

## **Breakout 9, Presentation**

# **Strengthening the Capacity of Underrepresented Minorities to Pursue International Service Careers**

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### **Abstract**

The imminent approach of the twenty-first century challenges the country to examine and renew its commitment to preparing the most talented students for the global economic and international affairs responsibilities that will occupy center stage in the coming decades. Given current estimates that project a profound shift in population by 2050—from a majority status for non-Hispanic whites to a more equal distribution between majority and minority—it is time to address the issue of *re-creating* the international affairs establishment by tapping the energy and talent of current and future students, particularly women and minorities.

While efforts have been underway in recent years to educate a cadre of minority policy professionals in the international sphere, statistics indicate that minorities still remain greatly underrepresented at the highest levels of the international affairs hierarchy. A new public/private partnership is required that will promote international career opportunities for talented students of color. This paper describes several existing fellowship programs that promote diversity for the twenty-first century and that can serve as models for expanding international affairs opportunities. Diversity is a reality in the American landscape. What is required is a commitment to expand successful educational models to take advantage of that diversity, and to do so in the context of recent antiaffirmative-action court decisions that may adversely impact the recruitment and admission of students of color to international affairs graduate programs.

### **Why Do We Need More Minorities in International Affairs Careers?**

It seems that since the “end” of the cold war (1989–91) Americans have become more inter-

ested in domestic-related issues rather than in “foreign policy” and international concerns. Witness the tenor of the recent presidential campaign with its emphasis on affirmative action, welfare reform, taxes, and immigration. Except for an element of anti-United Nations rhetoric

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from some political circles, relatively little discussion seemed to focus on the direction of American foreign policy for either the present or the rapidly approaching twenty-first century. At the same time, the force of globalization of investment markets through the unfettered transmission of computerized trading, corporate purchases of manufacturing plants across national lines, and complicated trade negotiations with China, Japan, and other significant trading partners should remind Americans that there are many complex issues that require attention not only from a domestic perspective but from well-trained international affairs experts—both in government and in the private sector. Consequently, the question “Do we need more students in international affairs-related careers?” seems to have a resounding “yes” for an answer. But, even more important, the question should be “*Why do we need more minorities in international affairs careers?*” This paper addresses that question and tries to offer some suggestions for how we can encourage development of a more diverse international affairs establishment—in the public and private spheres—in the coming decades.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century—only three years away—several dramatic demographic shifts in the U.S. population will be in process of occurring:

- By 2000, African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans will constitute one third of the population and 40% of the workforce.
- By 2020, minorities will constitute 40% of the U.S. population.
- By 2050, non-Hispanic whites will constitute, at most, half of the U.S. population.
- By the middle of the next century, African Americans are projected as 16% of the population, Hispanics as 23%, Asian Americans as 10%, and Native Americans as 1.1%.

The implications of these demographic shifts for future U.S. foreign and economic policy are considerable. As the only acknowledged “superpower” in the post-cold war world, the United States, whether it wants to or not, will continue to be involved in a number of sensitive areas of the globe in the foreseeable future. And international affairs experts, in the government and in the corporate sphere, will grapple with: (1) the

globalization of investment, production, and distribution markets, and the ability of governments to control supranational corporations; (2) China’s status vis-à-vis human rights violations, trademark infringements, export/import balances, and Hong Kong’s incorporation into its economy; (3) Bosnia, marked by human rights abuses and the U.N. peace-keeping mission; (4) Rwanda, Zaire, and other areas of southern Africa where human rights violations, refugees from civil wars, and ethnic fighting have created substantial instability; (5) Israel/Palestine, where opposition to the Middle East peace process and the lack of a peace treaty between Syria and Israel lend instability to this volatile region; (6) continuing tensions with Iran and Iraq over their perceived role in international terrorist acts; (7) Mexico—NAFTA, perceived and actual job displacement of American workers, border issues; (8) European economic stagnation, high unemployment, reenergized nationalism, anti-immigrant hostility, and NATO’s relevancy in a post-cold war world; (9) Japan vis-à-vis balance of trade and competition in the global marketplace; and (10) political stability, nuclear disarmament, and nuclear proliferation issues with Russia and the former Soviet states.

This brief capsule of current international issues “in the news” underscores the vital importance of recruiting, training, mentoring, and credentialing the best prepared and most talented individuals in our universities—*particularly persons of color*—for the international responsibilities of the twenty-first century in order to ensure peace and prosperity for our children and grandchildren. Given the demographic trends already outlined, minorities and women can be expected to shoulder greater responsibilities in the international affairs arena, but only if enough of them receive the educational and mentoring support required to move into these career paths. Their presence in substantial numbers may increase our ability to project cultural sensitivity and deal effectively with populations of color, particularly in regions of the world—Asia, Africa, and South America—where many countries are developing new economic patterns (quasicapitalism) and/or embracing fledgling democratic political structures.

While efforts to foster diversity in the international affairs arena (at the public *and* private levels) have been proceeding since the 1960s, the process sometimes has been slow and still requires the continued support of government

agencies, whether federal, state, or local. There is some reason for believing that, in some respects, the private sector has embraced the diversity mantle with more fervor in recent years than the public sector.

Two current examples illustrate how minorities and women have changed the face of the American international affairs arena. *Colin Powell* entered the military service at a time when there were few minority commanders as role models. He became chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and also served as National Security Adviser to President Reagan. He is a classic example of how *superior talent and positive mentoring, coupled with government support of affirmative action and diversity efforts*, paved the way for attainment of the highest positions within his profession. Similarly, *Madeleine Albright* taught as a professor of international affairs (Georgetown), served as foreign policy adviser to the Muskie, Mondale, and Dukakis campaigns, and held the position of U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Now she is the newly designated Secretary of State—the *first woman to hold this position*. Their achievements in reaching the highest levels in international affairs responsibilities is important for minorities and women. But their kind of career ascendancy must become commonplace, not exceptional, in the future. Powell and Albright's careers should remind us that mentors and sponsors play significant roles in developing minority and female international affairs professionals who can have an impact on the conduct of foreign policy and the international scene. As Allan Goodman has stated so succinctly:

"[G]enuine progress requires a concerted effort to go beyond affirmative action recruitment objectives and to mentor and equip minorities for advancement within the ranks of civil service professionals" (Goodman 1996a, xiii). Mentoring is the crucial factor for the development of the next generation of Colin Powells and Madeleine Albrights in the international affairs world.

## Impediments to Diversity in International Affairs

Despite the success of individual minority members and women in attaining positions of major

impact in recent years, there remain a number of *impediments to expanding the level of diversity in the international affairs arena*. Even though demographic shifts in population have begun to have some impact on the predominance of white males in the workplace, these shifts have not reached down to graduate preparation for international affairs careers. For example, in the 1990s, while minority enrollment in graduate and professional degree programs increased to 13% and 19%, respectively, up from 9% and 10% ten years ago, most of these gains were solely accountable to increases in Asian American participation in such programs.

Another significant impediment is the preponderance (86%) of full-time higher education faculty who are nonminority. This has a considerable impact on the availability of mentoring, especially given the still small numbers of minority and female faculty in international affairs graduate schools. The exception to this pattern are minority faculty at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) who teach in international affairs graduate programs. However, these programs represent but a tiny fraction of graduate programs and faculty representatives.

Furthermore, lack of diversity still remains the norm in professional-level and higher management positions in the federal government. In the U.S. State Department Foreign Service, for example:

- **Deputy Chief of Mission** assignments are 75% male and 25% female; 89% are nonminority and 11% are minority.
- In 1993 **SES ranks**<sup>1</sup>—82% white male, 12% white female, 4% minority male, 1% minority female, and 1% unspecified.

Table 1 illustrates the barriers that must be eliminated in order to pave the way for an international affairs leadership cadre that more fully represents the American population of the twenty-first century.

These figures are particularly useful in illuminating the lack of representation of Hispanics and Native Americans in the highest professional ranks of federal government service.

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1. Senior Executive Service is the most senior executive level of the U.S. Government civil service.

**Table 1. Minority Employment in Selected Federal Executive Departments, 1993 (%)**

Department	African American	Hispanic	Asian American	Native American
Department of Agriculture				
GS13-15 Ranks*	6.5	2.1	2.3	.01
SES Ranks	9.1	0.01	0.002	0.002
Department of Commerce				
GS13-15 Ranks	7.2	2.1	4.4	0.4
SES Ranks	4.6	0.9	2.2	0.2
Department of Education				
GS13-15 Ranks	21.8	3.4	2.3	0.0
SES Ranks	11.3	2.5	5.0	0.0
Department of Defense**				
GS13-15 Ranks	5.4	3.3	3.8	0.5
SES Ranks	2.7	1.1	1.0	0.6

\* GS = General Schedule. In the pay grade structure for U.S. Government civil servants, the higher the number the higher the salary grade.

\*\* About 42% of the total federal workforce.

SOURCES: U.S. State Department; Goodman 1996a.

## Methods for Promoting Diversity in International Affairs Careers

There are several methods for *successfully promoting diversity in the international affairs arena: public/private partnerships*. Since 1992, several government agencies, in response to the need for expanding the pool of international affairs minority professionals, joined forces with several educational organizations, including the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation (WWNFF), to fund international affairs fellowship programs.

1. The Department of State **Foreign Affairs Fellowship (FAF)** prepares minorities/women/disadvantaged for careers as foreign service officers with a four-and-a-half-year service commitment as a foreign service officer. Students in the program are selected as college sophomores and receive mentoring, undergraduate preparation, and fellowships for degrees in international affairs.

2. The Department of Education (under Title VI) funds the **Institute for International Public Policy (IIPP)** program—a partnership carried out by The College Fund/UNCF, the WWNFF, the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, and the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs.

The IIPP aims to increase awareness of and interest in international service careers, particularly among students who are members of underrepresented minority groups. It selects promising undergraduates and prepares them through a sequential program of policy institutes, study abroad, language training, and graduate education.

3. The **Ronald H. Brown Commercial Service Fellowship Program**, funded by the Department of Commerce, promotes careers in the commercial foreign service by providing talented undergraduates with an international and domestic public service education. It places emphasis on attracting members of minority groups historically underrepresented in the commercial service.

4. The **Department of Agriculture USDA/Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program** identifies college sophomores from 1,890 land-grant schools and funds them in education programs (in academic subjects of importance to USDA missions) through the Master's degree.

5. Funded by private sources—primarily foundations—the **Sloan/Woodrow Wilson/PPIA fellowship programs** have been in operation since 1981. They have prepared more than 2,000 undergraduate students of color for domestic and international affairs careers through

institutes and degree programs at participating institutions of public policy and international affairs.

6. The **Ron Brown Fellowship Program** (USAID)—formerly the Central and Eastern European Graduate Fellowship Program—designed to help these countries during their transition to democratization and free market economy. Though not specifically created for minorities or women, this program is another resource for them.

Another critical method of promoting increased opportunity for minorities interested in international affairs careers is building “capacity” in minority institutions’ graduate international affairs programs. Statistics for 1993–94 indicate that only 1.3% of all Master’s degrees granted were awarded by HBCU institutions; similarly only 1.3% of all first professional degrees granted in the country were awarded by HBCUs. These numbers highlight the lack of graduate programs in domestic and international affairs at minority-serving institutions—a major resource for minority students. And the lack of programs means a lack of minority faculty. Given the impact of anti-affirmative action court decisions on future enrollment of minority graduate students, the need for “capacity-building” is timely. A specific objective of the IIPP program, described above, is strengthening, through resource development grants, the ability of minority-serving institutions to prepare students for international careers. This is only one small program, and more resources need to be devoted to this objective.

In the early to mid-1990s, the Woodrow Wilson Program in Public Policy and International Affairs included a “pairing” element that matched minority and majority graduate institutions (for example, Tuskegee/Georgetown, Denver/New Mexico State, Tufts/Lincoln), with funding directed through the minority institution’s international affairs program. It aimed to attract highly motivated undergraduate students to prepare them early on for international affairs careers. It also offered faculty at the minority institutions incentives to participate in scholarly activities and to benefit from the latest research in international-related issues. While this “pairing” component had a great deal of potential, lack of funding limited its usefulness.

There is a need to locate new resources to carry out the objectives of this pilot program.

Organizations such as the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) and other institutions and foundations interested in improving educational opportunities for Native Americans—the most underrepresented group in the international affairs sphere—must become involved in a strong effort to recruit, mentor, and prepare Native American students for careers in international and domestic service. Native Americans are present in extremely small numbers in undergraduate and graduate programs in these fields. Consequently, they are present in very small numbers in professional career ranks in the federal government and also in the private sector. In too many instances, there are far too few Native Americans who are policy professionals, thus restricting the ability of tribal communities to manage their own tribal lands and properties and other economic and educational institutions. Much more time, effort, and dollars must be invested in programs that target this particular group.

At the same time, some Indian tribes, for example Indian tribes of the circumpolar north (Alaska, northern Canada, Greenland, nordic countries, and Russia), recognize that trade is essential for their communities’ economic survival and prosperity, and also realize the need to oversee their participation in international markets and education issues of importance to them. Many Alaska Native corporations are beginning to diversify their investments and put money into corporate ventures, usually in the mainland United States, in order to improve the economic life of their communities. Native peoples face more and more complex policy issues that have both local and international dimensions, and recognize the importance of developing the capacity within their own communities to deal effectively with the changing economic landscape. More and more, it is imperative to attract, mentor, and promote a wide spectrum of international affairs opportunities for motivated Native American students.

## Importance of the Private Sector

Given the current situation, the *private sector and multinational corporations are important players in expanding opportunities for minorities*

**Table 2. Comparison of Minority Representation in Selected Corporations (%)**

Company	African American	Hispanic	Asian American	Native American	Total Pool
AT&T	15.0	4.3	3.7	0.3	17.6
Coca-Cola	19.9	13.0	1.5	0.4	12.8
GE	7.7	21.0	1.6	0.2	6.1
Johnson & Johnson	11.8	8.1	na	na	12.7
McDonald's	23.0	10.0	4.0	1.6	30.6
New York Times	10.4	3.3	1.2	0.2	8.5

and women as international affairs specialists (see Table 2). In recent years American corporations have recognized that they have a self-interest in attracting minorities and women into professional and management positions as well as appealing to them as prime customers of their products. By 1993 major corporations had expanded the percentage of minorities in their total management pools (Graham 1993).

But the question still remains as to how many *international-related* jobs of significance in the management hierarchy are contained in the figures cited above. Finally, some entities in the corporate world are still struggling to overcome years of disinterest, if not outright hostility, with respect to hiring and bringing minorities and women into the upper levels of management—witness Texaco's recent, quick settlement of an antidiscrimination lawsuit and attendant publicity over "ugly words" in the executive suite.

A number of recent federal *court decisions* have complicated the picture further and present serious implications with respect to the goal of advancing career opportunities for minorities in international affairs. Will career opportunities shrink as a result? Will there be a "chilling" effect on federally funded graduate programs? In 1995 the Supreme Court held in *Adarand Constructors Inc. v. Peña* (5-4 decision) that federal affirmative-action programs that use race as a basis for preferential treatment are lawful only if they can withstand the principle of "strict scrutiny." The two elements of strict scrutiny require using racial classifications for "compelling" reasons, and the means used must be "narrowly tailored" to advance affirmative action. Even though the original decision applied to the business sector, the implications for higher education admissions policies are quite evident. Col-

leges and universities will be under greater pressure to justify recruitment of minority students and faculty to conform to this decision.

Another serious setback to diversity in higher education is the decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (covering the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas) in *Hopwood v. Texas*, which dealt with efforts by the University of Texas at Austin to increase admission of minority students into the law school. The court ruled that "race-conscious affirmative action in higher education, if pursued for diversity purposes, is unconstitutional in public institutions." Educational institutions must be sensitive to the implications of the *Hopwood* and *Adarand* decisions and yet be willing to press forward with providing the greatest opportunity possible for minority and female students to achieve the highest rungs of the international affairs career ladder.

There is one *final consideration* with respect to educating international affairs professionals—minority and nonminority alike. Does the *international affairs curriculum need updating* for the twenty-first century? In preparing the next generation of international affairs specialists, it is important to ensure that courses go beyond ideological issues and systems of government structure to include the complex role of technological innovation and environmental considerations and their impact on global markets; human rights issues in various regions of the world, including major trading partners; the rise of newly emerging democracies and newly capitalist countries; diversity issues in an international context; and courses that attempt a holistic approach when dealing with issues that have both domestic *and* international content (immigration, for example).

[Our] future will depend on what they [international affairs specialists] contribute to international affairs just as much as—if not more than—our past depended on the work of government foreign affairs professionals. This means that faculty members at schools of foreign service and those teaching international relations need to reinvent not only their courses, but also their conception of the world. (Goodman 1996b, A32)

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## **Breakout 9, Rapporteur**

# **Strengthening the Capacity of Underrepresented Minorities to Pursue International Service Careers**

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HEA Title VI Fulbright/Hays programs (particularly the Institute for International Public Policy at The College Fund/UNCF) is helping to meet this need by focusing international education in new directions.

Driving this (new direction) initiative are serious concerns for minority population growth in the United States, expanded needs for cross-cultural, ethnic sensitivities, and an ever shrinking global economy and marketplace.

Constraints that cause concern are linked directly to antiaffirmative action and diversity efforts, which continue to breed resentment and bitterness especially among white males. Giving its potential legal backlash on hiring and promotions for minorities, the recent *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña* was cited as an example.

All Title VI resource recipients and the supporting Coalition for International Education—institutions, associations, and individuals—represent a vanguard of social change. Consequently, the group felt that change—battles against discrimination and for expanded diversity—should not be driven solely by the courts, but through carefully thought out motivation and shared convictions to truly strengthen and expand a qualified pool of minority applicants for international service careers.

The group commended the Department of Education not only for providing much-needed resources in financial support (through Title VI-Part C, IIPP), but also for including this important issue as part of the agenda for open debate, discussion, and, hopefully, some kind of consensus. We recognized that this is a period of declin-

## **Summary Notes**

### **National Needs and the Role of Title VI**

Both prior and current needs of international education have been cast in terms of our national effort to ensure a presence abroad (in both public and private capacities) reflecting the “face” of America.

ing budgets and shrinking resources. Program survival is of highest priority; and minority recruitment, to correct past discrimination and promote diversity, will likely have an uphill struggle for its support.

### **Outlook for the Future and Capitalizing on Opportunities for Synergistic Support**

As mentioned above, public resources play the main support role for minority recruitment and international education initiatives. However, the group agreed that special attention must be given to private sources, fundraising, and tapping outside resources if congressional support remains uncertain and uneven. It was noted that The College Fund/UNCF is actively soliciting support from private foundations, corporations, and other entities interested in the

survival of the Institute for International Public Policy.

A major selling point is the success of the program to date, and the efficient use of public funds to get the activity up and going.

Concurrently, we expect member institutions of the coalition to fully buy in to our efforts to assist in making the international career service corps look more like America. It is critical that those of us in the broad spectrum of higher education institutions and associations concerned about international training take a comprehensive look at the complicated issue of diversity. Indeed, there must be collective responsibility and ownership as we strive for a respectable dimension of diversity among the cadre of future diplomats, developmentalists, global business persons, trade professionals, and a multitude of other related disciplines in the new global workplace.