

"The Global Interdependence Initiative is designed to improve the American public's awareness of growing global interdependence and to stimulate the public to respond appropriately.

Tragically, on 11 September 2001 a nation that is accustomed to seeing itself as secure and inviolable was suddenly enveloped in fear and anger.

Support for sustained and thoughtful American involvement in international affairs is essential. American engagement can be nurtured by demonstrating to the American people where their lives intersect with others in this interdependent world. This will take time, but the payoff in doing so is immense. Building coalitions with like-minded countries and peoples will be far easier for U.S. policymakers if they are supported by an informed and active public. The Global Interdependence Initiative can help develop just such a public."

-Olara A. Otunnu Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict United Nations

The Global Interdependence Initiative

The Global Interdependence Initiative is a ten-year effort to build an American constituency for U.S. approaches to international engagement that reflect the reality of global interdependence, embody core American values, and address critical human needs. Housed at the Aspen Institute, the Initiative was established in early 1999 with support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. It has received additional funding from the Carnegie Corporation, an anonymous donor, and the Ford, William and Flora Hewlett, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur, and Rockefeller foundations. The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect those of the donors.

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VALUES *O ADVOCACY

Activating the Public's Support for U.S. Engagement in an Interdependent World

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n 1996 the Rockefeller Brothers Fund convened a group of leaders concerned that U.S. policy and programs were failing to keep pace as the world rapidly became more interdependent. Elite opinion generally blamed this lag on public apathy or even hostility toward international cooperation. Yet survey findings presented at the meeting showed clear public support for a broader U.S. role, development aid, and active participation in cooperative structures like the United Nations. Why did policy diverge from public preferences? Survey data showed that the public's values and convictions did not readily translate into advocacy for policy change.

The Global Interdependence Initiative (Initiative) of the Aspen Institute had its genesis in this gap between attitudes and action. The Initiative's goal is to transform the latent beliefs of the American public into active support for forms of U.S. international engagement that respond to the implications of global interdependence, reflect core American values, and address critical human needs. This report summarizes the Initiative's activities during its first three-year phase.

THE INITIATIVE:

STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES

Princeton Lyman, former Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, leads a three-person staff based at the Aspen Institute. During its first phase the Initiative has had an advisory **Working Group** composed of some 25 CEOs or other senior leaders of American-based organizations that focus on global issues. (For a description of the activities of the Working Group, see page 1.) The Working Group helped shape an innovative strategic communications research program designed to improve understanding of American beliefs about global issues and this country's world role. The research also sought to determine how to communicate more effectively with the public about global problems and solutions. (See page 4 for an overview of research projects conducted by the FrameWorks Institute. Research is available online at www.frameworksinstitute.org.)

The Initiative, its research team, and the Working Group disseminated and applied the research findings. Efforts included:

Americans want the United States to be part of a global team, but they don't see it happening.



- A toolkit and training from FrameWorks for communications professionals.
- Re-grants totaling \$350,000 from the Initiative to Working Group members to enable them to apply the research results to specific issues and campaigns.
- Briefings by Initiative staff for journalists, policymakers and policy analysts, businesspeople and NGO leaders to explore how the research might shape the communications of these opinion leaders.

RESEARCH FINDINGS: WHAT WE'RE UP AGAINST

Research commissioned from the FrameWorks Institute identifies the "dominant frame" through which the public views and understands the world and the U.S. role. The research indicates that creating a favorable climate of opinion for more active U.S. global engagement requires reinforcing alternative frames. Findings show that:

- 1. The public's fundamental attitudes are remarkably consistent with the U.S. behavior and policies the Initiative wishes to foster. Research shows that the public has consistently supported an active and cooperative world role for the United States. Americans' views on global problems are shaped by their core values and beliefs, although the public generally lacks specific policy preferences anchored in broad factual knowledge.
- 2. Misperceptions and confusion, however, undermine public support for more effective U.S. global engagement. Americans believe the United States does more than its fair share of addressing the world's problems, and are therefore unlikely to advocate for a more active U.S. role. They also have difficulty recognizing cause and effect in global issues, assigning responsibility, and identifying ways that they can make a difference. This, too, undercuts activism on global issues.
- 3. Public attitudes are rarely reflected in the priorities of those who most directly shape U.S. engagement in the world. Lacking a clear sense of causality and accountability, the public also lacks confidence in its views in this area and often remains silent. This leaves elected officials free to ignore majority public opinion without suffering political damage.

- 4. The media's handling of international news fosters public misperceptions and widens the disconnect between public views and those of policy makers. The limited international news on television generally focuses on wars, natural disasters, accidents, coups and demonstrations—episodes presented without context or cause. People in other countries are not seen helping themselves or helping others. Through the "dominant frame" created by this portrayal, the public sees the United States acting alone to bring order to global mayhem. The public would prefer America to play a different role, but cannot see that role through this frame.
- 5. We need to overcome this dominant frame before we can mobilize public support for policies consistent with the realities of global interdependence. The dominant frame leaves global interdependence, long-term engagement, and effective cooperation outside the picture. The research pointed to alternative frames through which to see the world better, and help enable ordinary Americans to speak with confidence to policymakers in support of a more appropriate role for the United States.

See page 6 for more about the research findings.

FRAMING GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE:

TELLING A NEW STORY

The climate of public opinion we seek—active support for principled and cooperative U.S. engagement—cannot be achieved simply by presenting facts. People reject facts that lie outside their frame, or don't fit their mental map. The task of the Initiative is to strengthen alternative frames, a task that requires a new kind of storytelling—and a lot of it.

The FrameWorks Institute found that a good "global interdependence" story should highlight solutions and effectiveness, teamwork and partnership, and emphasize principles rather than self-interest. The story should focus on communities more than on individuals, and feature values held in common. It should offer meaningful ways that Americans can act in support of these values as consumers, volunteers, advocates and voters. Examples of "re-framed" communications appear on pages 10-15.

MOVING THE WORK TO A LARGER STAGE

The terrible attacks of September 11, 2001 have heightened the public's awareness of global issues. The Initiative completes its first three-year phase at what can be a "transformative moment." We are challenged now to offer, on a broader front, frames that encourage the public to act in support of the systemic changes required to build a better and safer world. This requires more than using new

communications strategies in independent issue campaigns. It requires building a purposeful coalition on behalf of more appropriate global engagement by the United States.

The Initiative will need to take an active stance, using its communications strategies as a critical tool. As it seeks funds for its second phase, the Initiative is investigating several options outlined on pages 16-18:

- Engage directly with the public and policymakers to promote more effective communication about global issues. The public can be reached through approaches like town hall meetings, a paid advertising campaign, media outreach, and the use of spokespeople. Presenting global issues through new frames can enable people to use everyday language to speak from their values in support of a broader policy framework. Op-ed pieces, meetings and other means can bring the same message to policymakers.
- Develop a network of allied organizations among and beyond the original Working Group, draw on them in public campaigns, and support them in creating new opportunities for public dialogue. The coalition could offer multiple channels through which alternative frames can be reinforced. Allies would also provide expertise which, successfully reframed, can enable Americans to speak confidently and increase the public's standing in shaping international policy.
- Build capacity in allied organizations. The Initiative can help organizations apply the research and broaden their impact, encouraging our allies, including those within journalism, to tell different stories. Tools will include training, technical assistance and Web-based help to coordinate efforts.
- Create new mechanisms for accountability. Tools such as a yearly global citizenship index can help the public measure this country's international behavior against core values of global citizenship and community building.

Challenging a dominant frame and changing the climate of opinion is a complex and ambitious task. As the Initiative's second phase takes shape, our work so far offers hope for a new story and a better future.



PROJECT STRUCTURE

PROJECT STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES

PROJECT STRUCTURE

A three-person staff led by Princeton Lyman, former Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, is based at the Aspen Institute. The staff provides project direction, oversees consultants, and commissions communications research. The staff has also convened the Initiative's Working Group and supported its members as they reshaped their messages and public campaigns.

The Initiative's Working Group has played a critical role in project accomplishments to date. The Working Group brought together some 25 CEOs or other senior leaders of American-based nonprofit, business and labor organizations that inform large and diverse groups of Americans about global issues. Their organizations' collective membership numbers tens of millions.

The Working Group was developed primarily through consultations among staff of the Initiative's initial partnership: the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Aspen Institute, and the Benton Foundation. Members were selected from organizations that:

- Were recognized as outstanding within their areas of focus
- Brought new, underrepresented voices into the dialogue on the country's global role
- Had capacity to reach out to their membership or constituency
- Had worked with the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in the past on cooperative international engagement

The leaders of the selected organizations also met certain criteria: they were open to new insights about how to engage the public, and willing to work across issue areas.

Working Group members and FrameWorks researchers "talking global interdependence."



ACTIVITIES

The Working Group in Action

The Initiative brought together the Working

Group for five, two-day retreats between May 1999 and October 2001. The members demonstrated remarkable commitment, with most attending at least three, and some, all five retreats. They have also been active between meetings in refining the Initiative's objectives. Nearly every organization sent its director of communications or a comparable staff member to additional briefings on the Initiative's research.

At the first two meetings, Working Group members heard presentations of research concepts, plans, and preliminary results, and helped refine the research hypotheses. At later meetings members discussed their experience in applying preliminary research results and identified their needs for further assistance or clarification. This feedback shaped the toolkit and training designed to help organizations apply the research to their communications efforts.

Members felt comfortable enough with each other by the last two meetings to discuss potentially divisive issues. This resulted in presentations and facilitated dialogue on topics including corporate globalization, and the importance of the United Nations and other international organizations. These meetings also promoted collaborative communication efforts among group members. Participants identified useful overlaps in their programs and goals, geographic targeting, and communication techniques. Through their spirited dialogue, the Working Group helped the Initiative create a well-focused communications research initiative.

Conducting Communications Research

The Initiative commissioned extensive strategic communications research, under the direction of the FrameWorks Institute, with the goal of better understanding:

Global Interdependence Initiative Working Group Members 1999-2001

David Arnold Executive Vice President Institute of International Education

Lois Barber International Coordinator Earth Action

Peter Bell President CARF

Melissa Berman President and CEO Philanthropic Collaborative, Inc.

Nancy Zucker Boswell Managing Director Transparency International

Joan Dunlop Executive Director A Women's Lens on Global Issues

Jane Gruenebaum CEO/COO Center for Policy Alternatives

George Hamilton President Institute for Sustainable Communities

Robert Hunter Senior Advisor RAND

Amb. Craig Johnstone Senior Vice President for International, Economic and National Security Affairs U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Larry Kirkman Dean, School of Communications American University

Reynold Levy President and CEO International Rescue Committee

C. Payne Lucas President Africare

- What Americans currently believe about global issues and the U.S. role in the world;
- Why Americans believe what they do; and
- How to communicate more effectively with the American public about global problems and solutions.

The research included 11 projects highlighted on page 4. The studies range from literature and survey reviews to in-depth interviews using specialized communication research techniques, qualitative and quantitative analysis of American reporting of international news (both television and print media) and a telephone survey. The research is grounded in an approach called strategic frame analysis pioneered by the FrameWorks Institute. FrameWorks analyzes the public's deeply held worldviews and widely held assumptions, and looks at how elements of communication trigger these frames. Key findings from FrameWorks' research for the Initiative are summarized in the next section of this report. Full research results are available online at www.frameworksinstitute.org.

Applying the Research

The Initiative disseminated the research findings and helped Working Group members apply them. These efforts have included:

- Briefing communicators on the research results. The research team offered two
 initial briefings, for communications directors of organizations in the Working
 Group, in September 1999 and April 2000 in collaboration with the Benton
 Foundation. The briefings brought many of the communications professionals
 together for the first time, and were intended to help develop an informal
 network among these professionals and facilitate later collaborations in
 applying the Initiative's research.
- Developing a communications toolkit. The FrameWorks Institute translated the
 Initiative's research results into a toolkit for communications professionals,
 Talking Global Interdependence. The toolkit, distributed in April 2001, includes
 examples of how to "reframe" speeches, flyers, campaign announcements,
 responses to radio call-in questions, and success stories about a project in the field.
- Training and supporting Working Group member organizations. The FrameWorks
 Institute provided two training sessions in Spring 2001 for some 40
 communications specialists. Each workshop incorporated the basics of
 strategic frame analysis and framing, the research results, and practice
 applying the findings. In the fall of 2001, FrameWorks piloted a comprehensive,

one-day spokesperson training, including media training and on-camera experiences. Five Working Group members participated.

FrameWorks provided consultation and technical assistance to each of the re-grant projects (see below). In addition, the Initiative created a moderated listserv for communications staff and Working Group members, and FrameWorks researchers contributed regularly to the discussions.

Re-granting funds to Working Group members. Financial and technical assistance from the Initiative and FrameWorks helped members apply the new frames suggested by the research results to specific issues and campaigns. The re-grants encouraged experimentation and collaborations among multiple organizations. The Initiative provided \$350,000 in funding and technical assistance for six projects involving a total of 13 organizations within and outside the Working Group (see Box).

Reaching New Audiences

Elected officials, think-tank pundits, journalists, businesspeople and NGO leaders are intrigued by the Initiative's communications research. Many have invited presentations on how the research might shape the way these opinion leaders develop and defend policies that have a more humanistic, global focus.

Grantee	Re-grant Project
Benton Foundation/	Map organizations whose members might share the
Tarr-Whelan Associates	Initiative's objectives and values
CARE	Use Initiative research to shape global rebranding campaign
InterAction	Apply Initiative research to training local coalition members
	in five American cities
Save the Children	Plan a collaborative communications effort on AIDS in
	Africa by five NGOs, including Childreach, CARE and
	Religions for Peace
Winrock International	Collaborate with the Institute of International Education
	and the Institute for Sustainable Communities to identify
	and reframe "solution stories" illustrating global
	environmental stewardship
Women's EDGE	Refine message to network of U.S. women's organizations
	on issues of human security (with A Women's Lens on
	Global Issues).

Working Group Members continued...

> William Luers President and CEO Association (USA)

Charles MacCormack President and CEO Save the Children Federation

Jessica Mathews President Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

> Mary McClymont President InterAction

Carl Pope **Executive Director** Sierra Club

Leonard Robinson Chief Executive Officer The National Summit on Africa

> Kenneth Roth **Executive Director** Human Rights Watch

Stephen Salyer President and CEO **Public Radio International**

Barbara Shailor Director, International Affairs Department AFL-CIO

> Ritu Sharma **Executive Director** Women's EDGE

Linda Tarr-Whelan Center for Policy **Alternatives**

Frank Tugwell President and CEO Winrock International

David Vidal Research Director, Global Corporate Citizenship The Conference Board, Inc.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL	. Communications	RESEARCH FROM THE FRAI	meWorks Institute
Project Title	Author(s)	Objective(s)	Method
Public Attitudes Toward Foreign Affairs: An Overview of the Current State of Public Opinion	Meg Bostrom Public Knowledge	Understand the state of public opinion on international engagement as the Initiative was launched	Collect and synthesize baseline information from available survey research
Veterans of Perception: GII Antecedents in the Literature on Media and Foreign Policy	Susan Nall Bales FrameWorks Institute	Ground the Initiative in an existing body of work, and connect it with others seeking to communicate foreign policy	Review and analyze the literature on foreign policy communications
Metaphorical Thought in Foreign Policy: Why Strategic Framing Matters	George Lakoff University of CA - Berkeley and the Rockridge Institute	Analyze strategic framing of foreign policy issues; show why reframing is key for the Initiative	Grounded in the field of cognitive linguistics
American Understandings of the United States' Role in the World: Findings from Cognitive Interviews	Axel Aubrun Joseph Grady Cultural Logic	Uncover the cultural models underlying Americans' views of international relations	In-depth interviews with 15 Americans of varied ages, ethnicities, socio-economic backgrounds, and political persuasions
Policymakers and International Engagement: Findings from Cognitive Elicitations	Axel Aubrun Joseph Grady Cultural Logic	See how policymakers communicate on international affairs	Based on interviews with 10 individuals, of varied political backgrounds, from government or internat'l organizations.
Ten Differences Between Public and Expert Understandings of International Affairs: Findings from the Mainstream American Press	Joseph Grady Axel Aubrun Cultural Logic	Analyze public and expert models of international engagement, leading to development of common language	Analyze about 100 articles from the mainstream print media
Four Habits of International News Reporting	Susan Moeller Brandeis University	Outline journalism conventions and their resulting frames and narratives	Analyze print and TV news coverage of international issues
The Myopic Neighbor: Local and National Network Television Coverage of the World	Daniel Amundson et al Center for Media and Public Affairs	Examine national and local media coverage of international events; analyze how such news is presented to the public	Review and code national and local news coverage for two one-week periods in 1999, including 10,243 stories over 206 hours of airtime
A Window on the Storm: How TV Global News Promotes a Cognitive "Refuge Stance"	Joseph Grady Axel Aubrun Cultural Logic	Describe the likely impact on viewers of TV news reports about global issues	Analyze televised news segments, and conclusions in The Myopic Neighbor (above)
Primed and Suspect: How the Public Responds to Different Frames on Global Issues	Meg Bostrom Public Knowledge	Quantify the effect of different frames on public opinion; test ways to increase public support for addressing global issues	Telephone survey of 2400 households in the U.S; segments were "primed" differently before questions were asked.
Promoting American Engagement: A Catalog of Recommended Frames and Language	Axel Aubrun Joseph Grady Cultural Logic	Provide suggestions for language to promote cooperative global engagement	Builds on findings from other research to offer alternative frames for diverse audiences

What Americans think about global interdependence:

Two-thirds of Americans believe the United States should be giving economic assistance to other countries.

-FrameWorks Institute, National telephone opinion survey of 2400 adult Americans, 2000

American support for global cooperation comes from core values, not concern for our national interest. When asked where the U.S. should target aid:

- 47% said "the poorest countries"
- 27% said countries important to U.S. security
- 19% said countries that the U.S. needs as trading partners.

FrameWorks Institute, National telephone opinion survey of 2400 adult Americans, 2000 The public does not see eye to eye with policymakers. For example, improving the global environment is a top priority for 50% of the public but only 22% of Capitol Hill international policy staff.

Ethel Klein, "Becoming Global Citizens: How Americans View the World at the Beginning of the 21st Century" Oxfam America, May 2000

The public believes that it is important "for the war on terrorism to be seen as an effort of many countries working together, not just a U.S. effort." (95% important; 82% very important)

Program for International Policy Attitudes; survey conducted November 1-3, 2001





his summary represents the Initiative's interpretation of findings from research commissioned from the FrameWorks Institute. The research sought ways to help create a favorable climate for more active U.S. global engagement by transforming supportive, but latent, public attitudes into strongly held convictions. The research suggests specific communication techniques to reframe global issues and encourage members of the public to act on their convictions.

The Initiative's research findings show that:

1. The public's fundamental attitudes are remarkably consistent with the U.S. behavior and policies that the Initiative wishes to foster.

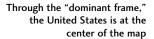
The American public is not isolationist. Polls, focus groups and other research show that the public has consistently supported an active role for the United States in the world. This support predates the attacks of September 11, 2001 by many years. The public believes the United States should address global issues collaboratively, in partnership with other nations and international organizations like the United Nations.

Americans generally reach their views about global problems on the basis of core values and beliefs, consistently applied. They rarely have specific opinions and policy preferences anchored in broad factual knowledge.

When thinking about relationships with other countries, people apply familiar models. The most common models Americans use in thinking about relationships between countries are interpersonal relationships, such as those between family and community members. Some of these roles point to positive metaphors on which the Initiative's efforts can build: mentor, good citizen, teammate, partner.

2. Misperceptions and confusion, however, undermine public support for more effective U.S. global engagement.

Americans believe the United States does more than its fair share of addressing the world's problems. For example, in poll after poll, Americans have shown an exaggerated perception of the foreign aid program, believing it constitutes some 15% of our budget when the figure is significantly less than one percent. The actions of other countries in addressing the world's problems are largely invisible to Americans. Those who watched the 2000 Presidential debate over U.S. troop commitments, for





example, would not have known that Europe was already providing two-thirds of the troops in Kosovo. The debate focused exclusively on American involvement and implied that the Europeans were not doing their share.

Americans also have difficulty understanding cause and effect, assigning responsibility, and imagining effective solutions for global challenges. The public responds generously to charitable appeals, but rarely perceives global problems as systemic difficulties requiring long-term solutions.

Since Americans believe that we are already "doing it all," they are unlikely to advocate for a *more* active U.S. role in world affairs. Americans are also unlikely to feel competent to advocate in this arena since they don't understand the context and responsibility for world events, nor the actions they can take to make a difference.

3. Public attitudes are rarely reflected in the priorities of those who most directly shape U.S. engagement in the world.

Policymakers, on the whole, perceive the public as naïve, uninterested and uninformed on international issues—and therefore ignorable. This serves the interest of policy elites, who may fear that public participation in foreign policy debates will limit diplomatic options.

The public and policymakers see global issues through different lenses. The public thinks about relationships between people and within communities, leading them to focus on what the right thing to do would be or what the fair share of American responsibility should be. Policymakers use different images and language: games, the balance of power, and sources of instability.

Polls taken since September 11 show that while the public is concerned with security and the reality of war, it recognizes the need to go beyond a military response to create a better and safer world. The public supports cooperative efforts to improve international living standards and human rights, but lacks confidence in its views.

This continued lack of connection between public views and policymaker actions is possible because there is no political feedback system on international affairs. The public's insecurity about its ability to guide decisions in this area, and its lack of clarity regarding what is to be done and

whom to hold accountable, let members of Congress ignore public opinion and adhere to set views without suffering political damage.

4. The media's handling of international news and stories about global issues fosters public confusion and widens the disconnect between public views and those of policy makers.

Television news creates the "dominant frame" through which the general public understands the world. The news portrays a world of little concern to Americans except as a place where bad things happen and the United States alone intervenes to set them right. Reporting is limited and skewed heavily towards wars, natural disasters, accidents, and demonstrations, usually portrayed as episodic events and crises. The public is thus likely to see the United States' role as bringing order to global mayhem.

Brief international news reports rarely discuss the systemic nature of problems, or their context and underlying factors. International policy outcomes are presented as though they were natural disasters, for which there is, of course, no accountability. The natural public response to this coverage is to assume that reacting to these apparently independent episodes is the only available course. If the public sees little difference in U.S. ability to prevent a famine or to prevent a volcanic eruption, foreign aid comes to be viewed as charity rather than as a building block for development.

International news tends to focus overwhelmingly on the United States' role —sometimes to the exclusion of more important partners. A newspaper story about food subsidies, for example, headlined a pledge of \$7.9 billion by the "U.S., Japan, Other Nations"—but the U.S. contribution accounted for just three percent of the total. Disaster stories talk about the tragedy for the [foreign] victims and how the United States is helping, but rarely mention actions being taken by the country in which the disaster occurred, how people are helping themselves, or other countries involved in the relief efforts.

Lastly, a kind of "looking glass syndrome" impedes communication between the public and its elected representatives. Elected officials and the media tend to look to each other as a proxy for public opinion. Hence, policymakers gaze at their own reflection in the media's mirror, but believe they are receiving new information about the public's views.

5. We need to overcome this dominant frame before we can mobilize public support for policies consistent with the realities of global interdependence.

Better information by itself will not help Americans see the United States as a partner in an interdependent system or help them express themselves confidently to policymakers. FrameWorks Institute research indicates that it is critical to start telling stories that set up and reinforce a new mental map, and to tell these stories often enough, to replace the dominant frame in the minds of a significant number of people. Like a neural connection that gets strengthened through constant use, the connection between people's core values and convictions, and their willingness to take action, can be made stronger. Information properly reframed can get through. A successful reframe allows the public to see opportunities to act on its convictions as voters, consumers, and volunteers.

The section below provides a brief overview of the findings on reframing—the remaking of people's mental maps.



What's wrong with this picture? It portrays an earthquake as one woman's tragic story; and the only response is charity.



Same earthquake, different story: this image offers a wider frame and allows us to wonder whether sloppy construction or lax building codes might be at fault. Charity is good, but may not be enough.



CARE Portrays the rebuilding effort as a job for Indians, by Indians.





reating a positive climate of opinion regarding U.S. engagement on global issues is not simple. People are unlikely to accept information that does not fit within their existing framework for thinking about global issues. As Susan Bales, President of FrameWorks, has said, "if the facts don't fit the frame, the facts get rejected, not the frame." Our task, then, is to change the frame—the lens through which people view and receive information—to allow a broader and deeper appreciation of our global connectedness. It's a task that requires skilled use of communication tools, and a great deal of repetition.

An analogy may be helpful. The view of Earth from space was simply unavailable to us until space travel began. The image first broadcast from Apollo 8 in 1968 showed our planet in all its beauty and isolation against the backdrop of space. It showed the planetary scope of clouds and storms. Political boundaries, of course, are not in the picture. Over time and many repetitions, this image has come to trigger a view of the world as an interconnected, interdependent system. In fact, FrameWorks' research for the Initiative underscores the power of this image to help members of the public challenge the dominant frame.

TELLING STORIES ABOUT GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE

The public has heard and seen countless stories that reinforce the global mayhem frame. But the public knows and values stories of successful partnerships, vibrant communities and effective teamwork. If many organizations in the Working Group and beyond it tell such stories, framing global interdependence in this way, the public will come to accept and expect a different world view. Through this frame, the public can see that cooperative, principled American engagement is possible and fruitful. And through this frame, Americans can see a supporting role for themselves as ordinary citizens: as voters, advocates, consumers and volunteers.

The communications training efforts of the FrameWorks Institute, as well as several of the re-grant projects, focused on identifying and practicing the elements of good global interdependence storytelling. The research indicates that a good global interdependence story, first of all, shows solutions and effectiveness. The story should:

- Be thematic, not episodic;
- Paint a landscape rather than a portrait, putting communities rather than individuals in the foreground;

Telling a different story helps us see the United States as linked to others, and part of a larger whole



- Downplay foreignness in favor of common values
- Present shared, typical experiences rather than exceptional ones; and
- Emphasize issues, not personal troubles and emotions.

It is better to show teamwork and partnership, and to emphasize values and principles rather than self-interest. If the story contains comments on foreign policy, they should come from ordinary people and civic leaders, not just from experts and policymakers.

By motivating many NGO's and international organizations to apply the guidelines for effective storytelling about global interdependence a persistent drumbeat can be created that will move people towards new mental maps of the issues.

RE-GRANTING PROGRAM

In addition to encouraging collaboration, most of the re-grants made by the Initiative were designed to provide a laboratory for sharpening the reframing principles through early application of research findings. The re-grant programs provided valuable feedback that will shape future communication training initiatives.

For example, the FrameWorks team helped Winrock International, the Institute for International Education and the Institute for Sustainable Communities test ways to tell "solutions stories" about sustainable development based on their work in the field. FrameWorks developed a series of mock advertisements that made use of reframing principles to tell these stories. Sample text, logos, and slogans are shown below to illustrate how those principles can be applied in developing specific marketing materials. CARE used a re-grant to apply the research to its global rebranding effort, helping CARE do a better job of telling the public about systemic causes of poverty, and CARE's role in helping the poor find solutions.

The Benton Foundation worked with Tarr-Whelan Associates to identify organizations with which the Initiative should seek to develop alliances of one form or another as we move into the next phase of our work.

REFRAMING ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE U.S. ROLE IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS: SAMPLE GUIDELINES FOR STORY-TELLING			
How to Frame	Why		
State what story is "about"	 Tell the reader what story already in his or her head to link this story to—help direct to underlying meaning Use metaphors and familiar issues to prime people to see story within a proven "interdependence" frame—global environment, partner, teamwork, world community 		
Help people see the problem	 People need help in identifying the problem in order to arrive at effective solutions Define problem as systemic— a public problem and solution, not a personal problem 		
Establish the size and scope of the problem	 If it's overwhelming, people feel they can't do anything Need people to see why ordinary citizens in other countries can't solve for themselves 		
Stress efficacy: A solution was found/progress occurred	 Solution at top of story presents it before people move into "problem" mindframe and discount the solutions Invoke "American ingenuity mindframe" — rolling up sleeves to solve it—show that others can do this, and Americans can work on a problem-solving team Overcome media-created frame of ineffectiveness 		
People worked together /teamwork Appeal to moral values	 Americans want to help people rise to the next level—show that they have the capacity Prevent mindset of "exceptionalization"—thinking that only unique individual could achieve results 		
Leader as catalyst, not exception	 Establish role for U.S. as decent person in world community Americans need to see the actions of ordinary people to believe their investment will be sustained Encourage people to invest in community support that encourages leadership 		
We can learn from/replicate this	Demonstrate that solutions are portable, that we're all in it together, how U.S. leadership advances these efforts		
Establish responsibility	 People need to know what action they can take Hold policymakers accountable 		

Source: Summary of story-telling guide from the FrameWorks Institute. \\

INTERACTION "TICKET TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY"

This "ticket" is part of a campaign mailing from InterAction, a coalition of U.S.-based international development and humanitarian nongovernmental organizations. Its emphasis on themes of effective partnership leading to self-sufficiency can help open the way to active public support for foreign assistance.



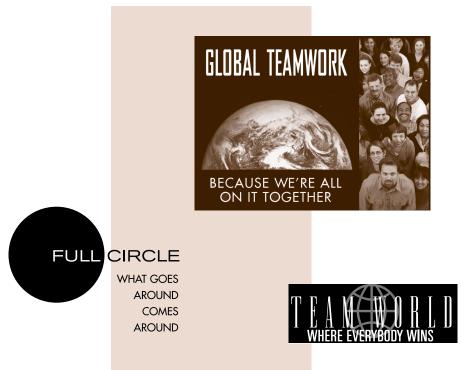
"The factors that keep people living in poverty are complex and interwoven. That's why CARE does much more than feed the hungry. We work alongside families and communities to understand the greatest threats to their survival and to achieve lasting solutions. And we hire people from the countries in which we work, so the staff has a deep understanding of local culture. At the same time, the staff is exposed through CARE to new ideas and experiences from other parts of the world. Working together, CARE's team develops projects customized to help communities meet their unique needs."

This draft language from a forthcoming brochure reflects some of what CARE staff learned from the Initiative's toolkit and from consultations by FrameWorks under a re-grant. A CARE communications professional noted: "this language strongly positions CARE as a team player, a mentor that respects and understands the people we work with. Offers an alternative to the 'global mayhem' mindset by reminding reader that poverty happens for a reason, and CARE understands those reasons. Shows CARE's commitment to doing more than throwing money at a problem."



RE-GRANT RESULTS: REFRAMED SLOGANS AND ADS FOR A POSSIBLE CAMPAIGN ON GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP

Logos and Slogans Tested



FOCUS GROUP REACTIONS

- All three concepts inspired people and interested them in the organizations listed in the ad copy
- Global Teamwork was received best—memorable, easily explained, recognized as educational campaign, rather than selling a product
- Others may not sufficiently set up idea of working together to make world a better place

Sample Ad Copy and Commentary				
The global environment is shared by all. A big responsibility that people everywhere are taking more and more seriously.	Invoke global environment frame			
In Guatemala, the vast majority live in poverty, and 1 in 3 don't even have electricity. The harder they work to escape their poverty, the more they degrade their natural resources. But with better solutions, these people can do their part to protect the planet's future.	Identify problem—poverty, no electricity. Tie to environmental theme. Show that members of the community are working. Can solve, but not alone.			
Ten years ago, Winrock International and Fundacion Solar presented the villagers of San Buenaventura, a city five miles from electrical lines, with a solution: install solar-powered panel systems that could convert sunlight into electricity. But it takes teamwork to make a solution real: could the villagers do their part?	Evoke teamwork and mutual responsibility/accountability.			
The people of San Buenaventura came together and, in just one week, scraped together enough money for the system. An amount more than half the entire village's weekly income.	Demonstrate local commitment; Americans aren't doing it all			
Today, San Buenaventura manages the technical and financial aspects of the power project and will soon assume ownership. And it is using its power for progress: conducting adult education classes in the evenings.	Conveys the idea of an enduring solution			
The citizens of San Buenaventura are serious about global solutions. Shouldn't we be too? Learn about more solutions and find out how to be part of them by contacting us online at www.globalteamwork.org. A project of Winrock International, the Institute for Sustainable Communities and the Institute of International Education.	Offers opportunity for public to feel it is making a meaningful contribution			

Source: Re-grant work by the FrameWorks Institute for Winrock International, the Institute for International Education and the Institute for Sustainable Communities.





MOVING THE WORK TO A LARGER STAGE

n September 11, 2001 our connection to the rest of the world became starkly apparent. In the first few days after the terrible attacks there was probably more international news than in the previous year. In the months since, Americans have posed fundamental questions about our role in the world.

The Initiative therefore completes its first three-year phase at what could be a "transformative moment," in the words of the president of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Stephen Heintz. The public's awareness of global issues is heightened. The challenge for the Initiative and its partners is to help expand the frame of discourse beyond war and military security. As a response to terrorism, these are necessary but surely not sufficient. A military response frame focuses thinking on only one aspect of the challenge, and a negative one. It excludes from the picture many of the long-term, systemic changes required to build a better and safer world.

Our task in moving forward, while increasingly urgent, is thus fundamentally unchanged from what it would have been in the "old" world: To motivate the public to act based on its beliefs regarding U.S. engagement in the world. But now we need to move this work onto a larger stage.

The United States government, with the support of the American people, is now in a position to help shape a world where international relationships reflect the realities of growing global interdependence. Such a world is:

- Guided by justice and fairness
- Shaped by sustainable management of all resources
- Cooperative and mutually accountable in addressing challenges
- Committed to eliminating widespread poverty

However, achieving the Initiative's goal—building sustained, active public support for an appropriate U.S. role in shaping such a world—requires more than applying new communication strategies to a series of independent issue campaigns.

In moving forward, we need not only to continue our support for existing organizations, but also to build a purposeful coalition on behalf of more appropriate global engagement by the United States. We need to contest the dominant frame by speaking in convincing new language, and by finding new platforms from which a new message can be spoken.

We know now that we're all on it together...

To accomplish this, the Initiative needs to move from a research and development role to an active stance, using its communications strategies to encourage public discussion about a new vision of who we are, how we should act, and what kind of a world we want to help create. As it seeks funds for its second phase, the Initiative is investigating several options:

- Engage directly with the public and policymakers to promote a shared and more effective approach to communicating about global issues. The tools of framing and re-framing could be used to provide information in a way that the public can hear and employ, enabling people to talk comfortably and confidently about a range of alternative international policies. Instruments may include town hall meetings and other citizen dialogues, a paid advertising campaign, outreach to the media, and the use of spokespeople such as those who composed our Working Group. By using everyday language to present global issues in new frames, these activities would encourage members of the public to speak from their own values in support of policies anchored in those values. Reaching out directly to policymakers through op-ed pieces and articles, meetings and other means would convey a broader vision of what the U.S. role in the world could and should be.
- Develop and nurture a network of allied organizations among and beyond the original Working Group, draw on them in public campaigns, and support these organizations in creating new opportunities for public dialogue. The Initiative recognizes the need for a network of allied organizations and individual who can reinforce alternative frames through multiple channels. Some would provide expertise that, successfully reframed, can inform the public and enable Americans to speak confidently from their convictions. Other allies would discuss global affairs at local and national convenings. As moderator and convener of this network, the Initiative could help our allies, including those within journalism, to tell different stories. Amplifying the dialogue at public forums can ensure that policymakers hear public views and increase the public's standing in the shaping of international policy.
- Build capacity in allied organizations. The Initiative would help organizations apply the research
 and broaden their impact. Tools could include training, technical assistance, and Web-based
 help to coordinate efforts.

From Values to Advocacy

• Create new mechanisms for accountability. Tools to measure this country's international behavior against core values of global citizenship and community building can help the public gain a sense of accountability and, we hope, progress. A yearly global citizenship index would provide an update on U.S. behavior and an opportunity for advocacy on behalf of policy goals. Indicators might also follow changes in media reporting and provide guidance to consumers in making purchasing decisions that are consistent with their values. In the same spirit, the Initiative could measure progress in reducing the gap between the attitudes of the public and policy makers regarding the U.S. role on the world stage.

Challenging the "global mayhem" frame and changing the climate of opinion concerning the global role of the United States is a complex and ambitious task. As the Initiative's second phase takes shape, the work of its first three years permits us to imagine a different story—and a better ending.

"Our collaboration with the Global Interdependence Initiative has been invaluable to me as executive director and spokeswoman for Women's EDGE. The Initiative's research, trainings, and materials have helped me greatly in communicating with our individual members, and the general public, about issues that too frequently have been invisible to Americans."

-Ritu Sharma, co-founder and executive director, Women's EDGE

"For years, CARE has been preaching to the choir. Research from the Global Interdependence Initiative is helping us to frame issues, and transmit the values that motivate our work, in ways that enlist new audiences."

-Peter Bell, President, CARE

"The Initiative's research is helping the United Nations Association reach out to new audiences beyond our traditional supporters. It has helped us identify parts of the UN story—teamwork, partnership, success through global collaboration—that the public most wants to hear."

Ambassador William H. Luers, President and CEO
 The United Nations Association of the USA

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE INITIATIVE STAFF

Princeton Lyman, Executive Director. Ambassador Lyman's most recent government appointment was Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. Previously he was U.S. Ambassador to South Africa during the transition from apartheid to democracy, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria, Director of the State Department's Refugee Programs Bureau, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Earlier, in the Agency for International Development, he served as Program Officer in Korea and as director of USAID in Ethiopia.

His publications include books on Korean development and on the U.S. relationship with South Africa, and numerous articles on Africa, economic development, U.N. Security Council reform, U.N. peacekeeping, U.S. foreign policy, and the AIDS crisis.

In addition to his work with the Aspen Institute, Ambassador Lyman serves on boards of numerous other philanthropic and civic groups. He has received the President's Distinguished Service Award, the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, and the Secretary of State's Career Achievement Award.

David Devlin-Foltz, Director. For more than fifteen years, Devlin-Foltz has been involved in public education, international exchange, and constituency building efforts in southern Africa and the United States. Before joining the Aspen Institute, he worked for the Institute of International Education, the School for International Training and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. He served as a Peace Corps volunteer at the National University of Rwanda and has also taught or managed programs in France, Spain, and Zimbabwe. He holds graduate degrees from the Sorbonne and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.



Three-Year Report
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is a global forum for leveraging the power of leaders to improve the human condition. Through its seminar and policy programs, the Institute fosters enlightened, morally responsible leadership and convenes leaders and policymakers to address the foremost challenges of the new century.

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The Aspen Institute operates internationally through a network of partners in Europe and Asia.