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## "FEMALE FACE" OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

The article deals with the place, role and presence of women in the United States diplomatic service in the 20th century at the beginning of the XXI century. It is noted that since the emergence of such a term as "diplomacy" in the life of America (in fact, from 1787) and until 1922, when women were given the right to vote and, as a consequence, the right to take the exam to work in the diplomatic service, no the woman did not hold even the lowest post. The only way to get involved in diplomatic relations is to be a shadow woman behind the back of a male diplomat. From 1922, women began to gradually master the basics of the diplomatic service, but met with many obstacles in their path, one of which was the reluctance of the main executive body in international relations, the State Department, to promote women in diplomatic service. To this end, potential candidates were pre-designed to "scare" situations that a woman might encounter while performing her job. However, those who eventually succeeded in the diplomatic service performed mostly clerical duties and could not speak of the possibility of occupying some senior position in the "men's club" of the diplomatic service. It was believed that the appointment of a female ambassador abroad would damage the image of the United States on the world stage. It was not until the end of World War II, when America itself set certain rules and, as a result of production necessity, did the number of women in diplomatic service begin to increase gradually every decade, reaching its climax during the reigns of Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, who, by the time the representation of women in the State Department was not lost. It was during their reign that the highest position in the US State Department was held by women. The article provides statistics on the number of female ambassadors under US presidents, ranging from F. Roosevelt to Obama.

**Key words:** USA; women in diplomacy; United State Department of States; foreign affairs.

### Introduction

According to the United Nations report, the issue of the status and role of women in society is second in importance after global environmental and economic problems of our time. Today, the process of development of civil society entails the inevitable change in the roles of men and women in the modern world. A woman strives for equality in the family, she has become more independent, she has a desire to realize herself not only in the family, but also outside her boundaries, in the professional field. Now a woman occupies positions in which previously only men could be seen (Kabaikina, Sushchenko, 2017: 140). In addition, with the development of democracy, the desire for balanced political processes and harmonious political relations actualize the need for women's participation in the political life of society. Contemporary studies and recommendations no longer oppose the two sexes, but argue for the need for complementarity in matters of the functioning of a state in which its international environment plays an important role. More stable and democratic are those political systems in which different genders are consciously committed to cooperation and mutual assistance (Melnyk, 2004: 1). In its Charter, the United Nations declares its belief in the promotion of equality between men and women in the system of human rights, freedoms, nations, states, and addresses this issue alongside peace, security, progress and development. This determines the orientation of all states that have voluntarily accepted this principle of gender equality as a leader in their activities

by becoming a member of the organization. It is the responsibility of each signatory state to ensure that all persons under its jurisdiction are able to exercise their rights (Melnyk, 2004: 9). The issue of gender equality and the role of women in government (meaning political, economic, international relations) has received a little more attention in modern historical science than, for example, 50 years ago. We are directly interested in the scientific work that is devoted to a woman in diplomatic service. In this context, it is worth mentioning the work of Homer Calkin, which provides an analysis of women's employment in the State Department and abroad. It shows that the gradual increase in the number of women in foreign service is directly related to the historical conditions in which the United States of America found itself at one time or another (Homer Calkin, 1977, URL...). Molly M. Wood and Arlie Hochschild's works on a very interesting, but not well-researched, topic on the role of the woman-wife in the life of a diplomat husband It is noted that despite her husband's escort to the service abroad, the wife-wife was not considered part of the diplomatic service, though she was sometimes demanded by no less than her ambassador husband, since she was a kind of "face" of US diplomacy and culture (Molly M. Wood, 2015, URL...; Molly M. Wood, 2005, URL...; Arlie Hochschild, 1969: 76). And Beatrice L. McKenzie notes that a woman in the State Department was discriminated against because of her gender because she was considered unreliable and unable to cope with her professional duties, because she was a woman. Indicates that "the sexua-

lization led to less than more gender equality among Foreign Service Officers" (*Beatrice Loftus McKenzie, 2015, URL...*).

However, in many countries this right to exercise is not respected and, for example, a woman, as a full-fledged subject of the state, remains unable to become an equal participant in the political leadership of the country. As for Ukraine, political representation of women in the political sphere is low. Today, there is a low representation of women at the highest levels of political decision-making, which is contrary to democratic principles and reduces the effectiveness of public administration. Women's career, responsibility and decision-making are subject to certain limitations (*Yarosh, 2013: 14-15*). The situation is not as good in a country as important for international relations. Describing the representation of women in Ukraine in the diplomatic sphere, one can apply the statement of a well-known American politician, the first woman elected to the post of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, that the only way for a woman to approach diplomacy was to marry a diplomat. According to 2018 data, 215 women are employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (total number of employees is 600). Moreover, only 38 women occupy management positions. Regarding the Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries of Ukraine abroad, there are 61. There are only two women ambassadors in the Vatican and the United Kingdom (*Diplomatic women: progress and shifts, URL...*). Therefore, the issue of increasing female diplomats in different parts of the world is on the agenda for Ukraine. In this context, the difficult, but sufficiently successful, experience of the United States of America in representing women in diplomacy may become as an example for Ukraine.

#### Materials and Methods

The study uses the following methods of system analysis and synthesis, deductive, problem-chronological and descriptive methods. The problem-chronological method was used when considering the formation of women in the American diplomatic service in chronological order. This helped to maintain historical continuity, to present a single picture and to consider qualitative changes in the issue of the presence of women in the diplomatic service. The principle of historicism is also used, which allows us to consider the phenomenon we are studying in its development and, as a result, makes it possible to apply the periodization method, that is, to highlight certain periods in the formation of women in the diplomatic service and to characterize their features.

#### Results and Discussion

On July 21, 1789, the law establishing the Department of Foreign Affairs was signed, and President J. Washington, signing it, made the Department of Foreign Affairs the first federal agency created under the new Constitution. This law remains the main normative act of the State Department today. However, on September 15, 1789, a new law was signed that changed the name of the agency to the State Department. And for almost 150 years (since its creation in 1789 until 1922), no women have been in the diplomatic corps (*Klynina, 2017*). Only with the end of World War I, when the United States began to assert itself as a world leader in the arena, American women have begun to play a role in diplomacy within the official structure of the US foreign service, although they were only perceived as women who were diplomatic wives. They accompanied their diplomatic husbands abroad as wives and quasi-

professional partners of the diplomatic service, focusing primarily on the critical social and domestic aspects of diplomatic life abroad.

As these American missions grew in size and the complexity of the work became apparent, US Department of State officials saw the need for additional clerical assistance and increasingly relied on the work of diplomats and other women's wives, such as clerks and stenographers. As employees of the United States Department of State, these women also retained representative qualities related to diplomatic work. However, the stereotype that American women were "not fit for the demanding and special duties of a foreign service officer" was unchanged before the Second World War (*Molly M. Wood, 2015, URL...*). Wives were expected to make a positive impact on their husbands' careers, but would remain in the background. They did not hold any official or paid positions in the foreign service, but organized and managed social functions, thereby creating the image of a male diplomat. As one diplomat explained, "I don't know of any area in which a wife can be so useful in her husband's career" (*Beaulac, 1951: 181*).

The US government, in turn, relied on wives to promote effective US diplomatic missions abroad. By organizing dinners at home, accompanying her husband to other social functions and visiting other wives in the diplomatic corps in their homes, the diplomats' wives facilitated the exchange of information, both official and informal, which facilitated the maintenance of relations within the diplomatic corps and between the diplomats and other diplomats. persons (*Molly M. Wood, 2015, URL...*). Having served in quasi-official positions while living abroad, they have become an "example" of American benevolence and a "bearer" of American culture. After the First World War, it became apparent that the number of affairs to be handled by a diplomatic mission was growing, and on the agenda was the lack of people in such low-paying positions as stenographers, clerks, notaries and so on. It was difficult to find staff for these missions abroad. The payment was very low, without compensation for travel, and the work could not be called "inspiring". Therefore, in these working conditions, some mission leaders simply began hiring their wives or daughters to at least secure the administration of the mission. The number of American women hired overseas as employees continued to increase throughout the 1920s and 1930s, and the Department sent them to positions around the world (*Molly M. Wood, 2015, URL...*).

Increasing pressure from women's groups has led to protracted debate over the suitability of women as officials of the US government and, as a consequence, amendments to the suffrage of women in the US have been introduced. Against this background, in order to avoid negative publicity or accusation of discrimination against women, the State Department reluctantly began to grant a limited number of women permission to participate in the passing of the Diplomatic Service examination. As a result, Lucile Atcherson was the first woman in the Foreign Service. She passed the Diplomatic Service examination in 1922 with the third-highest score, and was appointed a secretary in the Diplomatic Service on December 5, 1922. She was assigned as Third Secretary of the Legation in Berne, Switzerland, on April 11, 1925. She resigned on September 19, 1927, in order to get married (*Women in the Foreign Service, URL...*).

However, this decision was unpopular in the State Department. Officials have constantly opposed the inclusion

of women in the professional service, claiming that if women can have a "technical qualification" to work, they will not be able to perform the actual work of the mission. The arguments were different, such that a woman would not be able to become part of a "men's club" where male diplomats meet, consume alcohol and handle international affairs, and such that the woman would not be perceived locally by the community, or that she could become a the object of sexual capture and the like. Particularly surprising was the argument about the complexities of living abroad, especially in places where women face climatic, social and racial conditions (*Molly M. Wood, 2015, URL...*). But at the same time, the diplomats' wives were advised to accompany their diplomatic husbands even to "difficult" positions. That is, it turns out that being a diplomat's wife who works in climatically, socially and racially complex conditions is not a problem, but to become a female diplomat under the same conditions is a big problem.

Forcing other countries to recognize and work with American female diplomats, officials said, would undermine the diplomatic practice and prestige of the United States. In other words, there was a tacit agreement among diplomatic officials around the world not to send "unfit representatives" to replace their diplomatic posts abroad. In this case, "unsuitable representatives" meant a woman. When Lucille Atcherson passed the exam in 1922, the State Department's personnel committee did not know exactly what to do with it. After being approved by the Senate, she was sent to work for the State Department, but for the next three years, she steadfastly asked for the opportunity to hold office abroad. Eventually, she was sent to Bern, Switzerland, giving the opportunity to embrace a "quiet Scandinavian position" and where Lucille Atcherson "will not pay much attention" (*Calkin, 1978: 72-73*).

In 1928, the State Department published a booklet entitled "Opportunities for Women as Foreign Service Officers", but only four women passed the exams and were appointed to foreign positions by 1930. Subsequently, only seven women by 1941 joined the foreign service. Pattie H. Field was the first woman to enter the Foreign Service after passage of the Rogers Act. She was sworn in on April 20, 1925, served as a Vice Consul at Amsterdam, and resigned on June 27, 1929, to accept a job with the National Broadcasting Company. The first woman who became chief of a U.S. diplomatic mission was Ruth Bryan Owen. She was appointed in 1933 during the presidency of F.D. Roosevelt, which also made it possible to appoint the first woman to cabinet office, Francis Perkins. Helen Eugenie Moore Anderson was the first woman to hold the rank of Ambassador. Frances E. Willis was the first female Foreign Service Officer to become an Ambassador. Carol C. Laise was the first woman to become an Assistant Secretary of State. Lucy Wilson Benson was the first woman to become Under Secretary of State (*Women in the Foreign Service, URL...*).

Overall attitudes toward women in the foreign service began to change dramatically due to staffing requirements during World War II. The first female ambassador was appointed only in 1949 (to Denmark), and only a few women were appointed at this level for several decades. There was no real progress before the Carter administration, with the appointment of eighteen women as heads of mission and ten to senior positions in Washington.

Until the 1970s, the US Department of State was often referred to as the "male, pale, and Yale" department of white graduates (*Moments in U.S. Diplomatic History,*

*URL...*). In spite of their education and professional skills, employees of the US Foreign Office were discriminated against in the 1950s and 1960s. Even in the late 1960s, some ambassadors opposed sending foreign ambassadors, such as female diplomats, or, most of all, to the post of personal secretary of their wives (*Gender features of the diplomatic service in Ukraine and in the world, URL...*). Only after the 1972 State Department Directive, the so-called Declaration on Spouses, was adopted, the situation changed: an informal marriage ban on diplomats was lifted.

The number of appointments doubled under Presidents Reagan and George W. Bush, and soared to the sky with the Clinton administration (*Vagnoux, 2015, URL...*). As an example of B. Clinton's attitude to women (and not yet Monica Levinsky) Madeleine Albright was the first woman to become Secretary of State (*Women in the Foreign Service, URL...*). When Madeleine Albright took over as Secretary of State in 1997 under Democrat Bill Clinton, some of her colleagues were convinced that she would not manage. The argument was that, for example, Arab countries were reluctant to deal with a female foreign minister. However, Madeleine Albright "found her voice." And, by the way, she has successfully negotiated with Arab leaders. While the politician was Secretary of State of the United States (1997-2001), the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary joined NATO, the Alliance bombed the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to stop ethnic cleansing of Kosovo Albanians.

From 2005 to 2009, the US Foreign Office was headed by Condoleezza Rice, and in 2009-2013, Hillary Clinton held that position. Women's rights and issues have also been the focus of attention in the State Department during Barack Obama's reign, particularly under Secretary Hillary Clinton, who made it one of her priorities. Thus, in 2009, an embassy on global women's issues was created to weave the perspective of women's problems "deeper into the structure of American foreign policy" and to confirm the link between women's rights and national security (*Gender features of the diplomatic service in Ukraine and in the world, URL...*). According to a number of studies, the appointment of Hillary Clinton as US Secretary of State had not only an impact on the American political science and the increased involvement of women in it, but also on the whole diplomatic world, insofar as it contributed to an increase in the number of states. This phenomenon is even known as the Gillary Effect. Clinton was especially well-known abroad because of her stint as first lady and her presidential run; she is seen by many as a globetrotting champion of women's rights. "The pictures of U.S. diplomacy have been strongly dominated by photos of women recently," Shankar said. "That helps to broaden the acceptance of women in the field of diplomacy." (*Hillary effect cited for increase in female ambassadors to U.S., URL...*).

As of April 2015, there were 116 women (out of 367 women in total) in the US, representing 31.6%. It is the highest record in the history of the State Department and is considered a credit to President Barack Obama (*Gender features of the diplomatic service in Ukraine and in the world, URL...*). In general, the information provided can be backed up by certain statistics. Thus, under President F. Roosevelt, the number of female ambassadors reached - 2 (with a total of 208 ambassadors); under G. Truman - 3 (out of 192); under D. Eisenhower - 5 (out of 228); under J. Kennedy - 3 (out of 130); under L. Johnson - 4 (out of 161); under R. Nixon - 5 (out of 242); under J. Ford - 7 (out of 94); under J. Carter - 19 (out of

201); under R. Reagan - 21 (out of 394); under Bush - senior - 22 (out of 213); under B. Clinton - 78 (420); under Bush - the youngest - 118 (out of 474); under B. Obama - 116 (out of 367) (*Gender features of the diplomatic service in Ukraine and in the world, URL...*).

### Conclusion

Today's current research and statistics really show that the United States is only on its way to fully representing a woman in the political environment. However, even under these conditions, their experience can be an example for those countries trying to change their gender role in traditional gender roles. The period of the twentieth century, to some extent, was a breakthrough in the issue of appointing women to different positions in the State Department. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, State Department officials remained unconvinced that women could serve as effective, professional U.S. diplomatic representatives around the world. Department of State officials did not want the US to represent itself in the world as an agent of change for traditional gender roles. The period 1921-1939 is considered to be the period of the "male elite" with almost absent women. During the Second World War, especially in 1939-1947, women worked in the lowest positions but did not pass the diplomatic service exam. However, having received this right to sit the exam in 1947-1975, women began to face serious obstacles in their jobs. Since the early 1980s, the number of appointments has doubled, falling to the presidency of R. Reagan and then to George W. Bush, and has reached its climax in the administration of B. Clinton and Barack Obama. However, it is worth noting that the representation of women has been one of the main weaknesses of the American government in the history of the state. Despite the indisputable progress the country has made over the last forty years, although the percentage of female diplomats is ahead of most countries in the world, it remains low compared to the potential gender opportunities of the United States, as the proportion of women and men in the United States is almost equal in percentage. The three women who served as secretaries of state (Madeleine Albright, Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton) in the last three administrations remain exceptions to this rule, and women today do not prevail, especially at the highest levels of foreign policy development, which effects on a variety of ideas and foreign policy orientations.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the 21st century demonstrates a clear improvement in the presence of women in many areas of the functioning of the state compared to the 1960s and earlier, and increases the number of high-ranking women who act as role models and a wider understanding of the rights and role of women all over the world. Strengthening the role of women in society will contribute to its stabilization and democratization, as a country cannot be fully democratic unless women's rights are fully guaranteed.

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## "ЖІНОЧЕ ОБЛИЧЧЯ" АМЕРИКАНСЬКОЇ ДИПЛОМАТІЇ

Стаття присвячена питанню місця, ролі та присутності жінок на дипломатичній службі Сполучених Штатів Америки у XX ст. на початку XXI століття. Зазначається, що з часу появи такого поняття як "дипломатія" в житті Америки (по суті, від 1787 року) і до 1922 року, коли жінкам було надано виборче право і як наслідок, право на складання екзамену для роботи в дипломатичній службі, жодна жінка не займала навіть найнижчої посади. Єдиним засобом долучитися до участі в дипломатичних відносинах, це бути жінкою-тіною за спиною чоловіка-дипломата. З 1922 року жінки почали поступово опановувати ази дипломатичної служби, однак зустрічалися з безліччю перешкод на своєму шляху, однією з яких було небажання головного виконавчого органу в галузі міжнародних відносин - Державного департаменту - просувати жінок на дипломатичній службі. Задля цього для потенційних кандидаток були заздалегідь розроблені "лякаючі" ситуації, з якими жінка могла б зустрітися під час виконання нею службових обов'язків. А ті, яким врешті-решт вдалося опинитися на дипломатичній службі, виконували переважно канцелярські обов'язки і про можливість обійняти якусь вищу посаду в "чоловічому клубі" дипломатичної служби не могло бути й мови. Вважалося, що призначення жінки-посла за кордон викличе псування іміджу США на світовій арені. Лише із закінченням Другої світової війни, коли вже сама Америка почала встановлювати певні правила, як наслідок виробничої необхідності, кількість жінок в дипломатичній службі почала поступово зростати з кожним десятиліттям, досягнувши свого піку за часів правління Білла Клінтона та Барака Обами, які, зробивши ставку на представлення жінок в Державному департаменті, не прогадали. Саме за часів їх правління найвищу посаду в Державному департаменті США займали жінки. В статті надаються статистичні дані щодо кількості жінок-послів за часів американських президентів, починаючи від Ф. Рузвельта до Б. Обами.

*Ключові слова:* США; жінка в дипломатії; Державний Департамент США; міжнародні відносини.

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