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## Gender and the State Department

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Gender and the State Department  
Completed for Departmental Honors in Political Science  
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### Abstract

As research concerning women continues to expand, so do the opportunities to examine women in other political positions beyond elected officials. Bureaucratic positions create an impact on policy just as elected positions do. My research examines gender in the State Department. I explore factors including length of service, country of service, appointments, and education. My research found that there are little differences between men and women in regards to length of service, education and appointments. However, the countries men and women serve in are much different when compared. This research has only scratched the surface, and future research will need to be conducted in order to further understand gender and its role in the State Department.

## Chapter One—Introduction

Elected government positions are dominated by males, thus creating a stereotype that politics are a man's world. Stereotypically, men are considered the dominant sex, as they are the protectors of the family and until recent decades the men have been the financial providers of the family as well. Politicians of all levels handle the budgetary needs of their district. Federal level politicians deal with both budgets and military action. These are issues that would be seen as men issues based on the stereotype of what men are meant to do (Grey Book, Lawless and Fox book). As social issues, such as abortion or education, have become much more prominent there has been increase in women's involvement. However, this increase is relatively small since the steady increase in 1980s, as well as a sharp jump during the early 1990s. In 2016, 19.4% of the United States Congress's seats are held by women. When looking at lower levels of government, women have still been unable to break the barrier. For example, in cities with a population over 30,000, 18.4% of mayors are women (CAWP, 2015). The stereotype still exists that views the political realm as an area for men rather than women.

Because the gender gap in politics still exists, there has been ongoing discussion and research centering on how gender affects voting or how gender affects a person's ability to be elected. Women do not hold as many elected positions at any level of government compared to men. There has been extensive research which attempts to answer the question of why the gender gap exists. Some research suggests it is not because a woman is unable to be elected because of her gender, but rather the women decide not to run for office. Lawless and Fox's (2011) research found that the true gender gap comes from the lack of political ambition in women. Not only are women found to be less likely to run for office, they are also found to be less likely to engage generally in politics. Is this because women do not wish to speak out about these issues? Is it

because women have other priorities instead? However, possibly a better question to ask is does the lack of women running for office mean that they are not interested in the political world, or is it they take a different route to get involved? Carroll and Sanbonmatsu (2013) argue women have multiple different paths to enter politics, many of which overlap with men, such as legal and business careers. However, these paths also diverge from men, such as health care and education. The authors discuss how scholars choose to look outside the political realm to understand women's under representation (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013, 125). By looking outside the political realm, scholars have looked at economic status, socialization, and social roles of women. However, it is the path of bureaucratic positions that needs to be looked into further and ignoring the elected political path entirely.

Besides looking at the number of men and women in office, it is also necessary to look at what issues men and women take the lead on when in office. As previously mentioned, the "women's issues" are those that deal with children. Women politicians are often found on the news or on committees that deal with these types of issues, such as education. However, when watching the news, it is very rare to see a woman speaking about foreign policy. It is even rarer when eliminating Hillary Clinton from the group. An important question is whether women politicians are a part of the foreign policy discussion? It is possible that the media chooses not to have women speak on these issues during interviews. However, it is also possible that women are just not overly involved in foreign policy issues. Either way, is the lack of women speaking about foreign policy or taking the lead on foreign policy issues because of gender? Is foreign policy meant to be seen as a men's issue?

This thesis will explore women actively involved in foreign policy. When constructing my research, questions arose regarding what issues are important to women and how do women

get involved in politics. If women have chosen not to pursue elected offices, then it is possible that women have chosen to pursue other political paths. Specifically, I have chosen to look at the role of women in the State Department. As I began researching this topic, I raised questions such as how many women are found in the State Department, are these women found in leadership positions, and are these positions in dangerous countries? These types of questions allowed for an opportunity to create links between women and the political world. Is it possible that women choose to pursue a bureaucratic career rather than elected positions? Is this due to job security or is it because women find that these positions have an opportunity to make a difference just as elected positions do? My thesis works to answer these questions, as well as raise more questions for future research. The thesis will include a literature review on women and politics, and the methodology will explain my approach to analyzing women in the State Department. Ultimately, I wish for my research to bridge a gap between women, bureaucratic positions, and politics. By providing new research on how bureaucratic positions tie in to the political world, it provides a new outlet for research and how the role of women in politics has developed.

### Historical Context

Diplomatic historians have struggled to document the female participation in foreign policy decision-making and effect women have had on American diplomacy. The diplomatic historian Hoff-Wilson (1977, 1) concluded that the United States foreign policy has had, “enormous impact on women all over the world, American women have been scarcely involved in its formulation at the top decision making levels.” However, though the extent of women involved in high level decision-making is rare throughout history, there are still accounts of women who took part in Foreign Service. Much like with the history of women and politics, a

common place to see active involvement is during the abolition movement. It is during this period women indirectly took part in foreign policy. An example is Lydia Maria Child, a popular abolitionist and prominent author, who traveled on multiple overseas trips to promote the antislavery message on behalf of many organizations. Beyond the anti-slavery cause, Child also chose to speak out against the American diplomacy policy on the Dominican annexation, as well as Chinese immigration. Because of Child's prominence within the written world, she had the opportunity to reach out to many people and had some sway within the Republican Party (Crapol 1992). Another prominent example is Eleanor Roosevelt. Throughout President Roosevelt's presidency, Eleanor Roosevelt became known as the "First Lady of the World" because of her active travelling and lobbying. Because of her popularity, Truman chose to appoint Roosevelt at the first General Assembly meeting. She addresses issues all across the world, such as post-colonial economic issues, the violence of apartheid in South Africa, and the possibility of a peaceable world (Cook 2000). Neither Child nor Roosevelt had true positions in Foreign Service; however, their journeys should not go without some merit. Examples such as these show how women infiltrated foreign policy.

When specifically looking at women and careers in American diplomacy, the first woman to work for Foreign Service was Lucile Atcherson in 1922, who scored the third highest score that year on the Foreign Service exam. Lucile Atcherson worked as the Third Secretary of the Legislation in Switzerland. However, Atcherson resigned after five years of service in order to get married (Office of the Historian). Another notable woman to serve in Foreign Service is Pattie H. Field. She served after the Rogers Act, which merged both the diplomatic and consular services (Office of the Historian). In 1949, President Truman appointed the first female to the rank of ambassador. However, it was not until 1953, that a woman working for Foreign Service



rose the ranks to ambassador. After another forty-four years, Madeleine Albright was appointed Secretary of State by President Clinton. Between 1933 and 2004, only 8% of chief of mission positions had been filled by women. Most notably, President Clinton appointed 116 women to senior level positions. President Bush continued this trend of appointing females by appointing 68 women (Wright, 2005). Besides Madeleine Albright, two other women have served as the Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice and most recently, Hillary Clinton. Though men still dominate the State Department, women have had the opportunity to gain powerful positions. Throughout history, there have been examples of women indirectly and directly taking part in the process of American diplomacy. Both these types of influences should be examined when observing the path of the development of women involved in foreign policy.

Currently within the State Department women make up forty-four percent of the employees. This percentage includes both civil and foreign service (Discover Diplomacy) Comparing the history of women in the State Department and today, progress has clearly been made. However, much like with how the historical women's stories have been told, it is important to study the career path women today take in the State Department. My research will bridge the gap between these histories of the trail blazing women of the State Department and how women now currently serve and the paths they take.

## Chapter 2 – Literature Review

### Women and Political Ambition

The term “Boys’ Club” is used to describe an occupation or sector that is dominated by men. The political world is an example of this “club.” As women begin to break through onto the political stage, they have fallen into stereotypical roles focusing on “mother issues.” This research intends to look past these roles and at another category of the “Boys’ Club,” foreign policy. To examine women politicians’ role in foreign policy, it is necessary to understand the current role women have in politics. The first questions raised are what kind of women get involved in politics and why are men more involved than women. Fox and Lawless (2011) analyzes how gender affects men and women’s decision to run for office. They hypothesize that the gender gap in self-efficacy does exist and can be explained by gender differences in their perception of their political skills and the perception of the campaign and political environment. Their research is designed around the Citizen Political Ambition Panel study. This study consists of a random sample of equally qualified men and women who could serve as future candidates for elective offices. Fox and Lawless (2011) controlled for sex, race, and profession and found that more men stated as being qualified for an office than women. Women were also more likely to rate themselves as not at all qualified. They used this information to create three regression equations to further examine the results. From these results, they confirmed the gender gap. These results suggested that the traditional gender role socialization can be responsible for women entering the political environment. Fox and Lawless (2011) conclude that it is highly unlikely for women’s full inclusion in the electoral process. A possible downfall to this research is that it is solely based on one study, which has only taken place twice in 2001 and 2008. However, the research suggests women do not feel qualified to join the political field, which

raises questions if the women currently holding office feel they too are under qualified in comparison to the men. Relating this to my research, it could provide reason to the women being less active in foreign policy. Atkeson (2003) revolves around the idea that women are less political active due to the lack of competitive female candidates. She suggests that this relationship matters and examines the political attitudes and behaviors of the competitive and noncompetitive female candidates. To test this idea, Atkeson observes the Senate and gubernatorial races. This data was compiled from the American National Election Studies from 1990 to 1998. The study examined women's interest in campaigns, politics and the percentage of respondents that replied "don't know" to particular issues. The results stated that women are more likely to participate in politics and less likely to say "don't know." These answers suggest that women need a competitive and strong woman candidate in order to feel the need to become active in politics. Atkeson (2003) suggests that it takes more for someone to become politically active than just having someone similar to you on the ballot. She continues to state that the cues suggest a possible link to the socialization of men and women. This article pertains to my research by suggesting another reason women are not highly active in the international political world.

### Women in Election Campaigns

Once women have decided to become involved, they may face obstacles of proving themselves in order to be elected. It is an obvious statement that women are involved in politics; however, there is a clear vast difference between the amounts of men holding office compared to the women in office. Political scientists attempt to find the reasons explaining this difference. As they attempt to understand this, they also examine the reasons why women lose in elections or how women react to women candidates. A person would assume a woman candidate would

prompt women to become more active in politics and to vote for that candidate because they are the same gender. Dolan (2006) argues gender has little influence on motivating women to vote in elections. However, Fulton (2012) states that gender can affect elections, but it is based on valence rather than gender itself.

Dolan (2006) hypothesized that women living in a congressional district with a women candidate holding office would have higher levels of political engagement. She also suspected there would be a higher voter turnout. To test this assumption, Dolan examined NES data from House and Senate elections from 1990 to 2004. She had five dependent variables in her analysis, political interest, influence voting, political efficacy, participation, and voting. For independent variables, Dolan accounts for political party of the candidate, sex of the respondents, and the party congruence between women candidates and respondents. There were also numerous variables dealing with attitudes toward politics, participation, political knowledge, and the impact of Senate and House races happening at the same time. Dolan's analysis found most women candidates did not provoke higher political interest. She also found the competitiveness of the election does not matter. However, her results did show the presence of a Republican woman candidate increased the efficacy of women in comparison to men and decreased the efficacy of men. Respondents will also attempt to influence someone's vote for a Republican women candidate. Overall, based on this research, there is no concrete evidence to say women of a particular party or in a competitive election influence other women to become more involved. Dolan (2006) concludes there is no consensus for elections, rather it is based on the particular candidate or election.

Fulton (2012) does not agree that gender does not impact elections. To prove this, she takes on a different approach focusing on the valence of the candidates. She states that women

are often ranked as having more valence than men and individuals should react to valence; therefore, voters will react to candidate sex. Fulton (2012) examines this idea at a micro and macro level. To do this, she uses a study of political informants from the 2006 midterm elections. Democratic and Republican Congress candidates were ranked based on valence. She also uses a survey from constituents testing their reaction to gender and valence of the candidate. To create a link between valence and gender to election outcome Fulton (2012) uses many hypotheses and regressions. To find relationship between election outcome and gender to individual vote choice, Fulton creates a hypothesis stating that women have a valence advantage, women candidates do as well as men in vote-sharing if there is an absence of a control for valence, but after accounting for gender, women will be at a disadvantage. Her results suggest that this is true leading her to assume partisan voters are less influenced by candidates' sex and valence and that independent voters will support either gender if there is an absence of a control for valence. This information means independents are less supportive of female than male candidates. Her results once again find her hypothesis to be true. Finally, Fulton (2012) concludes that women face a disadvantage in general elections if valence is controlled. This idea means women are as successful as men based on their valence, but once the gender gap is taken into accounts women gain less votes.

Both Dolan (2006) and Fulton (2012) attempted to find the reasons for women candidates losing in elections, as well as participation. Dolan (2006) assumed women candidates promote more political participation from women voters and in turn create more votes; however, her results found that gender rarely does not incite political participation and in turn does not affect the election. Fulton (2012) instead of looking at political participation looks at the valence of the candidates as a possible reason for women candidates losing in general elections. Her results found that despite women having higher valence, their gender did affect the election. It is

difficult to decide who is correct or incorrect, rather it may be easier to assume they are both correct. Women candidates may not lead to a higher level of political participation, but that does not mean their gender does not affect the elections. If Fulton (2012) is correct that women have higher valence and still lose the election, it is possible gender is the reason. However, more research is needed to determine if there are other outlier reasons affecting election outcome.

### Intersectionality and Women Leaders

Another factor that cannot be ignored when examining women and their road to being elected is the differences between women voters. The answer to why women do not support other women in politics is constantly contested. However, much of the literature suggests things such as party affiliation will trump gender when voting. A necessary observation to consider is that women are just as diverse as men. If you make the assumption women will vote for women, then the same assumption must be made for men. If this idea was asserted, it would be seen as ridiculous, yet we continue to adopt the allegation that women must stand by one another solely based on gender. Women diversify based on things such as their ethnicity, sexual orientation and race. Bedolla, Tate, and Wong's research suggest that race will trump gender, especially in regards to the African-American population. Haider-Markel and Bright (2014) examine how sexual orientation affects voting behavior, questioning the effects of gender and sexual orientation combined. They compare the public's voting behavior towards a gay woman or a gay man and what the difference is. The questions that arise from these articles reassert that gender can be a minor factor for voting and politics in general.

The number of racial minority women in the United States Congress has increased, causing scholars to investigate the relationship between gender, and race. Bedolla, Tate, and Wong (2005) examine how race can affect voting behaviors and how gender will add to this

equation. Previous research had asserted that female and black legislators are consistently advocating for the interests of women and blacks. Black citizens also proclaimed that they felt better represented when their legislators are black no matter party affiliation, but this does not mean they were more likely to vote in national elections. However, Latinos are more likely to vote if they are represented by another Latino. However, the authors make it clear ethnicity is not the only factor with voting; it also involves social and economic backgrounds, which can be affected by one's ethnicity. Bedolla, Tate, and Wong (2005) use qualitative information examining the history of black, Hispanic, and Asian women in elected offices. The authors question if there is an overrepresentation of minority female legislators in Congress. Women of color have a larger representation within their racial groups than white women. It is concluded that though they are represented well within their own racial groups, as a whole African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans are still underrepresented. Those within Congress are elected in majority-minority districts, causing the authors to believe that the underrepresentation will not decrease significantly in the future. However, because race is such an important factor, there is hope that more minority women will be elected into office to represent their minority and their gender's views.

The first lesbian to be elected into Congress was in 1998; since this there has been a large increase in the number of LGBT candidates elected into office. Haider-Markel and Bright (2014) explore this growth using case studies examining campaigns, public attitudes of LGBT candidates, and looks closest at lesbian office holders. The authors examined poll information of American adults between 1994 and 2004, finding that only 25% of the respondents were opposed to a homosexual candidate. This number was similar in a 2008 poll, but in a 2012 Gallup poll there was a higher opposition for a lesbian presidential candidate. Their analysis of the case

studies found that lesbians and female bisexuals are increasingly running for office despite a disapproving population. However, this opposition is less likely to support Democrats, which is how most lesbians identify. Information also claims that sexual orientation did not affect a lesbian candidate's chance at winning the election. Once in office, lesbian officeholders focus on their communities; however, there is a high advocacy rate for the broad LGBT community that they represent. Haider-Markel and Bright (2014) conclude that the amount of LGBT women candidates will continue to grow in future years.

Ethnicity and sexual orientation are two factors that diversify the women population. These factors have the opportunity to trump gender when people go to the polls. Bedolla, Tate, and Wong (2005) found that ethnicity brings people to the polls due to the feeling that they are better represented. However, they asserted minority women are still underrepresented and it will be more difficult for them to gain ground in elected offices. Haider-Markel and Bright (2014) examined the LGBT community and how lesbian candidates are accepted in the political world. Their research found that lesbians are more likely to be accepted and that their sexual orientation does not affect being voted in the office. When attempting to understand the effect of gender on politics, a person must also recognize the diversity of women to create assumptions. These identifiable pieces of a person have the opportunity to undermine gender, which causes the lack of woman to woman support in politics.

### Women Leaders and Media Coverage

After being scrutinized by men and fellow women, women politicians are also faced with the criticism of the media. Say the word feminism in a crowded room and look to see the reactions you get from people. In today's culture, it is seen as a dirty word, a word that portrays women as bra-burners or men-haters. The question is, where did this misconception come



from? Originally, the feminist movement was for equality between men and women. However, through media coverage, the perception has drastically changed. The media's image of feminist work, as well as women in office has affected the public's view and created unnecessary challenges. That is not to say the media has not also done some good for women, as Dolan, Deckman, and Swers (2011) explain in their explanation of the relationship between the media and women politicians.

Dolan, Deckman, and Swers (2011) begin the media chapter with an example of one of media's most scrutinized targets, Hillary Clinton. Mrs. Clinton is just one of the many examples of women who the media has followed and used as the face of women. Other examples include Gloria Steinem, Phyllis Schlafly, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Nancy Pelosi. The media frenzy over these women has hailed some positive and negative messages. The authors attribute this relationship to how the media is constructed in the United States. The media stands as an agenda setter. Journalists decide which political events and problems are newsworthy, as well as what people will incite readership. The media frames facts to create a context for readers to understand; however, often this context creates gender stereotypes. Dolan, Deckman, and Swers (2011) examine the beginning of the media and women relationship, starting with the first women's movement for suffrage. They continue to tell the story, discussing the ERA movement and the backlash of feminism. These instances are provided as key examples to how the media is able to work for or against women. The news frenzy about the first women's movement helped to strengthen the movement and lead to the right to vote being passed. However, the media debate during the ERA movement that was labeled as a cat fight between Gloria Steinem and Phyllis Schlafly narrated a story of divided women and hindered the passage of the ERA amendment. Both examples provide a look into this complicated relationship.

The authors further explore this relationship by examining the media's portrayal of First Ladies. Once again, the examples of Hillary Clinton and Eleanor Roosevelt are used, as well as Michelle Obama. The media has often portrayed the First Lady in two separate ways. The positive image portrayed is the White House host. The negativity towards First Ladies is created the more politically active she is. This mixed review happens with female politicians as well. Two examples are Jeannette Rankin and Nancy Pelosi. Jeannette Rankin was one of sixteen representatives who voted against the war, yet the media focused entirely on her, claiming she gave a sobbing speech against the war; however, she did not sob but rather teared up. This news report tried to portray her as an over emotional woman against the war. However, the majority of coverage for Nancy Pelosi focused on her drive to pass legislation in the first 100 days of Congress. The authors do not explain why the differences can occur but choose to give the background information to set the stage for the current media.

Dolan, Deckman, and Swers question if as the media world today grows and involves more women as reporters or writers if the portrayal of women will change. More women may be joining the ranks as journalists, but they mainly are found in print. Television and internet news are still lacking major women players. The authors conclude that as more women gain power in the journalism world, women politicians will have a better opportunity to be seen as major political figures for their policies rather than fashion icons. For now, women must face the media coverage creating stereotypes. The improvements have given women a better opportunity to be seen on the media, but this media portrayal creates a skewed perspective that the politicians must overcome to find success as a politician.

## Women and Foreign Policy Leadership

Finally, as women begin to gain power in the political world on a federal and international level, the question becomes where do women stand in foreign policy? The Stachowitsch (2012) and Brysk (2013) pieces examine very dissimilar topics; however, their central focus is one in the same. They question how foreign policy or the international world affects women's empowerment. Stachowitsch (2012) argues that foreign policy affects military gender integration in the United States. Brysk examines the role women have in the international world and how they affect global citizenship and foreign policy. The authors observe both how can foreign policy affect women and how can women affect foreign policy.

Stachowitsch (2012) investigates how foreign policy between 1991 -2011 shaped military gender integration. In a qualitative study, she examines three Presidential terms, Clinton, Bush, and Obama. The analysis identifies three separate levels of the relationship between military gender and foreign policy. It observes the integration as a policy issue, the use of gendered ideologies within the doctrines, and gender equality being used as a rationale for foreign policy issues. The analysis concluded that during Clinton's first term domestic politics and foreign policy worked towards integration and equality. However, the second term worked toward isolationism and stopped the focus on military gender integration. This change in strategy could be attributed to the rebuttal from the Republican majority and the media. During the Bush administration, his "War on Terror" depended on women military participation because of the focus on liberating Muslim women. The need for military women did not translate to more liberation or equality but rather it remained the same. The Obama administration stepped away from using gender as a justification for military force and instead has placed it in a category on its own. Initiatives within the administration have pushed for the empowerment of women on a

global scale, but the worry now comes from the privatization of military power. Altogether, Stachowitsch (2012) focuses on explaining the relationship between foreign policy and military gender integration, giving an example of how foreign policy can affect women.

Brysk (2013) hypothesizes that sexual equality influences international human rights outcomes. In order to test this, Brysk (2013) examines 195 countries' commitments to thirty different international human rights initiatives between 2009 and 2011. She also creates variables within five separate measures of global citizenry, including ratification of human rights treaties, votes on UN resolutions relating to the death penalty, and funding to the UN Population Fund. There were seven different measures for sexual equality, such as economic activity, education, and women in government positions. She first tested the relationship between sexually equal countries and humanitarian foreign policy, and then tested if sexual equality is associated with support for human rights within democratic countries. Finally Brysk (2013) tested if sexual equality creates a socialization effect. Her results found that for the average country, sexual equality does enhance human rights, and furthermore, democracy has a higher level of effect of sexual equality. Brysk (2013) concludes sexual equality matters for tolerance and the gendered experience. This means that women do affect the international world by creating better global citizens. Countries with sexual equality are more likely to support international commitments and provide assistance towards issues involving violence, discrimination, and children's rights.

Stachowitsch (2012) and Brysk (2013) examine the relationship between gender and foreign policy. Stachowitsch (2012) gives a specific example of how foreign policy affects women. Brysk (2013) on the other hand, attempts to look at the wide effect empowered women have on the international playing field. Their research provides examples of how this relationship

will affect the progression of women's rights, as well as the evolution of a more humanitarian based world.

Howes and Stevenson (1993) examine how women entering the military will contribute to the use of military force. They discuss the stereotype of women being more peaceful than men in nature. The scholars draw on numerous articles across different disciplines to examine this stereotype. By also examining women's activities in armed forces and the development of national security, they conclude that women are indeed capable to wield force and command military forces. War has been seen in the realm of males due to the stereotypes placed on women; however, women have been active in war and war making throughout history yet have been forced to the domestic sphere once the war has ended. However, they also stated that the choice for force is used on the defensive, a threat to the home or family, rather than the offensive. McGlen and Sarkees (1993) address similar issues by examining women who work in the Departments of State and Defense. They questioned what problems women faced in these institutions and if their presence made a difference on international politics. They had the opportunity to interview thirty four women and twenty two men from a senior personnel list. From these interviews, McGlen and Sarkees (1993) concluded that it is difficult for women to have an impact on the departments, but the increased presence provides hope that future obstacles will disappear.

Morin (1995), a wife of Foreign Service officer, also had the opportunity to interview thirty-four of the forty-four women ministers or ambassadors. She examined background personality traits, as well as looked for differences between political appointees and careerists. She also questioned what influence they had on U.S. foreign policy. She found that women may have an advantage to negotiation due to being perceived as less threatening and less competitive.

Arguably more importantly, Morin's work revealed the advantages political appointees have over careerists. Careerists faced discriminatory practices such as the prohibition of marriage for women Foreign Service officers. Those political appointed did not face this challenge. Dolan (2001) revisited this issue of political appointees; however, she questioned if gender of the person affected policy. Dolan examines political appointees in a much broader scale involving all appointments the President may make. She found that women serving as political appointees does make a difference by drawing attention to problems affecting women in society. Her research also suggested that female appointees are often more liberal and Democratic than the males. Dolan suggests future research would need to be conducted examining beyond the executive branch and the effects at the legislative level.

I intend for my research to fill in the gaps of some of the previous mentioned research. Previous research regarding women in foreign policy looks either at nongovernment positions or their conclusions found that women still had been unable to break through to make a true difference. I wish to find if this is still true. I also wish to compare men and women's routes to these high ranking positions. Are women being appointed as often as men? Does the education of a women matter more than a man's? It is questions such as these that have derived from previous research and pushed my research further. I also wish to showcase that because women take a different path to impact policy, there should be more emphasis on the study of bureaucratic positions rather than solely on legislative, executive, and judiciary positions.

### Chapter 3—Methodology

I will use a mixed methods approach to analyze the role of women in the State Department. The State Department maintains a high level of confidentiality due to national security issues. Because of this, access to women working for the department is limited. However, their website provides biographical information about those in senior level positions, such as ambassadors. It is reasonable to assume the information written about the ambassadors is accurate. The website provides information on all the ambassadors including those appointed as of 2016. I will study the ratio of men and women working in the senior level positions, such as ambassadors. I also have chosen to look at where the men and women serve. I question whether there are areas where men are more likely to serve than women or vice versa. Within the State Department, there are countries that are ranked as dangerous pay zones. In these countries, Foreign Service members are paid higher wages due to the unsafe conditions. Looking at this information is important in order to see if stereotypes exist, such as believing that women should not be serving in these types of dangerous environments.

Beyond looking at the location where the Senior Officials serve, I have also observed the number of the years the officials have served before becoming an ambassador or high ranking office. In addition to the number of years, I have looked at whether the officials were appointed based on political reasons or due to their long careers. Specifically, I conduct research based on President Barack Obama's appointments. This information was compiled by the American Foreign Service Association. The question is whether President Obama was more likely to appoint men or women. It is also important to look at whether women are appointed more often

based on politics or their career. I also have looked at the education status of the men and women.

To complement the quantitative data, I will conduct case studies on four women serving in a senior level position. Within these case studies, I look at their paths to their current position, including educational background and previous careers, which will provide information about why these women pursued a Foreign Service career. I look at women who were appointed into these positions, as well as those women who have been career foreign service employees. Joan Polaschik is a career Foreign Service official who has served in multiple danger zones. Her background provides the opportunity to observe the career path an official may take. Susan Jacobs currently serves in a newly created high ranking position. She is a career Foreign Service official; however, her story to becoming appointed as the Special Advisor for Children's Rights provides an example to the importance of relationships with other women officials and how they can expand women's roles in the department. The final two women I conduct case studies about are Alexa Wesner and Colleen Bell. These women are political appointees. Their backgrounds and career paths are much different than the career Foreign Service officials. They also provide an example to the role of political appointments and the consequences of them.



## Chapter Four - Analysis

The State Department provides biographies about the different ambassadors and secretaries. This information gives insight to the education and experience these women have. The information is limited to what has been written. This creates some holes in education or the other experience the women may have. It is also unclear on when the information was written. However, the assumption can be made the biographies are relatively recent, considering some of the positions have been filled as recently as 2016. These biographies provide the basis for understanding these women's backgrounds. By analyzing this information, we gain insight about women's role in the State Department, compared to the men's role.

Within the State Department, there are Chiefs of Missions and different Secretary positions. Chiefs of Missions are ambassadors of the countries around the world. The different Secretary positions have primary focuses, such as Global Food Security and Counterterrorism. These Senior Officials hold highly influential positions that affect the foreign policy of the United States and the coordinating country or focus. Commonly, these positions are filled from within the State Department. Seasoned Foreign Service officers are chosen due to their experience and level of expertise about particular issues or areas. However, there are also political appointments, where someone outside of the department may be appointed as a political favor. There are currently 273 filled Senior Official positions within the State Department. Women hold 33% of these positions. ("Senior Officials Biographies Listed by Title or Location"). Refer to the appendix for details. The United States population is currently split 51% female and 49% male. However, when looking at employment, women only make up 46.8% of the workforce which can show that despite the population distribution, there are still more men in

the workforce (Bureau of Labor Statistics). With this information, it provides a reason that there are fewer women in these positions compared to men. It is also possible fewer women have chosen to join the State Department compared to men. However, another possibility is women are not appointed to these high level positions.

### Length of Service

When looking at this information, a large portion of the Chiefs of Missions are considered career officers. These are officials that have served over twenty years. Eighteen women and thirty-eight men have served for over thirty years. Interestingly, in regards to male and female representation this is 20% of current serving officials for both men and women. The woman with the most service years is Susan Jacobs, who has served for forty-one years. The longest serving and currently active male official is Patrick Kennedy with 43 years of service. Sixteen women (17%) have served between twenty and thirty years. This is a slightly higher percentage than the male officials, who have 13% or 25 officials that have served between twenty and thirty years. There are seven women and only three men who have served between ten and twenty years. The remaining fifteen women (16%) have served less than ten years. This is a stark difference from the male officials. Thirty-eight percent or 70 male officials have served less than ten years. Some of the officials' experience timeline were difficult to decipher due to the information provided. Thirty-four women and forty-seven men did not indicate how many years they have been in service. For example, some of the officials' biographies explain what divisions they served; however, this may not fully explain all the positions they have served in.

## Education

To work as a Foreign Service officer, only a high school diploma is required. However, the higher the education the higher pay scale a person is put on. When looking at those who sit in higher positions, it is to be assumed that they will have a higher level of education. This is primarily true when observing the women holding ambassador positions. In regards to the education, fifty-nine of the women officials (65%) whose highest education level is a Master's degree. There are eighty-nine men (48%) who hold Master's degrees. These degrees are primarily in the field of international relations. Twelve women (13%) and thirty-nine men (21%) have a law degree instead of or in addition to their Master's degree. There were only two women (.02%) compared to sixteen men (.08%) who listed having a PHD. Nine women (10%) listed only a Bachelor's degree. Another nine women (10%) did not list their degrees; however, they did list four year universities that they attended; therefore, it can be inferred they too have at least a Bachelor's degree. With this in mind, we can assume at least 20% of the women officials had a Bachelor's degree. Forty-two male officials listed having at least a Bachelor's degree. The remaining six men did not list any information regarding their education. Where these women and men went to school was very spread out. However, some of the more popular schools were Georgetown University, University of Columbia, National War College, and the University of California. The Bachelors' degrees were received at many state universities, such as University of Illinois and State University of New York. There did not seem to be a stark difference in the types of schools the men and women officials attended.

## Appointments

The American Foreign Service Association conducted research assessing President Barack Obama's ambassador appointments since 2009. This research has been most recently updated on April 15, 2016. With this information, they have found that President Obama has appointed 68.5% career officials and 31.5% political/civil service. What this information means is that some of President Obama's appointments have been based on political favors rather than career service in the State Department. Of these appointments, sixty-four of 188 were women appointees (35%). Of these sixty-four women, eighteen are political appointees (28%). Of the 117 male officials, thirty-eight were political appointees (32%). When looking at these appointments, more males were appointed than females. Also, of the male appointees, a larger percentage were political rather than career appointees. However, it is only a 4% percentage difference. After running a t-test, I found there was no statistically significance between the numbers of men political appointees compared to the women. However, an interesting aspect that the American Foreign Service Association finds is which of the appointees were also political campaign bundlers. Their research found that 15 male appointees and 7 female appointees were bundlers. Campaign bundlers are individuals who assist in compiling individual donations into one large donation for the candidate. Information regarding political appointments and these campaign bundlers should be further researched. As later discussed, political appointments can have negative affects due to the lack of experience the appointee may have.

## Location

An important aspect of the State Department to explore is where have women historically been assigned in the State Department. The American Foreign Service Association has compiled this list using data from [history.state.gov](http://history.state.gov) and [whitehouse.gov](http://whitehouse.gov). The list provides each country's

total ambassadors and the percentage of women which have served in the role. Based on this information, the top ten countries with the most women ambassadors are South Sudan (100%), Montenegro (66.7%), Palau (66.7%), Micronesia (60%), Kyrgyz Republic (54.5%), African Union (50%), Kosovo (50%), Timor-Leste (50%), Namibia (44.4%), and Liechtenstein (42.9%). Other than Liechtenstein, all of these countries are relatively new countries, only being established within the last thirty years. Five of these countries, South Sudan, Montenegro, African Union, Kosovo, and Timor-Leste, have only been established since 2000. Looking at the youth of these countries, there have been few ambassadors to serve in them. Even though Liechtenstein for over 200 years, its embassy was created in 2002, meaning it too has had minimal ambassadors serve. Besides the Kyrgyz Republic which has had eleven ambassadors serve, the remaining nine countries have had less than ten serve. A question to be asked is why are women appointed to serve in these newer embassies and countries? Another observation is these countries have relatively small populations other than the African Union. In comparison to the top ten highest percentage of women serving, I have also looked at which countries have had the least amount of women serve. There are forty-four countries where no women have served. There are also sixty-four countries that only 10% of the ambassadors have been women. For example, out of the countries of the United Nations Security Council, very few women have served as ambassadors. Zero women have served in China or Russia. China has had fifty-two ambassadors and Russia has had seventy-four. The United Kingdom has had sixty-eight ambassadors yet only one woman has served in the ambassadorial role. There have been two women out of sixty-six ambassadors who served in France. Another important figure in the international world is the European Union, which has had nineteen ambassadors. There has only been one woman to serve as the ambassador for this organization. The lack of women serving in

these high profile countries is something to be further observed. Is there a reason women are sent to serve in low population and low profile countries?

### Danger Zone Pay

Under the State Department, certain countries are considered high risk and are highlighted as “danger pay zones.” Officials who work in these zones are given a higher pay due to the high risk situation. When working in these zones, officials are not allowed to bring family members for security reasons. As of April 17, 2016, there are currently twenty-six countries listed under the Danger Pay Allowance. Six female officials are serving in these danger pay zones. More research would need to be conducted to see how many women have previously held high ranking positions in these zones. It is also necessary to note that because there are more men serving in the State Department than women in high ranking positions, it would mean statistically more men would be serving in the danger zones than women. There would need to be more research conducted in order to find out if there is a statistically significant difference between the numbers of women Foreign Service officials that serve in danger zones compared to the number of male Foreign Service officials that serve in those same zones.

Serving in these danger zones also means that these women have had to live in these countries without their families. Baitinger, Fox, and Lawless (2014, 49) discussed that women are six times more likely than men to be responsible of the household and 10 times more likely to be a primary childcare provider. Based on the understanding that women are unable to take their children to a danger zone and by making an assumption that these women have children, their work in the danger zones goes against the idea that women will not pursue positions because of their family. There is a stigma that women must take care of their house and family and if they do not do this, they will be looked down upon. By working in the State Department and being

assigned to these danger zones, these women are ignoring this stigma and instead using ambition to succeed in their field. Despite this being an assumption that is being made that these women have children, there is a high probability that there are women in the State Department who do have children. Even if a woman is not working in a danger zone, there is still an option that these women would be living in a new country every few years. That would require the women to uproot their families to a new area or leaving their families at home in the United States. This too would be against the stigma that women must take care of their homes and children.

### Case Studies

#### *Joan Polaschik: Danger Pay in North Africa*

Joan Polaschik (47) is the current Chief of Mission in Algeria and has served as the ambassador since September 2014. She received a bachelor's degree from the University of Virginia, majoring in Russian Studies and Foreign Affairs. Ambassador Polaschik also has a Master's degree in Foreign Service, which she received at Georgetown University. She studied Arabic at the Department's Foreign Service Institute. Her first positions were in Uzbekistan as a Consular and General Service Officer and then as a Political Officer in Tunisia. All of Ambassador Polaschik's Chief of Mission positions have been held in Africa or the Middle East. Besides her most recent position in Algeria, she has also served in 2013 as Acting Director in the Office of Israel and Palestinian Affairs in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs in the Department of State and as a Regional Refugee Coordinator in Jordan. Algeria is currently listed as a danger pay zones. State Department declares these zones as too dangerous to bring family members, as well as provides extra compensation for those on assignment in these areas. Ambassador Polaschik is one of only six women ambassadors who currently hold a position in the danger zones ("Joan A. Polaschik"). Ambassador Polaschik's time as a Foreign Service officer has been

spent in multiple types of positions ranging from political officer, consular officer, desk officer, and now ambassador. Of the countries she has served in, two are countries which were danger pay zones when she held positions in them (Danger Pay).

Her time in Libya was eventful due to the civil war outbreak as well as the attacks on the consulate in Benghazi. She began her service in Libya in 2009 as the deputy chief of mission. In 2010, Polaschik first was in the news due to being summoned by Libya's foreign ministry officials who demanded an apology from the U.S. government. This apology was asked for because of a remark made by the State Department's at the time spokesman, P.J. Crowley. The Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi declared jihad on Switzerland for banning construction of minarets. Crowley insulted the declaration; however, he would eventually apologize for the remark. The following year in February, the Libyan civil war broke out and the embassy in Tripoli was evacuated. Before the evacuation Polaschik assisted in destroying the computers to wipe out information the rebels could have taken. She also was one of the first to return when the embassy reopened in September (Straehley, 2014). Possibly the most important aspect of her time in Libya were the Benghazi attacks. These attacks have been in the news frequently and Polaschik's role has been quite important. In September 2012, the U.S. consulate in Benghazi was attacked. Before this attack, Polaschik had gone to Washington urging for better security for the facilities in Libya (Foreign.senate.gov). Her pleas were ignored; however, after the attacks, she earned praise for the effort she made. These efforts did not go unnoticed and after returning for Libya, she was named the Acting Director in the Office of Israel and Palestinian Affairs in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. Now as the Algerian ambassador, Polaschik deals with ISIS being directly across the border. Algeria since the 1990s has continuously fought against Islamic extremism. The Algerian government continues to work alongside the United States in order to



stop the expansion of ISIS. Polaschik has stated there is a new brand of extremism in the region which may threaten Algeria's security. She also has discussed the importance of helping the American people understand that what is occurring in the Middle East and North Africa is the minority view of Islam (Green, 2015).

Ambassador Joan Polaschik provides an example of a career foreign service official. Her education and experience has allowed for her to earn her positions in the State Department. Also, her role in Libya provides an example of the importance of the Foreign Service official and how the role affects the United States foreign policy. Ambassador Polaschik's position in Algeria is her first role as an ambassador. However, it is important to note she is one of three women who have served as an ambassador in Algeria out of the seventeen ambassadors Algeria has had (American Foreign Service Association).

#### *Susan Jacobs: Breaking the Glass Ceiling*

Susan Jacobs (71) currently holds the position of Special Advisor for Children's Issues and has held this position since September, 2011. Her undergraduate career was at the University of Michigan. She received a law degree from Georgetown University and another degree from George Washington University. Senior Official Jacobs has served in Foreign Services since 1974. Her beginning tours included in Venezuela, El Salvador, Israel, Romania and India. She served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Global Issues from 1994 – 2000. She has held three ambassadorial positions in Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. In recent years, she worked in the Bureau of Consular Affairs as a Senior Policy Advisor, as well as a liaison for the Department of Homeland Security ("Ambassador Susan S. Jacobs").

Jacobs's current position is the first person to serve as the Special Advisor for International Children's Issues. Created in 2010, this position was created by former Secretary

Hillary Rodham Clinton. The position was created to address adoption and international parental child abduction (U.S. Department of State Press Release, 2010). Jacobs was appointed to this position due to her relationship with Secretary Clinton. In 1995 while serving in Bucharest, Romania, Jacobs served as the coordinator for Hillary Clinton's visit when she was the First Lady. During this visit, they visited multiple adoption agencies and Jacobs declared this impacted her work in the Foreign Service (Goldberg, 2015). This appointment gives an example of a political appointment occurring. It also gives an example of the importance of relationships between women can benefit in the future. In an era of breaking the glass ceiling through the amount of women entering the political field through elected offices and nonelected careers, there has become an importance for women to mobilize together. Goss and Heaney (2010) discuss the importance of women's organizations coming together to confront the backlash of negative attitudes toward women mobilization, as well as the importance of the grass roots movements. There is a grass roots mobilization also occurs within the professional world. With women in high ranking positions in their professional careers, they have the opportunity to use their power to reach out to other women and help them succeed in their field. With this continuation of women supporting women, there is an opportunity for women to further break the glass ceiling. Adviser Jacobs and her path to her current position is a prime example of this occurring. Serving under this position has prompted her to travel to many countries discussing these issues. In 2010 Jacobs traveled to Egypt and Jordan discussing how the United States could take part in protecting U.S. citizen children when visiting these countries ("Special Advisor for Children's Issues"). Another issue this position has tackled was lifting the adoption ban in both Vietnam and Cambodia. Jacobs visited these countries in order to discuss the intercountry adoptions process and the creation of new laws (U.S. Department of State Press Release, 2011).

More recently, she has traveled to India meeting officials and discussing the Hague Adoption Convention (“Special US Advisor for Children’s Issues”).

Susan Jacobs has led a long career in Foreign Service and received numerous awards for her service, such as the Department of State’s Meritorious Honor Award, the Superior Honor Award, and the Community Achievement Award in New Delhi. Beyond serving in this brand new position, Jacobs’ role as ambassador in other countries is also important. There have been four women to serve as an ambassador in Vanuatu out of ten. In Papua New Guinea, there have been six women to serve out of the total fourteen ambassadors. As for Solomon Islands, there have been six women to serve out of the fifteen ambassadors. Jacobs has been one of each of these women. Susan Jacobs was one of the first married women to enter the Foreign Service. Until 1972 married women were not allowed to take the Foreign Service exam. She took the exam in 1974. In the UN Dispatch podcast between Susan Jacobs and Mark Leon Goldberg, Jacobs discusses how many women were married to men in the Foreign Service and were interested in taking the exam however, it had not been allowed. After lifting this ban, many of these women took the exam and joined. Jacobs’ journey into the Foreign Service Office shows how the Foreign Service has evolved. It also provides an insight into why women in the 1970s may have gotten involved in the Foreign Service. Being a wife to a Foreign Service official, they were exposed to the travel and impact the State Department had on the countries they lived in. Jacobs explained in the podcast that while in another country there wasn’t much to do. She mentions joining a women’s club as an option; however, because there was not as much to do, many women wanted to get involved and help to make an impact.

*Alexa Wesner and Colleen Bell: Political Appointees*

The current ambassador to Austria is Alexa Wesner. She was appointed to this position in September of 2013. Wesner's State Department biography discusses her athletic background, such as her high school track and cross country achievements. She graduated from Stanford University in 1994 with a bachelor's degree in biology. She has been an employee for Trilogy Software, a software company in Austin, Texas which provides services to Global 1000 companies. She founded hireTECH, a recruiting and consulting company and Recruiting Labs, a web-based recruiting company. Her political career began by founding Be One Texas and other state-based organizations ("Alexa Wesner"). The Be One Texas webpage states its mission statement to be to "change politics in our state engaging Latino voters and electing a new generation of Latino leaders who are willing to think big and lead responsibly" (onetexas.org). However, Be One Texas also raised 500,000 dollars for Obama's reelection campaign as a campaign bundler (opensecrets.org). By raising this money for the campaign, Wesner has held many positions for President Obama. She has served on the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, as well as multiple boards focused on youth and art (State Department bio).

Based on Wesner's biography, there has been no Foreign Service background. However, due to her relationship with President Obama, specifically her campaign contributions, she has gained the honor to serve as the Austrian ambassador. However, her role is an important one as she is one of five females who have served as an Austrian ambassador. There have been 58 ambassadors in Austria in total (American Foreign Service Association).

Another example of an ambassador who was a political appointment is Colleen Bell, the ambassador of Hungary. Bell graduated from Sweet Briar College in Virginia. She was a business executive at Bell-Phillip Television Productions ("Colleen Bradley Bell"). This

company produces for the popular CBS soap opera, *The Bold and the Beautiful*. Her involvement with this show has led to her receiving three Daytime Emmy Award nominations (Daily Mail). Her State Department biography also states Bell is a dedicated philanthropist and advocate. She has worked with issues such as child-abuse prevention, crime victim counseling, and public health awareness. She served on multiple boards, such as UCLA Medical Center's Rape Treatment Center Foundation and the Children's Institute, Inc. ("Colleen Bradley Bell"). Bell also fundraised for Obama and raised more than 500,000 dollars (opensecrets.org). Ambassador Bell's appointment as ambassador was not popularly received. Senator John McCain before the Senate vote stated, "[w]e're about to vote on a totally unqualified individual to be ambassador to a nation which is very important to our national security.... I understand how the game is played, but here we are, a nation [Hungary] that is on the verge of ceding its sovereignty to a neo-fascist dictator getting in bed with Vladimir Putin and we're going to send the producer of 'The Bold and The Beautiful' as the ambassador" (abcnews.com, 2014). The vote ended being 52-42, a very close vote.

Originally, I had assumed that women would not be politically appointed as often as men; however, my research found this to be incorrect. Nonetheless, it is still important to look at how these women came to power and what that means for women in the State Department. The lack of political experience could lead to negatively impacting how women are seen in foreign policy. Similar to what John McCain stated, by placing someone who is not experienced in a country where crisis is imminent can be catastrophic. Due to the stereotypes women face, as well as the work women have put into breaking the glass ceiling, by placing women into these positions and if they do poorly, it could poorly represent women's abilities as foreign leaders. However, political appointments can also work to women's advantage. Both these ambassadors were

placed into countries where few women have served. Political appointment creates the opportunity for women to be placed into regions that they otherwise had not been.

## Chapter 5 – Conclusion and Future Research

Based on the statistical findings, I must conclude that women and men appear fairly represented in high ranking positions in terms of length of service. However, when looking at the dispersion of the length of time, such as those who have served thirty years compared to those who have served only ten years, it is clear more research can be conducted. Future research would be needed to run more statistical tests to find out if the difference in number of years served is statistically significant. From looking at the difference between service years for men and women, I would argue that there is a difference and that men enter high ranking positions earlier than women. In terms of political appointment, I found that there is also no statistical significance between men and women appointments. However, more research can still be conducted looking at the career paths of the men and women who are chosen as the political appointments. It would also be beneficial to look at how these political appointments are received by the Senate when being voted on as the ambassador or chief of mission. Is a woman's lack of experience more likely to be scrutinized than a man's, such as it was with Colleen Bell? By examining past Senate hearings and voting with different political appointees, research could be developed addressing this issue.

The countries women have served in is another topic that could be examined in future research. Doing a study breaking the countries into regions and finding out if there are certain regions women are more likely to serve in, as well as conducting research to find out the reasons behind this, would be beneficial to the field. I found that women primarily served in small population countries. However, with more research, there would be the opportunity to find out how this affects women's role in foreign policy.

The case studies provide information on how women have the ability to impact foreign policy. Joan Polaschik's efforts in Libya provide an example of a woman becoming an important figure in the State Department and making decisions that affect foreign policy. She also is a more recent example of what a career official's pathway to ambassador would look like. Susan Jacobs, on the other hand, provides an example of the obstacles women in the Foreign Service originally had to face. Starting as a wife of a Foreign Service official and then becoming one herself, she has provided insight to how far women have come in terms of the State Department. Her relationship with Hillary Clinton helps to solidify the importance of women breaking into these high official roles. Once women break through, it provides opportunity for other women to also break through, similar to a domino effect. Alicia Wessner and Colleen Bell are examples of women as political appointees and how this is a double edged sword. Political appointments do provide women with more opportunities to enter the field; however, if mistakes occur, there can be backlash.

Overall, I originally set out to conduct research questioning if women are underrepresented in the State Department. When looking at the State Department's statistic about women serving in the State Department, we see that women are in fact underrepresented. However, my findings did not agree with my hypotheses that I tested. Nonetheless, it has created more questions to be further researched in the future. To completely rule out that women are not underrepresented in the State Department, further research needs to be conducted. Both the quantitative data and the case studies have shown the importance of women in the Foreign Service. Their roles have made an impact, and in comparing to previous research. I argue that women have furthered their positions in the State Department than in previous generations.





## Appendix: Political Appointment History

Country	Total #	# Female	% Female
Afghanistan	17	0	0.00%
Andorra	4	0	0.00%
Aruba	0	0	0.00%
Bahrain	15	0	0.00%
Bermuda	0	0	0.00%
Bhutan	0	0	0.00%
Canada	31	0	0.00%
Cayman Islands	0	0	0.00%
Chad	20	0	0.00%
Chile	55	0	0.00%
China	52	0	0.00%
Cook Islands	0	0	0.00%
Croatia	8	1	0.00%
Cuba	20	0	0.00%
Eritrea	6	0	0.00%
Georgia	8	0	0.00%
Germany	49	0	0.00%
Greece	46	0	0.00%
Hong Kong	0	0	0.00%
Indonesia	19	0	0.00%
Iran	34	0	0.00%
Israel	19	0	0.00%
Korea, North	0	0	0.00%
Macau	0	0	0.00%
Monaco	2	0	0.00%
Netherlands Antilles	0	0	0.00%
Poland	29	0	0.00%
Romania	45	0	0.00%
Russia	74	0	0.00%
San Marino	3	0	0.00%
Saudi Arabia	28	0	0.00%
Slovak Republic	8	0	0.00%
Somalia	15	0	0.00%
Spain	74	0	0.00%
Sudan	14	0	0.00%
Taiwan	0	0	0.00%
Tanzania	18	0	0.00%
Turkey	52	0	0.00%
Ukraine	8	0	0.00%

United Arab Republic	0	0	0.00%
Vietnam	6	0	0.00%
Vietnam, South	9	0	0.00%
Yugoslavia	36	0	0.00%
Zimbabwe	12	0	0.00%
Colombia	67	1	1.50%
Portugal	68	1	1.50%
United Kingdom	68	1	1.50%
Bolivia	61	1	1.60%
Argentina	60	1	1.70%
Mexico	59	1	1.70%
Costa Rica	55	1	1.80%
Peru	55	1	1.80%
Sweden	53	1	1.90%
Venezuela	54	1	1.90%
Italy	47	1	2.10%
Thailand	43	1	2.30%
Dominican Republic	42	1	2.40%
Japan	41	1	2.40%
France	66	2	3.00%
Guatemala	66	2	3.00%
Netherlands	66	2	3.00%
Morocco	32	1	3.10%
Belgium	58	2	3.40%
Korea, South	29	1	3.40%
Honduras	53	2	3.80%
Philippines	26	1	3.80%
South Africa	26	1	3.80%
Uruguay	51	2	3.90%
Czechoslovakia	25	1	4.00%
India	25	1	4.00%
Jordan	25	1	4.00%
Egypt	48	2	4.20%
Australia	23	1	4.30%
Haiti	47	2	4.30%
NATO	23	1	4.30%
Iraq	22	1	4.50%
Cyprus	19	1	5.30%
Denmark	57	3	5.30%
European Union	19	1	5.30%
Syria	19	1	5.30%
Brazil	54	3	5.60%
Guyana	18	1	5.60%

Nicaragua	54	3	5.60%
Nigeria	18	1	5.60%
Bulgaria	35	2	5.70%
Burma	17	1	5.90%
Kuwait	17	1	5.90%
Organization of American States	17	1	5.90%
Singapore	17	1	5.90%
Cambodia	16	1	6.30%
Liberia	46	3	6.50%
Oman	15	1	6.70%
Paraguay	45	3	6.70%
Ireland	28	2	7.10%
Yemen	14	1	7.10%
Panama	39	3	7.70%
Iceland	24	2	8.30%
Libya	11	1	8.30%
Austria	58	5	8.60%
Guinea	22	2	9.10%
El Salvador	54	5	9.30%
Switzerland	52	5	9.60%
Pakistan	28	3	9.70%
Central African Republic	20	2	10.00%
Congo (DR)	20	2	10.00%
Ecuador	50	5	10.00%
Ethiopia	30	3	10.00%
Mauritania	20	2	10.00%
Malaysia	19	2	10.50%
Tunisia	19	2	10.50%
Lebanon	28	3	10.70%
Azerbaijan	9	1	11.10%
Belize	9	1	11.10%
Bosnia & Herzegovina	9	1	11.10%
Equatorial Guinea	18	2	11.10%
Holy See	18	2	11.10%
Rwanda	18	2	11.10%
Uganda	18	2	11.10%
Trinidad & Tobago	17	2	11.80%
Finland	33	4	12.10%
Armenia	8	1	12.50%
Botswana	16	2	12.50%
Czech Republic	8	1	12.50%
Estonia	16	2	12.50%

Seychelles	16	2	12.50%
Slovenia	8	1	12.50%
Uzbekistan	8	1	12.50%
Norway	30	4	13.30%
Albania	14	2	14.30%
Congo, Republic of	14	2	14.30%
Kazakhstan	7	1	14.30%
Macedonia	7	1	14.30%
Hungary	27	4	14.80%
United Nations	27	4	14.80%
Lithuania	13	2	15.40%
Nauru	13	2	15.40%
New Zealand	26	4	15.40%
Sri Lanka	26	4	15.40%
Maldives	19	3	15.80%
Luxembourg	43	7	16.30%
Belarus	6	1	16.70%
Brunei	12	2	16.70%
Burkina Faso	18	3	16.70%
Cote d'Ivoire	18	3	16.70%
Gabon	18	3	16.70%
Germany (East)	6	1	16.70%
Serbia	6	1	16.70%
Algeria	17	3	17.60%
Fiji	17	3	17.60%
Jamaica	17	3	17.60%
Lesotho	17	3	17.60%
Malawi	17	3	17.60%
Swaziland	17	3	17.60%
Zambia	17	3	17.60%
Comoros	11	2	18.20%
Kenya	16	3	18.80%
Latvia	15	3	20.00%
Suriname	15	3	20.00%
Togo	20	4	20.00%
Tonga	15	3	20.00%
United Arab Emirates	15	3	20.00%
Laos	24	5	20.80%
Senegal	19	4	21.10%
Bahamas	14	3	21.40%
Cabo Verde	14	3	21.40%
Djibouti	14	3	21.40%
Qatar	14	3	21.40%

São Tomé & Príncipe	14	3	21.40%
The Gambia	23	5	21.70%
Sierra Leone	18	4	22.20%
Tuvalu	13	3	23.10%
Cameroon	17	4	23.50%
Madagascar	17	4	23.50%
Mauritius	17	4	23.50%
Angola	8	2	25.00%
Bangladesh	16	4	25.00%
Ghana	20	5	25.00%
Mali	20	5	25.00%
Nepal	24	6	25.00%
Samoa	16	4	25.00%
Saint Vincent / Grenadines	11	3	27.30%
Benin	18	5	27.80%
Malta	21	6	28.60%
Turkmenistan	7	2	28.60%
Burundi	17	5	29.40%
Antigua & Barbuda	10	3	30.00%
Mongolia	10	3	30.00%
Niger	20	6	30.00%
Dominica	13	4	30.80%
Kiribati	12	4	33.30%
Moldova	9	3	33.30%
Saint Kitts & Nevis	9	3	33.30%
Saint Lucia	12	4	33.30%
Tajikistan	9	3	33.30%
Barbados	17	6	35.30%
Guinea-Bissau	14	5	35.70%
Mozambique	11	4	36.40%
Grenada	10	4	40.00%
Marshall Islands	10	4	40.00%
Solomon Islands	15	6	40.00%
Vanuatu	10	4	40.00%
Liechtenstein	7	3	42.90%
Papua New Guinea	14	6	42.90%
Namibia	9	4	44.40%
African Union	4	2	50.00%
Kosovo	4	2	50.00%
Timor-Leste	4	2	50.00%
Kyrgyz Republic	11	6	54.50%
Micronesia	10	6	60.00%

Montenegro	3	2	66.70%
Palau	3	2	66.70%
South Sudan	2	2	100.00%

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