVII century, the civil service was separated from the service in general, which was predominantly military. These changes were reflected in the oaths of the officers, which were sworn during a change of tsar by the whole population and certain persons when taking office or being promoted.

At the end of the XVII century, the state monarchy's public administration system entered a problematic stage of modernization of the country's entire political system. It's institutions and administrative apparatus borrowed elements of European experience and rationalism but generally used its own civilizational basis. With its contradictions, the pace of this modernization did not keep up with the growing complexity of governance tasks, territory expansion, the process of estate transformation in society, and new geopolitical challenges. The urgent issue was a fundamental reorganization of the entire central and local governance system, which would determine the final choice between developing autocracy as an expression of estate interests and establishing absolutism.

Public administration and civil service in the XVIII century

The emergence of absolutism as a form of governance is determined by the genesis of bourgeois relations. In transitioning from a feudal, class-based society to a capitalistic civic one, the state authorities gain significant independence over different social groups. The decline of estate-representative institutions, which to some extent limited the monarch's power, occurs. The main features of absolutism include the following:

– The concentration of legislative, executive, and judicial powers in the hands of the hereditary monarch.
– The monarch's right to control state finances and establish taxes.
– The existence of a large, extensive bureaucratic apparatus that carries out administrative functions on behalf of the monarch.
– Centralization and unification of state and local governance, territorial division.
– The establishment of regular army and police.
– The regulation of the service and private life of the classes.

The affirmation of absolutism in the Russian Empire had several peculiarities. It arose under the complete domination of feudal bondholders and the absence of developed bourgeois relations, Russia's significant lagging behind the leading European countries, and the significant influence of oriental, or despotic, traditions on the state's political system. Unlike Western European countries, absolutism's social basis was the nobility's alliance with the towns. Absolutism relied on feudal bondholders and civil servants. Another characteristic feature of absolutism was a wide external expansion, which was a
necessary condition for the accelerated modernization of the country and was often carried out by force. In the second half of the XVII century, estate-representative bodies at the center (Zemsky Sobor) and regions (gubernia and zemstvo institutions) were either abolished or deprived of autonomy. In 1700, the Patriarchate was actually canceled.

Peter I implemented the second reform of the central state apparatus. The Swedish state structure model was taken as an example during its implementation. The Swedish state system was based on the principles of cameralism—the doctrine of bureaucratic administration popular in Europe in the XVI-XVII centuries. The principles of cameralism include:

- functionalism, which provided for the creation of institutions specializing in any field (finance, justice, military administration);
- the structure of the institution based on collegiality;
- clear regulation of duties; specialization of clerical work;
- establishment of standardized departments and salaries (Dinca, 2021).

As a result of this reform, the vast majority of prikaz councils were canceled, and the collegiums were established.

In 1722, the Collegium of Little Russia was formed, which took over the functions of the Little Russia Prikaz. It was the only collegium formed not on a functional but on a territorial principle and dealt with affairs in Ukraine. The Little Russian Collegium was located in the same place, under the supervision of the Ukrainian Hetman, in the city of Hlukhiv. The system of collegiums was formed step by step: during the first half of the XVIII century, new institutions kept emerging or reorganizing the existing ones. Several collegiums have developed a system of local branch institutions. The local bodies' apparatus included the Collegium of Mining and the Collegium of Manufacturing (commissariats), the Collegium of Justice (courts of justice), the Collegium of State Income (chambers and regional collectors), the Collegium of War (governors), and the Collegium of State Expenses (treasurers). The Collegiums sent decrees to the subordinate institutions, and the Senate received "reports" from them (Havryltsiv & Lukianova, 2019).

Public administration in Ukraine in the XIX century

In the first half of the XIX century, the problem of reorganizing the management system became increasingly acute. The growing complexity of social life demanded the creation of a well-adjusted, efficiently functioning mechanism that would allow the emperor to rely on the collective intellect of the bureaucratic elite, reducing the likelihood of the monarch making wrong decisions (Bach & Veit, 2018). People's opinions developed three approaches to public administration reform, namely:

- The first is the traditionalist approach.
- The second is the liberal approach.
- The third is the radical approach.

The reform of the Senate, conceived by Alexander I, was intended to strengthen legality in public administration. At the beginning of the XIX century, the Senate lost its former grandeur bestowed upon it by Peter I and had a cumbersome structure with a weak operating apparatus.

The most significant changes during Alexander I's reign occurred in the central governance system. The collegial principle no longer met the demands of the new era. There was a need for a more efficient and centralized executive administration, which led to establishment of a ministerial system. The Ministry's system of governance had several undeniable advantages over the system of collegiums. This system was characterized by sole authority, personal responsibility, diligence, strict vertical departmental subordination, a clear framework of sectoral management, and the specificity of functions (Prudyus, 2016). As a result, the ministerial system proved to be viable and easily adaptable to changing circumstances.

The trend toward centralizing state administration found its embodiment in the activities of the Emperor's Chancellery. It was established by Alexander I in 1812. Initially, the Chancellery was engaged in correspondence with the Supreme Commander, the placement of war prisoners, and the recruitment and housing of the army. With the center consolidating administrative and executive powers, the Chancellery's role increased. It became the institution that connected the emperor with all government bodies on important political matters. In fact, from the mid-1820s, it became the institution that headed the entire public administration system.
The structure of the Chancellery corresponded to its functions and became more complex alongside its expansion. There were six branches, each of which was headed by a governor responsible to the emperor, had its own staff, and kept its own paperwork.

**Public administration of the Russian Empire in the late XIX – early XX century**

By the end of the XIX century, autocracy seemed to be firmly established and unshakable. All higher branches of power (legislative, executive, and judicial) were concentrated in the hands of the emperor, but their implementation was carried out through a system of state institutions. The State Council remained the highest legislative body, endowed with advisory powers as before. It consisted of individuals appointed by the tsar and ministers. Mostly, these were well-known courtiers and officials, many of whom were very old, which allowed the public to refer to them as “elder statesmen.” The State Council did not have a legislative initiative. Its meetings only discussed the proposals submitted by the monarch but drafted by the ministries. The Committee of Ministers served as the central executive body. It was headed by the Chairman, whose functions were very limited. The emperor was considered the head of the judiciary and the judicial administration, and all trials were conducted in his name. The specific judicial proceedings were not within the competence of the monarch; his role was that of the supreme and final arbiter (Ishchenko et al., 2019).

In administrative terms, Russia was divided into 78 provinces (gubernias), 18 regions, and the Sakhalin Island. There were administrative units that included several provinces, and general governments, usually located on the edges of the empire. The tsar appointed the governor upon the recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs. The cities had self-government in the form of city councils and administrations. They were responsible for administrative and economic tasks, such as transportation, lighting, heating, sewage, water supply, and maintenance of bridges, sidewalks, embankments, and public buildings, as well as overseeing educational and charitable affairs, local trade, industry, and credit. The right to participate in a city election was determined by property qualification. By the end of the XIX century, local self-government was introduced in 34 provinces of the European part of Russia (including Ukraine). Meanwhile, in other districts, government authorities carried out the administration. The local bodies mainly dealt with economic matters, such as constructing and maintaining local roads, schools, hospitals, charitable institutions, statistics, the handicraft industry, and organizing land credits (Solonar, 2014).

At the beginning of the XX century, the Russian Empire maintained a system of government characterized by significant bureaucratization. The State Council held the highest position among the country’s higher state institutions. The tsar appointed the members and chairman of the Council, and the ministers were selected according to their rank. Before its reorganization in 1906, the Council was the supreme legislative body. The preliminary discussion of legislation introduced at the tsar’s will took place in departments that played the role of preparatory commissions. Then the considered proposals were submitted to the general meeting of the State Council. If the State Council did not come to a consensus, different views were presented to the monarch. The monarch alone decided on them, and he could take the side of the minority (Ishchenko et al., 2019).

**Public administration in the USSR from 1917 to the 1980s**

The Soviet Union existed from February 1917 until the end of 1991 and is associated with the formation of the Soviet statehood basics during the revolutionary transformation of Imperial Russia into the Russian Republic. At the beginning of 1918, the old authorities and governments were liquidated, and the People’s Commissariats were formed instead. On December 2, 1917, the Supreme Council of National Economy (SCNE) was established under the revolutionary committees to manage the country’s economic life. In the first three years of Soviet rule, the size of the administrative apparatus increased almost fivefold. The Soviet state governance was restructured after a foreign military intervention and the civil war, based on the restoration and development of the principles of the Constitution of the RSFSR, considering the deep systemic crisis in power and society.

The experience of 1917-1920 proved the urgent need to accelerate the formation of new fundamental principles of state administration in the economic, social, political, and spiritual spheres based on the people’s creativity. The authorities had to develop and organize this creativity as a decisive factor in reality to achieve values that were close and understandable to everyone.
The state administration had long-term goals: to restore, develop, and transform the economy based on the state system, making it the basis for strengthening economic and political freedom. The administration system was united under the new approaches to its objects. The ideas of both total and stateless or weakened state governance and only public self-government were rejected. Russian state governance acquired new aspects in connection with the deepening integration of Soviet states (including Ukraine). However, the governance apparatus remained essentially the same, slightly "tainted by the Soviet world," and some of its branches worked against the authorities (Stets, 2020). The conceptual proposals aimed to radically adjust the state system and governance by strengthening the party's role.

The public administration functioned in a special way during 1939-1945 due to World War II, and in the post-war years. Each of the three periods manifested both the main features inherent in Soviet public administration and the peculiarities caused by the unusual and rapidly changing specific historical situation. The system of civil service governance, which was in the process of formation based on the 1936 Constitution of the USSR, needed to withstand the test of viability, the ability to adapt and function following the international and domestic situation. World War II qualitatively changed the activity conditions for the Soviet Union's governance bodies (Klenk & Reiter, 2019).

The concerns of governance were focused on strengthening labor and production discipline. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a series of decrees aimed at organizing the work of commissariats, all state institutions, and industrial enterprises and strengthening the accountability of officials, workers, and managers of institutions and enterprises for the quality of work and compliance with the discipline (Bryman, 2016). State governance acquired specific characteristics such as militarism, extremity, extraordinariness, directive nature, etc.

**Public administration in Ukraine from 1991 to the present**

At present, Ukraine is strengthening its unified state service based on organizational, normative, legal, personnel, and informational foundations. The civil service should be regarded as a system of social connections and relationships rather than a mere aggregation of officials and institutions. Currently, several approaches to civil service exist in global practice. The term "civil service" was first legalized by the effective Law of Ukraine, "On Civil Service," in 1993. The civil service in Ukraine involves the professional activities of individuals holding positions in state bodies and their apparatus, who practically fulfill the tasks and functions of the state and receive remuneration from the state. The individuals performing these services are civil servants and possess corresponding official authority (Korchak, 2017).

As practice has shown, the definition of civil service formulated in the aforementioned Law allows for ambiguous interpretation. It is mainly due to the complex concepts used in its meaning, such as "professional activities," "positions in state bodies and their apparatus," and "fulfillment of tasks and functions of the state" (Law of Ukraine No. 117-IX, 2019).

The civil service is the activity of professional civil servants who serve in state bodies or their apparatus, engaging in the practical implementation of the tasks and functions of these bodies in state governance and regulation.

The Constitution of Ukraine, laws, and other regulatory acts provide the basis for classifying the civil service of Ukraine as a traditional bureaucratic system, as it is based on legislation and bears many similarities to the European civil services. Conceptually, the main goals and purposes of the civil service are the following:

- to protect the constitutional order;
- to create conditions for the development of an open society;
- to protect human and civil rights;
- to ensure the effective operation of state bodies under their powers and competence by providing professional management services to the political leadership of these bodies and the public (Havryltsiv & Lukianova, 2019).

The civil service must be built on certain core principles to achieve specific goals and tasks successfully. The legal establishment of the principles of the civil service determines the functioning of state bodies, the activities of civil servants (personnel), the stability of the state's legal regulation of civil service relations, and the justification of trends in developing legislation on civil service.

The principles of the civil service are determined by the existence of principles of state functioning, state bodies, and public...
administration, which are largely carried out by legal subjects such as civil servants, and reflect the most essential aspects of the organization and functioning not only of the civil service itself but also of the system of state bodies that define the content of complex relationships within this system. Thus, the principles of the civil service can be defined as follows:

- the fundamental ideas and establishments that express objective regularities and determine scientifically substantiated directions for the implementation of state functions;
- the powers of civil servants act within the system of state power, particularly the civil service (OECD, 2022).

The principles of the civil service establish the most essential regularities in the system of organization and functioning, reflecting the objective connections within the system of civil service relations. Therefore, the formulation and establishment of legislative principles of the civil service depend on the chosen model of this service and the adequacy of understanding the internal regularities of social relations and legal regulation. On the other hand, these principles represent an active and vibrant beginning, as they determine the legal model of the civil service established by the legislator (Tyler, 2020).

Ukraine’s civil service institution has successfully survived the empire and the Soviet Union, adapting to the requirements of the command-administrative system. Undergoing “cosmetic” changes, unfortunately, it still functions successfully with the same drawbacks as it had two or three hundred years ago. The current management structure in Ukraine was established on a bureaucratic basis. Also, communication was established during the Russian Empire and solidified during the Soviet era. Even now, administrative offices still value loyalty, stability, and total management control and await a command from the highest level (Wilson et al., 2021).

The accumulated experience in Ukraine of implementing reforms and changes in the organization and functioning of state authorities underscores the necessity of serious attention to the study of the past civil service of various state-political formations that existed on Ukrainian lands. The effectiveness of modern public administration depends to a large extent on how dialectically European standards and the historical experience of the Ukrainian people are combined (Hryshchuk, 2018). Therefore, the analysis of the evolution of the Ukrainian civil service in different periods of our state’s development becomes particularly important, as it allows for the identification, among other important issues, of the characteristics of the mentality of civil servants and the understanding of specific features inherent in the modern management mechanism. The radical political, socio-economic, and other transformations in Ukraine at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries and the modernization of Ukrainian statehood according to the conditions and requirements of the modern period, nevertheless, did not wholly destroy the elements of the recent past in public administration and civil service, and certain features of certain historical epochs (Serbyn et al., 2020).

The modern Ukrainian civil service has inherited an ambiguous legacy that deserves a serious analytical “inventory.” The Russian Empire had a complex, well-organized bureaucratic administrative system with tens of thousands of officials. It combined elements of autocracy, collegiality, and popular representation. Similar systems were formed in other European countries. They served as a model for Max Weber’s theory of “rational” bureaucracy, which still serves as the theoretical foundation of the sociology of public administration.

Today, we must change the centuries-old Russian tradition of state domination over society and the worship of ranks (posts) with pervasive corruption of all government bodies. We should create a civil service that is accountable not to a party, not to a “master,” even if democratically elected, but to the society that sustains it and to address its needs (rather than their own or corporate interests). It cannot be done quickly, and the statements of even the highest officials are not enough.

Discussion

The practice of defining goals, tasks, and principles of organizing the civil service of Ukraine, as well as the processes of its formation and evolution of its organizational institutions, should be considered among the pressing issues of modern Ukraine. It is equally important to generalize the experience of forming a corps of civil servants and improving the efficiency of this institution. A detailed analysis of the forms and methods of governing processes in the Ukrainian civil service system, understanding the main trends and the positive and negative aspects of its genesis, provide an excellent benefit for this purpose. All of this constitutes a great scientific
and practical interest in the establishment and development of the modern civil service of Ukraine and in creating an optimal model for its staffing and improvement.

The contemporary practices and global experience in state-building processes cannot be the sole basis for generalizations and addressing many practical issues within the institution of public administration.

Given the fact that although the state mechanism was the main link in the structure of power, there was no special legislation in the Soviet Union on the status and legal position of state apparatus employees. All legal relations were regulated per labor legislation and differed from the legal relations of other officials in state institutions, enterprises, and procurement organizations. Therefore, when developing the institutional framework of the civil service in Ukraine, based on global experience and achievements, it is appropriate to utilize the historical background of organizing the establishment and development of the civil service, considering all the periods identified by the authors.

Conclusion

The authors have determined that building an effective public administration system and civil service institution development requires elaborating a Ukrainian development strategy at the state level (in the full sense of the word). This thesis is confirmed by the historical experience of Kyivan Rus, the existence of Ukraine as part of the Russian Empire, the role of Ukraine in the USSR, and the experience of the more recent past. All elements of the civil service organization in Ukraine in the historiographical context contain both positive and controversial experiences and deserve to be studied closely in the light of further development of the modern Ukrainian civil service. It may sound paradoxical, but many features of the civil service have been borrowed from the past.

The authors proved that the development of a comprehensive historical and organizational framework for legal relations related to public administration and the functioning of the civil service demonstrates the importance of these legal institutions for the Ukrainian historical heritage. In the XVIII-XIX centuries, the supreme authorities had active legislative activity, and the highest authorities created many laws and regulations. As a result of systematization, the vast majority of them were collected and then formed an authentic model of the civil service institution of Ukraine.

The study has shown that the development of the administrative machinery, the growing number of civil servants, and the complex civil service system required the development and legislative approval of the principles of civil service organization.

The legislative acts of the XVIII-XIX centuries concerning the formation and functioning of the civil service defined the most essential principles of its organization, such as compliance of the activities of officials at all levels with the laws of the Russian Empire, centralism in the management of the main spheres of state life, binding decisions of higher institutions and officials, control over the governing institutions, the responsibility of the personnel of state structures for the assigned area of work, conscientious performance of their duties, etc. The legislation of the Russian Empire imposed many requirements on candidates for positions in state institutions and authorities, thus seeking to form a highly professional, dedicated staff of management structures from intellectuals. In the Russian Empire, a civil servant's career was greatly influenced by the aristocratic origin, age, and education level, which varied depending on the type of educational institution and the level of knowledge of the educational material.

In addition, the authors show that a large group of charters, regulations, and other documents defined the principles of staffing the civil servant corps, the rules for admission to public administration institutions, the procedure for appointment to positions, and the conditions for career development and promotion. The following aspects are of interest, namely:

- the oath-taking upon entry into civil service;
- the practice of probation periods and the implementation of specialized examinations in specific departments before an official appointment;
- the establishment of a candidates’ institute for posts and their study of the future management sphere;
- the compulsory work through all stages of the bureaucratic hierarchy;
- the termination of employment.

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