

GLOBAL CHICAGO

TWO REPORTS ON
CHICAGO'S ASSETS AND
OPPORTUNITIES AS
A GLOBAL CITY



The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

America's cities are becoming increasingly important actors on the global stage. The idea that cities must reflexively submit to impersonal global forces is giving way to the recognition that civic and community leaders can shape a city's response to global trends. Globalization is a powerful engine of change. While it holds the potential to create enormous wealth, wealth that can revitalize cities and regions, it can also generate pressures that threaten to widen the gap between rich and poor. Some communities are better equipped to define and articulate their connection to a global economy, and are therefore more able to profit from it. Others struggle to define their international interests and to find solutions to the challenges that global forces impose. In order to develop thoughtful solutions to the challenges of globalization, and to ensure that all communities are positioned to take advantage of the many opportunities it provides, it is vital to understand how local choices and global forces intersect.

Chicago is no exception. Whether through the economic activity of its multinational corporations or through exchanges between its many ethnic communities and their homelands, Chicago's connections to the world are expanding and becoming increasingly complex. The MacArthur Foundation's special relationship to Chicago, and its longstanding interest in issues of global

change, led the Foundation to sponsor a study and series of discussions designed to illuminate the challenges and opportunities facing this region as it adapts to a new global order. A guiding assumption of the project has been that the most effective responses to globalization are those that address the needs and concerns of all stakeholders. Thus, we envisioned a process where all of Chicago's communities—from international business to labor to human rights organizations—could meet to discuss issues of common concern. Another major goal of the project has been to bring to light the depth and range of international activity that already occurs here in Chicago.

As part of this project, the Foundation commissioned two reports on the theme of "Chicago as a Global City." The first, by Richard Longworth, senior writer for the *Chicago Tribune*, is based on interviews conducted last year with Chicago's civic and community leaders and with directors of international affairs forums around the country. The second, by Sharon Morris of the MacArthur Foundation's Program on Global Security and Sustainability, is based on a survey of over 200 Chicago area organizations and individuals that have a stake in Chicago's global future. In addition, a cross-section of Chicago leaders, representing a broad range of interests, was assembled to evaluate and comment on the reports and to outline the challenges facing their communities.



Report Findings

Both reports reveal an extraordinary amount of interest in, and activity around, international issues. The city possesses exceptional global assets in the form of major multinational corporations, world class universities, and public forums devoted to different aspects of international political and economic life. Even among those communities that are not generally considered part of traditional foreign policy networks, such as religious, labor, and ethnic communities, there is a high degree of engagement with international issues. For example, in addition to its work with women in the Chicago area, the Women's Self-Employment Project consults on international micro-enterprise development; the Mexican-American community regularly receives religious, political, and economic delegations from Mexico; and Chicago's religious communities routinely send delegations to Washington DC on issues of global concern.

Despite strong interest and high levels of activity, however, both reports highlight a serious lack of coordination among local organizations with international interests, and an information gap about what is happening locally and who local leaders and experts are. As Longworth points out in his report, this fragmentation and lack of coordination puts Chicago at a serious, self-imposed handicap in the global order now taking shape. Chicago's inability to support a sustained, broad-based discussion about the city's future as a global city is

particularly damaging to those groups that are just beginning to identify their connection to an emerging international order. While a number of organizations, such as the Heartland Alliance for Human Needs and Human Rights and the Center for Labor and Community Research, are able to mobilize interest and activity around particular international issues, none has the resources to sustain an ongoing debate on world affairs more generally. As such, many of Chicago's communities are unable to present a coherent or long-range position on their constituents' interests.

Advisory Committee Response

A group of Chicago leaders (see list of names on back cover) came together to discuss the reports and to make recommendations about how to advance the quality and effectiveness of local activities. Several themes emerged over the course of these discussions. First, the committee strongly endorsed the need, underlined in both reports, for greater coordination of information on, and activities related to, international affairs. Second, the group stressed the importance of identifying and highlighting the depth and richness of international activity that occurs outside traditional foreign policy networks in Chicago. For example, members of Chicago's human rights community, including those at DePaul University's International Human Rights Law Institute, have played a pivotal role in creating the International Criminal Court and Rotary

International, based in Evanston, has led a worldwide effort to eradicate polio. But the work of these organizations, and others like them, receives little local media coverage and is not well known in Chicago.

Third, participants suggested that for Chicago to take better advantage of the global assets it already has, there is a need for a new way to talk and think about international affairs. The term ‘foreign policy’ may be too narrow to capture the full range of international activity that occurs in Chicago, and may work against local communities fully realizing how much of their work is inherently global in scope. Fourth, participants stressed the need to consider how to better engage young people in a dialogue on global issues. Members of the advisory committee suggested that many barriers to communication and coordination among Chicago’s international communities, such as racial and ethnic separation, are less entrenched and forbidding to Chicago’s younger citizens. It was also suggested that younger people have an instinctive understanding of the importance of transnational issues, are more receptive to the idea of a global community, and understand that the jobs of the future will require international skills.

Finally, the Advisory Committee stressed that any effort to enhance Chicago’s global profile would require building strong partnerships among new entrants to the dialogue, members of Chicago’s established foreign affairs community, and offices within city and state government.

Recommendations

The Advisory Committee proposed several initiatives designed to encourage broad-based dialogue and increase coordination among Chicago’s many organizations with international interests. The first recommendation was to establish a “Global Chicago” website that could link institutions and individuals and spread information on local activities that have an international component. Such a website is in the design phase, is expected to be fully operational by May 2000, and can be found at www.globalchicago.org.

A number of participants also suggested setting up a small service organization to facilitate cooperation among organizations, promote the co-sponsorship of activities, and serve as a physical counterpart to the website. There was strong agreement that this organization should (a) not duplicate the activities of any existing institution, (b) primarily serve in a coordinating capacity, and (c) reach out to organizations that are not in traditional foreign policy networks. In addition, the organization could keep information on the website current and oversee further data collection and analysis of Chicago in the global context. Along these lines, a study was suggested that would build on the two reports published here by conducting a more in-depth examination of Chicago’s connections to a global economy and the implications these have for the city’s future.

Any effort to help Chicago’s communities define and articulate their connection to the emerging global order, enhance Chicago’s global profile, and craft thoughtful and equitable solutions to the challenges of globalization will undoubtedly take place over many years through the participation of a wide range of people and organizations. We hope that the studies and ideas published here will help to initiate a discussion that will increase Chicago’s understanding of its place in the world, and give Chicago—and the surrounding region—a greater voice on the national and international stage.

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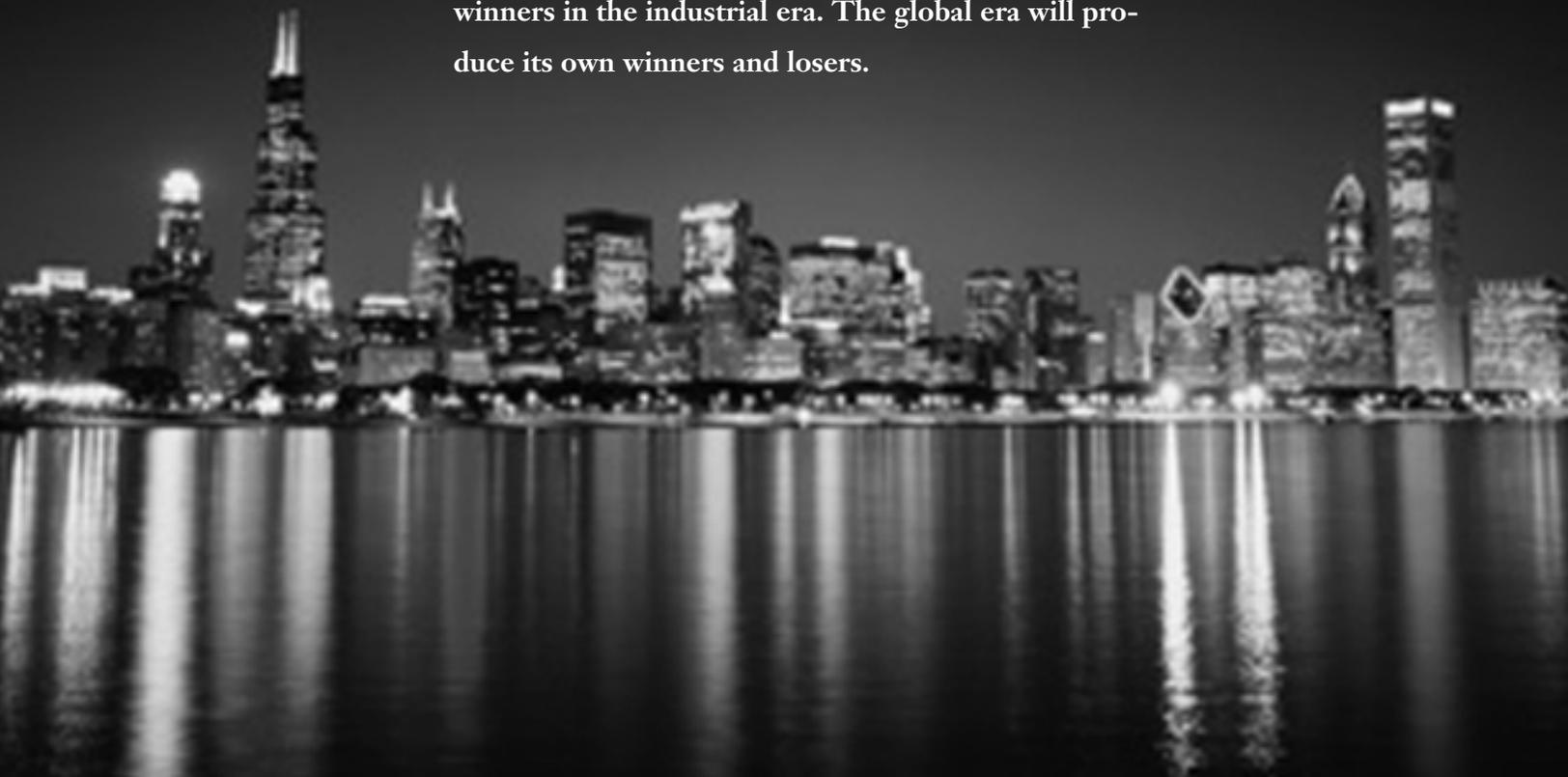
Chicago as a Global City

A Report for the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
by *Richard C. Longworth*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Chicago is a place where global things happen but it is not a global city. The city and its region possess formidable global assets—powerful multinational corporations, vibrant ethnic communities, great universities, forums devoted to foreign affairs, wealthy markets, law firms and hospitals and consulting firms that deal daily with the world.

But these assets remain fragmented, seldom cooperating, islands rather than an archipelago. So the total impact remains less than the sum of its parts. This fragmentation, isolation and lack of cooperation puts Chicago at a self-imposed handicap in the new world now taking shape. Chicago was one of the world's winners in the industrial era. The global era will produce its own winners and losers.



This is more than an economic competition. The same vitality that draws in business also draws in scholars and artists and leads to mighty universities and cultural institutions, as it did in Chicago throughout the industrial era.

What are the obstacles?

- Chicago's ethnic communities remain separate entities, more in touch with their homelands than with each other or with the broader city and region.
- The major universities educate the world but have surprisingly little contact with Chicago itself, while the city's foreign policy debate often excludes scholars and students from smaller universities and colleges.
- The city's foreign policy forums are too seldom in touch with ethnic communities, largely focused on Europe in a region that is no longer predominantly European, too dismissive of modern forms of communication, and often seen as inaccessible by younger members.
- The media bring the world to Chicago but often ignore the global events happening within the city itself.

- Local governments are still primarily focused on local politics and issues, even as the broader world becomes increasingly important to their future.
- Chicago's voice in the world is muted. The city and region have special interests and priorities that are global in nature, but when the nation debates U.S. foreign policy, Chicago seldom has a seat at the table.
- Chicago has global businesses, lawyers, accountants, and consultants. These mighty economic assets talk to each other or to their opposite numbers in other cities and countries, but they make little attempt to draw on the riches of the city's universities or its vibrant ethnic communities.

What might be done?

- Chicago's mainstream foreign policy institutions should seize the opportunity to reach out to ethnic communities, young people, and schools, to widen and revitalize the foreign policy discussion here.
- A Global Chicago Web Site could help link persons and institutions active in global affairs, spread information on activities and resources, provide an electronic bridge to ethnic communities, and provide a channel to the wider world.

- The forums and other groups active in global affairs should explore the possibility of creating an umbrella organization that would form the hub of a network of relationships and activities, facilitate cooperation between organizations and communities, promote the co-sponsorship of activities, serve as a clearinghouse for information on international organizations and events, and maintain the web site.
- The Chicago city government should be encouraged to set up a central point of contact—either a department or an individual—for international affairs and should explore how to better take advantage of the many opportunities represented by global trends.
- Forums, universities and other groups should be encouraged to co-sponsor activities and work together in order to pool resources and expertise and reach out to a broader audience.



Chicago is a place where many global things happen, but it is not a global city. The city and its region possess important global assets—powerful multinational corporations, vibrant ethnic communities, great universities, a panoply of organizations devoted to foreign affairs, wealthy markets, law firms, hospitals, and consulting firms that deal daily with the world. But somehow these assets remain fragmented, seldom cooperating, many of them frequently unaware that the others even exist. They are islands that never form an archipelago, so the total impact remains less than the sum of its parts.

The purpose of this report is to consider Chicago’s global strengths—specifically its people and institutions who already are part of the wider world.

In a globalizing world, this is a serious, self-imposed handicap. The global era, like the industrial era that preceded it, will produce winners and losers, among people, nations—and cities. This is more than an economic competition. The same patterns of cooperation that draw business to an area also draw in scholars and artists. Vigor in one field of life begets vigor in others. So, unhappily, does inactivity and isolation.

This matters. Chicago is a city built on success, and its virtues rise from a century of leadership. In the industrial era, Chicago was a winner: indeed, it

virtually symbolized that era. Its industries supplied the world and, as these industries thrived, so did its schools and museums, its symphony, and its neighborhoods.

But the global era will bestow its blessings in a different pattern. Some cities will thrive and draw the world to them. Others will lose the world’s attention and wither into backwaters, much as once mighty cities like Venice remain today, picturesque and ignored.

The purpose of this report is to consider Chicago’s global strengths—specifically its people and institutions who already are part of the wider world—and how to use those strengths to bring this world to all Chicagoans, to make Chicagoans more aware of the world’s role in their everyday lives, and to make the world more aware of Chicago as a global city. It will stress the need for closer working links between these people and institutions and will ask why they so often work in isolation.

“Chicago has all the parts of the global jigsaw puzzle, but it can’t put them together.”

Throughout, the word “Chicago” is used to mean both the city and the region. Other reports have talked about the need for more regional cohesion, just as they have talked about the need for better schools or reformed financial markets. This report takes it for granted that these reforms are necessary: it also assumes that, in a globalizing world, the city of Chicago and its region have the same assets and problems, and will rise

or fall together. It will discuss the role of the markets in focusing the world's attention on Chicago, and the role of the schools in educating the future citizens of the world. Mostly, it will ask how the markets, the schools, and the rest of the community can work together to prepare for this world.

About forty persons, most of them Chicagoans whose jobs and lives put them in regular touch with the world, participated in lengthy interviews for this project. **All spoke on the understanding they would not be quoted by name, but their thoughts and ideas are woven into this report, and form its basis. Some expressed themselves so vividly that their direct words are used occasionally to highlight the issues addressed in the report.**

“St. Louis could have been Chicago but it made stupid mistakes. This time, we could be making stupid mistakes. We don't want to be the St. Louis of the global world.”

To many people, geography is destiny. To these people, Chicago can never have the global outlook that comes naturally to great ports like New York or San Francisco. It sits rooted in the heartland, irredeemably midcontinental in a bicoastal nation. Chicago will always be 1,000 miles from salt water.

Once, this may have been decisive. Today, this is no longer so. When the major link between nations was the ocean, then everything—goods and ideas both—passed through seaports.

Today, the main link is the satellite and the main cargo is information. In the global era, every computer terminal and satellite dish is a port. Money, books, art, people, ideas—all flow to and from Chicago as easily as they do to New York or London or Tokyo. This change is crucial.

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But if Chicago is no longer geographically isolated, it still has a largely midcontinental mindset. While other cities carry on a dialogue with the globe, Chicago remains silent, and many major players seem content to hold local dominance rather than conquer new worlds.

Chicago's ethnic communities are closely linked with their homelands, but are seldom in touch with each other, let alone the mainstream culture of the city. The world's students come to Chicago's universities and return home full of education and degrees, but leave little trace on the city itself. Chicago's businesses prosper across the globe but seem uninterested in tapping the global resources in the neighborhoods or the global ideas in the

universities. World leaders speak at invitational gatherings, but seldom to the wider Chicago community. Other important visitors come with information that many Chicagoans would find valuable, but they leave having seen no one but their hosts. The media bring the world to Chicago, but often ignore global events happening within the city itself.

Chicago is home to an astonishing number of national and international trade organizations and service clubs: the American Bar Association, the American Medical Association, Rotary, Lions, Zonta, and many smaller trade groups. Their international reach is stupendous, and ripe for greater use in ways that will benefit the city.

So global things happen, but in isolation. Most of Chicago's global actors seem in closer touch with their international counterparts—business people, traders, professors, artists, doctors—than they are with their fellow Chicagoans. We learn what others know when we talk to them. Chicago would benefit greatly from a more vigorous global dialogue.

“Chicago has a seventeenth-century problem. So much influence in the world—business, academic, journalistic, foundations—depends on old-fashioned face-to-face contract. If you're in New York or Washington, you know on a regular basis all the movers and shakers. If you're in Chicago, you're behind a Chinese wall.”



By making fuller use of its global assets, Chicago’s voice in the world could be clearer and more distinct. Anyone who has listened to a speaker from Washington talk to a Chicago audience knows there is a keen difference between the Beltway consensus and the Chicago sensibility. Chicago—the city, the region, the Midwest—has its own history, politics, economics, interests and priorities, and could have its own foreign policy. However to craft an articulate policy, Chicago’s diverse leaders need to seize the opportunity to talk to each other. Without a clear vision for Chicago’s international role, when the nation debates American foreign policy, Chicago will not have a seat at the table.

stores bearing the great names of global trade—from Bloomingdales to Borders, from Nike to Nieman Marcus, from Filene’s to Ferragamo—the same stores selling the same goods as on other major shopping streets in a thousand cities across the globe. But as you look in the windows, you’ll see only a handful of stores, like Walgreen’s or Garrett’s Popcorn, that are owned or headquartered here. Walk through the Loop or down State street and you’ll see the same. Many of the great names, like BancOne and Marshall Field’s, were born here, but now are owned elsewhere. Drive through suburban malls and it’s the same—from Kmart to Marshalls, TJ Max and Linen’s N Things.

Globalization both concentrates and diversifies. It scatters commerce and its fruit evenly across the land and the world, while putting real power into ever fewer hands.

“Is Chicago as international as we’d like it to be? The answer is no, in two respects—intellectual leadership, and our public perception by non-Chicagoans. We’ve got good people. But we don’t have people on the cutting edge of thinking that contributes to international issues. These people are in New York and Washington.”

Globalization both concentrates and diversifies. It scatters commerce and its fruit evenly across the land and the world, while putting real power into ever fewer hands. Walk down Michigan Avenue to the river and you’ll see new

Increasingly, ownership is concentrated, and that ownership is not here. It seems that every week brings news that another Chicago company—Ameritech, Amoco, Mortons—has been bought and its headquarters are leaving town. Chicagoans still get the goods and so are the beneficiaries of global commerce. But when decisions are made, Chicago does not make them.

The same dual process of concentration and dispersal will certainly happen in other areas, including culture and education, as the forces of globalization work their way. We are not going to lose our great museums or universities any more than we have lost Marshall Field’s or Carsons. But like Field’s and Carsons, these great institutions could become increasingly irrelevant to the rest of the world, assimilators of knowledge and culture rather than generators of it, the beneficiaries of

work done elsewhere in the world but not really contributing to that world, making money but not decisions.

Chicago will not disappear, any more than Venice disappeared. In many ways, it will thrive, no matter what happens. But how much better it would be to glow as a sun, not as a satellite, plugged into power that is generated somewhere else.

The International Forums

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations stands at the center of the foreign policy debate in Chicago. It has done the most to make Chicagoans global-minded, but it still has a great deal left to do. It brings in speakers from Washington and around the world to speak to a variety of audiences, and can fill a ballroom with 1,000 people or more for speakers like Helmut Kohl, Margaret Thatcher or Mikhail Gorbachev. It runs special programs for younger Chicagoans, fact-finding trips to Europe, training sessions for teachers, co-sponsors educational series on such areas as India and Mexico, off-the-record sessions for executives, and a travel program. It co-sponsors weekend seminars with the Ditchley Foundation in Britain and, every other year, an Atlantic Conference bringing together American, Latin American and European leaders for three days of discussion of transatlantic issues. Its quadrennial public opinion survey on American foreign policy attitudes is cited around the world.

If Chicago is more international in its outlook than it was 25 years ago, the Council deserves much of the credit. The Council is both one of the oldest and one of the strongest world affairs councils in the nation. It can be a key player in a broadly based effort to reach out to Chicago's various foreign policy communities and lessen the fragmentation between them.

In the past ten years, the world has changed and world affairs councils everywhere are struggling to change with it. Like American foreign policy itself, the programs and missions of these councils have been driven for the last half century by the Cold War. Now the Cold War is over and a new globalizing world, dominated more by economics than by strategy, is upon us. Chicagoans are more involved internationally than ever before, but this doesn't translate neatly into the vital interest in foreign affairs that existed during the Cold War, when foreign policy was a life-or-death matter. This changes everything, and the councils must seize the opportunities represented by these changes to draw in new voices and ideas.

“Demographic changes alone dictate a different way of doing business.”

Chicago's many ethnic communities not only are important to the life of the city but actively influence the foreign policies both of the United States and of their homelands. The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations has recently begun to reach out to these communities but much more needs to

be done. Many of these ethnic communities remain isolated within the larger city. The Council is uniquely qualified to bridge this gap and increase understanding on all sides. In Minneapolis, the Minnesota International Center worked with the local Muslim Council to put on a program about the area's Muslim population: encouraged by the response, it expanded this into a year-long series on the role of religion in world affairs.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming larger, more skillful and more important in the making and execution of policy and many of the most important have offices here in Chicago. Frequently, they can operate globally and influence global events in a way that more nation-based entities, such as Congress, cannot. The Council's programming, especially its corporate programming, now mostly a dialogue between business and government, could take advantage of this new reality by drawing more of these NGOs into discussions.

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations stands at the center of the foreign policy debate in Chicago. It has done the most to make Chicagoans global-minded, but it still has a great deal left to do.



Both Northwestern and the University of Chicago have regular seminars on foreign affairs, which are frequently open to the public but seldom publicized.

“It has to be fun. Whatever we do, it’s got to be fun. If it’s not enjoyable, people are not going to want to come back.”

There is also more information available and it is being delivered in new, non-traditional ways. The potential audience for world affairs councils suffers from a surplus of information, not a shortage. Anyone who wants to find out Ireland’s policy within the European Union does not have to wait for an Irish minister to visit the Council but can call it up on the Internet. The role of the Council is changing from being a dispenser of information, to a validator and judge. Young people especially, “the TV Generation,” do not want hour-long lectures but shorter presentations or seminars in which a skilled moderator helps them debate and sort out the information they already have.

Councils in other cities have recruited younger members by using shorter speeches, younger speakers, more interactive programs, more time for socializing at meetings, and a sensitivity to the time demands on younger members: most work very long hours and covet their free time. They cannot take two hours off at noon, but will turn out for breakfasts or for sessions immediately after work. They desper-

ately want to make contacts and see these sessions as places to meet or cultivate people with similar interests. Council sessions that do no more than bring together young professionals and students—including young leaders in ethnic communities— with no ties other than a common interest in foreign affairs would provide an extraordinary opportunity to build a new generation of leaders in Chicago who are dedicated to international affairs.

There are also opportunities for the Council to co-sponsor more events with other organizations in Chicago. This co-sponsorship could be done with the traditional foreign policy forums. It also could be done with less traditional groups, with ethnic organizations, for instance, or with professional organizations: a seminar on global law could be co-sponsored with the Chicago Bar Association or with local law schools. The Council also should be encouraged to share the speakers it brings to town with high schools, universities and other forums. This will not always be possible: when Madeleine Albright comes, she can give Chicago about three hours, no more. But other speakers can stay a day or two and should be encouraged to do so.

The Council could take other positive actions to expand the foreign affairs debate in Chicago and amplify Chicago’s voice to the world. It could involve Chicago-area members of Congress in its activities. It could emulate smaller councils in other cities

that produce their own radio and television programs for local distribution and encourage C-Span to cover programs of broader interest. It should improve its web site and database, so it can react more quickly to breaking news abroad. Finally, it should work hard to expand its schools programs.

“We’ve all got the same corporate sponsors, so we’re all going after the same money.”

Apart from the Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago has a range of other foreign affairs forums. Each has its own mission and membership but often these missions and membership overlap.

The Mid-America Committee brings in ambassadors and government leaders, both American and foreign, for off-the-record meetings with the Committee’s corporate membership. It also sponsors trips abroad for its members. It is strictly a business-oriented organization and outreach to schools, younger professionals, ethnic neighborhoods or other parts of the community are not part of its mission.

The Executives’ Club, the oldest forum, also has a business membership and sponsors speeches by corporate and government leaders. Like the Mid-America Committee, city-side outreach is not part of its mission. Unlike the Mid-America Committee or the Council on Foreign Relations, the Executives’ Club deals with both domestic and foreign issues, from a

business perspective. It also takes members on overseas trade and investment missions and to private briefings in Washington. In recent years, it has produced major programs on relations with the ASEAN and Mercosur nations, plus the Transatlantic Business Dialogue, probably the most important international business meeting in Chicago in this decade.

The National Strategy Forum presents programs on foreign strategic issues for a business, legal, academic and journalistic membership, featuring military and diplomatic experts. It also publishes the *National Strategy Reporter*, with original articles, and the *Strategic Agenda*, with digests of important articles published elsewhere.

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The World Trade Center focuses on promoting exports from Chicago to the rest of the world, but it also runs forums, like one in 1999 on trade and investment in eastern and southern Africa that brought in ministers from both Washington and Africa. It also runs a school outreach program called “Virtual Trade Mission” in ten high schools, six in the city and four in the suburbs.

Chicago-Kent College of Law has put on a series of one- and two-day symposiums of both depth and distinction, on such topics as intellectual property protection, trade with China, and the International Criminal Court. These symposiums have led to publications, such as one on global technological integration and intellectual property, of real scholarly importance.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago also has begun major seminars on international economic issues, often in cooperation with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Brookings Institution and other organizations. Through its own reach and those of its co-sponsors, the Fed draws in broad participation: 200 persons from all over the country came to the IMF session, and the World Bank meeting included participants from 27 nations.

The Japan Society sponsors lunches for Japanese and American business people and does other projects on Japan. Both Northwestern and the University of Chicago have regular seminars on foreign affairs, which are frequently open to the public but seldom publicized. DePaul is active in Eastern Europe, Central America and China, and uses its contacts there to promote programs here. The Chicago Bar Association has an international committee that discusses issues of global law over brownbag lunches. The New York Council on Foreign Relations has begun seminars in Chicago, among other cities, and the Asia Society wants to establish an office here.



This is only a sampling of the forums in Chicago and the suburbs discussing global affairs. A few of these events are co-sponsored, but most are not and there are few ties between the forums. This may be changing. Most rely on the same corporate funding for their lifeblood, and those corporate sponsors are beginning to complain that they are financing duplication.

“We’re tired of these organizations competing with each other. We’ve said, ‘Come on guys, team up.’”

Many of the major forums—especially the Chicago Council, the Mid-America Committee, and the Executives’ Club - rely on corporate funding and do corporate programming. This means duplication in both funding and programming. Corporate donors are getting restless.

A better, or more feasible, approach might be co-sponsorship, especially co-sponsorship in the area of greatest overlap, corporate programs on global issues.

To many observers, logic dictates a merger of the forums, or at least a merger of their corporate programs. But what is logical may not be possible. Attempts to merge competing forums in New York, San Francisco and Philadelphia have seldom succeeded. The independence of the Chicago forums makes it unlikely that mergers would succeed here, at least immediately.

Nor would mergers always be wise. For the most part, each forum has a unique mission that would be swallowed up in a

merger and loyal members who would be intellectually homeless if their forum disappeared. The strategic thrust of the National Strategy Forum would be blunted within the Chicago Council, and the national intensity of the Japan Society would be blurred within the Asia Society.

A better, or more feasible, approach might be co-sponsorship, especially co-sponsorship in the area of greatest overlap, corporate programs on global issues. This would multiply the reach and contacts of each forum, and cut the costs caused by duplication. Some co-sponsorship already takes place, but there are opportunities for much more. Chicago’s corporate donors could provide valuable leadership on this issue and go a long way toward reducing the fragmentation that currently exists in Chicago’s foreign policy community.

Finally, one other initiative deserves mention. The New York Council on Foreign Relations, by far the richest and most influential such council in the nation, wants to become a “truly national organization” by sponsoring programs in major cities, including Chicago. This ambition has not met with an enthusiastic response by local councils in many cities, including Chicago, because they see the New Yorkers as competition for members and funding. The New York Council should be sensitive to these fears and avoid any hint of empire building: it has 50 Chicago members who could help in this. But the New York Council has much to offer Chicago—not only

in bringing strong programs here, but, more important, in presenting Chicago's voice to policy-makers in Washington and New York. The New York Council has sought a local partner: here its logical partner would be the Chicago Council.

An Umbrella Organization

Many observers proposed an umbrella organization to coordinate global and international activities in Chicago. This idea has raised the valid concern that such an organization might simply become "one more organization" competing for scarce funds. But a well thought out umbrella organization could bring real benefits, especially if it had the full support of the donors behind it.

An umbrella organization could promote cooperation and co-sponsorship of programs between forums. It could act as a data base or clearing-house for global affairs in Chicago, with a list of organizations involved in the outside world and their needs and resources. It could maintain a citywide global web site. It could stay in touch with world affairs councils in other cities and could arrange cooperation and co-sponsorship with these other councils for major speakers, much as museums across the country co-sponsor major exhibitions. It could be an information resource, telling the

forums when distinguished foreign scholars come to Chicago universities or to Fermi or Argonne. It could help publicize global events in Chicago. It could help farm out visiting speakers to local schools and other organizations. Because it would do no programming of its own, it would need only a small staff.

"All under one roof? I think that's a tremendous idea."

Discussion of an umbrella organization leads to consideration of another popular idea, of an "international center" in Chicago, housing the forums and other organizations dealing with global affairs. Most of the major forums oppose the idea and prefer their geographical, as well as organizational, distance. But again, it's an idea with considerable merit.

The World Affairs Council of San Francisco owns such a building and rents out the space, at cut-rate rents, to other organizations, including those involved in foreign affairs. Proximity begets synergy. Cooperation blooms naturally between people who use the same coffeepot. A single building can share services, such as clerical work and switchboards, and facilities such as copiers. The forums, working together, could build a library that would be beyond them working separately. The building could be a resource center for both individuals and organizations interested in foreign affairs. Simply being under one roof could go a long way toward establishing the links that are missing in Chicago now.

An umbrella organization could promote cooperation and co-sponsorship of programs between forums.

The building in San Francisco is subsidized by donors, enabling the forums to enjoy low rents. This in itself could promote cooperation. For instance, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* operates out of an old house in Hyde Park, partly for historical reasons but largely because the rent is relatively low. Because of this distance, it has virtually no contact with Loop organizations, such as the National Strategy Forum, with which it shares common interests. *The Bulletin* and the Forum have much to say to each other and, if they shared the same neighborhood or even the same building, the dialogue would happen.

The Web

There's no global bulletin board here. In this computerized age, that shouldn't be so hard.

If there is agreement on one sure and relatively easy way to bring Chicago's global communities together, it is the Internet. These communities already are in touch with the world through the web. A global Chicago website could be the perfect vehicle for putting them in touch with each other.



If there is agreement on one sure and relatively easy way to bring Chicago's global communities together, it is the Internet.

An umbrella organization coordinating the various foreign policy forums could set up and maintain a Chicago global web site. But it is not necessary to wait for such an organization to be formed. A web site could be independently maintained, or it could be run by the Council on Foreign Relations or another forum.

The Chicago global web site could include:

- A listing of all organizations in the region with an interest or activity in foreign affairs. This could include the forums, global corporations, colleges and universities, professional organizations, ethnic organizations, and the like.
- An up-to-date listing of global activities. This could include speeches, seminars, art shows, film festivals, visiting artists, visiting scholars, etc. Among other things, the media could use this listing to plan stories and broaden lists of contacts and resources.
- A posting of locally-produced articles or proceedings of local conferences on foreign affairs.
- A portrait of activities in ethnic communities. Many of these communities already have their community web sites, and the Chicago site could link to those.
- A showplace for Chicago's consular corps. The consulates could post their own activities, plus links to their home countries.
- A channel to the wider world. The site would link to the New York Council and other world affairs councils, to think tanks and scholars, and to government sites.
- A resource guide. The site would keep an up-to-date list of books, articles, television programs and other material on foreign affairs.
- A connection between professional communities. Chicago doctors and Chicago lawyers, both with activities in China, could post those activities and leverage them by cooperating with each other and with other Chicagoans doing business there. Chicagoans traveling to China, or seeking scholarly contacts there, could use this connection.
- A help for ad hoc activities. A recent meeting here on Africa, for instance, needed help in event planning, public relations and other expertise: a web site could have led it to experts with an interest in foreign affairs in general or Africa in particular.

City Government

“A lot of cities have an international affairs department. This one doesn’t. This one has a mayor whose bread and butter is local development.”

Proposals to create within city hall a department to coordinate the international aspects of the city’s life should be encouraged. Unlike many major cities, Chicago until now has had no such department devoted to the city’s life in the world, from visiting dignitaries to wooing foreign investment. No fewer than 43 foreign consulates are based in Chicago, but many of the resident diplomats, the consuls and consuls general, say that they have had difficulty in locating the most appropriate contact at City Hall.

One proposal currently being discussed is a Department of International Affairs to coordinate the many global-related activities that are currently being pursued by different departments in City Hall.

The Civic Committee of the Commercial Club set up a new office, World Business Chicago, partly to compensate for the city administration’s lack of interest in a vigorous campaign for foreign investment here. The Sister

Cities program remains an inadequately funded project mostly run by volunteers. The program is extensive, with ties to 24 foreign cities, but it is unclear whether the organization’s mission is meant to benefit Chicago business, promote cultural ties, stimulate education, or be a conduit for philanthropy. As a result, it is a little of all these, and not enough of any of them.

While there have been many positive developments, there is still much more that could be done to draw the city and the international affairs community—broadly defined to include ethnic groups, business, and religion among others—closer together. One proposal currently being discussed is a Department of International Affairs to coordinate the many global-related activities that are currently being pursued by different departments in City Hall. Its work could include:

- Economic development, ensuring that the city’s planning and development departments, the World Trade Center and World Business Chicago work in harmony
- The Sister Cities program, with an emphasis on expanding its mission, and more clearly defining its goals
- An international press center, not only to provide facilities for visiting journalists but to organize trips here by foreign correspondents based in Washington or New York
- Tourism, including liaison with the city’s ethnic communities, which are a significant draw for tourists

- Participation of city government officials on panels and programs that deal with international affairs and are organized by the other global players in the city. Those organizing such panels say they would welcome city participation
- Fund a lobbyist or agent for the Chicago region on the staffs of the State of Illinois offices around the world
- Advise the Mayor and other city leaders on how to enhance Chicago’s image abroad, support and enhance the international reach of local delegations that travel abroad, and make the best strategic use of international visitors and foreign dignitaries that seek the attention of top public officials.

Business

“Most business people are still operating in the old industrial economy, and they haven’t made the shift to a global economy. They’re doing well out of it, they’re making money, leading their companies successfully. But they’re not fresh.”

Globalization is an economic phenomenon and its impact has revolutionized business in the Chicago region. From the start, Chicago was an international city, importing its workers from around the world and exporting its products to the



world’s markets. It always has been a major trading city. In recent years, its financial markets have been the most innovative in the world. With its pioneering of futures markets and derivative trading, LaSalle Street can claim to have invented the global market.

Virtually no big retailer is unrepresented here. All of Chicago’s big corporations are compelled to be global corporations. Chicago’s accounting firms and consultants reshape economies for the ex-Communist nations, and its law firms write those nations’ laws. LaSalle Street faces competition and change, but remains a powerhouse. If Chicago lies outside the triangle of global capitals that links New York, London and Tokyo, it belongs to the second tier, with Frankfurt, Sao Paulo, Singapore, Sydney and Paris.

This is a period of major change in the global economy, and it represents an important window of opportunity to persuade business that it is in its self-interest to remain closely engaged with Chicago’s diverse international communities.

But this galloping globalization of Chicago-area corporations has had an odd effect. It has made their offices here less global or, rather, it has cut back the number of people in Chicago who deal with global affairs. Once, multinational corporations had big

international departments that ran their foreign operations. Now, global corporations don’t even have “international departments” instead, all the world’s their stage, all their operations are international, and all their overseas operations are run from overseas.

This means that there are fewer Chicago-based business people working in global operations. And this in turn means that there are fewer business people in Chicago who feel that the rest of Chicago’s international community has anything to offer them.

“What is their community? It’s not the Chicago region. There are more of these people across the country and around the world who see each other on planes and abroad and communicate by e-mail.”

In talking to Chicago business people, one theme sounds regularly: their companies have their infrastructure of lawyers, accountants and consultants, either here or in New York, and all the expertise they need is only a phone call or an e-mail away. They don’t feel a need to tap the expertise of Chicago’s universities or ethnic communities or foreign affairs organizations. They will fund the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Mid-America Committee and similar organizations out of a sense of civic duty. But they are too busy to spend much time at these organizations’ activities other than the occasional off-the-record lunch, which they consider valuable as much for the networking as the content.

In short, they are not very interested in helping build the connections between the Loop and the neighborhoods, between business and academia, that Chicago needs, because they see no commercial gain from it. Many other Chicagoans dispute this: they argue that the buzz and vigor from a vital city can't help but infect its business and make it more lively and innovative: they cite San Francisco and Silicon Valley as a place where business and culture energize each other, to their mutual benefit.

The demographics of business leadership also are changing. In New York, this top rung now comes from the ranks of international law, finance and media, and its practitioners tend to be global citizens, widely traveled, internationally connected, plugged into world events and "importing" these events back into the city's discourse. Outsiders have often remarked on Chicago's closeknit business community and the power of the city's CEOs. This cadre of CEO leadership is passing, as the old guard retires or as local companies are bought up. Much of the new economic power has shifted to LaSalle Street, where the emphasis is on trading, not global finance, and the practitioners are more local in habits and outlook.

Labor unions in Chicago have an even stronger local focus and lack many of the resources they need to help their

Given the impact of globalization on jobs, labor and wages, labor leaders in Chicago desperately need greater access to information about global forces.

members cope with the wrenching changes of a globalizing world. When the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago scheduled a seminar on trade, it could find no local labor union official to talk on the subject, and had to import a United Steelworkers expert from Washington. Labor officials and sympathizers here agree with this assessment.

The Center for Labor and Community Research does excellent work on the effect of globalization on labor issues, including wage disparities, the growth of poverty-level jobs and the loss of manufacturing. Yet the Center has a relatively low profile in the city. The quality of its research makes it an invaluable resource for those, such as the Commercial Club and the authors of the Club's Metropolis 2020 study on Chicago's future, who deal with the city's economy.

"There are a lot of good people in Chicago. But even people in organizations like BPI (Business and Professional People for the Public Interest) tend to focus on local issues like Gautreaux."

This makes the grooming of a younger, globally-minded generation all the more important. These young professional people have special needs. They are busy, even busier than their elders. Unlike those elders, they cannot break away from work for two hours over lunch to listen to a speech. They too value meetings mostly for the networking, less for the content. But unlike CEOs, they thirst to meet people from neighborhoods, universities, media, and different backgrounds, both out of cultural curiosity and the possibility that the broadening may help their careers.

This is a period of major change in the global economy, and it represents an important window of opportunity to persuade business that it is in its self-interest to remain closely engaged with Chicago's diverse international communities. Vibrant ideas create vibrant businesses. Chicago's corporations could gain an extraordinary amount from a revitalized international debate that includes local foreign affairs forums, increased international education in schools, global studies in universities and other programs that raise both Chicago's awareness of the world and its ability to thrive in it.

Structured attempts to make use of Chicago ethnic communities, including greater hiring from those communities, represents a particularly valuable resource for Chicago's businesses. These communities retain close ties



with their homelands and are rich sources of information on business opportunities there. The World Trade Center or World Business Chicago could create a data base of Chicago companies that want to do business in, say, Korea and Poland, and a second data base of persons in the Korean and Polish communities here who have business contacts in those countries. Displayed on the Web, these databases could be instant matchmakers.

The Chicago Federal Reserve and the Chicago-Kent Law School, among others, do excellent programs on trade, intellectual property, China, global finance, information technology and other subjects. Broader sponsorship, greater publicity and greater coordination with corporations could help such programs reach a business audience that could use this information.

Given the impact of globalization on jobs, labor and wages, labor leaders in Chicago desperately need greater access to information about global forces. In this process, Chicago's leadership could reach out not only to AFL-CIO experts in Washington, but also to the rich range of local resources, such as the University of Illinois at Chicago, the Center for Labor and Community Research, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Chicago-Kent law school and the Chicago Federal Reserve—an unlikely coalition but an example of the kind of opportunities that exist for making Chicago a truly global city.

The Classroom

“Northwestern and the University of Chicago are trying to make themselves more global but without any connection to Chicago itself. Like the companies, as they become more global, they become less local.”

Chicago has formidable educational strengths. It is rich in great universities. Vibrant community colleges energize the region. Suburban elementary and high schools often are excellent and the Daley administration is committed to improving the city schools. The region has law schools, medical schools, technological institutes and, on its fringes, the mighty Fermi and Argonne laboratories.

And yet, like so many of Chicago's global assets, these educational strengths could be more effectively used to bring the world to the classroom and prepare the area's students for a global world. Of the city's international forums, only the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations considers educational outreach as a part of its mission: yet even the Council's program could be strengthened. Smaller colleges and community colleges profess a thirst for international programs but are unsure of how to tap into the city's rich resources.

One particularly compelling example of a potential opportunity: At least six Chicago-area universities have programs in international human rights law. There is no recognized center in the United States now for human rights law. If it used these strengths, Chicago could become such a center—esteemed internationally as the place to go for expertise on this increasingly important subject, automatically featured on Nightline and the Lehrer Report whenever war crimes are the news of the day, and called regularly to testify before Congress.

There is no recognized center in the United States now for human rights law. If it used these strengths, Chicago could become such a center

There are practical reasons beyond prestige. For instance, Zonta International, a global woman's group headquartered in Chicago, campaigns for the rights of women and children and uses a data base of Latin American law in this area. Yet none of the human rights law programs in Chicago are aware of Zonta's work, nor is Zonta aware of theirs. The work of both could be strengthened immediately by cooperation.

Human rights is only one example. There certainly are many other areas where academics across Chicago are

tilling the same fields and duplicating each other's efforts. Academics say that individual scholars and researchers could be persuaded to pool their efforts, if there was a means to make them aware of what the others are doing and a source of funding to finance this cooperation. As one academic said, outsiders who want to stimulate these projects "*must go into the universities below the administration's Plimsoll line and get directly to the people doing the work.*"

Northwestern University and the University of Chicago educate future international lawyers and CEOs, but touch the rest of the region only tangentially. Universities like DePaul, Loyola, UIC, Roosevelt and IIT, often are actively involved with the world, but are not included in the global discussion in the city: yet they are producing the graduates who will stick to Chicago. Then come schools like Northeastern Illinois, National-Louis and many small church-sponsored schools, which are literally off the radar screens of the major global institutions here in Chicago. Finally, there are the community and two-year colleges, scattered across the region and providing practical education to students who are often older and dead serious about the effects of globalization on their lives and work.

There are missed opportunities galore in this lineup. Top scholars from around the world come to Evanston and Hyde Park, spend a week or a

month teaching classes but seldom stray into the larger community. Chicago-Kent, the law school at IIT, has sponsored seminars on global law that are stunning in their intellectual depth and the quality of the scholars, but these reach a relatively small audience. Anyone who has dealt with the smaller colleges and community colleges knows there is interest in global issues, but the riches available in the elite universities or the Loop lecture forums is seldom available to them.

The Fermi and Argonne labs are in a class by themselves. Both bring in leading scholars from around the world, often for weeks at a time, to do high-level research. Most of these scholars are scientists, but Argonne always draws policy experts from Russia and other countries. For the most part, these scholars, many of them the top people in their fields, spend their time here focused on the labs and are seldom asked to contribute to the community at large.

"Don't just go to New Trier. Go to Lane Tech, too."

Elementary and high schools in the region, which must educate Chicago's young people for a global world, would benefit immeasurably from greater contact with Chicago's global players. Some companies send executives to talk with children or bring the children into corporate offices, but the international component of these programs is generally incidental. The annual Great Decisions materials, published by the Foreign Policy Association in New



York, is distributed to schools and colleges by world affairs councils across the country—but not here. The Chicago Council brings a select group of high school social studies teachers to its office every year for a series of sessions on international issues: occasionally, outstanding students are included. But neither the Council nor any other international forums have a regular practice of farming out their speakers to schools or colleges around the area. Those enrichment programs that do exist largely omit inner city schools, including schools in ethnic neighborhoods where teachers and students could bring their own background to the global discussion.

There are missed opportunities galore in this lineup. Top scholars from around the world come to Evanston and Hyde Park, spend a week or a month teaching classes but seldom stray into the larger community.

“Are the people who are going to control the institutions that run our city from backgrounds that raise them to be interested in and curious about people who are not like them, or are they taught to be afraid of and closed off from these people?”

It’s possible to do better. Other world affairs councils around the nation, most much smaller than the Chicago Council, have vigorous school outreach programs.

In Minneapolis, the Minnesota International Center runs its International Classroom Connection in which foreign students at the University of Minnesota pay repeat visits to high schools—31 schools in the metropolitan region alone. If a high school happens to be studying China, for instance, a Chinese student will be chosen from the university and will appear at the school at least three times. For the high schoolers, the visits make the study come alive. For the often lonely university student, they provides a link with the community.

In Houston, speakers appearing before the World Affairs Council are offered to classes at local schools and colleges. In addition, gifted students are invited to dinners with visitors: a leader of Amnesty International met 80 high schools students at one such dinner.

In Columbia, S.C., the vigorous young World Affairs Council has linked local schools with schools in Japan, Germany and Sierra Leone, among other places. The entire Columbia school district is involved, from kindergarten on up, and parents can join in. The children, being part of the computer generation, establish E-mail-pal relationships with children in other countries, and families are encouraged to visit the overseas children.

In Cincinnati, the Greater Cincinnati Council on World Affairs urges its speakers to stay for two or three days and visit members of a consortium of 13 colleges in Ohio, Kentucky and

Indiana. The same opportunity is offered to seven community colleges and to local high schools. The author of this report took part in this program, speaking at Berea and Georgetown Colleges in Kentucky as well as in Cincinnati, and found it a stimulating experience.

Ethnic Chicago

“Chicago is not an international city, it’s an ethnic city.”

Chicago is a city of vast ethnic riches and sharp ethnic divisions. Great swaths of the city and the region are Vietnamese or Polish or Mexican or Korean or Salvadoran. No one who drives through the city or many of its suburbs can doubt this development, or that it is changing the city. Many of these ethnic communities, especially the newer ones, are in close contact with the countries they left behind. But they have only casual and uneasy contact with the city itself or, indeed, with other ethnic communities. Chicago, in a sense, is a United Nations, but one in which each nation speaks its own language and communication doesn’t exist. Translation is urgently needed.

Each community has its own leaders—business and professional people, editors and teachers, prosperous and educated. Many of immigrants remain in touch with friends and relatives who

stayed behind and have since risen to prominence. These leaders speak for cohesive, vibrant communities: most have their own newspapers, theaters, churches, stores, and schools. The Korean community alone has three newspapers and two magazines. There are twenty Spanish-language newspapers and two Spanish-language television stations in the area. In addition, there is a growing number of younger ethnic leaders, mostly second generation, whose admission into the broader community is not limited by language problems.

“There is growing economic integration between Mexico and the United States. Every Latino in Chicago knows this.”

Most of these communities retain close ties with their homelands, creating bridges and links that are simply invisible to other Chicagoans who could use them—for business, art, or education—if they knew they existed. Much more than the earlier European waves of immigration, these new immigrants keep in touch through the Internet or through telephone cards that enable them to phone home every Sunday for only a few cents per minute.

Chicagoans assume that all immigrants live in neighborhoods like Pilsen or Albany Park. In fact, nearly half the Latino community lives in the suburbs, but is no less concentrated for all that. Nearly half of one Mexican village has emigrated here and lives in Waukegan: twice a year, a priest comes from the

Through close and daily communication with their homelands, ethnic communities are an open channel for information and influence in both directions.

Mexican village to perform baptisms. Other Latino communities occupy entire apartment complexes in Arlington Heights, Elgin, Cicero, Rolling Meadows and other suburbs. The government of Rolling Meadows has made a special attempt to integrate the immigrants into the life of the town, but this sort of outreach is rare.

The fact—which would amaze mainstream Chicago, if it knew about it—is that these immigrant groups are involved in the making of foreign policy, and probably have a greater influence on that policy than any other force in the region. Polish organizations, especially the Polish National Alliance, played a major role in lobbying Congress and the Administration to expand NATO. Through close and daily communication with their homelands, ethnic communities are an open channel for information and influence in both directions. The federal government, which recognizes this value, works actively with Czech, Chinese, Pakistani and other communities to convey American policy and wishes to elites in those countries. Leading foreign businessmen, officials, editors and educators visit here regularly to see old friends in the ethnic



The foreign policy debate in Chicago is still dominated by a European focus in a city that no longer is predominately European.

communities, and take home what they learn here. Immigrants often vote in elections back home and political parties, such as those in Mexico, have set up offices in ethnic neighborhoods. Mexican political leaders have visited here to rapturous welcomes by Mexicans in Chicago. These visits and connections represent an extraordinary resource for both the city and the more traditional foreign policy community here in Chicago.

Truly, many immigrants live in “transnational space,” in Saskia Sassen’s term, rooted neither here nor there, local in two places. But it is in Chicago’s interest to bring them into civic space—economically, culturally and intellectually—to make use of what they have to offer.

A special problem is raised by the absence of African-Americans and of the city’s various African communities from the foreign policy debate. Many of these African communities have few ties with each other or, indeed, with the city’s African-Americans. Together, both groups represent some forty

percent of the city, but are an after-thought at best when Chicagoans think about the broader world. Yet together they have ties to African nations, through ethnic relations, business, tourism and cultural programs.

The foreign policy debate in Chicago is still dominated by a European focus in a city that no longer is predominately European. This fact alone gives the debate an air of unreality and a lack of connection to many of Chicago’s communities. In the past three years, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations staged 79 programs on Europe, 53 on Asia (mostly dealing with Japan and China), 24 on all of Latin America and only nine on Africa (most on South Africa.) A recent initiative by the Council to link with ethnic groups is in its infancy, but it is an example of the type of innovative program that holds enormous potential and should be encouraged.

In a sense, this European focus is a reflection of the current foreign policy audience, which is older, relatively well-to-do, and of European descent. The foreign policy debate would benefit from an expanded audience. Most Council meetings are open and, presumably, immigrant businessmen would be welcome at meetings sponsored by business organizations, such as the Mid-America Committee and the Executives’ Club, if they asked. But by and large, they don’t ask, and this is where the problem lies.

“You have to be invited, and nobody is inviting them.”

The Council and the other groups are invariably described as “elite” or “stuffy” by those immigrants who even know about them. The meetings are held in luxury hotels in the Loop or in establishment centers like the University Club or Chicago Club, where the ethnic leaders simply do not feel welcome.

To a great degree, the leaders of ethnic communities are not aware of the Council or other downtown institutions, and vice versa. Those who are aware are often reluctant to venture out from their neighborhoods into the terra incognita of the Loop. So everyone loses—the ethnic leaders who lose access to the mainstream, and the broader community, which loses not only business contacts but opportunities for research, learning and the kind of cultural awareness that will be crucial in a global world.

Most of these communities retain close ties with their homelands, creating bridges and links that are simply invisible to other Chicagoans who could use them—for business, art, or education—if they knew they existed.

“It’s only right that old-timers reach out to newcomers. When you move into a new neighborhood, the Welcome Wagon is there, right? But does it only happen if you’re the same color?”

The Internet, which many ethnic communities use to keep in touch with their homelands, could be used to link these communities with the broader Chicago community. This would be part of the broader Chicago Global Web Site, professionally managed, a sort of electronic bulletin board, to let these communities know what is happening downtown, and vice versa. This web site also could be used to put ethnic communities in touch with each other. Many face the same problems but seldom collaborate in seeking solutions.

The emerging ethnic elites are quite young. If Chicago’s international forums are to survive and thrive, they must recruit younger members, and this is an opportunity to reach out particularly to the younger ethnic leaders.

Plans by the Asia Society to locate a chapter here should be encouraged. The Asia Society could supplement and invigorate the work of the Japan Society, and could provide a bridge and a showcase for Chicago’s other Asian communities.

The Media

Of all the forces that could widen Chicagoans’ global horizons, the media have the greatest potential. But with a few exceptions, that potential is not being realized.

The *Chicago Tribune* has a distinguished foreign service and is the only newspaper between the two coasts to maintain more than one or two foreign bureaus: in addition, it sends reporters around the world on major projects. *World View*, an hour-long midday program on WBEZ Radio, is probably the only radio show in the nation devoted entirely to foreign news. John Calloway, the former host of *Chicago Tonight* on WTTW Channel 11, had a broad perspective and from time to time devoted a show to international affairs.

Local media rarely pay attention to the considerable international news taking place in the Chicago region itself.

But that’s about it. The *Sun-Times* focuses on local news and restricts international coverage to a few wire service stories. The *Herald* has broader coverage but like the *Sun-Times*, no correspondents of its own. Channel 11



has neglected its educational responsibility in this area: its listings for January 1999 included only four foreign-related stories (apart from travelogues) and, of those, three were historical and only one was topical: for February and March, there was nothing at all. Local radio and television stations have only very limited foreign coverage. But the problem goes deeper than that. Local media rarely pay attention to the considerable international news taking place in the Chicago region itself.

The media argue that they are under no obligation to try to raise public awareness by carrying boring stories: if the activities of major international forums or ethnic events were more interesting to a broader audience, they would be reported. Sponsors of these meetings and events respond with a list of stories that, in their view, merited coverage.

The truth lies somewhere in between. Sponsors often see merits in their projects that are not apparent to journalists or to the wider world. At the same time, local journalists, like many others in Chicago, are not aware of the richness and diversity of international events that are occurring here in Chicago.

Tribune editorial writers already reach out to ethnic neighborhoods in a way that could be emulated by news staffs in the city. The editorial writers periodically go as a group to a neighborhood, meet with local leaders, talk about their preoccupations and, in the process, learn about their ties to their homeland. Editors responsible for local news coverage could learn a great deal if they went along.

World affairs councils in other cities produce their own television and radio shows, which are shown on public access stations or on public TV, or broadcast on public radio. This involves (1) a commitment by the public stations and (2) high-quality programming. Sometimes these are films or broadcasts of roundtable discussions. Sometimes they are straight-forward interviews of visiting experts: some councils increase the chance of press coverage by asking a reporter for a local paper to do the interview. Vibrant councils also offer visiting speakers for quick interviews on drive-time shows and other programs reaching a broad audience.

TV programming of this sort can be leveraged by offering it free to local ethnic stations, many of which are happy to handle the translation.

“If you make news, the media will cover it.”

Conclusion

Chicago and the broader metropolitan region possess formidable global assets. Currently, these assets are underutilized. However there is much that can be done. Chicago’s mainstream foreign policy institutions should seize the opportunity to reach out to ethnic communities, young people, and schools. A Global Chicago Web Site could link persons and institutions active in global affairs, spread information on activities and resources, provide an electronic bridge to ethnic communities, and provide a channel to the wider world. The forums and other groups active in global affairs should explore the possibility of creating an International Center, possibly with subsidized rents, to promote and ease cooperation. This center could coordinate other activities such as operation of the web site. The Chicago city government should be encouraged to set up a central point of contact—either a department or an individual—for international affairs and should explore how to better take advantage of the many opportunities represented by global trends. Forums, universities and other groups should be encouraged to co-sponsor activities and work together in order to pool resources and expertise and reach out to a broader audience. If implemented, these initiatives hold the potential to broaden and revitalize local discussion about Chicago’s role in a changing world and increase the visibility of Chicago on the international stage.

These persons contributed to this report through extended interviews:

Peter Baugher, lawyer, president, Chicago International Dispute Resolution Association.
Henry Bienen, president, Northwestern University.
William Brodsky, president, Chicago Board Options Exchange.
Douglass Cassel, director, Human Rights Institute, Northwestern Law School.
Neil Creighton, former president and CEO, McCormick Tribune Foundation.
Arthur M. Cyr, former director, World Trade Center, professor, Carthage College.
Kenneth Dam, professor of law, University of Chicago, former Undersecretary of State.
Marcia Dam, senior vice president, U.S. Association for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.
Richard Friedman, lawyer, president, National Strategy Forum.
Susan Gzesh, assistant to the president, Heartland Alliance.
Janet Halstead, executive director, Zonta International.
Lyric Hughes, chief executive officer, ChinaOnline.
Elmer Johnson, lawyer, director of Commercial Club project on Metropolis 2020.
John Kordek, former ambassador, director of international programs, DePaul University.

Kaarina Koskenalusta, president, Executives' Club.
Jae Choi Kim, past president, Korean-American Citizens Coalition.
Allen Lever, president, World Trade Center Chicago.
Eileen Mackevich, president, Chicago Humanities Festival.
Thomas Miner, chairman, Mid-America Committee.
Michael Moore, editor, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.
Richard Morrow, former chairman, Amoco Corp.
Michael Moskow, president, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.
Roger Oden, dean of arts and sciences, Governors State University.
David Paulus, managing partner, World Business Chicago.
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John Rielly, president, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.
Saskia Sassen, professor of sociology, University of Chicago.
Adlai E. Stevenson III, former senator, president, Japan Society.
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Howard Tyner, editor, Chicago Tribune.
Nancy Wachs, protocol officer, City of Chicago.
Laura Washington, publisher, Chicago Reporter.
Lois Weisberg, cultural commissioner, City of Chicago.

These non-Chicagoans also contributed through extended interviews:

Carol Byrne, executive director, Minnesota International Center.
Gloria Duffy, chief executive officer, Commonwealth Club of California.
James Hoge, editor, Foreign Affairs.
Bruce Katz, senior fellow, Brookings Institution.
Noel Lateef, president, Foreign Policy Association.
Jerry Leach, national executive director, World Affairs Councils of America, Washington.
Michael Peters, national director, Council on Foreign Relations.
Normanne Potter, executive director, World Affairs Council, Columbia, S.C.
William Vocke Jr., president, Greater Cincinnati Council on World Affairs.
Jane Wales, president, World Affairs Council of San Francisco.
Linda Wuest, executive director, Houston World Affairs Council.



A Survey of Chicago International Affairs

by Sharon L. Morris

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Program on Global Security and Sustainability

INTRODUCTION

Where are the main centers of leadership and activity in Chicago on a range of key international issues, from arms control to trade agreements to human rights? How broad is the foreign policy debate in Chicago, and to what extent are new actors being drawn in to the discussion as they confront the challenges and opportunities of globalization? What do Chicago organizations feel are the central advantages and disadvantages of pursuing an international agenda from a Chicago base? How effective are local organizations at making their voices heard on issues that are of most concern to their constituency?

As part of a larger project designed to address these questions, a survey was

Overview of Results

Several clear patterns emerged from responses to the survey. First, there is strong interest in international affairs:

Virtually every community identified a cluster of international issues that were of central concern to their members.

There also was a significant amount of overlap in terms of substantive interest. For example, the labor community identified NAFTA, immigration issues, and international labor rights as central areas of concern. Some or all of these areas also were identified as important issues by the business, ethnic and immigrant, religious, and human rights communities.

Second, there is an extraordinary amount of activity on international issues, even among those communities that are not generally considered part of the foreign-policy establishment here in Chicago. These activities cover a broad range, from consulting on international micro-enterprise development by the Women's Self-Employment Project, to policy meetings between Mexican government officials and representatives of the Mexican-American community, to major international conferences on human rights and torture, to highly specialized discussions on arms control and military policy, to refugee-resettlement programs spearheaded by Chicago's religious communities.

However, despite strong interest and high levels of activity, there is an information gap in Chicago about what is happening locally, who the local leaders and experts are on a wide variety of international issues, and what is happening nationally and internationally on issues of concern.

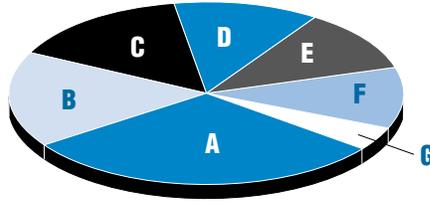
Most responses to questions about local opportunities for networking were generally negative: Respondents were either unaware of local opportunities or viewed them as limited and restricted to a fairly narrow constituency.¹ For example, a number of respondents listed academic centers and workshops as possible places for networking, but then added that opportunities were limited for non-faculty or non-student participants. There were exceptions to this generally negative view of local opportunities for networking; however most of these could be found among organizations whose central mission is explicitly dedicated to foreign affairs, such as the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations or the World Trade Center.

A closer examination of networks for sharing resources and exchanging information show that, in fact, there are two distinct networks of organizations and individuals here in Chicago that have a strong interest in international issues. The first centers around Chicago's international business

sent to more than 200 Chicago area organizations and individuals representing ten communities with a strong stake in Chicago's future as a global city. These are the academic, business, ethnic and immigrant, general international affairs, local government, human rights, labor, international law, relief and development, and religious communities. A deliberate attempt was made to reach a wide range of individuals and organizations, particularly those not considered part of the core of Chicago's foreign-policy community, to gain the most comprehensive picture possible of how the city as a whole is responding to global trends.



Suggestions for Change



A	Provide access to information on international affairs	30%
B	Create a physical meeting space/central foreign-affairs office	17%
C	Establish a website/e-mail service on international affairs	15%
D	Create a directory of local experts and organizations	12%
E	Establish an information clearinghouse on local events	11%
F	Eliminate duplication/encourage cooperation	11%
G	Promote educational outreach	4%

community. It also includes organizations and individuals from the legal, consular, and general international-affairs communities. Academic institutions (primarily Northwestern and University of Chicago) and local government agencies are more loosely hooked into this network. By and large the main international forums in Chicago, such as the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Mid-America Committee, the Executives' Club, and the World Trade Center, are geared toward this broad community. The central problem does not appear to be a lack of resources or information, but a lack of coordination and duplication of effort.

The second broad community is far more grass roots and activist. It includes

organizations in the religious, ethnic, human-rights, and to a lesser extent labor communities. This is a much looser network, and its boundaries are fairly porous. There are a number of umbrella organizations, such as Heartland Alliance, Chicago Religious Leadership Network, Amnesty International, and 8th Day Center, that are able to mobilize their communities around individual issues. None of these organizations, however, has the resources to sustain an ongoing debate on international affairs. As such, many of these groups are unable to present a coherent or long-range position on their constituents' interests. Nor is this second broad group hooked into the major international forums here in Chicago. While the Chicago Council and the Mid-America Committee were listed by a handful of respondents as a potential place for networking with others interested in international issues, particularly among responses from the ethnic/immigrant community, far fewer actually included these organizations in their *own* network.

The responses from *both* broad communities clearly showed a sense of frustration about the lack of communication and coordination among organizations and about the inability of Chicago's forums to sustain a broad-based and ongoing debate. The emphasis on suggestions for change was slightly different across each broad network, with the first focusing more on coordinating information and the second on gaining access to informa-

tion. However, both stressed the difficulty of sifting through information that was already out there to find what was of most interest or use. This difficulty was clearly reflected in suggestions for change. All of the responses centered on either gaining access to better, less biased, more timely information about international issues, or on mechanisms that would provide better coordination of existing information. Suggestions for change, by broad category, are listed on page 28.

Theory and Methodology

In order to identify the “social structure” of Chicago’s international affairs community—the level of each community’s engagement with international issues, the networks within and between communities, and the relative impact of each in shaping Chicago’s foreign policy debate—the survey was based loosely on network analysis.

Research on policy networks suggests that several generic relationships are important for determining how policy issues are defined and the extent to which different individuals and organizations are included in ongoing debates. The most significant element concerns access to trustworthy and timely information about relevant policy matters. The more diverse the sources of information that organizations and individuals can tap into, the better situated they are to anticipate

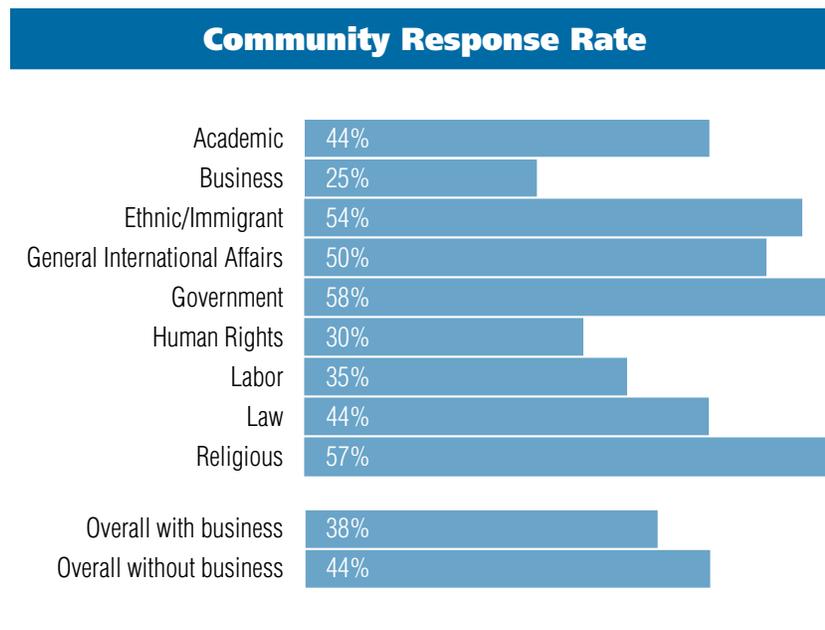
and respond to events that affect their interests and the interests of their constituents.

A related issue concerns “boundary penetration” or the extent to which organizations and individuals interact with each other on either a formal or informal basis. Not only does this increase the range of potentially useful information available, it also facilitates the sharing of scarce resources among organizations that may be pursuing a variety of different policy objectives.

The survey questions were therefore designed to gather information in four broad areas: 1) the extent of current interest and involvement in international issues; 2) the extent and depth of existing networks on international issues both within and among different

communities; 3) the advantages and disadvantages of being located in Chicago and pursuing an international agenda; and 4) suggestions for programs or services that would help Chicago’s communities pursue their international interests more effectively.

The remainder of this report presents the results of the survey in more detail. Each section begins with a brief overview of the different international interests and activities pursued by each community. It then provides a summary of responses to questions about local opportunities for networking. The final sections list the advantages and disadvantages identified by each community and respondents’ suggestions for change. The overall response rate and the response rate broken down by community are listed below.





Academic

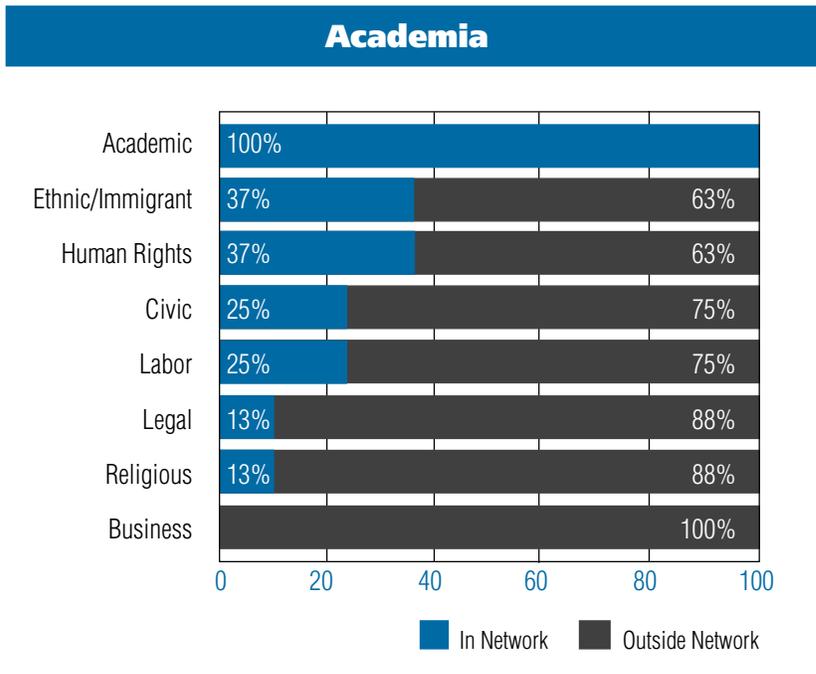
Overview: The responses to the survey from the academic community showed an enormous depth and range of international interests, from traditional foreign policy and arms control at the Program on International Security Policy at the University of Chicago; to a focus on international trade and finance, refugee, and immigration issues at the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs, UIC; to a series of workshops, conferences, and research programs on Africa at the Program of African Studies, Northwestern University.³

Many respondents outside the academic community listed Chicago’s universities as one of the city’s greatest international strengths. However, while

many respondents recognized the potential of Chicago’s academic community to provide information on a wide range of international issues, a far lower number actually listed specific universities or institutes in their own network.

In general, the resources of area universities are not readily available to the broader Chicago community. The overwhelming majority of academic respondents (71%) listed faculty and students from their own institution as the primary audience for workshops and conferences. While many activities are open to the public, most respondents did not advertise beyond their own institutions. A few advertised to other Chicago area universities, but only one respondent—the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Chicago—had extensive outreach to area colleges, high schools, and Chicago’s Latino community. Similarly, while individual faculty members reported receiving requests for information or invitations to speak, international institutes and centers as a whole did not interact with the broader community on a regular basis.

Networking and Information: In response to questions about local opportunities for networking with others interested in international affairs, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations was mentioned most often by the academic community (71%), followed by other academic institutes and centers (57%), with other types of organizations, primarily in the



human-rights and ethnic communities, listed last (29%). One interesting result is that while virtually every other community placed the academic community squarely at the center of their network on international issues, no community passed the 50% threshold in terms of being listed as central to the academic network (see page 30).

Advantages/Disadvantages: The most commonly mentioned advantage of Chicago's location was the existence of strong institutions in the business, ethnic, and academic communities. The distance from Washington and New York was viewed as both an advantage and disadvantage. Several mentioned that the distance from Washington encouraged a longer-term, more theoretical perspective and allowed foreign-policy discussions to focus on big questions rather than "urgent" or passing issues. However, the related disadvantages of Chicago's distance from Washington and New York were the danger of becoming too removed from policy concerns and an inability to hold sustained discussions on specialized foreign-policy topics.

Other advantages mentioned in the survey included the fact that Chicago's central location allows it to serve as a bridge between East and West Coast scholars. Finally, other disadvantages (listed by a UC respondent) were that the size of the city was a barrier to contact between the University of Chicago and Northwestern, that the size of the region discouraged broader

contact between universities in the Midwest, and that an attempt to build a community of Midwest universities had been attempted, but failed.

The majority of the responses to the question about suggestions for improvement centered on the need for better local opportunities for networking and access to information. Specific suggestions included:

- Create a high-profile database of information on historical and current events.
- Develop a directory of experts for the Chicago area that media, schools, and community organizations could consult.
- Develop a directory of leaders in ethnic/business communities that academics could consult.

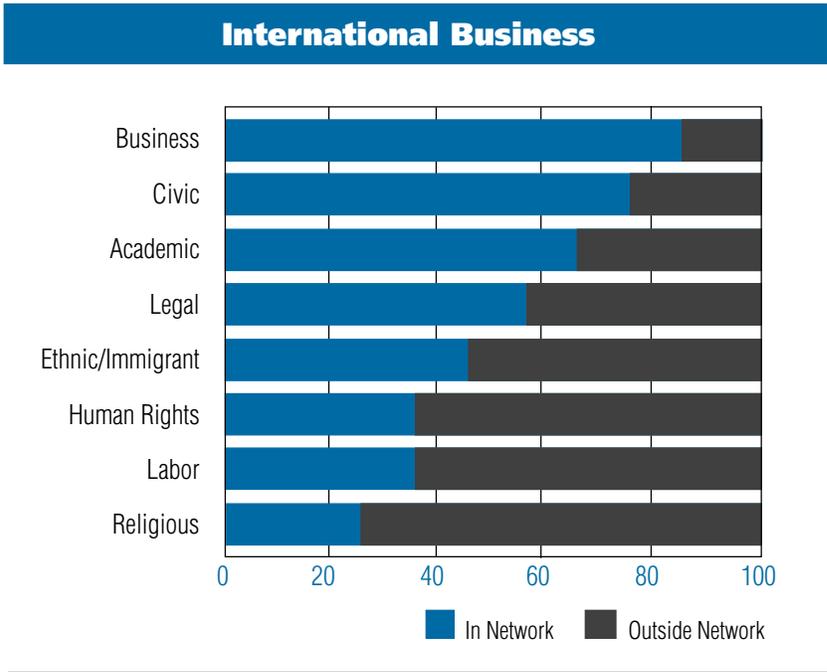
International Business

Overview: The international business community has one of the most highly developed networks devoted to international affairs. More than 50 multinational corporations are headquartered in Chicago, and the city has the second-largest concentration of trade associations in the country. A large number of organizations are either explicitly or primarily geared to providing Chicago's business community with information on international issues, such as the Mid-America Committee, the Executives Club, and the Chicagoland Chamber of Com-

merce, which publishes a database of Chicago companies doing business in other countries. Many businesses also have their own internal research capabilities. The general tone of the responses from the business community was that there is not a lack of information, but rather too little coordination of existing information.

The geographic area of interest listed most often by respondents is still Europe and Eurasia (72%), with the Asia Pacific region second (61%), followed by Central and Latin America (50%), Africa (11%), and the Middle East (6%). The main international issues listed by the business community were overwhelmingly trade related — WTO, NAFTA, import/export laws, global economic competitiveness. However, several respondents extended the list to include immigration issues and the environment.

Networking and Information: The business community listed by far the most diverse sources in response to questions about local opportunities for networking with others interested in international affairs. The programs of international forums specifically geared to the business community, such as the Mid-America Committee, Executives Club, World Business Chicago, and World Trade Center Chicago, were mentioned most often (71%); followed by events sponsored by consulates and chambers of commerce (both 47%); the Chicago Council and local government offices (both 41%); and other professional and cultural organizations (18%).



- Chicago’s status as world-class financial/business center with access to global markets
- Chicago as good place to “show” international visitors

To the extent that disadvantages were listed, they included:

- A lack of coordination between Chicago institutions involved in international matters. One respondent stated that “there is currently no culture among these organizations that promotes the sharing of information and coordination of activities, and many are competitive with each other.”
- A persistent European focus and a lack of emphasis on Asia
- An international community that is neither as broad nor as deep as those on the East Coast, a “small town mentality,” and a lack of exposure in major world markets

Again, these resources are not readily available to a wider audience. Of the business associations that responded, only the World Trade Center had an educational outreach program to local universities, high schools, and African-American business owners.

Advantages/Disadvantages: Most responses to the question about the advantages and disadvantages of a Chicago location focused on Chicago’s advantages. These included:

- Chicago’s infrastructure, including O’Hare
- Headquarters of approximately 50 global corporations, 60 foreign consulates, and the country’s second-largest concentration of trade associations

Suggestions for Improvement: The majority of respondents (61%) either did not answer the question about suggestions for improvement or said they did not need anything. Specific suggestions from those respondents who did reply included:

- More in-depth programming from major research institutions, such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Brookings, the American Enterprise Institute, the New York Council, and the Asia Society

- Requests for more information on fairly specific business-related issues, such as industrial statistics of different geographic regions or a listing of Illinois companies involved in import/export
- A directory of Chicago-based agencies and organizations with an interest in international affairs

Several respondents stressed that the amount of information was far less important than its timeliness and accuracy. Only one respondent wanted more access to networking opportunities on international issues.

Ethnic/Immigrant Communities

Overview: As with area universities, Chicago’s ethnic communities were repeatedly mentioned as one of the city’s greatest international strengths. Many of the responses from this community mentioned Chicago’s extraordinary receptivity to ethnic diversity, citing its status as the sixth largest immigration center in the U.S., the presence of more than 100 languages in public schools, and its location at the crossroads of the Midwest as key advantages.

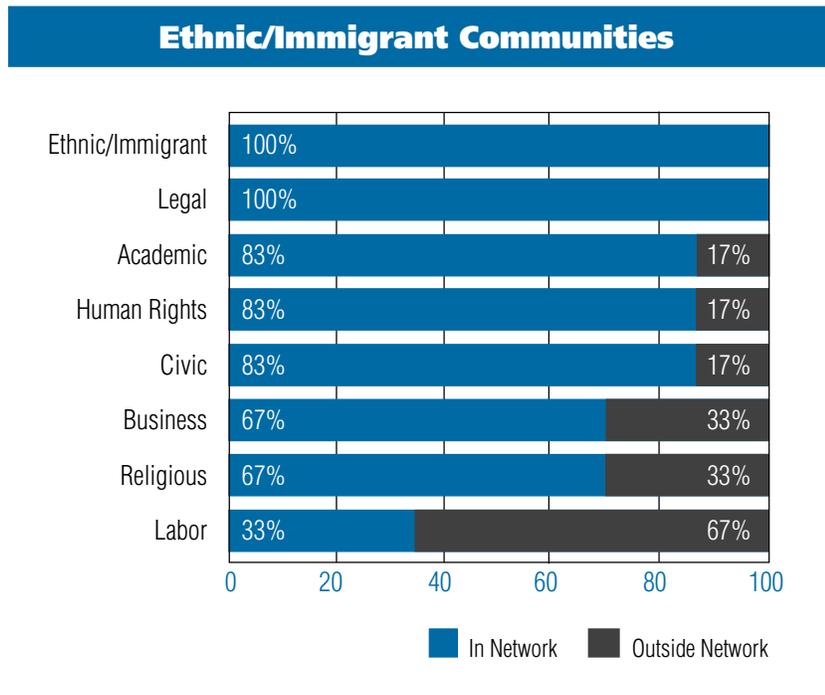
Hundreds of organizations serve ethnic and immigrant communities here in Chicago, and most have their own ethnic group as their primary audience. However, several had education of the general public as a central goal. Because of the large number of organi-

zations, the survey primarily targeted larger, umbrella organizations and organizations representing the African-American and Latino communities—Chicago’s largest and fastest-growing ethnic communities, respectively. These organizations identified a cluster of issues that were of central concern to their constituencies, including immigration policies, human rights, foreign labor/labor issues, intervention in global crises, refugee-generating crises, and racism in U.S. foreign policy.

Networking and Information: Organizations in this community tended to rely primarily on the mainstream/ethnic press, the Internet, and other ethnic and immigrant organizations for information about world affairs, although several mentioned that

the mainstream media was biased and not a particularly reliable source of information on issues of concern to their constituents. In terms of opportunities for networking with organizations interested in international affairs, other ethnic/immigrant organizations were listed first (57%), followed by the Chicago Council (43%), with other types of organizations (primarily religious groups and universities) listed last (29%).

While the Chicago Council had fairly high name recognition among this community and was listed by 43% of respondents as a local opportunity for networking and gaining information about international affairs, none included the Chicago Council or other general international affairs organiza-





tions in their own network. Heartland Alliance was most frequently mentioned in this category (43%), followed by the International Committee for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (29%), and academic human-rights groups such as those at DePaul and Northwestern (29%).

Advantages/Disadvantages: The advantages of being located in Chicago listed by the ethnic/immigrant communities included:

- Chicago’s global population and its status as the sixth-largest immigration center in the US
- Chicago’s highly receptive stance toward ethnic diversity

Disadvantages centered on:

- The elite nature of Chicago’s international-affairs community. One respondent mentioned that “the situation has gotten worse since the 1970s and 1980s, when the international-affairs community was more inclusive; it has become a very elite group, and activists don’t get the chance to participate in discussions about international affairs.”
- Key players on immigration and refugee issues are located in DC and other East Coast cities.
- Chicago actors tend to feel that their efforts are neglected on the national scene.
- Most organizations take a regional focus, by necessity, and their resources are stretched too far to devote much to international issues.

Suggestions for Improvement:

As with most other communities, the majority of the responses to the question about suggestions for change focused on access to more information about international affairs. However the ethnic/immigrant community placed slightly more emphasis on the global/local connection than other communities did. Specific suggestions included:

- Establish a newsletter or e-mail service that connects Chicago with international issues and relates them back to Chicago/Illinois interests.
- Encourage greater educational outreach to high schools/colleges to combat racism and ethnic stereotyping.

Government

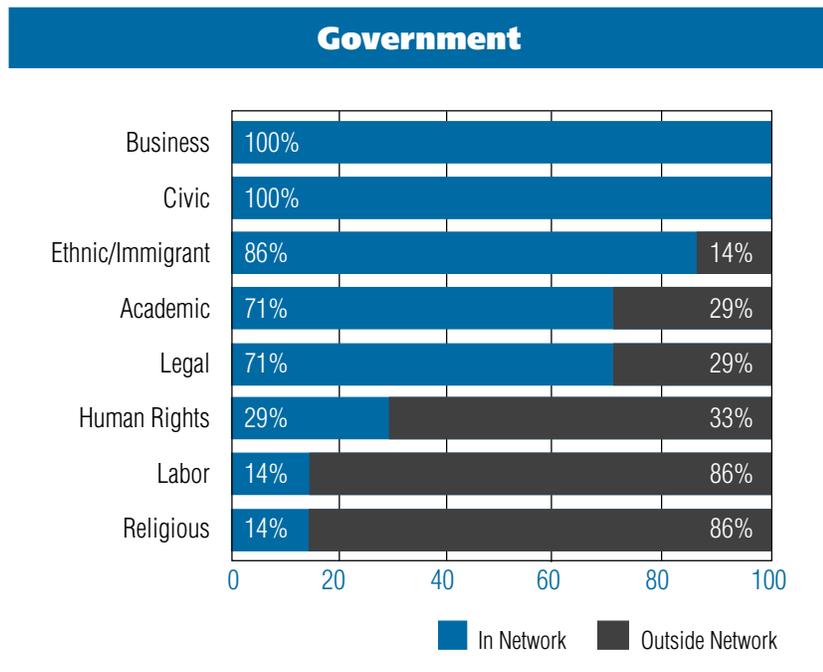
Overview: This was one of the most difficult communities to target. There are a host of city, state, and federal government offices and organizations operating in Chicago—all more or less geared to the consular and business communities—that devote part of their agenda to international issues. However, many of these organizations have overlapping missions, and there is no central organization that serves as an umbrella for the various government offices. In fact, the lack of a coordinating office or central government contact was cited fairly frequently in survey responses, as was the lack of sustained attention to international affairs by the city.

Networking and Information:

Organizations in this community tend to rely primarily on the mainstream media (80%) or other government organizations for information about international affairs. Of those respondents who relied on organizations for information, the overwhelming majority (86%) were other federal, state, or local government offices. The remainder were primarily chambers of commerce.

In terms of local opportunities for networking, 60% of the respondents listed either the Mid-America Committee or the Chicago Council, 40% listed universities, 40% listed some type of business or international trade association, 40% listed other city government offices such as Sister Cities or the International Visitors Center, 20% listed other organizations, such as the International Women’s Associates. All responses fell into business, general international affairs, academic, or government communities.

Advantages/Disadvantages: Many of the respondents in this category listed only advantages, including Chicago’s diverse ethnic base, infrastructure, and deeply diversified economy. Another advantage was Chicago’s non-partisan stance on international affairs and a less-politicized international scene than Washington.



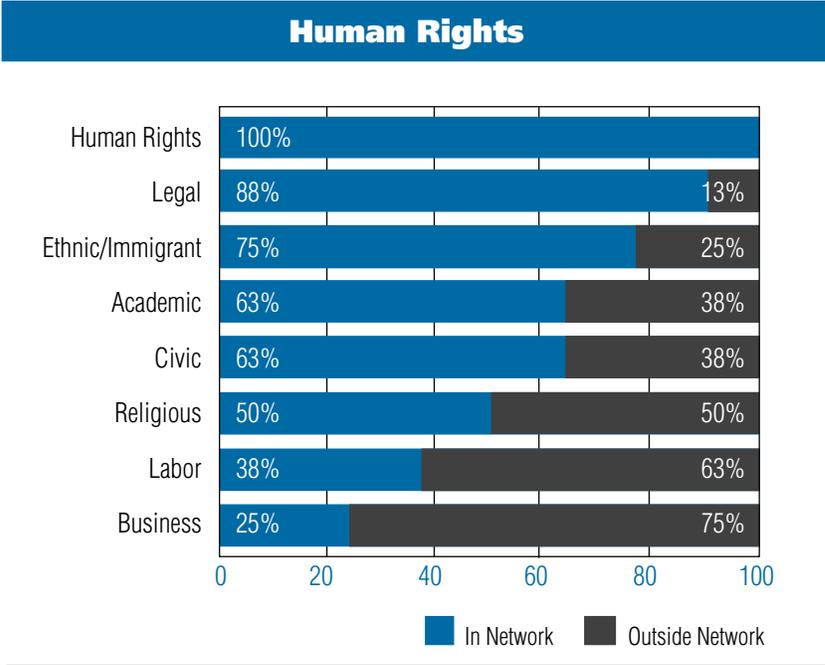
Disadvantages included:

- A lack of coordination among international-affairs organizations
- A low-quality primary and secondary educational system
- A local work force with poor knowledge of foreign languages, business practices, and cultures
- A lack of information in local mainstream media regarding international business and global affairs
- Poor public transit
- The dominance of local issues over global issues.

Suggestions for Improvement: Most suggestions for improvement centered

on access to better, more reliable information. The remainder focused on eliminating duplication among international-affairs forums. Specific suggestions included:

- Prepare an area-wide calendar of international dignitary visits and programs.
- Create a centralized website on Chicago international affairs.
- Develop a directory of local experts on international subjects and regions.
- Address the lack of coordination and eliminate duplication among providers of information about international affairs.
- Provide access to specialized trade data and general country and political reports.



Human Rights

Overview: Chicago has a vibrant human-rights community. Unlike many of the academic institutes and centers, the human-rights programs at DePaul, Northwestern, and the University of Chicago have fairly strong outreach to the broader community. Together with the Heartland Alliance for Human Needs and Human Rights, Amnesty International, and the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, these groups are at the core of a community that pursues a wide range of rights-related activities, from advocacy to major international conferences on torture and human rights. While there are certainly divisions within the community, there

have been consistent efforts to draw the different groups together. For example, Heartland has been spearheading efforts to bring together Chicago’s six law schools to form a comprehensive Midwest Refugee Clinic that would provide legal representation to individual asylum seekers and promote legal protections for refugees locally and globally.

Networking and Information: As with the ethnic and immigrant communities, the organizations and individuals in the human-rights community tend to rely primarily on non-organizational sources for information about world affairs, including mainstream media (71%); conferences/personal contacts (43%); and the Internet (29%). Of those respondents who listed organizations as a primary source of information (14%), all were either other human-rights organizations or ethnic and immigrant organizations.

Other human-rights organizations were at the center of the network, with the most frequently mentioned including Heartland Alliance, Amnesty International, and the human-rights programs at the University of Chicago, Northwestern, and DePaul. There was a fair amount of crossover to the immigrant and refugee communities, particularly through Heartland and the U.S. Committee for Refugees (29%). Out of a total of 12 different organizations listed as part of the human-rights network, the Chicago Council was the

only general international affairs organization listed, and only by the Human Rights Program at the University of Chicago.

Advantages/Disadvantages: The different advantages listed by the human-rights community included:

- Chicago's location in the Midwest has the potential for drawing human rights more deeply into the American mainstream.
- Chicago's ethnic base provides a unique opportunity to connect local concerns with global issues.
- As one of largest human-rights centers in the Midwest, Chicago can serve as an important source of information for the region.
- Chicago law firms are generous in providing *pro bono* support.

The disadvantages included:

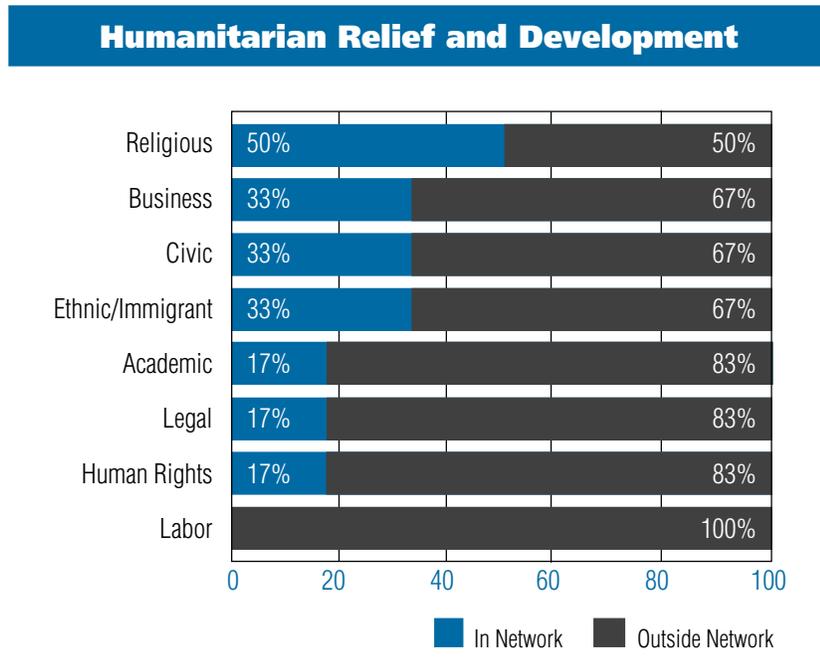
- A lack of international resources as compared to the coasts
- A lack of perceived importance as an international center, which contributes to a lack of visibility
- Distance from federal grants, which makes fundraising difficult
- A splintered and disorganized human-rights community

Suggestions for Improvement: Most suggestions for improvement centered on coordinating the activities of different human-rights groups and creating greater access to information. Specifically, these included:

- Establish an informal, regular roundtable on international affairs.
- Create a coordinated information website.
- Identify more resources to coordinate activities across groups working on human rights.
- Make a renewed attempt to coordinate activities across the six law schools with human-rights programs to develop a comprehensive human-rights clinic.

Humanitarian Relief and Development

Overview: The organizations in Chicago's humanitarian relief and development community provide a wide range of services, from Save the Children's efforts to promote children's health, education, and well-being around the globe, to Rotary International's campaign to eradicate polio, to American Red Cross disaster-relief programs. For the most part, the Chicago offices of responding organizations are devoted primarily to fundraising and outreach, and they therefore tend to be geared toward the donor community, particularly Chicago's major multinational corporations.





Networking and Information: The programs and objectives listed by this community showed a significant amount of overlap with those listed by Chicago's religious community. This is not surprising given that of all the communities listed, only the religious community was listed as central to the humanitarian community's network on international issues.⁴ For the most part, humanitarian organizations tended to interact with their counterparts in relief and development. This community organizes informal bi-monthly roundtables (sponsored by UNICEF, CARE, World Vision, and Rotary International, among others) where representatives meet to discuss issues related to fundraising and outreach. However, responses to the survey indicated that these groups have fairly limited contact with other organizations involved with international issues. This trend is mirrored in terms of sources of information. Most information on international issues that is not from mainstream media outlets comes from similar organizations or internal publications prepared by either national or international home offices. Only one organization, CARE, listed a local organization (the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations) as a source of information on international affairs.

Advantages/Disadvantages: Most of the advantages listed by this community centered on the fact that a large number of multinational corporations are either headquartered, or have a

significant presence, in Chicago, thereby providing access to major donors. Another advantage listed was the generosity of Midwestern donors.

A disadvantage listed by several respondents was the fact that Chicago's international humanitarian and development organizations receive very little local media coverage of their work, in particular their accomplishments. Referring to Rotary International's highly successful campaign to eradicate polio by the year 2005, a representative from a fellow humanitarian organization stated that "we are all doing such extraordinary, positive work throughout the world—and representing Chicago in positive, life-changing ways—yet this is generally unknown to the broader public" here in Chicago.

Suggestions for Improvement:

Suggestions for improvement included finding a central location where international relief and development organizations could meet on a regular basis, Chicago Council sponsorship of, and publicity for, humanitarian relief and development work, links from a central website to other organizations active in international affairs, and a central forum for donors to find out more about relief and development work. Another suggestion was that local media place more emphasis on the humanitarian community's success stories as a counterpoint to humanitarian emergencies and disasters that receive such prominent coverage.

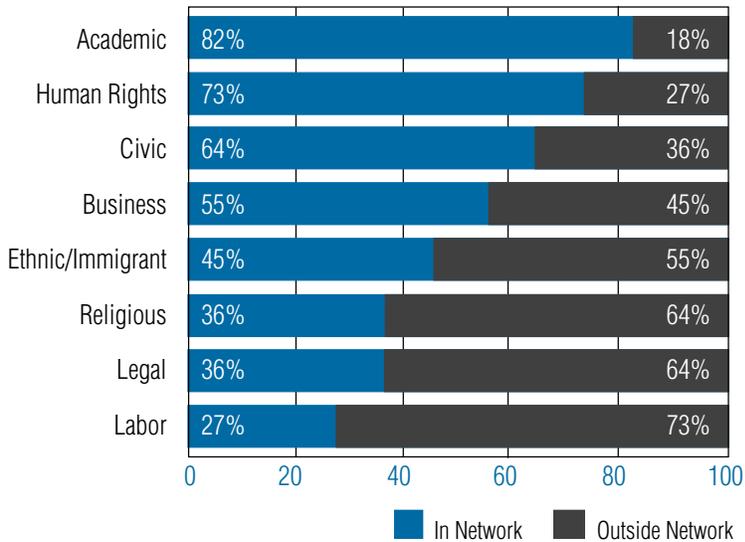
International Affairs

Overview: This community was in some respects a catch-all category and was designed to capture all professional and voluntary associations with an emphasis on international affairs, as well as those organizations—such as the National Strategy Forum, the Chicago Council, or Illinois Peace Action—that have an explicit international agenda. Because this was the most diverse group, it also had the broadest range of international programs, from the global abolition of nuclear weapons (Peace Action), to women’s and children’s issues in Africa (Global Alliance for Africa), to the abolition of landmines (Physicians Against Landmines).

Networking and Information:

Roughly 50% of the respondents listed organizations that had missions and backgrounds similar to their own as their primary source for networking and gaining information about international affairs; 40% of the respondents said they were either not sure about local opportunities or that there were not many available; and 20% listed universities, although as mentioned in the overview, the opportunities here were generally viewed as limited for non-faculty and non-students. One respondent mentioned that there were many opportunities available “for those willing to dig,” and several others mentioned that there was no broad-based ongoing means of networking

International Affairs



available in Chicago. Interestingly, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations did not figure prominently in terms of being mentioned as an opportunity for networking.

Advantages/Disadvantages: As with many other communities, most of the advantages listed by respondents clustered around Chicago’s good infrastructure, world-class universities, access to consulates, presence of like-minded organizations, increasingly global profile, vibrant economy, and rich demographic mix. A representative from one of the responding organizations, the Global Alliance for Africa, stated that they had found a degree of support many said would not be

possible, and that their organization had become a catalyst for those interested more generally in African affairs.

By far the most frequent disadvantage cited (by 80% of respondents) was Chicago’s distance from Washington and the difficulty this posed for influencing policy and fundraising. Another set of disadvantages focused on the fragmentation of the world-affairs community in Chicago. One respondent argued that “the problem of the world-affairs field in Chicago is first and foremost a problem of small fragmented constituencies, untrained leadership and few informed discussions across lines of division—political, racial, ethnic, gender.”



Suggestions for Improvement:

- Identify a central point of contact in the mayor's office dedicated to international outreach.
- Establish a gathering place where individuals and organizations interested in international affairs could be brought together for conferences and symposia.
- Appoint a central coordinator/ coordinating office that can keep organizations up to date about the legislative process on issues of concern, for example, where the issue of the United States' back dues for the UN will be dealt with next, and who the central contact person is in Washington.
- Compile a directory of organizations interested in international health issues and international affairs generally.
- Develop an electronic information clearinghouse.
- Develop better access to specialized information on international affairs.

Labor

Overview: The labor community identified a range of international issues—NAFTA, immigration policies, international labor rights (sweatshops), international child labor laws, economic development, poverty alleviation, and human rights—that were issues of concern to their members. While none of the respondents had extensive international programs, organizations did engage in a range of international activities. These included frequent visits by foreign labor and management dignitaries hosted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, an international section on the Center for Labor and Community Research website, consulting on international micro-enterprise development by the Women's Self-Employment Project, and research on international issues that have an impact on their membership by the political and education department at UNITE.

Networking and Information: The labor community has the least-developed internal network related to international affairs and is least hooked into local opportunities for networking: 71% of survey respondents either said there were no opportunities available for networking with others interested in international issues or said they did not consider this a priority. To the extent that local unions perceive opportunities for networking on international issues, they are primarily

seen to exist outside of Chicago at the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center in Washington DC.

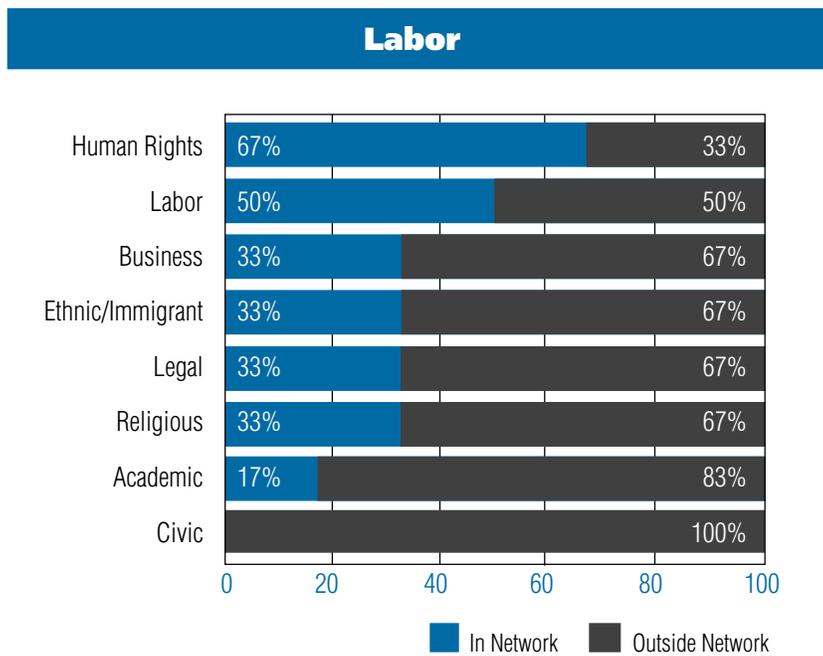
In terms of local organizations with whom the labor community interacts on international issues, 43% of respondents listed other union organizations such as the Chicago Federation of Labor. Twenty-nine% of the labor community also listed several religious organizations in their network that are working on labor-related justice and human rights issues including Jobs for Justice, the Interfaith Committee on Worker Issues, and the 8th Day Center. The Mid-America Committee was the

only general international affairs organization listed (by one respondent) as part of its network on international affairs.

Advantages/Disadvantages: The responses by the labor community to the question about the advantages and disadvantages of working out of Chicago were fairly general and mirrored those listed by other communities. The only specific complaint centered on the fact that most major US labor leaders who deal with international policy issues are on the East Coast, and that, because of limited resources, union members were unable to travel to Washington or New York.

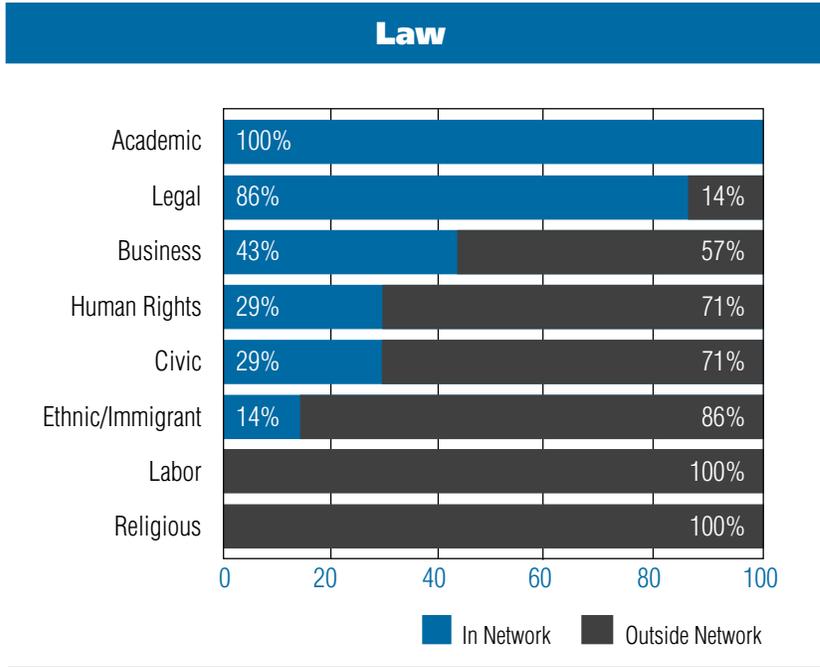
Suggestions for Improvement: There was a fairly high (50%) non-response rate to the question about suggestions on how to improve the international affairs scene in Chicago. Suggestions for improvement included:

- Coordinate with Chicago universities regarding international labor issues and visits of international labor dignitaries.
- Provide greater access to economic-development information for NGOs.
- Improve access to information about trade-related events. The Executive Director of the Women’s Self-Employment Project stated that “I recently stumbled on the USAID office at the World Trade Center in Chicago. I never knew it existed here, nor their programs. More information from the WTC and similar activities would be useful.”



Law

Overview: The international legal community in Chicago appears to be very fragmented in the international area. Many lawyers have strong international interests and work on issues related to foreign affairs in an individual capacity. However, there are few widely known international legal forums that connect the community as a whole.



Advantages/Disadvantages: Most discussion of advantages centered on the strength of Chicago’s international business and financial community. The disadvantages of pursuing international interests from a Chicago location included:

- New York and Washington DC have more international expertise. “Although they’d be the last to admit it,” Chicago law firms are still relatively ignorant about international law.
- Minimal state and local government support for international initiatives, and the perception that Chicago is not a city that is interested in the development of international associations.
- An “information gap,” due to the absence of a clearinghouse for foreign-affairs information.

Suggestions for Improvement:

- Several respondents suggested the need for a clearinghouse of information and events on Asia, more information on regional activities and visitors, and a monthly schedule of activity related to various regions.
- Expand initiatives and exchange between the research, law, business, non-profits, and government communities.
- Establish a foreign-affairs office to coordinate activities sponsored by business and cultural delegations to the city.
- Create a website of foreign visitors coming to Chicago.

Networking and Information: Most of the respondents to the survey saw few local opportunities for networking: 43% said there were no real opportunities for local networking; 57% mentioned either the Chicago Council or the Mid-America Committee as places where discussion on international issues occurred, but several added that these represented fairly limited opportunities; and 29% listed other organizations ranging from the World Trade Center to Sister Cities. No respondent mentioned organizations outside the categories of general international affairs, business, or city government as places for gaining information or networking on international issues.

Religious

Overview: There is an extraordinary amount of international activity that takes place in Chicago's religious community. Programs range from non-violent dispute resolution in Hebron and Chiapas; to refugee resettlement in the former Soviet Union, Bosnia, Iran, Southeast Asia, and Tibet; to the Illinois Committee for Responsible Investment, which addresses policies of global corporations; and the Jubilee 2000 campaign for debt relief.

Along with academia, the respondents in the religious community identified the broadest ranges of issue that were of interest to their membership. These included the global economy, sweatshops, human rights, refugee rights, the concerns of indigenous people, advancement of women, human prosperity, moral development, peacemaking, demilitarization, economic justice, sustainable development, global trade relationships, labor rights, ending economic sanctions, and U.S. military and foreign policy

Networking and Information: The religious community got most of its information from five main sources: mainstream media (86%), non-religious organizations (71%), Internet (71%), field office/staff (43%), and other religious organizations (43%). In response to the question about local opportunities for networking with others interested in global issues, 57% responded that they either weren't aware of any local opportunities or that there were not enough; 43% listed

other faith-based organizations as an opportunity for networking on international affairs; and 29% listed non-religious organizations including academic conferences and departments.

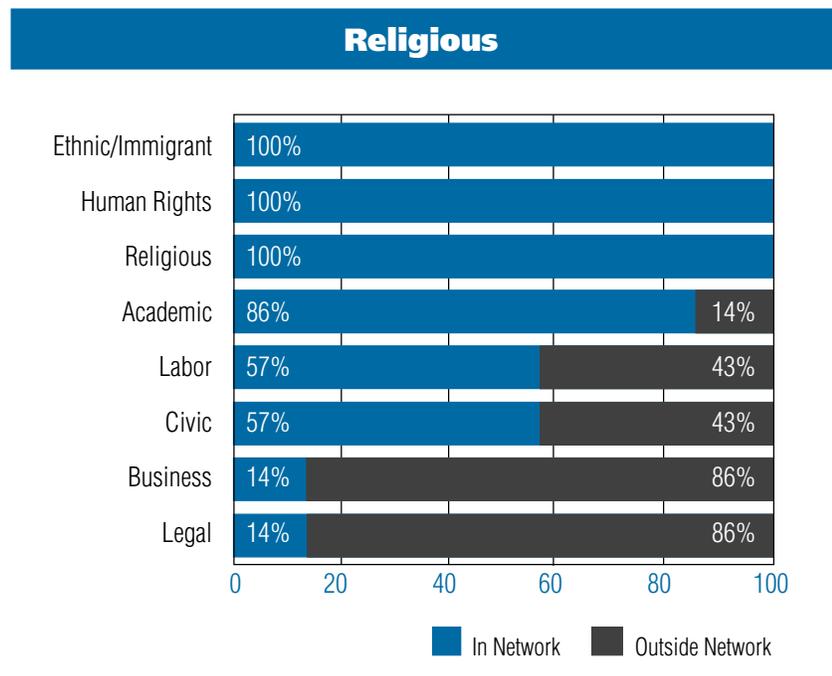
The religious community had one of the broadest networks devoted to international affairs, incorporating every other community except city government, international law, and business. The most frequently mentioned network was the religious community (88%), followed by labor (38%), general international affairs (25%), academic (13%), ethnic/immigrant (13%), and human rights (13%).

Advantages/Disadvantages: Among the advantages represented by the Chicago location, religious organizations listed:

- Chicago represents a crossroad for tours of international staff and visitors.
- Local immigrant communities offer the potential for engagement at both local and international levels.
- Distance from Washington DC keeps organizations from being drawn into Hill crises.

Suggestions for Improvement:

- Establish a clearinghouse for tours/visitors to Chicago from labor and community organizations.
- Set up an electronic discussion group for organizations interested in international issues.
- Create a metro-Chicago master calendar of conferences on and speakers from Latin America in areas of organizational interest; post on the Internet and send e-mail notification of such conferences.





Conclusion

The survey and report are intended as a first cut at uncovering and bringing to light the extraordinarily rich and diverse array of organizations and individuals that are working in Chicago on issues of global concern. Clearly, what is reported here barely begins to scratch the surface of international activity that occurs in Chicago and the surrounding region.

What this report does highlight is that it is difficult to speak of a foreign-affairs community in any cohesive or unified sense. Still less is it possible to point to a forum where Chicago's place in an emerging global order can be discussed by *all* communities that have

a stake in the city's future. Most communities, even those with substantial resources to dedicate to international interests, expressed a clear sense of frustration about the lack of communication and coordination among organizations, and about Chicago's inability to sustain a broad-based and ongoing debate on issues of global concern. This sense of frustration was even more forcefully expressed by those organizations and communities in the second, more grass-roots network described in the introduction. While these groups have far fewer resources available to develop and articulate their connection to, and interest in, global issues, they arguably stand to lose a great deal more if they cannot contribute in a meaningful way to policy debates on these issues.

Footnotes:

1. Three different questions were asked about local networks. One question asked respondents to list local *opportunities* for networking; the second asked respondents to list by name the *organizations* with whom they interacted on issues related to world affairs; and the third asked respondents to identify those *communities* with whom they interacted on a regular basis. There was an interesting disconnect between answers to the three questions for many respondents. The question about opportunities generated the most negative answers: Respondents seemed to think that opportunities were limited or restricted to fairly narrow audiences. The question about organizations generated more detailed responses, indicating that Chicagoans are in fact interacting with a fairly wide range of organizations on an informal basis. In general, similar organizations, or organizations that could also be considered as part of the same community, were most frequently mentioned, indicating fairly strong *within*-community networks. However, as discussed above, there are loose cross-community

networks as well. The question on communities generated the most ambiguous responses. For example, while several respondents indicated that they interact regularly with ethnic *communities* on international issues, no ethnic *organizations* were listed by name in response to the question about organizations. Similarly, virtually every community placed the academic community squarely in the center of their network, but then did not list any academic institutes or departments by name in response to the question about organizations. One way to interpret this result is that while *individuals* from these communities are active in many different networks, institutions, centers, or departments as a whole are not.

2. The survey was sent to 223 individuals and organizations; 88 were returned. Of the 223 sent, 71 (32%) were sent to members of the international business community. Given that this community received the largest number of surveys, and given the relatively low response rate of this community, two separate sets of figures for response rate are included.

3. This does not include academic centers dedicated to human rights such as those at the University of Chicago or DePaul. These were included in the human rights community. The responses to the survey were also heavily biased toward the University of Chicago and Northwestern University.

4. The humanitarian community was added as a separate community later in the process, after surveys had already been sent. Therefore, the question that asked about interaction with *community* did not have humanitarian relief and development as an option. If it had been listed, it appears likely that it would have ranked highest in terms of centrality to the humanitarian organizations network devoted to international affairs.

**APPENDIX**

The following is a partial listing of Chicago organizations that have an interest in, or programs devoted to, international issues

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