

Administrative Elite in Jordan: A Study of the Social Background Characteristics and Career Patterns of Secretary Generals during the Period 1950 – 1991

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Abstract. This study investigates the social background characteristics and career patterns of the Jordanian top public officials at secretary general rank during the period of 1950 – March 1991.

The findings of this study indicate that the largest proportion of secretary general entered the public service between the ages of 23 and 27 years and received their initial secretary general posts in their forties. Most of secretary generals were university-educated who graduated from Western and American universities with academic backgrounds in law, literature, economics and engineering. Inter-departmental mobility prior to initial appointment in secretary general post was unexpectedly low. Similarly, rotation in office was low and tenure of secretary general was relatively short. In light of these findings and based on the trends discovered some projections into the 21st century have been made.

Introduction

Literature of public administration comprises large volumes of studies related to both structural and behavioral aspects of public administration in the Third World countries. Topics ranging from personnel recruitment, promotion, performance appraisal, administrative development to administrative behavior are extensively dealt with and explicated. While diverse, and of course important, these studies have fallen short of studying and investigating the social composition and carrier patterns of the administrative elites in the developing countries. Even when some references to this subject are made, these references seem, to be broad, theoretical in nature, and coincidental in their treatment. The inadequate treatment compounded by the lack of empirical data related to this topic has inspired the author to study the social composition and career patterns of the administrative elite in Jordan. As such, the main objective of this study is to investigate the social background characteristics and career patterns of the top public officials at the secretary general rank during the

period of 1950 – March 1991. This period encompasses four decades of administrative developments since independence. Second, it provides an adequate span or length of time to unveil and detect the major trends regarding the social background characteristics and career patterns of the Jordanian administrative elite.

One might legitimately ask why the secretary general level, and not lower administrative levels, has been chosen as primary target for this study. The answer is two-fold: first, the limited and relatively small number of public officials who occupied or are currently occupying secretary general posts make this group of officials much easier to identify and seek information about than other groups of officials from administrative ranks lower than this group. While identifying officials holding posts lower than secretary general rank is quite possible for the incumbents, the process would be extremely difficult to identify officials from similar administrative levels over a forty year time span. The lack and/or the inaccessibility of official records about this group of public officials in conjunction with some technical difficulties related to documentation and filing techniques used by public agencies make it very difficult to survey and identify lower level officials. Second, the crucial role secretary general can play in setting up and carrying out administrative and socio-economic developmental programs in general and in affecting the overall functioning of their agencies in particular provides an ample justification for investigating their social background characteristics and career patterns.

All in all, secretary generals' age, education, occupational background experiences and career patterns are the primary variables around which investigation and discussion revolves. Within the context of these broad variables analysis is limited to and centered around the following characteristics of the secretary generals: age of entry of public service; age on appointment as secretary general; level of education; area of academic specialization; universities attended; occupational background; length of public service prior to appointment as secretary general; inter-department mobility; rotation in office and tenure as secretary general.

Significance of the Study

The importance of this study resides in its contribution to the literature of public administration. Knowing that no similar studies have ever been conducted on the Jordanian administrative elite, the findings of this study will add to our knowledge and understanding of the subject. As pioneering as it might seem, this study would be beneficial for both academicians and practitioners of public administration, particularly those interested in studying elitism and recruitment patterns of the high ranking public officials in the developing countries in general and in Jordan in particular. The study with its emphasis on the social characteristics and career patterns of a group of officials who have made it to the top and run the affairs of the administrative apparatus of the country would set the stage for future comparative studies.

Finally, describing social background experiences and their impact on administrative and leadership behavioral patterns can be of much use for both development planners and administrative reformers.

Definitions of the Key Concepts and Variables

Secretary General: is a senior civil servant whose administrative post comes directly next to the minister in the ministerial hierarchy. The secretary general occupies the highest career position in his ministry or department and sits at the top of its bureaucratic hierarchy. Although appointed by the cabinet the secretary general is a civil service position. The closest equivalents to the Jordanian secretary general post in other countries are the permanent secretary in the United Kingdom and the administrative vice-minister in Japan. For the purpose of this study the term of secretary general includes any official who occupies or has previously occupied a post of secretary general (*Ameen Aam*) or direct general (*Mudeer Aam*) in central or autonomous governmental organizations. Equivalent posts such as governors, ambassadors, and consultants in the prime ministry are not included unless an actual secretarial or directorial general post had previously been held by these officials. The reason for including secretary and director generals in the public corporations in this study is two fold: first, the study is primarily concerned with the social characteristics and career patterns of administrative elite of which secretary and director generals constitute an integral part. Second the frequent movement between central and autonomous governmental organizations at secretary or director general rank makes it necessary to include this group of officials in this inquiry.

Level of education: is the highest academic degree acquired by the public official when he received his initial appointment as secretary general.

Area of academic specialization: is the secretary general's field of academic concentration. For simplicity and practical reasons academic specializations are classified into the following categories: law, political science, management (public and business administration), economics, literature, engineering, agriculture, natural sciences, and medical sciences. The title of the academic degree obtained by the secretary general and the faculty from which he graduated have been used to categorize fields of academic specialization.

University attended: relates to the university from which the highest academic degree was obtained and before initial secretary general post was received. Universities attended after the first appointment to secretary general post are not considered.

Age: relates to both age of entry into public service and the age when he received his first appointment as secretary general.

Occupational background: relates to the sector in which secretary general had served prior to his initial appointment as secretary general. Secretary generals' occupational background experiences in military and security organizations, governmental organizations, private sector, and universities are included.

Career pattern: is a concept related to the paths and routes through which secretary generals have made it to the top of the country's administrative apparatus. The investigation of secretary general's career pattern will be limited to following aspects:

1. Length of public service prior to the initial appointment as secretary general.
2. Number of departments in which secretary general has served before receiving his first appointment as secretary general.
3. Rotation of office at secretary general rank.
4. Tenure as secretary general which refers to the total number of years spent in secretary general post in various ministries and departments.

Methods of Investigation

To obtain the data needed for this study, three hundred public officials who received their initial appointment as secretary, or director general during the period of 1950 – March 31st 1991 are identified. In trying to identify the names of this group of officials the author has sought help from the ministries, departments, and public corporations. Moreover, secretary generals themselves have been of much help in identifying the names of their predecessors and successors. It is worth noting, however, that in the vast majority of departments and organizations complete lists comprising all individuals who occupied secretary general posts were obtained.⁽¹⁾ Nonetheless, in six departments certain gaps regarding the identity of some officials who held such posts do exist. The three hundred secretary generals identified by this study constitute 94% of the overall population (320) of secretary generals who occupied such posts during the period being investigated. Information pertaining to the social background characteristics and career pattern of 234, or 78 percent of the three hundred secretary generals are reached. No information about 66, or 22 percent of the identified secretary generals is available. Such being the case, the substantial number of secretary generals on whom the study is conducted (73% of the overall population of secretary generals) contributes to the validity and generalizability of the findings of this study. As to the data used in this study two main sources of infor-

⁽¹⁾ Sixty-three ministries, departments, and public corporations are included in this study. A considerable number of these organizations were first established during the sixties and seventies while some other organizations have been combined with or split from other existing ministries. For further information about the names of ministries, departments, and public corporations which are included in this inquiry. Please see Appendix A.

mation are utilized. These sources are: personal interviews with secretary generals, and second, the official records of the Civil Service Commission, Department of Press and Publications, Ministry of Finance, Directorate of National Libraries, and some biographical publications such as "Who is Who" and "Arab Figures and Economic Achievements".

For the purposes of this study, a structured interview schedule consisting of twelve closed and open-ended questions related to the social background characteristics and career patterns of secretary generals was developed and reviewed by specialists in questionnaire design and development.⁽²⁾ A hundred and thirty-three, or 57% of the 234 secretary generals surveyed were interviewed by a seven member team of well trained interviewers in addition to the authors.⁽³⁾ Information about secretary generals were also sought from all the archival sources stated above. The data obtained from either source, the archival or the interviews, were used not just to complement each other but to check on the precision and validity of each other. The data obtained from the archives of the Ministry of Finance, the Civil Service Commission and other departments showed a high degree of validity and reliability. These data were based on official files and documents pertaining to the entire career service of the secretary generals. When the data obtained from the interviews were matched and compared with the archival data a great deal of identification and congruence were manifested. It should be brought to the reader's attention that the aforementioned sources of data are used in a simultaneous manner so that complete and precise information about the social background characteristics and career pattern of the secretary generals was obtained.

The study inquiry includes all public officials who received their initial appointments as secretary generals in the period extending from 1950 to 31st of March 1991 when the data collection for this study was completed. To make the findings of this study more indicative and meaningful, secretary generals who have been surveyed are divided into two groups. The first group includes secretary generals who were already in post in the year 1950 or who received their initial secretary general posts during the period of 1950-1970. The second group comprises secretary generals who received their first appointments as secretary generals in the year 1971-31/March 1991. The choice of two, twenty-year periods will allow a sufficient number of secretary generals, particularly those who occupied their initial appointments during the

⁽²⁾The English version of this interview schedule was translated into Arabic by the author with aid of a linguist.

⁽³⁾ Interviews were carried out during the period January 15th – March 31st, 1991 by the author and seven students of the 1991 spring class 'Seminar and Research in Public Administration' at Mu'tah University. Thanks are due to Mohammad Al-Ta'ani, Jihad Al-Qudah, Khaldon Rehani, Sawsan Mahfzah, Samer Naser, Hana Al-Ghazawneh, and Rola Al-Bishtawi for the efforts they have made in conducting the interviews with the secretary generals.

sixties and seventies, to be included in the various categories of the variables related to their backgrounds and career patterns. It is worth mentioning that a large proportion of ministries and departments was not yet established or was newly established during the sixties and seventies. Therefore, the number of officials who occupied secretary general posts was relatively small, and inadequate to apply a five or ten-year period classification. The two, twenty-year periods will enable the author not just to investigate the major trends pertaining to the general social background characteristics and career patterns of the secretary generals over the whole 40 year period, but also to detect and examine changes and trends in these characteristics and patterns within the same period.

The statistical methods and techniques used throughout this study are rather simple ones. Providing the descriptive nature of the study and considering the categorical form of the variables under scrutiny, both percentages and cross tabulation are envisaged as being the most feasible statistical techniques that can be used to utilize the data accumulated by the virtue of this inquiry.

Administrative Elites in Crosscultural Context

The social composition and career patterns of the public officials who have made it to the top of a nation's administrative apparatus vary from one country to another as well as from one time to another within the same country. This variation responds to differences in the socio-economic, political, and administrative traits of each individual country. As changes in these characteristics and traits occur within the same country through time, some changes in the social composition and career patterns of administrative elite can therefore be expected. While crosscultural comparative studies related to the subject matter under scrutiny are very meager, citing some of that research will further our understanding about the characteristics and career patterns of administrative elites in different social settings. It should be noted that due to the lack of comparable data and considering the variations and differences in the methodological techniques and level of analysis used in these studies, the data will be presented in an informative and illustrative and not comparative manner.

Speaking of the British administrative class for, instance, it has been repeatedly said that members of this class were and continue to be dominated by the graduates of Britain's two prestigious universities, Oxford and Cambridge. Within this context Frederick Mosher eloquently states:

In Britain, the administrative class was clearly tailored, about a century ago, to the qualities and intellectual qualifications of the products of its two great universities, Oxford and Cambridge. And for the most part it continues to reflect that bias today The recruiting and examining systems for the administrative class were designed to select from among the best of the products of these schools with rather little regard to the nature of their responsibilities if appointed to the public service [1, pp. 30-31].

Mosher's remarks are not without merit since they have been substantiated by the findings of recent and more elaborate study conducted on the British permanent secretaries from 1900 – 1986. In this study Theakston and Fry found that most of permanent secretaries (68.4%) who received their initial posts during the period of 1900 – 1986 graduated from Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Furthermore, the findings of the study indicate the percentage of permanent secretaries with an Oxford or Cambridge background rose from 62.7% during the 1900 – 1919 period to 75% during the period of 1965 – 1986 [2, pp. 132-133]. If this yields anything, it shows that the majority of the British permanent secretaries continued to be drawn from these two universities; the trends of Oxford and Cambridge dominance have even risen during the 86 year period. A similar finding regarding the Japanese higher civil servants has been reported. An empirical study conducted on the higher civil servants in Japan revealed that the overwhelming majority (80%) of the higher civil servants in post-war Japan graduated from Tokyo Imperial University. To this must be added that over half of the Japanese higher civil servants graduated from law schools [3, pp. 70-79]. Emphasis on the legal training of the higher civil servants was not only a characteristic of Japan but a characteristic of most European countries as well. In that respect Mosher succinctly states:

For the higher public service in Europe today, preparation remains primarily the study of law, and the great majority of administrative leaders are lawyers Legal training for public administrators is defended not only because there is need for legal skills but also because such an education is believed to provide the habits of thought and frame of mind required by the administrative generalist [1, p. 34].

As to the American experience, federal higher civil servants in the United States manifested heterogenous social composition and characteristics. Given the openness of the American society and considering the personnel recruitment and promotion methods of the federal civil service, higher civil servants showed a considerable diversity not just in terms of their educational backgrounds but also their social origins as well [4, pp. 203-204; p. 5, p. 121].

Empirical data pertaining to the social characteristics of administrative elites in the developing countries and Jordan is not available. Nevertheless, Gerald Caiden's comments on the social elites and their accessibility to public bureaucracy provide some highlights about the circumstances under which administrative elites in the developing countries exist and function. Caiden indicates that bureaucracy in Third World countries is envisaged by social elites as being one of the primary institutions to be permeated and dominated. According to Caiden:

Established elites try to dominate major social institutions, among which the public bureaucracy is probably the key institution Rarely is the public bureaucracy representative of wider society. Some groups ... usually urban, prosperous, educated and well connected ... are over represented while others are clearly shut out and cannot identify with public institutions and consider themselves discriminated against in access to public resources [6, p. 16].

Caiden's above mentioned remarks are not a roundless proclamation; they seem to be compatible with our cumulative knowledge about the general social and administrative characteristics of the developing countries. Yet, more field case studies are needed if scholars are to be effective in detecting the major traits and patterns of the social and administrative elites in these countries. Making generalizations about administrative and social elites in the developing countries can be a hazardous undertaking unless these generalizations are based on the findings of case studies related to that matter. Therefore, this study constitutes a step in that direction.

The Findings of the Study

In trying to achieve the objectives stated at the outset of this study, the data has been organized and classified in a categorical manner so that the major trends regarding the social background characteristics and career patterns of secretary generals can be detected. The findings regarding each of the variables under investigation are presented and discussed in the upcoming pages.

1. Age of entry to public service

It is commonly believed that public officials who make it to the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy in government organizations enter the public service at early age following graduation from university. Yet, the socio-economic and administrative peculiarities of each individual country have some bearing on the age of entry to public service. As to the Jordanian experience in that respect Table 1 shows the distribution of secretary generals according to age of entry to public service.

Table 1. The distribution of secretary generals according to the age of entry to the public service

Age category	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 18 years	6	7%	6	4%	12	5%
18-22 years	20	25%	27	18%	47	20%
23-27 years	29	35%	82	54%	111	48%
28-32 years	13	16%	11	7%	24	10%
33-37 years	5	6%	6	4%	11	5%
38 years or over	9	11%	20	13%	29	12%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

Note: The average age of entry to the civil service is 26.12 year for the 1950-1970 group and 26.88 year for the 1971-1991 group.

Clearly, the Table shows that almost half (48%) of the officials who occupied their initial secretary general posts over the whole period under investigation started their public career between the age of 23 and 27 years. This percentage runs much higher, three-fourths or 73%, when considering all secretary generals who joined public service at the age of 27 years or less.

Less than one-third of the secretary generals started their public career at the age of 28 years or more. The average age of entry to public service throughout the entire period (1950-31st March 1991) is 26.91 years.

Marked differences in the age of entry to public service are quite noticeable between secretary generals in the two periods. Such differences are nowhere more patent than in the third age category (23-27 years). The percentage of secretary generals who joined the public service between the ages of 23 and 27 years has risen from 35% in the first period (1950-1970) to 54% in the second period (1971-1991). It should be noted, however, that the overriding majority of the secretary generals, 93% and 94% in the first and second period respectively, whose age of entry to public service falls within this age category started their public career after they finished their university education. With this in mind, the substantial increase in the percentage (19%) of secretary generals in the 1971-1991 period who have joined the public service between the ages of 23 and 27 years can be attributed to better accessibility of university education during the fifties and sixties as compared with the two decades which preceded independence. In effect, the enormous social, economic, and educational developments which have taken place during the fifties and sixties played very crucial role in enhancing the accessibility of education in general and university education in particular. Bearing in mind that indigenous university education was not available before 1962 when the first Jordanian University was established and considering the postindependence administrative needs particularly for skilled and well-trained personnel, the government's efforts in sending a large number of students to foreign universities and sponsoring their education played a contributory role in improving the accessibility of such higher education.

All in all, the major inference that can be drawn from these data is twofold: first, for the most part, Jordanian secretary generals join public service at the age of 27 year or less. Half of the secretary generals start their public career between the ages of 23 and 27 after graduation from university. Nonetheless, marked variations in age of entry to public service have been observed between secretary generals in the 1950 – 1970 period and 1971 – 1991 period. The substantial rise in the percentage of secretary generals in the second period who joined public service between the ages 23 to 27 is ascribed to the socio-economic, educational and administrative developments which took place in the country during the fifties and sixties. Second, the characteristics regarding secretary generals' age of entry to public service do not necessarily resemble nor do they reflect a pattern of elitism since these characteristics do not

seem to be peculiar to public officials at secretary general rank. In other words, joining public service between the ages of 23 and 27 is not only a characteristic of public officials who then become secretary generals but rather a characteristic of most public officials, regardless of their rank, who joined public service after graduating from university. Therefore, these characteristics cannot be taken in a conclusive or definitive manner unless similar studies conducted on public officials, whose ranks are lower than secretary, come up with findings contrary to those provided by the study at hand.

2. Age on appointment in secretary general post

Investigating the age on which the country's top administrators received their initial secretary general posts provide insights about the homogeneous or heterogeneous age characteristics of these administrators. While general trends regarding the age on which recruitment to such high ranking posts occurred over the whole 1950-1991 period are apparent, variations and trends within the same period are equally apparent. Table 2 presents the distribution of secretary generals according to the ages on which they received their first appointments as secretary generals.

Table 2. The distribution of secretary generals according to age on appointment to secretary general posts

Age category	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 35 years	13	16%	5	3%	18	8%
35-39	18	22%	20	13%	38	16%
40-44	26	32%	44	29%	70	30%
45-49	14	17%	48	32%	62	26%
50-54	8	10%	25	16%	33	14%
55-59	3	3%	10	7%	13	6%
60 years or over	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

Note: The average age on appointment to the secretary general post is 41.76 year for the 1950-1970 group and 45.38 years for the 1971-1991 group.

As can be seen from the Table, over the 1950-1991 period most of the Jordanian top officials (72%) received their initial secretary general posts between the age of 35 and 49. More than half of all secretary generals (56%) were appointed in their forties while twenty percent of them received their initial appointments in their fifties. A very small proportion of secretary generals (8%) were appointed at the age of 35 years or less. The average on appointment over the whole period is 44.11 years. A considerable rise in the age on appointment in the 1971-1991 period has been observed. The average age on appointment in the 1950-1970 period and 1971-1991 period is 41.76 years and 45.38 years for the first and second periods respectively.

As for as the figures in Table 2 are concerned, salient variations between secretary generals' ages on appointment in the first and second periods are manifest. Major trends towards an older age on appointment are exhibited by secretary generals in the 1971-1991 period as compared with those included in the 1950-1970 period. The percentage of those who received their initial secretary general appointment at the age of 39 years or less has substantially dropped from 38% in the 1950-1970 period to 16% in the 1971-1991 period, and when considering those whose age on appointment is 35 years or less the decline in such percentage is even more striking, from 16% in the first period to 3% in the second period. Despite the fact that the largest proportion of secretary generals over the 1950-1991 period received their initial appointment in their forties the findings indicate a strong trend for age on appointment to increase in the 1971-1991 period over the 1950-1970 period. The percentage of those appointed between the ages of 40 and 49 has risen from 49% to 61% from the first to the second period. The findings can be much more revealing if appointments between the ages of 45 and 49 are compared. The proportion of these secretary generals in the 1950-1970 period (17%) has almost doubled in the 1971-1991 period (32%). Although most initial appointments to secretary general posts over the whole period occurred in the age of forties, the 1971-1991 period showed much greater tendency towards appointment between the ages of 45 and 49 than the 1950-1970 period did. The trend for older age on appointment has also been exhibited in the 1971-1991 period, where the proportion of individuals who received their first secretary general appointment between the ages of 50 and 59 increased to 23% as compared 13% in the first period.

Overall, the explanation that can be provided to the rising trends for older age on initial appointment to secretary general posts is twofold. First, more educated and experienced personnel have been available during the 1971-1991 period as compared with the 1950-1970 period where the lack of such experienced individuals made it imperative to recruit less experienced and consequently younger individuals to secretary general posts. The substantial decline in the proportion of those who were appointed to secretary general posts in the age of 39 years or less in the second period supports this explanation. Second, relevant to but independent from the first point is that these trends are caused; in part, by the widely emphasized relationship between age seniority and experience (age and experience syndrome). The seniority based system of promotion and career advancement which most of the secretary generals in 1971-1991 period have gone through is quite evident. It is worth remarking, however, that while these two points can be equally applicable to secretary generals over the whole 1950-1991 period, the unavailability of experienced and skilled personnel in the 1950-1970 period as contrasted with the 1971-1991 period has made these trends more prominent and salient in second period than in the first period.

3. Level of education

To explore the distinctive features characterizing the levels of education of the Jordanian secretary generals, educational qualifications have been divided into five levels according to the highest academic degree acquired when the initial secretary general post was received. The primary concern of this investigation is to reveal the major trends pertaining to the relationship between level of education and recruitment to secretary generals posts; academic degrees obtained after initial appointment are not considered. Neither intermediate (sometimes called associate) diplomas nor higher diplomas⁽⁴⁾ are considered for the purpose of this inquiry. The reason for excluding such degrees emanates from the fact that the great variations in the nature, status of the organizations which award such degrees, and the length of time spent in pursuing these degrees make it quite difficult for finding criteria whereby such degrees can be classified in a proper manner.

Table 3 shows the distribution of secretary generals according to level of education when initial appointment to that post was received.

Table 3. The distribution of secretary generals according to the highest academic degree acquired when initial appointment to secretary general post was received

Highest academic degree	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than general secondary high school certificate (<i>Tawjehi</i>)	1	1%	0	0%	1	1%
Tawjehi	12	15%	160	11%	28	12%
Bachelor degree	46	56%	63	41%	109	46%
Master degree	16	20%	34	22%	50	22%
Doctorate degree	6	7%	39	26%	45	19%
Unknown	1	1%	0	0%	1	0%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

The overwhelming majority (87%) of the Jordanian secretary generals over the 1950-1991 period were university graduates when they received their first secretary general appointment: forty-six percent of them had bachelor degrees; twenty-two percent had master degrees; and nineteen had doctorate degrees. Twelve percent of the secretary generals were high secondary school graduates (*Tawjehi*) while only one percent of them were not high school graduates.

⁽⁴⁾ Higher diplomas refer to the training certificates obtained by those who have already held their Bachelor degrees.

Table 3 reveals variations between the levels of education of secretary generals between the first and second periods. A greater tendency toward higher levels of education is manifested in the second period. The proportion of those who received no higher education prior to their initial appointment to secretary general posts declined from 15% in the 1950-1970 period to 11% in the 1971-1991 period. On the other hand, the overall percentage of university graduate secretary generals increased from 83% to 89%. The general trends for higher levels of education is particularly evident in the area of graduate education (Master and Doctorate education). While the proportion of secretary generals holding bachelor degrees has substantially declined from 56% in the first period to 41% in the second period this decline has been offset by a substantial rise in the percentage of secretary generals holding master and doctorate degrees. The percentage of secretary generals holding master and doctorate degrees has increased from 27% in the 1950-1970 period to 48% in the 1971-1991 period. When only the doctorate degree level is considered a fourfold increase in the percentage of secretary generals in the second period is exhibited.

On the whole, the Jordanian secretary generals can be described as well educated. A substantial number held master or doctorate degrees when they received their first secretary general posts. Major trends for recruiting individuals with higher levels of education particularly Ph.D. graduates to secretary general posts appear in the 1971-1991 period. These trends can primarily be attributed to: first, the rising levels of education of the society at large which have affected the general levels of education of most public officials; secretary generals are no exception. Second, the government's policy of recruiting academics from universities' teaching staff to administrative leadership posts might have contributed to the rising levels of education in the 1971-1991 period. Indeed, 14, or (36%) of the secretary general holding Ph.D. degrees in the second period had teaching careers in the country's two oldest universities, University of Jordan and Yarmouk University. The rising level of educational attainment is probably an explanation for the trend toward older appointees.

4. Fields of academic specialization

Having portrayed the major characteristics and trends regarding the levels of education of secretary generals, it would be expedient to turn now to the secretary generals' fields of academic specialization. It should be pointed out, however, that the examination here is not intended to cover areas of academic concentration within the broad fields of specialization. The enormous number of these concentrations in conjunction with the size of the secretary general group included in this study make detailed classification hard to undertake. Therefore, classification is limited to nine broad fields of academic specialization most of which have been used and referred to in similar studies [3, pp. 77-80]. The findings related to secretary generals' fields of academic specializations are displayed in Table 4.

Clearly, Table 4 shows that nearly two thirds, or 61%, of the secretary generals over the 1950-1991 period are distributed among four fields of academic specialization: law 18%; literature 16%; economics 12%; and engineering 15%. The overall percentage becomes higher, almost three quarters, or 70%, should secretary generals specializing in management (Public and Business Administration) be included. The percentage of secretary generals whose fields of specialization are agriculture, natural sciences and medical sciences is 9%. Overall, the fields of law, literature, economics, and engineering seem to be the most prevalent fields of academic specialization among secretary generals over the past forty year period. Yet, the fields of law and literature showed greater prominence than any other field of academic specialization.

Table 4. Distribution of secretary generals by field of academic specialization

Academic specialization	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law	20	24%	22	14%	42	18%
Political Science	7	9%	7	5%	14	6%
Management	1	1%	21	14%	22	9%
Economics	12	15%	15	10%	27	12%
Literature	8	10%	29	19%	37	16%
Engineering	10	12%	25	16%	35	15%
Agriculture	3	4%	5	3%	8	3%
Natural Sciences	4	5%	1	1%	5	2%
Medical Sciences	3	3%	6	4%	9	4%
No higher education	13	16%	16	10%	29	12%
Unknown	1	1%	1	1%	2	1%
Others	0	0%	4	3%	4	2%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

A search for trends in Table 4 reveals distinct differences in academic specialization between the 1950-1970 period and 1971-1991 period. The proportion of combined law and political science graduates has substantially dropped from 33% in the first period to 19% in the second period. On the other hand, the percentage of literature and management graduates has enormously increased from 11% to 33% in the first and second periods respectively. These variations indicate a strong trend toward recruiting management and literature graduates to secretary general posts in the second period. The proportion of secretary generals with management academic backgrounds increased fourteen times in the 1971-1991 period compared with the 1950-1970 period; the proportion of literature graduates increased from 10% to 19%.

All in all, the fields of law, political science, economics, literature, and engineering constitute the principal areas of speciality for most secretary generals in both periods; management became an area of speciality for a sizable number of secretary generals in the second period. Notwithstanding, the distribution of secretary generals among these fields of specialization in the second period reveals less emphasis on legal and political science academic backgrounds and more emphasis on management and literature. The lower emphasis on law may be explained by the decline in the traditional perception of law as the most preferred academic background for holding high ranking administrative posts. The relationship between administrative capabilities and legal academic background has been replaced by a more diverse view, except in those cases where the specialized nature of the post demands the recruitment of individuals with legal academic background.

5. Universities attended by secretary general

Investigations in this section reveal the characteristics and patterns regarding the universities attended by secretary generals. Table 5 displays the distribution of secretary generals according to the universities from which they graduated.

Table 5. Distribution of secretary generals by universities attended

Universities attended	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Arab universities	23	28%	61	40%	84	36%
American universities	33	40%	47	31%	80	34%
Western universities	8	10%	23	15%	31	13%
East European univs.	1	1%	4	2%	5	2%
No college attendance	14	17%	16	10%	30	13%
Unknown	3	4%	1	1%	4	2%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

One third, or 33%, of the secretary generals over the 1950-1991 period graduated from three universities: Damascus University (Syria) 11%; Cairo University (Egypt) 10%; and American University of Beirut (Lebanon) 12%. Only one secretary general graduated from the University of Jordan which was established in 1962 and held its first graduation in 1967. Nearly half, or 47%, of secretary generals graduated from Western and American universities; American universities (including American University of Beirut and American University of Cairo) accounted for 34%; British Universities, 8%; and other Western universities, 5%. Graduates of all Arab universities including Jordan University accounted for 36%, whom 60% attended Damascus University and Cairo University.

Despite the fact that graduates of Western and American universities were dominant over the whole period, variations between periods are discernible. The proportion of secretary generals who attended Western and American universities declined slightly from 50% in the 1950-1970 period to 46% in the 1971-1991 period. When graduates of American and British universities are considered separately, the figures reveal internal change. Attendance at American universities has declined from 40%, 31% but in the case of British universities attendance has increased from 5% to 9%. The decline in the percentage of American university graduates is caused by the enormous drop, from 21% to 8%, in the proportion of secretary generals in the second period who attended the American University of Beirut.

Apart from that, stronger trends toward recruitment graduates of Arab universities are exhibited in the 1971-1991 period. The overall percentage of secretary generals who attended Arab universities has risen from 28% in the first period to 40% in the second period. Secretary generals who graduated from Arab universities other than Damascus and Cairo Universities increased from 9% to 18% in the second period. Yet, and despite the fact that attendance at Cairo University became more prominent than Damascus University in the second period, the graduates of these two universities constitute the majority (56%) of secretary generals who attended Arab universities.

6. Occupational backgrounds of the secretary generals

Examining the occupational background of the officials who made it to the top of the highest administrative echelon can be revealing of major characteristics and trends. Occupational background refers to any work experience and not experience in a single government organization. Four types of occupational background experiences are distinguished according to the work experience before the secretary general post was received. These experiences are: Military and security organizations; governmental organizations including central and autonomous public organizations with the exception of universities; private sector; and universities. The data are provided in Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of secretary generals according to occupational background experience before initial secretary general post was received, by sector

Occupational background by sector	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Military and security organizations	4	5%	16	11%	20	9%
Govt organizations	67	82%	102	67%	169	72%
Private sector	11	13%	20	13%	31	13%
Universities	0	0%	14	9%	14	6%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

Most of the secretary generals (72%) spent their entire career service in governmental organizations before they were recruited to their initial secretary general posts. Twenty-eight percent of secretary generals over the 1950-1991 period had previous work experiences in either military and security organizations (9%), the private sector (13%) or universities (6%). While it is plausible to conclude that, for the most part, recruitment to the secretary general post comes as a result of a lifetime career in government organizations, wide variations between the 1950-1970 period and 1971-1991 period exist. On one hand, the proportion of officials who spent their entire prior career service in government organizations dwindled from 82% in the 1950-1970 period to 67% in the 1971-1991 period. On the other hand, secretary generals who had previously served in military and security organizations and universities increased fourfold in the second period. It is worth remarking, however, that the rise in the ratio of secretary generals who had academic work experience in universities in the second period does not resemble a change in trends as it does the emergence of one.

The first national university was established in 1962, and an indigenous teaching staff was lacking. As a general characteristic, recruitment of academics to secretary general posts in the second period reflects government policy to utilize technical capabilities and skills of these academics in the executive governmental departments and organizations. Apart from that, the rise in the proportion of secretary generals who had served in military and security organizations (from 5% to 11%) is primarily due to some political considerations. The appointment of retired high ranking military and security officers to secretary and director general posts particularly in departments whose work is related to the maintenance of law and order and national security (such as the Ministry of Interior and Department of Passports and Civil Status) was and continues to be a subject of growing interest for the country's political leadership. Evidence of this growing interest is the fact that half of the sixteen secretary generals who had work experience in military and security organizations in the second period, as compared with none in the first period, were retired officers and had no service in government organizations prior to their initial appointment in secretary general posts.

7. Length of public service prior to initial appointment as secretary generals

As has been said earlier, appointment to the post of secretary general comes for the most part as a result of lifetime career in public service. But one might legitimately ask about the length of public service prior to reaching the post of secretary general. Over the course of 1950-1991 period was there any pattern regarding the length of public service before the initial secretary general post was received? Are there any differences or trends between length of public service in the 1950-1970 period and 1971-1991 period? To answer these important questions, the data are exhibited in Table 7.

Table 7. Distribution of secretary generals according to length of governmental service prior to initial appointment in secretary general post

Length of service in years	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No service	4	5%	15	10%	19	8%
1- 5 years	12	15%	14	9%	26	11%
6-10	9	11%	13	8%	22	9%
11-15	19	23%	18	12%	37	16%
16-20	14	17%	37	24%	51	22%
21-25	10	12%	33	22%	43	18%
26-30	9	11%	13	9%	22	10%
31 years and over	3	4%	8	5%	11	5%
Unknown	2	2%	1	1%	3	1%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

Note: The average length of governmental service prior to initial appointment in secretary general post is 14.96 years for the 1950-1970 group and 16.53 years for the 1971-1991 group.

As can be seen in Table 7, 8% of secretary generals over the whole period had never served in government organizations prior to their initial appointment in secretary general posts. One fifth had 1-10 years service, whereas 38% had 11-20 years of service before the first secretary general post was received. The percentage of those whose years of public service fell within 21-30 years is 28% while only five percent had served 31 years or over. The largest group, 40% of secretary generals served between 16 and 25 years. The majority (56%) of secretary generals over the 1950-1991 period had served from 11 to 25 years. The proportion of officials who received their initial posts after serving 16-20 years (22%) comprises the plurality group.

The variations between length of governmental service in the 1950-1970 period and 1971-1991 period are indicative of three major trends. First, a tendency towards recruiting individuals from outside the public service has been manifested in the 1971-1991 period. The proportion of secretary generals who had no service in governmental organizations prior to their initial appointment doubled in the second period. This rise can be ascribed to the increasing number of individuals who were recruited to the post of secretary general from outside government organizations and particularly from universities and retired officers from military and security organizations. Second, trends for appointing more senior public officials in the second period are patently reflected. The percentage of secretary generals whose length of service before initial secretary general appointment ranged between one and fifteen years has sharply fallen from 49 to 29% over the entire period. On the other hand, the considerable rise in the proportion of secretary generals whose length of government service was 16 years and over - from 44% in the 1950-1970 period to 60% in 1971-1991

period-provides evidence of the trend to appoint more senior officials to secretary general posts. Moreover, it is quite observable that 16-20 years became the most common category of length of public service prior to initial appointment in secretary general post in the second period as compared with 11-15 years length of service in the first period. It is also worth noting that the average length of service before appointment to secretary general post has risen from 14.96 years in the 1950-1970 period to 16.53 years in the 1971-1991 period.

On the whole, the rise in the length of service before initial appointment to secretary general post has been the most distinctive feature characterizing secretary generals in the 1971-1991 period as compared with the 1950-1970 period. The availability of more senior public officials in conjunction with the greater emphasis placed on seniority and practical experience is clearly reflected in recent years.

8. Inter-departmental mobility

Discussion in this section concentrates on the number of departments worked in prior to first appointment as secretary general. The data are provided in Table 8.

Table 8. Distribution of secretary generals by number of departments worked in prior to appointment as secretary generals

Number of departments	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	4	5%	15	10%	19	8%
1	36	44%	67	44%	103	44%
2	21	26%	37	24%	58	25%
3	7	8%	18	12%	25	11%
4	7	8%	10	7%	17	7%
5 or more	4	5%	5	3%	9	4%
Unknown	3	4%	0	0%	3	1%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

Clearly, Table 8 shows that inter-departmental mobility over the 1950-1991 period was relatively low. The majority, or 69%, of the secretary generals has served only in one or two departments prior to their initial appointment to secretary general posts, and if those who had never served in any government department are dropped the percentage rises to 75%.

With exception in the rise in the number of officials who were recruited to their initial secretary general posts with no previous public service, no major trends or variations are exhibited. The rise in the proportion of secretary generals who had never served

in governmental organizations prior to initial recruitment to secretary general posts has been discussed and explained in the aforementioned sections. In any event, the majority of the secretary generals in both periods, 70% in the 1950-1970 period and 68% in the 1971-1991 period, had served in only one or two departments. The two percent decrease in the second period can hardly be termed a trend. Noticeably, the largest proportion (44%) of secretary generals had served in only one department in the first period, unchanged in the second period. It is not the case, however, that all officials who had served in only one department were recruited to their initial secretary general posts from these same departments. In other words, serving in only one department prior to first appointment to secretary general does not necessarily mean that the prior public service had been in the same department for which the official had then become a secretary general. It is quite possible for a public official to serve in one department and then be recruited to a post of secretary general in another department in which he had never worked before. Table 9 below shows that over the 1950-1991 period only 27% of the public officials who served in one department received their initial secretary general posts in that same department.

Table 9. Distribution of secretary generals according to their career service in the department for which they then became secretary generals

Career service prior to appointment as secretary generals	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Entire service in the same department for which he then became secretary general	22	27%	42	28%	64	27%
Never served in the department for which he became secretary general	31	38%	50	33%	81	35%
Part of the service was in the department for which he became secretary general	22	27%	45	29%	67	29%
No service at all	4	5%	15	10%	19	8%
Unknown	3	3%	0	0%	3	1%
Total	82	100%	152	100%	234	100%

More than one third, or 35% of secretary generals over the whole period received their initial secretary general appointment in departments where they had never served before. A further 29% had only part of their career service in the departments for which they became secretary generals. Other than a slight decrease, in the second period, in the proportion of those who received their first secretary general appoint-

ment in departments where they had never served before, no major differences between the two periods have been manifest.

Nearly half (47%) of the secretary generals over the 1950-1991 period have had previous work experience in one or more of three leading ministries prior to initial appointment as secretary general. These are; the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thirty eight percent (38%) of all secretary generals had served in the Ministry of Education and/or Ministry of Finance, and nine percent (9%) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. No remarkable differences or trends pertaining to previous work experience have been displayed in the 1971-1991 period compared with the 1950-1970 period.

In trying to take the analyses a step further, the relationship between inter-department mobility and level of education was examined. The aim is to determine whether or not level of education has had any bearing on the mobility of Jordanian high ranking public officials. Table 10 displays the distribution of secretary generals according to both the number of departments worked in before the first secretary general post was received and level of education. In order to allow a sufficient number of secretary generals to be included in the various categories, the split between the first and second periods has been discarded.

University-educated secretary generals were relatively less mobile compared with secondary-educated secretary generals. Almost half, or 46% of university-educated, as compared with only 29% of secondary-educated officials had been employed in only one department prior to initial appointment as secretary general. Moreover, as levels of education of those who had served in only one department increase, levels of inter-departmental mobility decrease. The proportion of secretary generals who had served in one department before initial secretary general post was received has increased from 29% of secondary-education secretary generals to 38% of bachelor degree holders; 52% of master degree holders; and to 58% of doctorate degree holder. The insufficient number of secretary generals who had less than secondary education precludes a similar analysis. Despite some irregularities in the distribution of secretary generals who had served in two departments or more prior to first appointment in secretary general post, it can be said that the university-educated were less mobile than secondary-educated secretary generals. The percentage of secretary generals employed in only one or two departments was 61% for secondary-educated secretary generals and 70% for university-educated secretary generals.

9. Rotation in office and tenure as secretary general

Having examined the major characteristics and trends related to inter-departmental mobility, it would also be useful to explore the number of departments in which these high ranking public officials had served as secretary generals and the overall length of service in those posts. Tables 11 and 12 display the distribution of secretary generals according to rotation in office and tenure as secretary general.

Table 10. Inter-departmental mobility of level of education

Number of Departments	Less than secondary		Secondary		Bachelor		Master		Doctorate degree		Unknown		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	-	-	4	14%	10	9%	2	4%	3	7%	-	-	19	8%
1	1	100%	8	29%	41	38%	26	52%	26	58%	1	100%	103	44%
2	-	-	9	32%	29	26%	10	20%	10	22%	-	-	58	25%
3	-	-	2	7%	11	10%	8	16%	4	9%	-	-	25	11%
4	-	-	3	11%	11	10%	3	6%	-	-	-	-	17	7%
5 or more	-	-	2	7%	4	4%	1	2%	2	4%	-	-	9	4%
Information not available	-	-	-	-	3	3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1%
Total	1	100%	28	100%	109	100%	50	100%	45	100%	1	100%	234	100%

Table 11. Distribution of secretary generals by the number of departments in which they served as secretary generals (rotation in office)

Number of departments	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	38	46%	67	74%	105	61%
2	29	36%	14	16%	43	25%
3	10	12%	8	9%	18	10%
4 or more	4	5%	1	1%	5	3%
Unknown	1	1%	0	0%	1	1%
Total	82	100%	90	100%	172	100%

Note: It is worth remarking that 62 secretary generals in the 1971-1991 group are excluded from this Table because they are still holding their posts (through 31st of March 1991 when the data collection for this research was completed).

Table 12. Distribution of secretary generals according to overall length of service as secretary general in various departments* (tenure as secretary general)

Length of service in years	1950-1970		1971-1991		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than one year	1	1%	7	8%	8	4%
1-3	25	31%	28	31%	53	31%
4-6	28	34%	23	26%	51	30%
7-9	8	10%	14	16%	22	13%
10-12	9	11%	8	9%	17	10%
13-15	5	6%	5	6%	10	6%
16 years or more	4	5%	2	2%	6	3%
Unknown	2	2%	3	2%	5	3%
Total	82	100%	90	100%	172	100%

* Sixty two secretary generals in the 1971-1991 group are excluded from the Table because they are still holding their posts.

Note: The average length of service as secretary general is 6.2 years for the 1950-1970 group (3.5 years per post), and 5.1 years for the 1971-1991 group (3.8 years per post).

Table 11 clearly shows that over the whole period, 1950-1991, the majority, or 61%, of the officials included in this study served as secretary generals in only one department, whereas another 25% served in two departments. A further 10% served in three departments and 3% of secretary generals served in four departments or more.

Rotation in office appear to have been greater in the 1950-1970 period than in the 1971-1991 period. Only 46% of secretary generals in the first period served in one department whereas this percentage has substantially increased to 74% in the second period. The inverse is also true. A sizable decline in the proportion of those who served as secretary generals in more than one department is reflected in the second period. Fifty-three percent (53%) of secretary generals in the 1950-1970 period served in two departments or more as compared with 26% of secretary generals in the 1971-1991 period.

As to tenure⁽⁵⁾, Table 12 shows that over the whole period most (61%), secretary generals served from one up to six years. More than three-quarters (78%), served nine years or less. A further 19% had a tenure of secretary general of ten years or more.⁽⁶⁾ Variation between tenure of secretary generals in the 1950-1970 period and 1971-1991 period are discernible. Tenure of secretary generals was longer in the first period, 1950-1970, than in the second period, 1971-1991. The average length of service as secretary general in the first period was 6.2 years (3.5 years per post) as compared with 5.1 years (3.8 years per post) in the second period.

The longest tenure as secretary general was thirty years in the 1950-1970 period and eighteen years in the 1971-1991 period. To this must be added that while the largest proportion of secretary generals in either period served from one to six years, this proportion has declined from 65% in the 1950-1970 period to 57% in the 1971-1991 period. Secretary generals who served less than one year substantially increased from 1% to 8% in the first and second periods respectively. On the other hand, the percentage of those who served ten years or more decreased from 22% in the 1950-1970 period to 17% in the 1971-1991 period.

All in all, the foregoing investigation pertaining to rotation in office and tenure of secretary generals demonstrates that rotation in office or inter-departmental mobility at the secretary general rank has been relatively low since most (61%) of the secretary general served in only one department. No inter-departmental transfer was experienced by these high ranking officials. Yet, rotation in office was lower in the 1971-1991 period than in the 1950-1970 period. To reiterate, the number of secretary generals who experienced one or more inter-departmental transfer at the secretary general rank has sharply declined from 53% in the first period to 26% in the second period. Second, tenure as secretary general over the entire 1950-1991 period was also relatively low. The largest proportion, or 65%, of secretary generals served six years or less and more than one third served three years or less. Tenure of secretary gener-

⁽⁵⁾ It is worth reminding that the term tenure refers to the total number of years spent in secretary general post in various ministries and departments.

⁽⁶⁾ For further information about tenure of secretary generals in selected departments over the 1950-1991 period, please see Appendix B.

als in the 1950-1970 period was longer than in the 1971-1991 period. A decline in the average length of service as secretary general was manifested in the second period, 1971-1991.

Social Background Characteristics and Career Patterns of the Jordanian Secretary Generals: Implications for Future Trends.

Forecasting the future social composition and career patterns of the Jordanian secretary generals is a difficult task to pursue. Bearing in mind the numerous social, economic, educational, political and administrative factors and variables affecting recruitment to secretary general post forecasting how the social background characteristics and career patterns of future secretary generals will look is hazardous undertaking. Nevertheless, as is the case in most descriptive studies, depicting future general characteristics and trends can be done by identifying the patterns behind the present situation and projecting them into the future. In the case of Jordanian secretary generals it can be said that the enormous social changes particularly in the area of education which have been taking place in the country since its independence affected the major characteristics and trends pertaining to the social backgrounds and career patterns of secretary generals. In effect, the educational progress which has been made and the subsequent increase in the number of qualified and well-trained personnel have affected not just the rising levels of education of secretary generals but also the inter-departmental mobility and age on appointment in the initial secretary general post.

Based on the trends discovered via this study and considering the various social and demographic developments which are currently taking place in Jordan, major trends related to the social background characteristics and career patterns of secretary generals can be projected into the twenty first century. These trends are four in number.

First: age on appointment to the initial secretary general post is expected to rise. A sharp decline in the number of officials who received their initial secretary general posts before the age of forty can be expected. On the other hand, while most of secretary generals are expected to continue to be first appointed in their forties, the group between ages 45 and 49 years will presumably become prevalent. The rising emphasis on the seniority and experience of secretary generals which have been manifested in the 1971-1991 period will most likely continue.

Second: a substantial rise in the levels of education of secretary generals is expected. Educational progress, particularly university education, will undoubtedly contribute to the rise in the levels of education of secretary generals. Moreover, the number of secretary generals holding Master and Doctorate degrees is also expected to show a sizable increase. The establishment of seven indigenous universities during

the past twenty years, not to mention those which are presently in the process of establishment, will further contribute to rising levels of education of secretary generals. In addition as a result of establishing more universities, the number of secretary generals who will have attended Jordanian universities will also increase.

Third: relevant to but independent from the above mentioned point is that the recruitment of individuals who will have had previous work experience in universities (particularly the academic teaching staff) to the post of secretary general is expected to become more common and frequent. The increasing number of national universities in conjunction with the rising trends for utilizing the capabilities and training of academics stand as primary reasons for the expected rise in the number of secretary generals who have previous work experience in universities.

Fourth: lower levels of inter-departmental mobility prior to initial appointment in secretary general post will most likely emerge. While inter-departmental mobility has been low over the 1950-1991 period, it is believed that a further decline in the number of departments worked in prior to recruitment to the secretary general post will appear. The rising levels of education of public officials, since this rise is in university education, are expected to result in lower levels of inter-departmental mobility. Knowing that university-educated secretary generals tend to be less mobile than secondary-educated secretary generals, the expected rise in the levels of education will presumably be accompanied by a decline in inter-departmental mobility. This forecast, however, has logical support since university-educated officials, who are more specialized in terms of their technical capabilities and training than secondary-educated officials, will seek employment in or transfer to departments whose work is more pertinent to their areas of speciality. In other words, the number of departments to which university-educated officials might seek transfer is relatively more limited than in the case of secondary-educated officials. While the match or harmony between the job and the area of academic specialty has not always been a patent characteristic of personnel selection and placement in Jordan, the increasing complexity of the tasks and activities performed by government organizations in conjunction with the strong orientation and trends towards more technically specialized academic education will presumably be associated with a decline in inter-departmental mobility.

Conclusion

Throughout this study the social background characteristics and career patterns of the Jordanian secretary generals over the period of 1950-1991 have been investigated. Age of entry to public service, age on appointment to the initial secretary general post, level of education, field of academic specialization, universities attended, length of service prior to appointment in secretary general post, inter-departmental mobility, and tenure of secretary generals have all been explored to unveil the major

trends in social characteristics and career patterns. Divided into two periods, 1950-1970 and 1971-1991, the data permitted examination of variations and changes in the social characteristics and career patterns over time.

All in all, the findings of this study indicate that the largest proportion of secretary generals entered the public service between the ages of 23 and 27 years and received their initial secretary general posts in their forties. Most of these secretary generals were university-educated with academic backgrounds in law, literature, economics and engineering. As to the universities attended, the findings clearly showed that graduates of Western and American universities were more dominant than graduates of Arab universities. Over the whole period, 1950-1991, one third of the secretary generals graduated from the American University of Beirut, Damascus University, and Cairo University. The findings also indicate that the vast majority of secretary generals spent their entire career service in governmental organizations before they were recruited to the initial secretary general posts. It has been shown that a substantial proportion (40%) of secretary general had served from 16 to 25 years in governmental organizations before appointment.

Inter-departmental mobility prior to initial appointment was unexpectedly low. Nearly half of the secretary generals had served in only one department and no inter-departmental transfer had been experienced by them. The overriding majority of secretary generals had served in only one or two departments. University-educated secretary generals were less mobile compared with the secondary-educated. Rotation in office was also low. The majority (61%) of the officials included in this study served as secretary generals in only one department and only 13% of the secretary generals over the entire period served in three departments or more. A short tenure for secretary generals also appeared. Most of secretary generals served from one to six years and more than one third served less than three years.

Investigations throughout this study have also indicated that distinct variations and differences exist between the social characteristics and career patterns of secretary generals in the 1950-1970 period and 1971-1991 period. Secretary generals in the 1971-1991 period were older in terms of both age of entry to public service and age on appointment in initial secretary general post than secretary generals in the 1950-1970 period. Moreover, secretary generals in the 1971-1991 period were better educated. Attendance at Western and American universities declined in the 1971-1991 period, whereas the proportion of secretary generals who attended Arab universities has substantially increased. As to the fields of academic specialization a sharp decline in the proportion of those specialization in law and political science and an enormous rise in the number of secretary generals specializing in management (public or business administration) and literature have been displayed in the 1971-1991 period. With respect to occupational background experiences, a trend toward recruiting individuals with previous work experience in universities and military and security

organizations was manifested in the second period, 1971-1991. No variations or trends related to inter-departmental mobility prior to appointment in initial secretary general post were exhibited in the 1971-1991 period as compared to the 1950-1970 period. Lower levels of rotation in the secretary general rank and shorter tenure as secretary general have been indicated in the second period, 1971-1991.

Finally, it has been argued that the enormous educational progress which has taken place in Jordan since independence has affected not just the levels of education of secretary generals but also their age of entry to public service, age on appointment to the initial secretary general post, and inter-departmental mobility. While the various social, economic, educational and administrative developments have all contributed to the current social characteristics and career patterns of the Jordanian secretary generals, it is believed that educational advances and the subsequent increase in the proportion of qualified and well-trained personnel have played key roles.

It is hoped that this study will further our understanding about the major characteristics and trends related to the social backgrounds and career patterns of the Jordanian secretary generals. Knowing that the social characteristics and career patterns of these high ranking public officials is still relatively unexplored it is hoped that this study will pave the way for future investigation of the social composition and career patterns of public officials whose administrative ranks are lower than secretary general.

Appendix A

The following is a list of the departments and institutions which are included in this study:

1. Prime Ministry
2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3. Ministry of Planning
4. Ministry of Supplies
5. Ministry of Culture and National Heritage
6. Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs
7. Ministry of Youth
8. Ministry of Information
9. Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities
10. Ministry of Interior
11. Ministry of Agriculture
12. Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs
13. Ministry of Justice
14. Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs
15. Ministry of Industry and Trade

16. Ministry of Finance
17. Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources
18. Ministry of Public Works and Housing
19. Ministry of Higher Education
20. Ministry of Education
21. Ministry of Social Development
22. Ministry of Labor
23. Ministry of Health
24. Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunication
25. Ministry of Water and Irrigation
26. Department of Press and Publications
27. Department of Antiquities
28. Department of Passports and Civil Status
29. Department of General Supplies
30. Income Tax Department
31. Department of Lands and Survey
32. Department of Statistics
33. Meteorological Department
34. Civil Service Commission
35. Audit Bureau
36. Social Security Corporation
37. Housing Corporation
38. General Transportation Corporation
39. Agricultural Marketing Corporation
40. Jordan Electricity Authority
41. Jordan Valley Authority
42. Natural Resources Authority
43. Jordan Water Authority
44. Civil Aviation Authority
45. Jordan News Agency
46. Department of Customs
47. Hjaz Railway Corporation
48. Free Zones Corporation
49. Civil Service Consumer's Corporation
50. Jordan Radio and Television Corporation
51. Institute of Public Administration
52. Telecommunication Corporation
53. General Budget Department
54. Supreme Judge Department
55. Palestinian Affairs Department
56. Agricultural Fund Corporation
57. Post Office and Saving Fund Corporation
58. Vocational Training Corporation

- 59. Urban and Rural Development Bank
- 60. Aqaba Railway Corporation
- 61. Industrial Estate Corporation
- 62. Aqaba Ports Corporation
- 63. Aqaba Region Authority

Appendix B

Table 13. Average tenure of secretary generals in selected Ministries, Departments or Public Agencies over the period 1950-1991*

Name of Ministry, Department, or Agency	Number of secretary generals surveyed	Average as secretary general in years
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	13	2.11
Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs	4	7.87
Ministry of Interior	13	2.46
Ministry of Education	12	2.6
Ministry of Agriculture	5	5.6
Ministry of Finance	10	3.4
Ministry of Industry and Trade	11	3.4
Ministry of Public Works and Housing	5	5.3
Ministry of Justice	8	2.2
Ministry of Health	6	5.4
Ministry of Information	11	2.4
Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities	4	4.3
Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs	3	6.6
Income Tax Department	7	4.8
Department of General Survey	7	3.9
Department of Lands and Survey	4	8.6
Department of Customs	7	6.2
Meteorological Department	2	9.2
Department of General Statistics	8	3.7
Audit Bureau	5	4.6
Department of Press and Publications	8	2.2
Civil Aviation Authority	4	2.4
Hjazy Railway Corporation	4	4.0
Agricultural Fund Corporation	2	13.5

*Secretary generals who are currently occupying their posts (until 31st of March 1991 when the data collection for this study has been completed) are not included in this Table.

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النخبة الإدارية في الأردن: دراسة للخصائص الاجتماعية والمسارات الوظيفية للأمناء العاملين خلال الفترة ١٩٥٠ - ١٩٩١ م

أنيس صقر الخصاصونة

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ملخص البحث. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التعرف على الخصائص الاجتماعية والمسارات الوظيفية لكبار الموظفين الحكوميين في الأردن على مستوى أمين عام وزارة أو دائرة، وذلك خلال الفترة من ١٩٥٠ - ١٩٩١ م.

أشارت نتائج هذه الدراسة إلى أن النسبة الأكبر من الأمناء العاملين دخلت الخدمة الحكومية بين سن ٢٣ سنة إلى ٢٧ سنة، وتسلموا مناصبهم كأمناء عامين في الأربعينات من أعمارهم. معظم الأمناء العاملين أنهموا تعليمهم الجامعي وتخرجوا من جامعات غربية وأمريكية بتخصصات في القانون والآداب، والاقتصاد، والهندسة. أشارت نتائج الدراسة أيضًا إلى أن معدلات التحرك أو الانتقال الوظيفي بين الدوائر والوزارات المختلفة قبل أو بعد تسلم مركز أمين عام وزارة أو دائرة كانت منخفضة، كما أن معدل مدة الخدمة الإجمالية في منصب أمين عام في أجهزة الدولة المختلفة كان أيضًا منخفضًا.

في ضوء النتائج التي تمخضت عنها الدراسة واستنادًا للاتجاهات التي بينتها، فقد تم طرح بعض التصورات والتوقعات المتعلقة بالخصائص الاجتماعية والمسارات الوظيفية للأمناء العاملين في المستقبل.