

Strategies for Reflecting American Diversity in the United States Foreign Service

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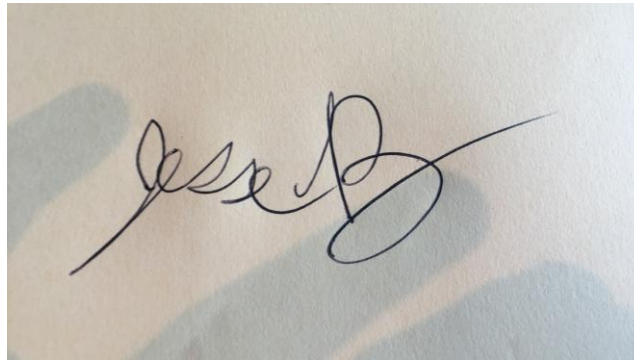
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Disclaimer

The author conducted this study as part of the program of professional education at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy, University of Virginia. This paper is submitted in partial fulfillment of the course requirements for the Master of Public Policy degree. The judgments and conclusions are solely those of the author, and are not necessarily endorsed by the Batten School, by the University of Virginia, the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, the United States Department of State, or the United States Foreign Service.

On my honor as a student, I have neither given nor received any unauthorized aid on this assignment.

-Jesse Beau Berman, May 3rd 2018

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jesse B", is centered on a light-colored background. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the left and a large, stylized "B" on the right.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to my peers and professors for your constant displays of encouragement and positivity that have made my experience at the Batten School so memorable. Thank you especially to Professor Tello-Trillo for giving constructive feedback on this report throughout all stages of the process and for always being ready and willing to help me perform to the best of my ability. And, thank you to the faculty of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training for giving me the opportunity to explore this important public policy issue and for guiding me throughout this process.

Key Acronyms

ADST: Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

DAR: Diversity Area Recruitment

DIR: Diplomat in Residence

DOS: Department of State

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

FSO: Foreign Service Officer

FSOA: Foreign Service Oral Assessment

FSOT: Foreign Service Officer Test

HBCU: Historically Black Colleges and Universities

IC: Intelligence Community

QEP: Qualifications Evaluation Panel

STEM: Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math

UCLA: University of California-Los Angeles

USFS: United States Foreign Service

Executive Summary

The United States Foreign Service (USFS) does not accurately reflect the demographic diversity of the American people. This reality stems from decades of direct discrimination against women and minorities by the Department of State (DOS) prior to the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. Although significant empirical gains have been made to the diversity of the USFS since the 1970s, allowing present trends to continue will not achieve desired goals in the near future. Fixing this dilemma is crucial not only to correct social injustices, but also enable the United States to channel unique means of diplomacy that will help achieve national security objectives.

Improving the demographic diversity of the USFS is a bipartisan ambition. Former Secretary of State John Kerry said in 2015 that the DOS is “fully committed to a diverse Foreign service that represents America abroad”. In 2017, his Republican successor Rex Tillerson argued that diversity in the USFS is important “not just to achieve a mix of population that looks like the rest of our country” but because “it enriches our work and our work product”. Several initiatives have been undertaken by the DOS to realize these aims. However, these initiatives either need to be expanded or new programs must be implemented to achieve the desired goal. For this analysis, that specific goal is to achieve demographic diversity by 2048 that is proportional to the nation’s educated labor force representation. Although this analysis emphasizes empirical gains, the DOS must continue to work toward improving intangible characteristics of the USFS, such as an atmosphere of inclusivity and openness, which enables retention among underrepresented Foreign Service Officers (FSOs). Bringing the raw amount of underrepresented groups further into alignment with educated labor force representation will only facilitate this important end.

This policy analysis evaluates 5 options:

1. Allow present trends to continue (no new policy initiatives)
2. Increase the amount of Pickering and Rangel Fellowship Recipients
3. Hire additional Diplomats in Residence (DIRs)
4. Include demographic characteristics into the Qualifications Evaluation Panel (QEP)
5. Institute a quota system that mirrors American educated labor force representation

This analysis will also evaluate each policy alternative using 5 weighted criteria:

1. Improvement on Foreign Service demographic proportionality by 2048 (0.30 weight)
 - a. Impact on racial proportionality (high emphasis)
 - b. Impact on gender proportionality (high emphasis)
 - c. Impact on geographic proportionality (low/moderate emphasis)
2. Impact on the quality of incoming FSOs (0.25 weight)
3. Fairness to overrepresented demographic groups (0.20 weight)
4. Feasibility and durability of implementation (0.15 weight)
5. Cost-effectiveness (0.10 weight)

The specific details of these five options and criteria will be extrapolated upon throughout this report. After analyzing each option against the weighted criteria, this report recommends that the DOS pursue option #4 and include demographic characteristics into the QEP. This is the best option because it will likely achieve demographic proportionality by 2048 while improving the quality of FSOs. It also enjoys high levels of implementation feasibility and cost-effectiveness.

Problem Definition

The Problem

Historically, white Ivy-league educated men have been disproportionately represented in the USFS. Also, the geographic representation of FSOs has been overwhelmingly derived from New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and the Midwest. Improving the proportional diversity of the USFS regarding race, gender, and geography will enhance foreign policy objectives by incorporating diverse viewpoints and experiences in the DOS and representing the U.S. effectively in order to best achieve the mission of the organization. Yet, doing so will inevitably entail tradeoffs in quality, equity, implementation feasibility, and cost. **How can the DOS improve proportional diversity while minimizing the pervasiveness of these tradeoffs?**

Sources of the Problem

Jessica Wamala of Humanity in Action has dedicated her career to studying discrimination in the federal government. She claims that the Foreign Service's diversity dilemma traces back to the pre-Civil Rights Era. Until President Lyndon B. Johnson enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1965, the federal government could legally discriminate against minorities throughout the recruiting process. Consequently, African Americans in particular found it difficult to enter the Foreign Service due to impenetrable racism. Former senior diplomats Thomas J. Pickering and Edward J. Perkins share this sentiment and contend that the lack of diversity in the USFS is a result of a pre-Civil Rights Era "hangover" that has affected numerous professions. They also note that implicit discrimination still inhibits the organization's diversity. Specifically, they argue that most diplomats in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s were drawn from an abnormally affluent segment of American society that had extensive experience traveling overseas and close personal relationships with influential public servants. These privileges were indispensable for inspiring and cultivating a career in diplomacy. The inability of women, minorities, and those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds to reap these benefits greatly limited their exposure to the diplomatic profession even following the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

Beatrice Loftus McKenzie argues in the European Journal of American Studies that gender discrimination in the USFS during the 1950s and 1960s was rampant due to unrealistic gender stereotypes. Social gender norms were directly translated into department codes. For instance, female FSOs were required to resign their post upon marriage, although the same requirement did not apply to their male counterparts. This regulation, along with similarly discriminatory policies, was eradicated by DOS decades ago. However, there is another "hangover" from this era that discriminated heavily against women that continues to inhibit the equal representation of females in the modern diplomatic corps.

Long-term Costs and Consequences

The Foreign Service's dilemma is not only an issue of social justice, but also an impediment to using diplomacy to bolster national security. The United States' comparative advantage relative to other nations lies in its diverse populace and enduring values. Demonstrating to Asian, African, and Latin American nations that the United States has a significant representation of

citizens with shared ancestry, culture, and language from these regions provides a unique avenue for diplomacy. Improving female participation demonstrates to nations who discriminate against women that the United States supports human rights for all full heartedly. Incorporating creative and dissimilar viewpoints is essential to solve the complex global crises and conflicts of the 21st Century. Lastly, improving diversity in the USFS can directly serve one of the organization's key missions of portraying the United States as an inclusive, accepting, and welcoming nation to the world that can advance ideals such as democracy and human rights. The United States' soft power capability lies in the fact that its historically diverse populace has been able to adhere to principles that cut across ethnic, religious, regional, and gender based cleavages. As the government organization tasked with representing the nation to the international community, the USFS must adjust quicker to domestic demographic changes so that it can represent the United States and its values to the world as accurately and effectively as possible.

It is also crucial to note that the failure to incorporate diversity into the entry levels of the USFS has a long-term effect on the diversity of senior level officials. Although the senior level of FSOs has become more proportional over the past several decades, only about one third of the ranks consists of women and is even less racially proportional. This development is on the one hand the result of the historical lack of representation of these groups in the entry levels of the USFS. However, this trend is more indicative of a larger cultural problem not only at the USFS but at a number of government agencies in the national security sphere. The process of remedying this culture to be more inclusive of underrepresented groups will require more than merely increasing the number of entry-level recruits into the USFS, as this analysis seeks to accomplish. It will require coordinated efforts on the part of human resource specialists and advocates within the DOS to instill a lasting culture that is conducive to retention of underrepresented demographic groups and can ensure their advance in the most impactful posts of the USFS. Nevertheless, this process begins with attracting underrepresented demographics into the organization at higher rates at the onset. The cost of failing to do this will have an impact not only on the United States' outward appearance to the world, but also on the internal dynamics of the USFS itself.

Diversity in the United States Foreign Service: A Literature Review

Policy Interventions in the State Department: Successes and Failures

President Johnson enacted two executive orders in the years following the Civil Rights Act to direct federal agencies and departments to actively recruit underrepresented minority groups. According to Wamala, they had an insignificant empirical impact on diversity in the USFS because the organization remained 95 percent male and 99 percent white as of 1970. Nevertheless, she argues that the directives emboldened women and minorities to take legal action against the DOS that might otherwise not have occurred. A series of legal victories for women and minorities culminated in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the first serious attempt by lawmakers to diversify the profession. The most impactful legal victory for women was the “Palmer Case” of 1968 which was initiated by Alison Palmer after she was demoted several ranks while several more junior male colleagues received promotions. The effect of these lawsuits and legislation was clear. By 1985, the organization was 20 percent female, although gains to racial diversity continued to lag slightly. While these events enabled the USFS to claim to be committed to diversity, it is unclear from Wamala’s work whether they directly caused the 1980 spike in female and minority FSOs. Wamala even contends that this might have been the result of mere demographic and cultural changes occurring within the United States at the time.

In 1992, the DOS introduced the Pickering Fellowship which aimed to make more quantifiable improvements to diversity. In 2002, the Rangel Fellowship Program, initiated by prominent African-American congressman Charles Rangel, premiered and had similar intentions. Both programs were created with the goal of increasing the diversity of the USFS by providing a fast-track into the organization and a sizeable financial stipend to cover the costs of internships, tuition, and living expenses during undergraduate or graduate studies. In 2017, roughly two thirds of Rangel and Pickering Fellowship recipients were minority students while over half were female. Thus, the introduction of these fellowship programs has tangibly increased the representation of women and minorities in the USFS by making it more accessible to these specific demographic groups.

There are, however, two reasons to doubt the extent of the effectiveness of these fellowships. First, the acceptance rates of each program are equivalent to that of an Ivy League collegiate institution, as there are only 30 spots in each and hundreds of applicants annually. Although a large proportion of each 30 member cohort is female, minority, or both, the slim acceptance rate implies that some of the most qualified of underrepresented applicants are still rejected. Second, the quantity of annual Pickering and Rangel Fellows is relatively minute given the over 8,000 FSOs that are currently deployed. The Academy of Diplomacy also found that attrition rates among *undergraduate* Pickering Fellows were particularly high, and the DOS has considered restricting Pickering Fellowships to *graduate* students because their age disposes them to be more committed to their long-term career prospects. Overall, the fellowships are likely too selective and too small to make a unilateral impact on overall diversity in the USFS.

The DOS recently incorporated a stateside posting for FSOs where diplomats can serve as a Diplomat in Residence at a university in the U.S. These universities are often selected because they are more racially diverse than other universities and tend to be located in metropolitan areas. The DOS began this initiative to promote the USFS to talented college students, especially those of underrepresented demographics, who might not have considered diplomacy as a career path. The DIRs often attend college career fairs and make themselves available to students who have questions about entering the USFS. Currently, there are 16 DIRs located throughout the United States and each FSO is stationed in a different region of the country.

The direct causal effect of the DIR Program on the diversity of the USFS has also never been investigated. While the outcome is likely not detrimental, there are two reasons to doubt its effectiveness. First, there were over 20 million students enrolled in American universities in 2017, making the ratio of DIRs to students roughly 1:1,250,000. Thus, it is likely that DIRs are not as accessible as they need to be in order to give interested students the professional guidance they need. Second, the DIRs have jurisdiction over quite expansive geographic regions. For instance, the DIR responsible for the Northwestern region of the United States is based at the University of California-Berkeley, yet has responsibility for Northern California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. Thus, students who do not reside near Berkeley, CA will have to travel several hundred miles to have a meeting with a DIR. Such travel inevitably requires time and money, which are scarce resources for students of lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Although DIRs do travel throughout their respective regions, personal meetings might still be hard to come by. The initiative likely does, however, facilitate geographical diversity by making a concerted effort to introduce the USFS to underrepresented regions such as the West and Southeast¹.

In 2007, the DOS added the QEP component to the recruitment process. Prior to the QEP stage, there was a three-step recruitment process: the written Foreign Service Officer Test (FSOT), the personal narrative essays, and the Foreign Service Oral Exam (FSOA), in that order. The addition of the QEP aimed to foster a more holistic approach to reviewing candidates by giving added emphasis to individuals from diverse educational, employment, and linguistic backgrounds. Currently, the QEP is the third stage of the selection process after the personal narrative essays and before the FSOA. The panel is comprised of five retired FSOs who have extensive diplomatic experience and expertise.

Since the introduction of the QEP, the DOS decided to accept 40 percent of individuals from the initial written portion of the process as opposed to the 10 percent that were accepted prior to the QEP. Further, the DOS estimated that roughly 56 percent of post-2007 applicants would not have been invited to the next stage of recruitment without the QEP. The QEP currently does not take into account racial, gender, or geographic diversity in the Foreign Service's selection process, although it does value diverse educational and work experience highly. If the QEP were to emphasize these demographic components also, it is likely evaluators would then select an even more diverse applicant pool for entry into the FSOA stage. It is worth noting that such an addition might ignite political backlash because it resembles affirmative action which can be politically polarizing. Nevertheless, it is widely viewed that affirmative action of some sort would benefit all government agencies to reverse decades of systematic discrimination and make government employment a more inclusive enterprise.

¹ For a breakdown of which states are considered in each region, see Appendix 3

Policy Interventions in Other Professional Arenas: Successes and Failures

Increasing racial diversity is an issue many government agencies have grappled with as well. Recently, the FBI's primary means of increasing diversity has been to appeal directly to minorities and women by hosting Diversity Area Recruitment (DAR) events in large cities across the country. The events showcase testimonials from prominent female and minority special agents and have regularly received audiences of several hundred college students and young professionals from these backgrounds. Nevertheless, the results of the DAR events are inconclusive. In 2016 when the events began, 83.41 percent of all agents were white, a two percentage point *increase* from 2008. It will take several years to determine if this initiative will reverse this trend. Currently, the FBI has not instituted a quota-based recruitment system.

There is no existing study that evaluates FBI efforts to recruit more women. However, various studies on law enforcement recruitment illustrate the difficulty the profession has in appealing to women. Although the USFS is not a law enforcement agency, the lessons learned from these studies can be used to underscore the challenge of balancing out male-dominated professions.

In 2014, the United States Border Control undertook an aggressive ad campaign to attract female officers. In 10 days, 4,800 women applied to the agency; however, only 33 of the applicants, less than 1 percent, were actually hired. This result, similar to the disappointing results of the FBI's DAR events, again demonstrates the limited effectiveness of ad campaigns aimed at improving diversity. While Deputy Chief of Border Control Gloria Chavez still considers the outreach effort productive, the limited success reflects the difficulty of diversifying a profession that is traditionally homogeneous. It is crucial to note that these results might be more a consequence of a modest supply of women who are actually drawn to the law enforcement profession. Although the less than 1 percent retention rate appears alarming, a deeper issue might be the lack of women who want to pursue careers in an industry comprised largely of men. This insight is also crucial when analyzing gender representation in the USFS.

A report by Amie Schuck on gender diversity in law enforcement surveyed 4,000 police departments across the country to evaluate the effects of several factors on the representation of women in the profession. It concluded that police departments had the highest rates of female employment if they lacked physical fitness requirements and had exemplary benefits. While the USFS does not require fitness aptitude, improving benefits to female FSOs and their families further might have a positive effect on their decision whether or not to join the organization. However, such a proposal also has the potential to stoke large discontent among overrepresented groups to the extent that it reduces group cohesion and morale. Additionally, it would require a substantial increase in DOS spending which might also be politically undesirable or infeasible.

Following the Cold War, the intelligence community (IC) also perceived a need to increase proportional diversity. Robert Callum of the Center of Naval Analyses underscores the reality that diverse intelligence can lead to better outcomes by reducing shared biases that are caused by ethnocentrism. Specifically, he claims that the historically large quantity of white, Protestant males in the IC inhibited better intelligence collection throughout the 20th Century. For instance, he argues that pivotal intelligence failures that led to the Cuban Missile Crisis, Iranian Revolution, and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor might have been averted had analysts been

less disposed to ethnocentrism and better able to understand the motivations of the adversary. The pitfalls of ethnocentrism can be found in Cold War diplomacy as well, as diplomats came from a similarly privileged social sphere. Callum argues that a more diverse IC is the key to confronting such biases. Likewise, a more diverse USFS can enable less biased diplomacy.

The CIA has also sought to increase recruitment amongst women and minorities for this reason. Over the past 30 years, the Agency's white female representation has risen from 2 percent to 30 percent, the largest increase of any demographic. The CIA's 2015 Diversity in Leadership report attributed these gains largely to shifting gender norms than any specific initiative. The USFS has also seen the largest demographic increase in white females, which endorses the CIA's conclusion that exogenous shifts in American gender norms are driving this change. Yet, the report also shows that minorities occupy only 10.8 percent of senior-level positions. The CIA has since made a concerted effort to recruit at HBCUs. However, this initiative has been ineffective, as the number of minority officers as a percentage of the CIA entrants on duty has dropped dramatically over the past five years. Yet, the trend might have been worse without the effort.

Leaders in the STEM fields have also sought to improve racial and gender proportionality. An influential article from *Science Magazine* identified standardized testing as a key deterrent to racial diversity because they are often expensive and time-intensive. The FSOT is free and can be taken as many times as necessary. However, the extensive studying needed to pass the exam requires enormous time and has a higher opportunity cost to lower socioeconomic students. Adding a component of the more holistic QEP section of the FSO selection process that rewards underrepresented applicants might make this time tradeoff more worthwhile. Louisiana State University also serves as a useful example of successfully increasing minority representation in STEM without sacrificing talent. The school produces an above average amount of African American PhD-level chemists which Professor Isiah Warner attributes to his "hierarchical mentoring model" that emphasizes academic support and peer mentoring. The success of such an approach implies that the Pickering and Rangel Fellowships might be useful in generating successful FSOs from minority backgrounds because they too emphasize the importance of receiving peer mentoring, developing group cohesion, and obtaining career guidance.

Summary and Future Directions

The USFS has made incremental strides to increase demographic diversity. Although little data exists regarding the direct impact of key policies, there is reason to believe that they do, on the whole, increase the organization's accessibility to underrepresented groups. However, the high selectivity of key fellowship programs and the overextension of Diplomats in Residence likely reduce the effectiveness of these initiatives. Additionally, the efforts of the FBI, Border Patrol, and CIA to directly recruit underrepresented groups have either been insignificant or inconclusive. The efforts to increase representation in STEM fields have been slightly more successful and serve as a useful model for incorporating changes into USFS recruitment.

Future literature should aim to ascertain the true empirical value of these DOS programs and consider ways in which they might be improved to best foster a more diverse and effective Foreign Service. This report will hopefully lay the groundwork for furthering that discussion by evaluating five policy alternatives and offering a final recommendation.

Policy Alternatives and Evaluative Criteria

Option #1: Allow current trends to continue

Allowing current trends to continue would maintain the current amount of DIRs, keep the Pickering and Rangel fellowships highly competitive, leave racial and gender considerations outside of the QEP selections stage, and keep the recruitment process free of a quota-based system that mandates proportional demographic representation in the USFS.

The benefits of this proposal are that the DOS budget would not have to be remedied in a way that would increase spending. Additionally, the Foreign Service's diversity levels seem to be adjusting to the national labor force diversity levels, albeit slowly. For instance, from 2013-2017, African American, Hispanic, and Asian representation in the service increased. Thus, there might not actually need to be DOS intervention to increase diversity, as the levels might adjust on their own over time.

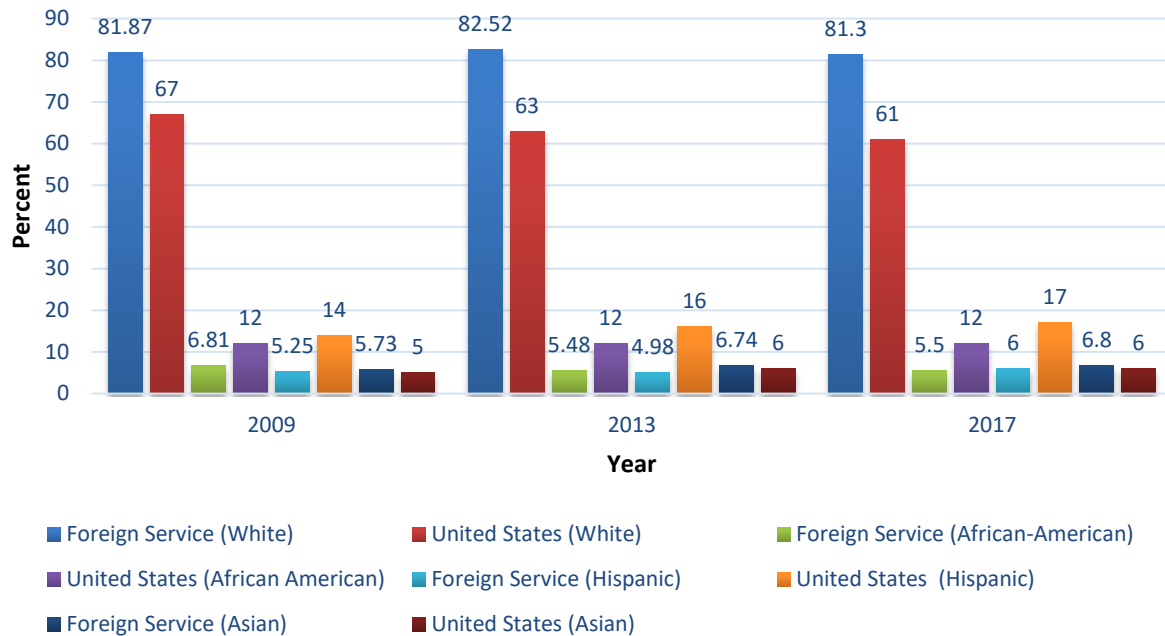
The downsides of this proposal are that it would not achieve significant gains in diversity in the near future. Figure 1 shows that, although African American, Hispanic, and Asian representation increased from 2013-2017, the gains were modest: 0.02, 1.02, and 0.06 percentage points respectively. The educated (Bachelor's or higher) labor force participation rate for African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians in the United States is 9.9 percent, 10.4 percent, and 8.7 percent, respectively. At the rate of the 2013-2017 trends, it would take **880 years, 17.2 years, and 126.4 years** for each respective demographic to achieve representation in the USFS proportional to the 2017 educated labor force participation rate *with all else remaining constant*. While the sizable increase in Hispanic representation is a positive indicator, the minute gains to African American and Asian representation in particular are quite concerning. Thus, maintaining the status quo will not achieve diversity goals any time in the near future overall.

Figure 2 demonstrates the geographic distribution of FSOs by the region in which they grew up. It draws upon 721 random samples from the ADST Oral History Demographic Database who entered the USFS from 1920-2006, creating a sample that is largely representative of trends during this time period. Those from the Mid-Atlantic, Midwest, and New England are drawn largely from the metropolitan areas of New York City, Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Boston.

Additionally, men comprise 51.4 percent of the American educated labor force while women comprise 48.6 percent. As of 2017, men comprised 59.1 percent of the USFS compared to women who comprised 40.1 percent. In 2013, men comprised 60.3 percent of the USFS compared to 39.7 percent for women. Although the period 2013-2017 saw an increase in female representation of 0.4 percentage points, it would still take **85 years** for female representation in the USFS to reach the intended goal *with all else remaining constant* at that rate. This further illustrates the need to formulate new policy initiatives and do not rely merely on current demographic trends. Figure 3 demonstrates the slowly increasing proportion of females in the USFS from 2009-2017 relative to

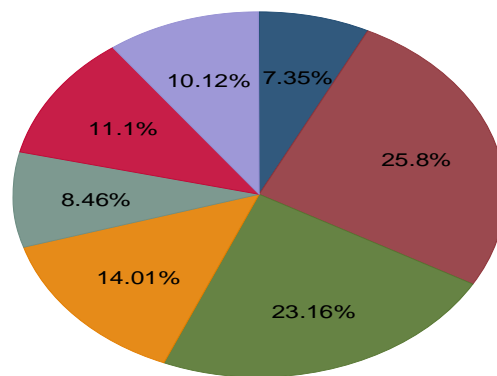
Figure 1: Changes in the United States Labor Force Composition and in the USFS by Race (2009-2017)

Note: This is relative to the *overall* labor force composition, not the educated labor force composition



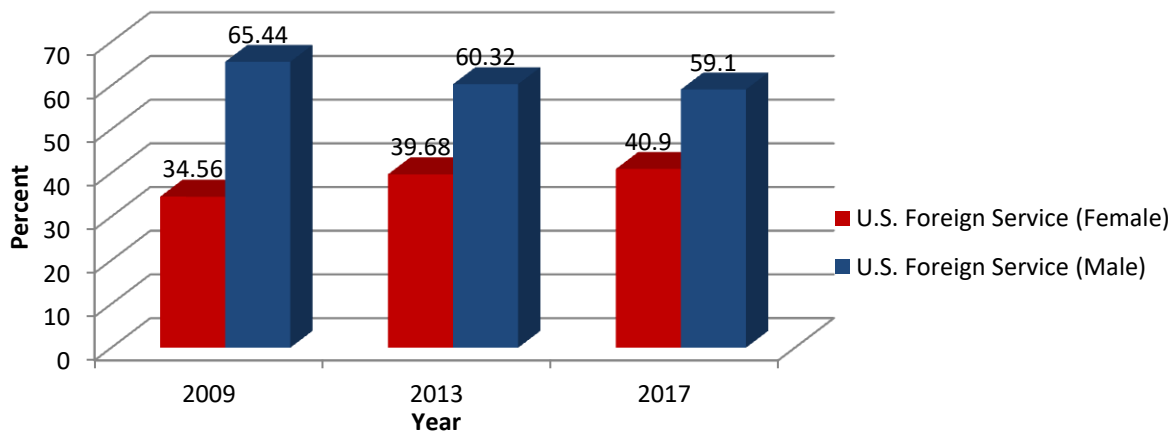
Sources: State Department Workforce Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics

Figure 2: Region of Childhood for FSOs
Year of entry into the USFS is between 1920-2006



Source: ADST Oral History Database

Figure 3: Changes in Female Representation in the USFS



Source: State Department Workforce Statistics

Option #2: Increase the Amount of Pickering and Rangel Fellowship Recipients

The Pickering and Rangel Fellowships are aimed at attracting minority students and women to the USFS. The DOS provides up to \$37,500 annually for the two years fellows are enrolled in the program, a total of \$75,000 per fellow. This is designed to increase accessibility to the USFS by waiving the many financial barriers, such as graduate education and international travel, which generate the most competitive FSO candidates. However, fellowships are nearly as selective as Ivy League universities. This is partially because both programs only accept a mere 30 students each year. Although roughly two thirds of the fellows are minority students, it is likely that hundreds of qualified students from underrepresented backgrounds are being rejected each year. Thus, reducing the selectivity of the fellowships would require the amount of annual Pickering and Rangel fellows to increase or require a new fellowship program altogether.

The fellowships have noticeably targeted underrepresented demographics. Therefore, a key benefit of this proposal is that increasing the size of the programs would directly increase the actual number of underrepresented individuals into the USFS, even though not all fellows choose to join the USFS following participation in the program.

The downsides of this proposal are that it would inevitably necessitate an increase in DOS funding by roughly **\$37,500 per additional fellow per year**. This impacts the implementation durability of this proposal because it might stoke criticism from those who want to reduce the DOS budget. Although the DOS could mitigate this by reducing its annual stipend, this decrease in benefits might turn away prospective applicants because the actual worth of the program to them would diminish. The major advantage of the fellowships lies in their ability to provide invaluable professional and academic development for minimal or no cost at all. Also, accepting more fellows might reduce the quality of fellows because individuals who would have otherwise been denied acceptance would be admitted. Yet, it is likely that many applicants who are denied are still highly qualified and would provide important contributions to the programs.

Option #3: Hire More Diplomats in Residents

The 16 DIRs located across the country are headquartered in universities, many of which were chosen by the DOS because they contain student bodies that are more diverse than average. For instance, UCLA, which hosts the DIR for Southern California, Hawaii, and Nevada, has a student body that is more than 20 percent Hispanic. Thus, hiring more DIRs would allow them to be more accessible to college students in locations such as these that are highly diverse.

The benefit of this proposal is that DIRs would become less burdened by their responsibilities. The task of acting as a point of reference for 1,125,000 college students limits their ability to foster personal connections with students who might be considering a career in the USFS. Additionally, this would reduce the burden of their responsibility to represent large swaths of the country at college career fairs because hiring more DIRs would reduce the jurisdiction of each.

The downside of this proposal is that it might require the DOS to relocate some FSOs from overseas posts to stateside posts. This might reduce the operational effectiveness of the embassies or consulates the new DIRs would be coming from which could have a negative impact on some international diplomatic initiatives. This dilemma could be counteracted by simply hiring more FSOs. Additionally, DOS could skirt this issue by hiring non-FSOs to act as recruiters to undertake this task. However, both options inevitably necessitate an increase in spending which might be politically undesirable or impracticable.

Option #4: Include Demographic Characteristics Considerations into the QEP Section of the Recruitment Process

The benefit of this proposal is that it would directly give USFS recruiters the ability to select a more diverse recruitment class. The other alternatives aim to enable underrepresented groups to join the USFS. However, their mechanisms for doing so are far more indirect. For instance, increasing the amount of annual Pickering and Rangel Fellowships would only create more diversity if the fellows choose to pursue a career in the USFS. Likewise, increasing the number of DIRs would enhance accessibility to information regarding the USFS, yet does not ensure that those who seek guidance enter the USFS. A diversity component to the QEP provides a direct mechanism of adjusting for discrepancies in racial, gender, and geographic diversity.

The downside of this proposal is that it mirrors affirmative action systems that many universities have put in place. Although such systems have fostered more diverse student bodies, they can be a source of moral and legal controversy. Thus, the political feasibility of this proposal might be lower than that of some other proposals because it might be perceived as overly unfair.

Option #5: Institute a Quota System that Mirrors U.S. Educated Labor Force Representation

This proposal represents the most aggressive approach to increasing diversity in the USFS. It would mandate that each new class of FSOs be exactly proportionate to the nation's educated labor force representation. As of 2017, this would require each FSO class to contain demographics roughly as follows: 71 percent White, 9.9 percent African American, 10.4 percent Hispanic, and 8.7 percent Asian. Since all FSOs must obtain at least a Bachelor's degree, the

educated labor force participation rate serves as a more appropriate model for such a quota than the overall American labor force participation rate.

The benefit of this proposal is that it would firmly put to rest the Foreign Service's demographic shortcomings. By mandating that each new class of FSOs be proportional to the national educated labor force representation, the DOS can ensure that the USFS is representing the United States' demographic diversity in a way that can facilitate effective diplomacy. Additionally, the notion of instituting quotas in the USFS is not unfamiliar. Each professional section within the USFS (i.e. Political, Consular, Economic, etc.) is decided via quota. The amount of Senior FSOs is also determined by a quota system.

The drawbacks are that this policy might lack political feasibility, be viewed as too inequitable to those from overrepresented demographics, and be too challenging to implement over time. Unlike current quotas that dictate positions within the USFS, quotas that mandate certain demographic requirements can be widely unpopular. Some might view such a policy as an overcorrection that unfairly affects overrepresented demographic groups. A quota system might also reduce the quality of incoming FSOs because it would put pressure on the USFS to recruit individuals who score much lower than others on the written, oral, or personal narrative sections of the selection process. Additionally, the demographic representation of the American educated labor force will inevitably shift in the future. Consequently, the DOS would need to constantly update its quota requirements to match the societal demographic shifts which could entail time-intensive implementation.

Evaluative Criteria

Each criterion will be scored on a scale of 0-3. A score of 3 will signify that a given alternative executes the criterion at a high level. For instance, if an option is expected to achieve perfect demographic proportionality by 2048, then it would receive a 3 for criterion #1. Contrarily, a score of 0 will signify a poor execution of the given criterion. For instance, if an option is expected to be impossible to implement effectively, then it would receive a score of 0 for criterion #4. The five criteria each contain different weights to reflect their varying importance in achieving the best policy solution, as shown below:

1. Improvement on USFS demographic proportionality by 2048 (0.30 weight)
 - a. Impact on racial proportionality (high emphasis)
 - b. Impact on gender proportionality (high emphasis)
 - c. Impact on geographic proportionality (low/moderate emphasis)
2. Impact on the quality of incoming FSOs (0.25 weight)
3. Fairness to the overrepresented demographic groups (0.20 weight)
4. Feasibility and durability of implementation (0.15 weight)
5. Cost-effectiveness (0.10 weight)

For example: if a proposal receives scores of 2, 3, 3, 3, and 1 for each respective criterion, then the final score of the proposal would be calculated as follows:

1. $2 \times .30 = \underline{0.60}$
2. $3 \times .25 = \underline{0.75}$
3. $3 \times .20 = \underline{0.60}$

4. $3 \times .15 = 0.45$

5. $1 \times .10 = 0.10$

After multiplying the given values by their respective weights, add them up. We then receive a final score of 2.5. For reference:

- Options that receive a score of 2.5+ *should be pursued by the DOS*
- Options that receive a score between 2-2.49 *could reasonably be pursued by the DOS*
- Options that receive a score less than 1.99 *should not be pursued by the DOS*

Criteria Descriptions

Improvement on Foreign Service Demographic Proportionality by 2048

Key question: How well does each proposal improve the racial, gender, and geographic proportionality of the USFS by 2048 relative to U.S. educated labor force representation?

Prioritization: This criterion has the largest weight because the very focus of this report is to improve the demographic proportionality of the USFS. Thus, the extent to which each proposal achieves this end is most important.

Methodology: There is no available data that might allow us to model the anticipated changes to demographic proportionality in the next 30 years. However, we can make qualitative assessments based on prior lessons and logical future consequences associated with each specific proposal. Also, the year 2048 is the target year because the average age of entry into the USFS is roughly 30 years old. This average age of entry has remained relatively constant over the past several decades. Thus, it is assumed that in 30 years from now, enough time will have passed to properly assess the impact of any of the proposed reforms, assuming they have proved durable.

Impact on the Quality of Incoming FSOs

Key Question: Does the alternative have the potential to increase, decrease, or maintain neutral the overall level of quality of new FSOs? Quality can be defined here as educational or professional experiences or accomplishments that might facilitate success in diplomacy.

Prioritization: This criterion has the second highest weight because future policies might be harmful in the long run if the quality of recruits is diminished as a result of becoming overly attentive to improving proportionality. While proportionality is crucial, it should not come at the expense of the quality of USFS personnel because this would negatively impact the effectiveness of the organization in the long-term.

Methodology: Similar to the first criterion, there is no way to model how the quality of incoming FSOs might be diminished as a result of a proposal. Instead, it is necessary to carefully estimate logical consequences of each through qualitative means.

Fairness to Overrepresented Demographic Groups

Key Questions: To what extent does each proposal equitably distribute consequences? Does it empower the underrepresented groups while disproportionately harming the overrepresented groups? Will the underrepresented groups be treated equitably once they become FSOs?

Prioritization: This criterion has a moderately large weight because fairness is a vital component of each policy proposal to enhance employee morale. If incoming FSOs feel their selection or rejection into the organization came unfairly, they might become disillusioned which the USFS which would in turn reduce their motivation. In extreme cases, unfairness in selection could lead to lawsuits from overrepresented groups that could be costly and provoke poor public relations.

Methodology: This criterion will have to be considered entirely qualitatively. It should seek to perceive each proposal from the perspective of those who might benefit from the policy as well as those who might suffer from it.

Feasibility and durability of Implementation

Key Questions: How easy or difficult will it be to implement each proposal within the DOS? How long will it take? Will it uproot existing policies and procedures? How likely is it that the proposal will remain in place for the entire 30-year timeframe of this report's scope?

Prioritization: The effectiveness of any proposal is contingent upon its ability to become a true and enduring program within the DOS. Although feasibility of implementation is crucial, it is prioritized relatively low because most proposals are built upon existing policies within the DOS which will make each easier to implement than a proposal that begins from scratch. A larger concern is the durability of the proposal because of potentially unforeseen alterations to the DOS budget and changes in political priorities.

Methodology: This criterion will be evaluated qualitatively by analyzing factors that might hinder the implementation of each proposal in both the short-term and the long-term.

Cost-Effectiveness

Key Question: How can demographic proportionality be achieved for the lowest cost possible?

Prioritization: The costs associated with each proposal are important considering the political desire to limit DOS spending. However, most proposals will require minimal changes relative to the annual \$8 billion budget of the USFS. Thus, this criterion deserves the least emphasis.

Methodology: This criterion will be estimated with a simple cost effectiveness analysis for each proposal. It will account for factors such as increases in DOS personnel and/or fellowships. This criterion focuses on cost-effectiveness as opposed to cost-benefit because it is challenging to assess the monetary value of an additional diverse individual in the USFS. Instead, this analysis will assess how proportionality goals can be achieved in the cheapest manner possible. The values listed later represent the annual estimated cost needed to obtain proportionality by 2048.

Figure 4: Criteria Rubric and Explanations

Score	Impact on Proportionality by 2048	Impact on the Quality of Incoming FSOs	Fairness to Over-represented Demographic Groups	Ease and Durability of Implementation	Cost-Effectiveness ²
0	The option does not achieve demographic proportionality by 2048 in any way.	The option reduces the academic and professional quality of virtually all new FSOs compared to the status quo.	The option imposes tradeoffs onto the majority demographic to the extent that it would almost certainly provoke resentment and adversely affect morale.	The option would require an overhaul of existing DOS policies and procedures that might be highly time-intensive, disruptive, and is highly prone to being overturned in the future.	The option uses DOS funds in a manner that would be highly inefficient, wasteful, and spur animosity among appropriators in Congress.
1	The option might improve the proportionality of one demographic, yet likely has little or no influence on others.	The option reduces the academic and professional quality of new FSOs compared to the status quo on the whole, but qualified FSOs continue to enter the USFS.	The option imposes tradeoffs onto the majority demographic to the extent that it might provoke some resentment and adversely affect morale.	The option would require substantial changes to existing DOS policies and procedures that might be highly time-intensive, disruptive, and has a high change of being overturned in the future.	The option uses DOS funds in an inefficient manner to achieve proportionality by 2048.
2	The option likely improves the proportionality of two demographics, yet not all three.	The option causes a minimal or neutral change in the academic and professional quality of incoming FSOs compared to the status quo.	The option imposes tradeoffs onto the majority demographic that are noticeable, yet worth the benefits of increasing proportionality and have little to no adverse impact on morale.	The option might require moderate changes to existing DOS policies and procedures that might be somewhat time-intensive and disruptive, and is somewhat prone to being overturned in the future.	The option uses DOS funds in a somewhat efficient manner to achieve proportionality by 2048.
3	The option likely improves the proportionality of all three demographics, and makes the most noticeable gains to address racial and gender issues.	The option increases the academic and professional quality of incoming FSOs compared to the status quo.	The option imposes minimal tradeoffs onto the majority demographic and either have a neutral or positive effect on morale.	The option requires minimal changes to existing policies and procedures and will be minimally time-intensive, disruptive, and is not prone to being overturned in the future.	The option uses DOS funds in an efficient manner to achieve proportionality by 2048.

² For more in-depth cost-effectiveness estimates, see Appendix 2

Analysis of Policy Alternatives³

Option #1: Allow present trends to continue (Final Score: 1.85)

This option receives a total weighted score of **1.85/3** and thus should not be pursued by the DOS. This is the fourth highest score and serves as a valuable baseline for comparison.

Criterion #1: Impact on demographic proportionality by 2048 (Final Score: 0/3)

This option received a score of 0/3 for this criterion simply because it will not achieve gender or geographic proportionality in the USFS by 2048. Although current projections for Hispanics suggest that proportionality will be achieved in the next 20 years, this is outweighed by the unfavorable outlook for other racial groups and for women. Specifically, the representation of African Americans in the USFS will not become proportional at the current rate until the end of this millennium. Domestic demographic shifts will inevitably cause the USFS to become more proportional over time on its own. However, the sluggish pace at which proportionality would be achieved without policy intervention is not viable.

Criterion #2: Impact on the quality of new FSOs (Final Score: 2/3)

This option received a score of 2/3 for this criterion because allowing present trends to continue will likely have a neutral overall impact on the quality of FSOs. It did not receive a 3/3 because the option will likely not *increase* the quality of FSOs. Yet, it did not receive a lower score because it will likely not reduce the quality of personnel since the recruiting system already in place will remain unaffected.

Criterion #3: Fairness to overrepresented groups (Final Score: 3/3)

Any option pursued by the DOS to increase demographic proportionality will inevitably cause a power shift from the overrepresented groups to the underrepresented groups. This option received the highest score in this category because it does not affect the current status of the overrepresented groups within the USFS. The hands-off nature of this option will allow national demographic trends to expand into the USFS naturally and over an extended period of time. This feature makes it seem as though the DOS is not disenfranchising any of its personnel, which would otherwise have the potential of reducing morale.

Criterion #4: Feasibility and Durability of Implementation (Final Score: 3/3)

This option implies that the DOS will pursue no additional structural or policy changes to improve demographic diversity. Thus, it receives the highest score for this criterion because there is no potential of the policy being overturned in the future or restructuring the DOS in a way that would prove highly time-intensive or disruptive.

³ See Appendix 1 for the outcomes matrix

Criterion #5: Cost-effectiveness (Final Score: 3/3)

This option receives the highest score for cost-effectiveness simply because it does not require additional spending by the DOS. Of course, the decision to allow trends to continue in this case will save money at the expense of achieving minimal gains to proportionality.

Option #2: Increase the amount of Pickering and Rangel Fellows (Final Score: 2.45)

This option receives a total weighted score of 2.45/3 and could reasonably be pursued by the DOS. It scores second highest overall and is better than allowing present trends to continue.

Criterion #1: Impact on demographic proportionality by 2048 (Final Score: 3/3)

Given present retention rates of Pickering and Rangel fellows, these programs will induce gender proportionality in roughly 38 years and racial proportionality in roughly 43 years if they are not expanded⁴. Although these trends will produce demographic proportionality after 2048, it is reasonable to assume that enlarging the fellowship programs will cause more underrepresented students to join the USFS at some point in their careers compared to the status quo.

Criterion #2: Impact on the quality of new FSOs (Final Score: 3/3)

In addition to increasing demographic proportionality, the fellowship programs also provide participants with the opportunity to work at a U.S. embassy abroad and at Foggy Bottom in Washington, D.C. Also, it is reasonable to assume that the financial stipends allow participants to focus more attention on their academics when they otherwise might take on part-time employment to finance their educational expenses. These two benefits directly enhance the quality of prospective FSOs by giving them diplomatic experience prior to entering the USFS and enabling them to perform better academically. Additionally, it is likely that the steep acceptance rates into these programs causes highly qualified applicants to be rejected routinely. Thus, expanding the programs will not cause the quality of FSOs to suffer at all.

Criterion #3: Fairness to overrepresented groups (Final Score: 2/3)

Although the fellowship programs do accept members of overrepresented groups, they give clear favorability to women and racial minorities. This preference is built into the mission statements of both programs, and thus expanding them might elicit a sense that overrepresented groups are being disenfranchised. Yet, the impact on overrepresented groups is indirect and, since the programs do not exclude them outright, this option is moderate in its attempt to mediate fairness.

Criterion #4: Feasibility and Durability of Implementation (Final Score: 2/3)

This option would be relatively feasible to implement in the short-term because it builds upon an existing DOS initiative and thereby would be minimally time-intensive and disruptive. However, the durability of this option is of much greater concern. The programs at their current capacity have already come under fire by the Trump Administration as being wasteful in spending and

⁴ See Appendix 2 to better understand how these calculations were formulated.

contrary to his ambitions of reducing the global reach of the DOS. For several months over the summer of 2017, the program was temporarily suspended which put the fates of fellows seeking employment in the USFS in a state of great uncertainty. Although the programs have since been resumed, the susceptibility of the fellowship programs of falling victim to political infighting threatens the long-term feasibility of expanding the initiatives further.

Criterion #5: Cost-effectiveness (Final Score: 1/3)

The DOS currently provides \$75,000 in stipends over the course of two years to each Pickering and Rangel fellow. This totals roughly \$2,250,000 per year. Although this is a minor cost relative the roughly \$8 billion allotted to the USFS annually, increasing the fellowships is not the most direct way to increase demographic proportionality. This is largely due to the fact that the programs suffer a retention rate of less than 50 percent. Thus, many fellows reap the benefits of the DOS spending without becoming FSOs themselves later in their careers. Although the fellowship programs are useful for expanding the brand recognition of the USFS among students interested in foreign policy, its circuitousness in fostering demographic diversity makes it a somewhat unattractive option from a purely cost-effectiveness perspective.

Option #3: Hire more Diplomats in Residence (Final Score: 2.1)

This option receives a total weighted score of **2.1/3** and could reasonably be pursued by the DOS. It scores third highest overall and is more favorable than letting present trends continue.

Criterion #1: Impact on demographic proportionality by 2048 (Final Score: 2/3)

The DIR Program's greatest asset is that it almost certainly increases geographic proportionality by reaching out to students in underrepresented regions such as the West and Southeast. While this is a positive development, this analysis gives larger weight to improvements in racial and gender proportionality. There is no data concerning the program's effect on these groups and current DIRs failed to respond to a series of questions that might shed further light on the issue⁵. Thus, this analysis assumes that each DIR is responsible for causing 1 female and 1 minority student to join the USFS each year given that they are often stationed at universities that are more diverse than average. Even with this assumption, the program would not achieve demographic proportionality by 2048 without additional DIRs. More DIRs would likely not be detrimental, yet the uncertainty regarding the effect of the program on racial and demographic proportionality outweighs the certain gains that would be made to geographic representation.

Criterion #2: Impact on the quality of new FSOs (Final Score: 2/3)

DIRs are predominantly responsible for acting as a liaison to prospective students. This is a useful mechanism for marketing the USFS to qualified students who might otherwise not be aware of the organization, and certainly does not reduce FSO quality. While this would induce a minor increase in the quality of FSOs, this effect is indirect and difficult to measure. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to conclude that hiring more DIRs would not have a negative effect.

⁵ I asked all 16 DIRs a series of questions related to this issue on March 18th, 2018.

Criterion #3: Fairness to overrepresented groups (Final Score: 3/3)

Although DIRs tend to be located in universities that contain above-average diversity levels, the initiative affects all students equally. Unlike the Pickering and Rangel Fellowship that make a concerted effort to recruit minorities and women, DIRs are tasked with answering student questions, presenting at college career fairs, and conducting general outreach to *all* who might be interested in the USFS regardless of that individual's race or gender. Additionally, the presence of a single DIR in each region of the United States exemplifies how the program seeks to counteract favoritism toward applicants from New England, the Midwest, and the Mid-Atlantic.

Criterion #4: Feasibility and Durability of Implementation (Final Score: 2/3)

A positive characteristic of this option is that it would build upon the existing infrastructure of the DIR program and thereby be minimally time-intensive and disruptive to implement. However, increasing DIRs would require the DOS to find space at universities, available active duty FSOs, and additional funding to implement which each could cause friction in the initial implementation stage. The substantial cost of hiring more DIRs also makes the program more susceptible to politicization which might adversely impact the option's long-term feasibility.

Criterion #5: Cost-effectiveness (Final Score: 1/3)

The cost-effectiveness analysis demonstrates that the DOS would need to hire 29 DIRs to induce gender proportionality and 33 DIRs to induce racial proportionality by 2048⁶. The corresponding increase in salaries alone would total over \$4,000,000 per year. This is not an effective use of the DOS budget because the impact of DIRs on racial and gender proportionality has not been explored thoroughly and the assumptions used to generate the requisite increase in DIRs are somewhat generous. Although the DIR program has benefits pertaining to the marketing of the USFS, its impact on demographic proportionality is circuitous. Thus, DOS funds might be better utilized with options that would achieve proportionality goals more directly.

Option #4: Include demographic characteristics into the QEP (Final Score: 2.6/3)

This option receives a total weighted score of **2.6/3** and should be pursued by the DOS. This option scores the highest and is considerably better than allowing present trends to continue.

Criterion #1: Impact on demographic proportionality by 2048 (Final Score: 3/3)

This option allows the five retired FSOs who serve on the QEP to make a direct impact on the overall proportionality of the USFS in each of the three demographic areas of interest. Its directness would almost certainly enable evaluators to adjust admission into the USFS based on the educated labor force rate. It is important to note that admission past the QEP merely grants an applicant access to the final stage of the recruitment process: the FSOA. However, if evaluators incorporate demographic characteristics into the QEP stage, then more underrepresented applicants will reach the FSOA and inevitably yield more such applicants into the USFS.

⁶ See Appendix 2 for how this calculation was obtained

Criterion #2: Impact on the quality of new FSOs (Final Score: 3/3)

The key strength of the QEP is that it recognizes that effective diplomats possess a variety of skills and experiences that are comparably important to one's cognitive abilities. Since the introduction of the QEP in 2007, many DOS officials have complemented the initiative's ability to incorporate highly qualified individuals into the USFS that otherwise would not have been admitted. Reforming the QEP to incorporate demographic characteristics would further invite unique perspectives into the USFS. Additionally, other evaluative criteria such as personal narratives and FSOT scores would still be accounted for during the QEP stage to ensure that improvements in diversity would not come at the expense of these other fundamental attributes.

Criterion #3: Fairness to overrepresented groups (Final Score: 1/3)

Introducing demographic characteristics into the QEP could cause overrepresented groups to feel as though they are being discriminated against throughout the selection process. This perception is understandable because this reform would inevitably cause fewer applicants from these groups to be admitted into the USFS over time. However, the QEP would continue to consider each applicant's cognitive abilities, personal narratives, and work experiences in addition to demographics to ensure that evaluators take as holistic an approach to recruitment as possible.

Criterion #4: Feasibility and Durability of Implementation (Final Score: 3/3)

This option would require minimal implementation effort by the DOS and would be durable. The process of reviewing each application for demographics would not substantially increase the time needed to select applicants for the FSOA. It also would not require any additional bureaucratic changes aside from hiring consultants to give a week-long seminar on the value of diversity in government organizations. It is estimated that this reform would only add two more weeks to the selection process. This option would be durable because its low cost and moderate approach to increasing demographic diversity makes it less susceptible to politicization. However, some might relate the reform to affirmative action policies which can be politically polarizing. Nevertheless, affirmative action as a concept has been widely accepted by various government organizations, especially those with legacies of discrimination against women and minorities.

Criterion #5: Cost-effectiveness (Final Score: 3/3)

This option requires virtually no increase in DOS spending aside from an additional two weeks of salaries for the five retired FSOs that serve on the QEP and the three consultants required to give the week-long seminar. This makes this the second least costly of all the alternatives. It also addresses the demographic proportionality issue in one of the most direct manners.

Option #5: Institute a Quota System that Mirrors U.S. Educated Labor Force Representation (Final Score: 1.35)

This option receives a final score of 1.35/3 and therefore should not be pursued by the DOS. Yet similar to option #1, its more extreme nature serves as a useful option to compare others to.

Criterion #1: Impact on demographic proportionality by 2048 (Final Score: 3/3)

This option is the most successful purely in terms of its impact on demographic proportionality. It would mandate the DOS to admit applicants into the USFS each year predominantly based upon their demographic characteristics, thereby ensuring that significant gains be made quickly and annually to the representation of minorities and females.

Criterion #2: Impact on the quality of new FSOs (Final Score: 0/3)

This option would make an applicant's demographic characteristics the primary determinant of his or her acceptance into the USFS. This would certainly reduce the quality of FSOs because it would compel the DOS to hire individuals who might satisfy the quota mandate but lack proficiency in other qualities of interest such as cognitive ability and professional background.

Criterion #3: Fairness to overrepresented groups (Final Score: 0/3)

This option would directly disenfranchise highly qualified members of overrepresented groups because it would grant less qualified applicants entry into the USFS simply because they satisfy a certain desired demographic characteristic. This would inevitably induce widespread resentment among those who feel denied access to the USFS solely because they belong to one of the overrepresented groups. Such a dynamic could be seriously detrimental to worker morale and hinder the ability of the DOS to conduct effective diplomacy.

Criterion #4: Feasibility and Durability of Implementation (Final Score: 1/3)

This option would be fairly straightforward to implement in the short-term. The USFS already uses quota systems to determine the composition of senior level officials and the career tracks of newly accepted FSOs. Thus, those involved in recruitment are already familiar with the process of implementing a quota. Additionally, using a quota system to determine acceptance into the USFS would be minimally time-intensive as it is estimated that this process would add a maximum of only two weeks to the current recruitment procedure. However, using the quota system would generate substantial pushback among those who object to such an aggressive strategy of improving demographic diversity. It is likely that such a mandate would come under constant political attack because of compromises to FSO quality and fairness to overrepresented groups, and thereby call into question this option's long-term feasibility.

Criterion #5: Cost-effectiveness (Final Score: 3/3)

This option would not be time-intensive to implement and therefore requires only a modest increase in DOS spending. It is assumed that this option would extend the recruitment process by no more than two weeks each year. The major cost that this would incur is additional salaries to the five retired FSOs who serve on the selection panel. This would total roughly \$26,230 per year, which is an insignificant amount relative to the overall budget of the USFS and is the least costly of all five of the proposed options.

Final Recommendation

It is recommended that the DOS adopt option #4 and incorporate demographic characteristics into the QEP section of the FSO selection process.

The DOS should pursue option #4 for several reasons. Most notably, it receives the highest score on the improvement to demographic diversity by 2048 which is the most important of the five criteria. This option addresses the goal more straightforwardly, especially compared to option #2 and option #3, by giving evaluators the ability to unilaterally grant underrepresented groups admission into the USFS. Additionally, these gains to demographic diversity would not come at the expense of the quality of incoming FSOs, the second most important criterion. Although evaluators will place a higher value on applicants from the underrepresented groups, this emphasis will not come at the expense of other essential diplomatic skills because the QEP will remain a holistic section of the recruitment process that still gives due merit to cognitive abilities, employment experience, and linguistic expertise. This option might even improve the quality of incoming FSOs by adding more diverse viewpoints into the USFS and facilitating the sharing of knowledge and experiences that might otherwise not have occurred.

It is worth noting that option #2 also receives the highest score in these criteria. However, this option is not recommended because it is significantly less cost-effective and more susceptible to political polarization, as seen by attacks on the program by the Trump Administration in 2017. Although expanding the Pickering and Rangel fellowships would be a worthwhile endeavor if at all practicable, it is not the most effective means of improving demographic proportionality.

Limitations

Although this option is the best alternative available, there are several limitations worth mentioning. Most importantly, it resembles an affirmative action program. While such programs are generally accepted among government agencies, they are less politically popular among some politicians and have incited lawsuits in more extreme cases. Most notably, the Supreme Court decided in *Fisher v. University of Texas* in 2016 that affirmative action in university admissions is legal. However, the justices were split in a narrow 4-3 margin and it is likely that other legal suits involving affirmative action will make their way through the judicial system. Consequently, this option might invite unwanted backlash that could detract from its more positive attributes and create an otherwise avoidable public relations challenge for the USFS.

Second, this concern regarding affirmative action might negatively impact the political feasibility of the option as well as its long-term durability. Although recent Secretaries of State have been vocally supportive of diversity initiatives within the DOS, their actual willingness to act has been less clear, as evidenced by the Trump Administration's temporary decision to suspend the Pickering and Rangel Fellowship programs in 2017. Thus, it remains unclear whether future Secretaries would be willing to expend the political capital necessary to undertake an effective reformation of the QEP. This concern is particularly salient concerning the newly confirmed Secretary of State Mike Pompeo who, as CIA Director, was accused of directly undermining pro-diversity initiatives set forth by his Democratic predecessor. Pompeo sought to reassure Democrats at his confirmation hearing in saying that he would remain committed to increasing

the diversity of the DOS “in terms of race, religion, background and more”. However, there would be great short-term uncertainty surrounding Pompeo’s willingness to reform the QEP to increase demographic diversity. Additionally, the very nature of the reform might prove challenging for any future Secretary of State to undertake, regardless of their past histories.

Implementation

The effectiveness of this option on improving demographic proportionality is contingent upon the QEP evaluators using this new mechanism to actually adjust representation levels in the USFS. If the evaluators do not internalize the importance of diversity, then there is a risk that they will continue to give greater weights to other characteristics which would defeat the very purpose of the intervention.

To counteract this, the DOS should implement a one-week long diversity training seminar prior to the QEP stage of the recruitment process that includes the five designated QEP evaluators. The seminar should be led by consultants who have experience with federal human capital management. This would ensure that the policy has its intended consequences and allow the evaluators to better understand the value of diversity to the USFS. It is worth noting that some studies have found diversity training to be ineffective because it is often implemented solely to avoid lawsuits and has the potential to trivialize the real, challenging experiences of underrepresented groups. Further, one study examined the effect of diversity training in 829 companies over a 31 year span and demonstrated that there was no noticeable increase in the demographic diversity of the targeted workplaces. While such concerns are valid, these two rationales for the failures of diversity training would not be present here. First, the QEP reform is not intended to avoid lawsuits. Rather, it is intended to make tangible gains to diversity because it is well-founded that doing so is in the best interest of advancing U.S. diplomacy overall. Second, it is fair to assume that the retired FSOs on the panel would not be prone to trivializing the concerns of underrepresented groups in the U.S. because their extensive diplomatic careers have given them experience confronting various cultures and societies. It is likely that they are more sensitive to these types of issues than typical mid-level or higher-level corporate managers. Thus, the one-week diversity training is intended to reaffirm a conviction that the evaluators likely already have so that they can implement the QEP reforms as this proposal intends them to.

The one-week training can be undertaken on the week prior to the commencement of the QEP stage of the FSO selection process so that the lessons learned from the seminars will be more readily available. Further, since this policy recommendation extends upon the pre-established structure of the QEP stage, a relatively modest amount of logistical specifics would need to be addressed to ensure this option is implemented effectively.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Outcomes Matrix

Outcomes Matrix: Criteria Values and Weighted Scores

	Improvement on Diversity (0.30 weight)	Impact on the Quality of New FSOs (0.25 weight)	Fairness (0.20 weight)	Ease and Durability of Implementation (0.15 weight)	Cost-Effectiveness (0.10 weight)	Total Weighted Score
Option 1: Maintain the Status Quo	0	2	3	3	3	1.85
Option 2: Increase Fellowships	3	3	2	2	1	2.45
Option 3: Hire More DIRs	2	2	3	2	1	2.10
Option 4: Reform the QEP Process	3	3	1	3	3	2.60
Option 5: Implement a Quota System	3	0	0	1	3	1.35

Key:

Blue: Status quo option with given criteria

Green: The option scores higher than the status quo in the given criterion

Yellow: The option scores the same as the status quo in the given criterion

Red: The option scores below the status quo in the given criterion

Appendix 2: Cost-effectiveness analysis

This section will identify the relative cost-effectiveness of achieving demographic proportionality in the USFS by 2048 with each proposal. This analysis has five key assumptions:

- It will calculate *how much* each solution would cost to achieve demographic proportionality by 2048. Thus, this is not a cost-effectiveness analysis per se because it assumes that each option will achieve the goal by 2048. However, it gives great insight into how much the DOS would need to spend on each option to achieve the desired goal. This provides a relative sense of the cost-effectiveness of each proposal as well as the directness with which a given proposal addresses the issue.

- For simplicity's sake, each solution's cost will be identified as the cost *per year* to achieve this goal as opposed to the overall cost over the course of 30 years. Thus, it will not take into account otherwise important factors such as inflation and discount rates because the goal of this analysis is to obtain a *general sense* of how funds can be spent to achieve the proportionality goal that can allow us to rate the option on a scale of 0-3.
- All costs are expressed in terms of 2018 dollar amounts.
- There are currently 7,940 FSOs deployed in *roughly* these demographic quantities:
 - Gender: females (3,247), males (4,693)
 - **Goal by 2048: 3,859 females and 4,081 males**
 - Race: White (6,455), African-American (437), Hispanic (476), Asian (572)
 - **Goal by 2048: 5,636 White, 786 African-American, 826 Hispanic, 692 Asian**
- For the purpose of this analysis, it is assumed that the USFS itself will not increase or decrease in size substantially over the next several decades. Major changes in the overall size of the USFS would have an impact on the desired demographic goals shown above.

Option #1: Maintain the status-quo (\$0/year)

- This option relies on current demographic trends in the U.S. to reach proportionality by 2048. Thus, this option requires no *increase* in spending and assumes that the DOS will continue to finance the Pickering and Rangel Fellowships and DIR programs at the current levels. However, it is clear that the proportionality goal cannot be achieved by 2048 unless the DOS makes a financial investment somewhere.

Option #2: Increase the amount of Pickering and Rangel Fellows (roughly \$2,850,000/year)

- Key costs
 - Annual grant stipend for each fellow (\$37,500/year)
- Key assumptions
 - There are 30 annual Pickering fellows and 30 annual Rangel fellows (60 total)
 - 47.6 percent of Pickering and Rangel fellows eventually join the USFS, according to State Magazine (roughly 28 per year total)
 - Roughly two thirds of all annual fellows are female (40 total)
 - Roughly two thirds of all annual fellows are from underrepresented racial demographic groups (40 total)
 - There is a degree of intersectionality between gender and race (i.e. a fellow that is both female and African American would satisfy two categories). However, this analysis assumes that no such intersectionality exists in order to put forward a more conservative estimate of the effects of enlarging fellowship programs
 - The current \$37,500/fellow stipend given by the DOS will not be adjusted
 - All other factors will remain constant in calculating future projections
- Analysis
 - Fellowship programs currently add roughly 19 female FSOs per year
 - it would take roughly **38 years** to become proportional
 - Fellowship programs currently add roughly 19 minority FSOs per year

- it would take roughly **43 years** to become proportional
- **Thus, in order to make gender and race proportional by 2048, the DOS would need to increase the size of Pickering and Rangel fellows so that they:**
 - Add roughly 29 female FSOs per year
 - Add roughly 33 racially underrepresented FSOs per year
 - Given that only 47.6% of all Pickering and Rangel fellows actually join the USFS, the fellowships programs will need to increase to:
 - **92 total** to achieve gender proportionality by 2048
 - **104 total** to achieve racial proportionality by 2048
- DOS will need to spend **\$1,200,000 more per year** to achieve gender proportionality by 2048 (32 additional fellows per year at \$37,500 each)
- DOS will need to spend **\$1,650,000 more per year** to achieve racial proportionality by 2048 (44 additional fellows per year at \$37,500 each)
- Adding these two increases in spending results in a \$2,850,000 total increase

Option #3: Hire more Diplomats in Residence (roughly \$4,099,770/year)

- Key costs
 - Annual average salary for an experienced, late-career FSO (\$136,659/year)
- Key assumptions
 - There is no available data that demonstrates the effect of the DIR initiative on improvements in demographic proportionality in the USFS.
 - However, since many DIRs are posted in universities that are highly diverse, it is reasonable to assume that they do attract talented underrepresented groups to the USFS. Also, many of the DIRs are from underrepresented groups themselves, which makes the USFS appear more accessible to students.
 - Thus, in the absence of hard data on this issue, it is assumed that the DIR program introduces the USFS to *at least one* member of an underrepresented group each year from each of the 16 represented regions, for a total of 16 added per year.
 - Thus, each DIR is responsible for adding one member of an underrepresented group to the USFS each year.
 - Similar to option #2, there is a degree of intersectionality between gender and race. However, this analysis assumes that no such intersectionality exists in order to put forward a more conservative estimate of the effects of hiring more DIRs.
 - All other factors will remain constant in calculating future projections.
- Analysis
 - Given the assumptions, the DIR initiative adds roughly 16 female FSOs per year
 - it would take roughly **45 years** to become proportional
 - Given the assumptions, the DIR initiative adds roughly 16 minority FSOs per year
 - it would take roughly **51 years** to become proportional
 - **Thus, given the general assumption that the presence of 1 DIR causes at least 1 member of an underrepresented demographic to join the USFS, the DOS would need to increase the number of DIRs to**
 - **29 total** to achieve gender proportionality by 2048

- **33 total** to achieve racial proportionality by 2048
- DOS will need to spend **\$1,776,567 more per year** to achieve gender proportionality by 2048 (13 new DIRs at a salary of \$136,659/year)
- DOS will need to spend **\$2,323,203 more per year** to achieve racial proportionality by 2048 (17 new DIRs at a salary of \$136,659/year)
- Adding these two increases in spending results in a **\$4,099,770** total increase

Option #4: Include Demographic Characteristics Considerations into the Qualifications Evaluations Panel (QEP) Section of the Recruitment Process (\$30,951/year)

- Key costs
 - Labor costs associated with increased time needed to review applications that properly account for demographic characteristics (\$2,628/evaluator per week)
 - Labor costs associated with one-week long diversity training (\$2,628/evaluator per week and \$1,557/consultant per week)
- Key assumptions
 - There are roughly five retired FSOs who sit on each QEP and each obtain a salary of roughly \$136,659 per year, or roughly \$2,628 per week
 - Three human capital consultants will implement the one-week long diversity seminar, and each obtains a salary of roughly \$80,971 per year, or roughly \$1,557 per week. This figure was derived from the Glassdoor.com estimate of the average salary of federal human capital consultants
 - Incorporating demographic components into the QEP will add roughly one additional week to the selection process
 - The demographic diversity of applicants will remain constant over time
 - All other factors will remain constant in calculating future projections
 - **It is assumed that the flexible QEP system would enable the panel to unilaterally adjust for an applicant's gender or race in a way that would allow the DOS to achieve demographic proportionality by 2048**
- Analysis
 - A key increased cost associated with this proposal is additional time needed to conduct a thorough analysis of demographic factors in the QEP process
 - This comes to roughly \$2,628 per retired FSO on the QEP panel
 - Assuming there are 5 panelists, the cost of is **\$13,140/year**
 - Another increased cost is the one-week long diversity seminar
 - Assuming there are 5 panelists, the cost of their salaries would add an additional **\$13,140/year**
 - Assuming there are 3 consultants involved in the diversity training and each receive \$1,557 for the seminar, this would add an additional **\$4,671/year**
 - Thus, the total cost of this proposal is roughly **\$30,951/year**

Option #5: Institute a Quota System that Mirrors U.S. Educated Labor Force Representation (\$26,280/year)

- Key costs
 - Labor costs associated with increased time needed to implement the quota system for each year of new applicants (\$2,628/reviewer for 1 week)
- Key assumption
 - The process of implementing any quota system would require a QEP panel of 5 retired FSOs and last approximately 2 weeks
 - All other factors will remain constant in calculating future projections
- Analysis
 - The DOS would need to spend \$2,628 per week on 5 reviewers, for a cost of \$13,140 per week
 - Since the anticipated length of selecting applicants via the quota system is 2 weeks, the DOS would need to increase spending by **\$26,280 per year**

Appendix 3: Reference for Geographic Data

Region Name	States Included
Abroad	Any locale outside of the United States
Multiple	Two or more regions
New England	ME, NH, VT, MA, RI, CT
Mid-Atlantic	NY, PA, NJ, DE, MD, DC
Southeast	VA, WV, KY, NC, SC, TN, GA, FL, AL, MS, LA, AR
Midwest	OH, IN, MI, IL, WI, MN, IA, ND, SD, NE, KS, OK, MO, TX
West	MT, WY, CO, NM, AZ, UT, ID, WA, OR, CA, AK, HI

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