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# Representation and Inclusion in Diplomacy: A Closer Look at Black Women US Ambassadors

*Constance Pruitt and J. Jarpa Dawuni, Ph.D.*

*Politicians and officials in the international affairs community widely acknowledge that there are few women in high-ranking Foreign Service positions, such as ambassadorships, and far fewer Black women. The US Department of State has sought to confront this challenge by implementing inclusion and diversity programs—such as the Thomas R. Pickering Foreign Affairs Fellowship Program administered by Howard University and funded by the State Department—to attract young people, particularly minorities, to Foreign Service positions. Despite these efforts, recent data reveals racial disparities in Foreign Service positions persist. Only a handful of Black women in US foreign policy have held positions at the highest levels of the State Department, including ambassadorships. According to the latest figures, of the 2,363 US Ambassadors in history, only fifty-four have been Black women, just 2.3 percent. The number of Black women at the highest rank of the Foreign Service has been low up to this point and must be addressed because, as this paper discusses, their representation matters. Despite their small numbers and the obstacles they face, Black women’s symbolic and substantive representations are meaningful. This paper will first discuss and evaluate the lack of diversity in the appointment of Black women as ambassadors. Second, it will briefly discuss the history of past and present Black women ambassadors. Third, the paper provides recommendations and advocates for increased diversity and inclusion of Black women in the Foreign Service.*

## Introduction

There is an overwhelming lack of diversity in US-appointed ambassadorships to both countries and international organizations. This should not be a surprise to the diplomatic community. As data reveals, there are fewer women in high-ranking Foreign Service positions such as ambassadorships. When race

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is considered, there is an even more alarming deficit of Black women in the upper echelons of the US diplomatic corps. For decades, representation within

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the Foreign Service has not reflected the diverse population of the United States. The State Department has openly expressed its challenges with diversity and leading officials across administrations have voiced concern over the issue. In 2017, then Secretary of State Rex Tillerson acknowledged the lack of diversity in the State Department and launched an agenda to increase recruitment efforts of Black,

Hispanic, and women professionals.<sup>1</sup> More recently, in February 2021 Congresswoman Karen Bass re-introduced legislation, the Represent America Abroad Act of 2021, aimed at recognizing, supporting, and increasing diversity within the Foreign Service.<sup>2</sup> The bill has been referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.<sup>3</sup>

To alleviate diversity issues, the State Department funds programs such as the Thomas R. Pickering Foreign Affairs Fellowship Program and the Charles B. Rangel International Affairs Fellowship Program—both administered by Howard University—to attract young people, particularly minorities, to Foreign Service positions.<sup>4,5</sup> While these forward-thinking programs are commendable for increasing the presence of minorities and women within Foreign Service, much remains to be done to ensure these demographics are considered for political appointments, such as ambassadorships and Deputy or Assistant Secretary positions, at a higher rate. The data on ambassadorial appointments continues to demonstrate underrepresentation of people of color as the Foreign Service remains predominantly white, male, and over-indexes for Ivy League graduates.<sup>6</sup> An Ivy League education as a common requisite for advancement within the Foreign Service often exacerbates the lack of diversity amongst those considered promotable.<sup>7</sup> Despite the statistics, Black women have and continue to excel as ambassadors and their accomplishments deserve to be documented and celebrated.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the lack of gender and racial diversity within US Foreign Service ambassadorial appointments, with a focus on Black women. Second, it will briefly acknowledge past and present Black women ambassadors. Third, the paper concludes by advocating for diversity and inclusion in ambassadorships by providing recommendations for the foreign affairs community to improve representation, because representation matters.

### **The Lack of Diversity in Ambassadorships**

According to the 2020 Census, 13.4 percent of the US population is Black, with 6.8 percent of whom are Black women. While the State Department has

increased its diversity within the Foreign Service, at the national level, presidential appointments of ambassadorships lag for Black people, particularly women.<sup>8</sup> The percentage of Black women ambassadors remains significantly lower than the share of Black women in the current demographic make-up of the country. The State Department should strive for proportionality between demographic reality in the United States and ambassadorial appointments to demonstrate the true diversity of the United States to other nations.<sup>9,10</sup> Despite their underrepresentation, Black women have made strides in contributing to international affairs. The first signal of progress was overcoming historical barriers of entry into a Foreign Service that had been predominantly white and male. The Foreign Service test was infamous for its past discrimination toward women and minorities who were often dismissed after reaching the oral exam stage.<sup>11</sup>

Beginning in 1925, a year after the passing of the Rogers Act, which established examinations and merit-based promotions, the chair of the Foreign Service Personnel Board intentionally prevented recruitment of potential Black Foreign Service officers by quietly preventing candidates who passed the written portion from proceeding to the oral component. Methods of discrimination included falsely listing reasons such as claiming “limited availability” for the introductory training class for incoming Foreign Service Officers without proper rationale or intentionally failing candidates during the oral assessment despite their satisfactory performance.<sup>12</sup> Women started joining the Foreign Service in the late 1930s and non-Black women gained appointments to ambassadorships by the late 1940s. However, it would take Black women longer to gain the latter milestone. It would take several years before the Honorable Patricia Roberts Harris became the first Black woman ambassador in US history in 1965. Since then, extensive decade-long gaps between appointments of Black women ambassadors have shown the disjointed nature of progress toward more ambassadorial appointments for Black women.

Black ambassadors have been appointed in over ninety-five nations thus far. There have been 2,363 ambassadors over the course of the US history and only fifty-four have been Black women.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, Black women make up approximately 2.3 percent of total US ambassadorships throughout

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American history. In 2017, there was only one Black woman, Ambassador Pamela Spratlen, of 111 confirmed American ambassadorships.<sup>14</sup> There was only one Black woman appointed from 2016 through 2020.<sup>15</sup> In the last four years, the representation of Black women in ambassadorships has dropped to less than 1 percent.

**Table 1.1. Percentage of Black Women US Ambassador Appointments**

US Ambassadorships	Total	Number of Black Women	Percentage
US Ambassadors (1893–2021)*	2,363	54	2.3 %
US Ambassador Appointments (2000–2008) <sup>16</sup>	460	14	3.0%
US Ambassador Appointments <sup>17</sup> (2008–2016)**	418	16	3.8%
US Ambassador Appointments (2016–2020)	191	1	0.5%

Table 1.1 shows the percentage of US Ambassadorships that were Black women throughout US history, then in recent years from 2000 through March 2021.\* US ambassadorships listed also include the two appointments of Black ambassadors to global and regional organizations.\*\*

Additionally, a 2015 article in the *Washington Post* listed statistics that displayed disparities in the wider Foreign Service corps. Of all the Foreign Service Officers (FSOs), 82 percent were White, 7 percent were Asian-American, 5.4 percent were Black, and 5 percent were Latino-American. These statistics do not provide a breakdown of gender by race, preventing understanding of what percentage women make of the 5.4 percent of Black FSOs. The absence of readily available demographic data on public sector employment by race and gender mirrors the paucity of scholarship on underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service and the need for more conversations around intersectional approaches in diversity advancement that examine both race and gender in tandem.

The lack of inclusion of Black women in political science, international affairs, and diplomacy research adds to the challenges of diversity of representation, eclipsing debates on Foreign Service appointments, which remains dominated by White men. Considering the scarcity of representation and the absence of consistent research on Black women in diplomacy, the use of intersectional approaches to the study of diplomacy by examining gender and race as important variables for studying women in diplomacy is vital.

Previous literature has discussed the history of women or of Black people, individually, at the State Department and the Foreign Service over the years.<sup>18</sup> Scholars, such as former State Department historian Homer Calkin, documented the inequalities women faced when taking the Foreign Service examination as well as in hiring rates, placements, and the frequency of promotions

compared to men.<sup>19</sup> By the end of his tenure, he described how women were making strides in the State Department. They moved from primarily being placed in administrative roles to senior level positions.

Additionally, Michael Krenn, a historian at Appalachian State University, conducted studies on the racial integration of the State Department since World War II. His work covers the appointments of Black ambassadors to African countries and developing nations, linking challenges, setbacks, and triumphs of Black diplomats to US presidential administrations of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.<sup>20</sup> One of his works, *Black Diplomacy: African-Americans and the State Department, 1945–1969*, established that racism is ingrained within many US government institutions. He argued the basis of US foreign policy in the post-war era had its roots in the racial ideology that Anglo-Saxons were superior. Krenn observed that Anglo-Saxons considered themselves the most appropriate representatives of the United States, and by extension, they considered all other races inferior. Krenn concluded that as the 21st century unfolds, the likelihood of substantial change occurring within the Foreign Service will be minuscule if the State Department does not transform the way it looks at race.<sup>21</sup>

In 1999, Krenn published a compilation of articles by various scholars on the subject of Black professionals in US foreign policy from the 1940s to the late 1990s. The compilation includes works by Brenda Gayle Plummer on the evolution of Black professionals in foreign policy and Robert Harris's historical analysis of Ralph Bunche.<sup>22</sup> The articles provide incredibly significant historical context for the progress of Black Americans involved in US foreign policy. Krenn's study acknowledged the racial gaps by identifying and highlighting Black Americans as a marginalized group in need of further research.

In a 2015 study, Carlton McLellan, a Senior Fellow at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST) and the Managing Director at Global Ties U.S., discussed the landscape surrounding the total number of Black ambassadors in US history.<sup>23</sup> His work discusses the contributions of Black Americans as diplomats over the years, proves their existence, and legitimizes their efficiency as valuable members in the Foreign Service community. McLellan's work is significant because it provides a valuable historical record of the timeline and leadership contributions of Black ambassadors throughout US history.<sup>24</sup>

Another 2015 study by Jessica Wamala, a Charles B. Rangel scholar, argued that demographic diversity is vital for the efficacy of the US diplomatic service.<sup>25</sup> Wamala argues that demographic diversity is beneficial for decision-making processes, providing additional skills and perspectives, and is helpful for furthering democratic values—inclusion and tolerance—within US foreign policy.<sup>26</sup> She includes research on the State Department's diversification efforts in the Foreign Service, shedding light on its historical struggle with diversity and inclusion. Her work is important in the study of representation and inclusion in the US Foreign Service.

These are all instances in which existing literature called for increased diversity and provided insight into the challenges Black or women professionals have faced in careers of diplomacy. Now more than ever, it is important



to incorporate the intersectionality of Black women's experiences in the field, particularly as their numbers in ambassadorships have declined in recent years. The lack of diversity among US ambassadorships is all the more reason why it is imperative to be well-informed on the representation of past and present Black women ambassadors.

### **Representation: Past and Present Black Women Ambassadors**

The population of the United States is diverse, and its ambassadorships should also reflect that diversity. Hanna Pitkin's *The Concept of Representation* discusses several kinds of representation, including descriptive, substantive, and symbolic. Symbolic representation involves the use of image for eliciting a particular attitude or emotion.<sup>27</sup> Despite the low numbers of Black women ambassadors, their few numbers can send a signal of symbolic representation, and the possibilities of what women can do when placed in leadership positions. The symbol of a Black woman in one of the highest positions of diplomacy is important not only for other Black women and women of color in the United States, but also for the country's image around the world. It is important for other countries to witness the breadth of America's diverse population, especially foreign nations that otherwise may never have the opportunity to engage with Black women diplomats on the international stage. Sending forth representation abroad that demonstrates both gender and racial diversity provides a clear and important message of inclusivity to the rest of the world.<sup>28</sup>

The first appointment of a Black US ambassador was not until 1949, and even then, appointments over the next sixteen years would be limited to Black men.<sup>29</sup> No Black woman held that title until 1965, with the appointment of Ambassador Patricia Roberts Harris. Harris's assignment to Luxembourg marked a belated but remarkable moment in American history that would pave the way for others to follow. Ambassador Harris was an alumna of Howard University in Washington, D.C., one of the United States' historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), and graduated with top honors. As a trailblazer for Black women in politics, she also spoke at the Democratic National Convention at the nomination of President Lyndon B. Johnson.<sup>30</sup> Her legacy would be felt for decades, especially through the Patricia Roberts Harris Fellowship at Howard University.

Although Ambassador Harris would become the spark that would ignite efforts to promote more diversity in the Foreign Service, it would take nearly twelve years before another Black woman was appointed to the role. In 1977, Ambassador Mabel M. Smythe (Haith) became the second Black woman to hold an ambassadorship. Smythe was a graduate of Spelman College, another renowned HBCU. She was appointed by President Jimmy Carter to the role of US ambassador to both Cameroon and the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. This appointment was significant as it was the first time a Black woman served as a representative of the United States on the African continent.<sup>31</sup>



**Table 1.2. Milestones in US Ambassadorships**

Milestone	Name	Year
First Male US Ambassador <sup>32</sup>	Thomas F. Bayard <sup>33</sup>	1893
First Black Male US Ambassador	Edward R. Dudley <sup>34</sup>	1949
First Woman US Ambassador	Eugenie Anderson <sup>35</sup>	1949
First Black Woman US Ambassador	Patricia Roberts Harris	1965

Table 1.2 demonstrates milestones in US ambassadorships: the first (White) male ambassador, first Black male ambassador, first (White) woman ambassador, and the first Black woman ambassador. Although there were US diplomats, i.e. envoys, prior to 1893, it was not until Bayard's appointment in 1893 that a US diplomat was officially appointed the name of an ambassadorship in the US.

By the 1980s, there were a few more Black women serving as ambassadors, including Ambassador Cynthia Shepard Perry who was appointed by President George H.W. Bush in 1989 as the US envoy to Burundi. Other notable appointments include Ambassador Anne Holloway to Mali in 1979, Ambassador Barbara Watson to Malaysia in 1980, and Ambassador Ruth Washington to the Gambia in 1989.<sup>36</sup>

The 1990s brought increased appointments for Black women ambassadorships. In that decade, there were twelve appointments for Black women to countries such as Kenya, Micronesia, Gambia, Zambia, Mozambique, Benin, Mauritius, Ecuador, Central African Republic, Burkina Faso, New Zealand, Madagascar, Qatar, Senegal, and Brunei, as well as the Federated States of Micronesia under the administrative control of the US. The increase in Black women's representation in ambassadorships both in nation-states and within international organizations continued into the 2000s and 2010s.<sup>37</sup> The 2000s saw a plethora of Black woman ambassadorial appointments, and notably the first Black woman to be appointed as the US Secretary of State in 2005, the Honorable Secretary Condoleezza Rice.<sup>38</sup> Ambassadorship appointments of Black women in the 2010s include Ambassador Pamela Spratlen to Uzbekistan and Ambassador Marcia Bernicat to Bangladesh, both in 2015, then again in 2020 with Ambassador Natalie E. Brown.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, the period from 2016 to 2020 under the Trump administration saw a historic drop in the number of Black women ambassadors, with only one appointment, Ambassador Brown.<sup>40</sup> Under the new administration, President Biden has pledged to increase diversity within US diplomacy and has appointed Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield, a Black woman, to the United Nations after the Senate's confirmation in February 2021.<sup>41, 42</sup> More recently in April 2021, under the direction of Secretary of State Antony Blinken, the State Department appointed its first ever Chief Diversity Officer, Ambassador Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley, a Black woman.<sup>43</sup> These appointments are a reminder that Black appointees are capable of holding high-level positions within the US Foreign Service.

**Table 1.3. Black Women US Ambassadors Appointed in the 1990s<sup>44</sup>**

Name	Country Appointments	Year(s)
Aurelia Erskine Brazeal*	Micronesia, Kenya	1990, 1993
Arlene Render*	Gambia, Zambia	1990, 1996
Ruth A. Davis	Benin	1992
Leslie M. Alexander*	Mauritius, Ecuador	1993, 1996
Mosina H. Jordan	Central African Republic	1995
Sharon P. Wilkinson	Burkina Faso	1996
Shirley E. Barnes	Madagascar	1998
Elizabeth McKune	Qatar	1998
Harriet L. Elam-Thomas	Senegal	1999
Carol Moseley-Braun*	New Zealand and Samoa	1999
Sylvia Gaye Stanfield	Brunei	1999
Diane E. Watson	Micronesia**	1999

Table 1.3 shows Black women US Ambassadors appointed in the 1990s. An (\*) asterisk indicates multiple appointments of an ambassador. An (\*\*) indicates the Federated States of Micronesia, is a country associated with the US, under its administrative control.

### **Recommendations and Advocacy on the Need for Increased Diversity and Inclusion in the Foreign Service**

The foregoing discussion has shown the underrepresentation of Black women in the field of international relations, particularly as US ambassadors. What this current study has shown is a lack of inclusion in the research and literature on Black women in the field and discipline, and insufficient data on Black women's impact, perception, history, or positionality within the Foreign Service.

Though the number of Black women ambassadors may be lower than expected given their share of the US population, their presence is felt—symbolically and in the substantive ways in which they have represented the United States. Black women ambassadors have a seat at the table, but they find themselves outnumbered amongst their colleagues, often looking left and right to find no other women who look like them. The role of the Black woman is a sole-representative within her organization. This should change.

It is more important now than ever to tell their stories and increase the awareness of the continuous challenges to representation of Black women, not only in the Foreign Service but amongst the most senior and highest levels of the US diplomatic corps. The importance of increasing the awareness of and calling for action on the need for increased representation of Black women is not only for their benefit but also for the benefit of the country. The United

States is fortunate to have a diverse population, but more often than not, many countries with which we have relations do not get to witness the magnitude of cultures and rich diversity that America has to offer.<sup>45</sup> Moving forward, it is not enough to increase the pipeline for Black women's positions within the Foreign Service. Efforts to increase the pipeline must be backed by actions and programs to cultivate a culture that advocates for the professional development of Black women in senior and appointed diplomatic positions.

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There have been notable calls for commitments within the year, such as press releases from Ambassadors Thomas R. Picking and Ronald E. Neumann, urging the need to increase the diversity and inclusion of the Foreign Service.<sup>46</sup> To expound upon those calls, this paper recommends the following additional actions:

1. Encourage increased scholarly research that highlights the importance of discussing the intersection of race and gender and what impacts, if any, it has on the outcomes of ambassadorship appointments.<sup>47</sup>
2. Establish, support, and advance programs to build sustainable diversity pipelines in universities for preparing students to pursue future careers in international diplomacy.
3. Increase awareness of the rich history and accomplishments of Black women ambassadors through policy papers geared toward stakeholders. These policy papers could be created by policy analysts at various agencies, nonprofits, and think-tanks such as the State Department, US Agency for International Development (USAID), US Institute of Peace (USIP), the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), or Women of Color Advancing Peace, Security, and Conflict Transformation (WCAPS), for example.
4. Cultivate programs and events, such as roundtable discussions, symposiums, conferences, and workshops, that convene Black women and other women of color interested in a career path of ambassadorships to coalesce, share ideas, and learn about the diplomatic process.
5. Increase engagement with members of diversity-driven foreign affairs organizations, such as the WCAPS, Black Professionals in International Affairs (BPIA), Diversity in National Security Network, or Black Women in International Affairs (BWINTAF), for recruitment efforts.
6. Create more programs that not only help recruit Black women into a career of foreign service but also provide professional development opportunities that will help cultivate the skill set necessary to be considered for high-level presidential appointments, such as ambassadorships.
7. Lastly, with the recent appointment of the State Department's first Chief Diversity Officer, now is a crucial time to encourage the organization to advocate for a more diverse candidate pool of potential presidential ambassadorial appointments. Furthermore, it is recommended to encourage interest groups to lobby Congress and US presidents to further promote increased diversity of those appointments.

This research has shed light on the underrepresentation of Black women in the field, given voice to their experiences, and prompted the foreign policy community to initiate more conversations on the topic. This paper is part of a larger project by the authors to document the voices of minority women in international diplomacy. It is the hope of the authors that this paper is just the beginning of more research and activism that may be used as a catalyst to encourage further research, conversations, and action toward increasing the presence of Black women in US ambassadorships.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Morgan Chalfont, “Tillerson Pledges to Boost Diversity at State,” *The Hill*, August 18, 2017, <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/347084-tillerson-pledges-to-boost-diversity-at-state>.

<sup>2</sup> “Representative Karen Bass. Rep. Bass Introduces Legislation to Increase Diversity Within the State Department,” Press Release, Rep. Karen Bass, accessed February 18, 2021, <https://bass.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/rep-bass-introduces-legislation-increase-diversity-within-state>.

<sup>3</sup> “Represent America Abroad Act of 2021,” Congress.gov, accessed April 27, 2021, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1096/all-actions?r=1&overview=closed&s=1#tabs>

<sup>4</sup> “Rangel Graduate Fellowship Program,” Charles B. Rangel International Affairs Program, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://rangelprogram.org/graduate-fellowship-program/>.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Pickering and Edward Perkins, “The Foreign Service is Too White. We’d Know–We’re Top Diplomats,” *Washington Post*, May 18, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/05/18/the-foreign-service-is-too-white-wed-know-were-top-diplomats/>.

<sup>6</sup> Robert McMahon, “Can the State Department Bring More Diversity to the U.S. Diplomatic Corps?” *Council on Foreign Relations*, last modified February 18, 2021, <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/can-state-department-bring-more-diversity-us-diplomatic-corps>; Nahal Toosi, “Ivy League Grads Have A Leg Up in State Department Promotions, Stats Show,” *Politico*, December 2, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/06/14/ivy-league-grads-state-department-promotions-316531>.

<sup>7</sup> Nahal Toosi, “Ivy League Grads Have A Leg Up in State Department Promotions, Stats Show.”

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Department of State, National Museum of American Diplomacy, “Does the Department of State Reflect America’s Diversity?,” <https://diplomacy.state.gov/diplomacy/does-the-department-of-state-reflect-americasdiversity/>.

<sup>9</sup> “Quick Facts,” United States Census Bureau, accessed February 12, 2021, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045219>.

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts.”

<sup>11</sup> Julia Chang Bloch, “Women and Diplomacy,” Council of American Ambassadors, last modified Fall 2004, <https://www.americanambassadors.org/publications/ambassadors-review/fall-2004/women-and-diplomacy>.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Krenn, *Black Diplomacy: African Americans and the State Department, 1945–1969* (New York: M.E. Sharpe Publisher, 1998), 45.

<sup>13</sup> Carlton McLellan, “America’s Ambassadors of African Descent: A Brief History,” *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 8 (2015): 60–77; “Appointments: Donald J. Trump,” American Foreign Service Association, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://www.afsa.org/appointments-donald-j-trump>; “Appointments: Joseph R. Biden,” American Foreign Service Association, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://www.afsa.org/appointments-joseph-r-biden>.

<sup>14</sup> “Tracker: Current US Ambassadors,” American Foreign Service Association, accessed October 15, 2017, <http://www.afsa.org/list-ambassadorial-appointments>.

<sup>15</sup> “Ambassador Natalie E. Brown,” US Embassy in Uganda, Department of State, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://ug.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/our-ambassador/>.

- <sup>16</sup> “Appointments- George W. Bush,” American Foreign Service Association, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://www.afsa.org/appointments-george-w-bush>.
- <sup>17</sup> “Appointments- Barack Obama,” American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), accessed March 30, 2021, <https://www.afsa.org/appointments-barack-obama>; “African American US Envoys, Diplomatic Ministers, and Ambassadors Since 1869,” Black Past, accessed April 7, 2020, <https://www.blackpast.org/special-features/african-american-u-s-ambassadors-1869/>.
- <sup>18</sup> Homer Calkin, *Women in the Department of State: Their Role in American Foreign Affairs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 1978); Nancy E. McGlen and Meredith Reid Sarkees, *The Status of Women in Foreign Policy* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1995).
- <sup>19</sup> Calkin, *Women in the Department of State*.
- <sup>20</sup> Michael Krenn, *Black Diplomacy: African Americans and the State Department, 1945–1969* (New York: M.E. Sharpe Publisher, 1998); Michael Krenn, *The African-American Voice in US Policy Since World War II* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999).
- <sup>21</sup> Krenn, *Black Diplomacy*.
- <sup>22</sup> Krenn, *The African-American Voice*.
- <sup>23</sup> McLellan, *Ambassadors of African Descent*.
- <sup>24</sup> McLellan, *Ambassadors of African Descent*.
- <sup>25</sup> Jessica Wamala, “A Theoretical Approach to Demographic Diversity in the Diplomatic Service: A Study of the U.S. Foreign Service,” in *Transatlantic Perspectives on Diplomacy and Diversity*, edited by Anthony Chase (New York: Humanity in Action press, 2015), 3–19.
- <sup>26</sup> Wamala, “A Theoretical Approach.”
- <sup>27</sup> Hanna Pitkins, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
- <sup>28</sup> John Scherpereel, Melinda Adams, and Suraj Jacob, “The Biden Cabinet’s Inclusive Message,” *Inkstick*, February 23, 2021, <https://inkstickmedia.com/the-biden-cabinets-inclusive-message/>.
- <sup>29</sup> Black Past, “African American US Ambassadors Since 1869.”
- <sup>30</sup> Black Past, “African American US Ambassadors Since 1869.”
- <sup>31</sup> Black Past, “African American US Ambassadors Since 1869.”
- <sup>32</sup> Ambassador role replaces Minister role.
- <sup>33</sup> “Who Were the First US Ambassadors?,” Frequently Asked Questions, Office of the Historian, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://history.state.gov/about/faq/who-were-first-ambassadors#:~:text=The%20rank%20of%20Ambassador%20was,Great%20Britain%20on%20March%2030.>
- <sup>34</sup> “The Legacy of Edward R. Dudley: Civil Rights Activist and the First African-American Ambassador,” National Museum of American Diplomacy, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://diplomacy.state.gov/u-s-diplomacy-stories/edward-r-dudley-first-african-american-ambassador/>.
- <sup>35</sup> “Honoring America’s First Female Ambassador Eugenie Anderson,” National Museum of American Diplomacy, accessed March 27, 2021, <https://diplomacy.state.gov/event-recaps/honoring-americas-female-ambassador-eugenie-anderson/>.
- <sup>36</sup> Black Past, “African American US Ambassadors Since 1869.”
- <sup>37</sup> There were several Black women ambassadorial appointments from the 2000s and early 2010s. For a more comprehensive account, please see Black Past, “African American US Ambassadors Since 1869.”
- <sup>38</sup> “Biographies of the Secretaries of State: Condoleezza Rice (1954–),” Office of the Historian, accessed April 20, 2021, <https://history.state.gov/departmentshistory/people/rice-condoleezza>.
- <sup>39</sup> Department of State, “Ambassador Natalie E. Brown.”
- <sup>40</sup> Black Past, “African American US Ambassadors Since 1869.”
- <sup>41</sup> McMahon, “Can the State Department Bring More Diversity.”
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- <sup>43</sup> Reuters, “US State Department Names Former Ambassador as First Chief Diversity Officer,” *Voice of America*, April 12, 2021, <https://www.voanews.com/usa/us-politics/us-state-department-names-former-ambassador-first-chief-diversity-officer>.
- <sup>44</sup> Black Past, “African American US Ambassadors Since 1869.”

<sup>45</sup> Karen Bass, “America’s Diplomats Should Look Like America,” *Foreign Policy*, December 5, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/12/05/americas-diplomats-should-look-like-america/>.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas R. Pickering and Robert E. Neumann, “Rebuilding After the Violence: State Must Improve on Diversity,” Press Release, American Academy of Diplomacy, June 9, 2020, <https://www.academyofdiplomacy.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/2020-06-09-AAD-Press-Release-State-Must-Improve-on-Diversity-final.pdf>.

<sup>47</sup> The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) released a report in 2020 on the diversity obstacles within the State Department, indicating statistics on barriers in diversity involving both race and gender from the span of 2002 through 2018. “State Department: Additional Steps Are Needed to Identify Potential Barriers to Diversity,” GAO, January 27, 2020, <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-20-237>.