CITY OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

A Peace Messenger City

NEW HAVEN PEACE COMMISSION

THE STATE OF THE CULTURE OF PEACE
IN NEW HAVEN 2016
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The following analysis, revised each year, is based on interviews with local activists conducted by the New Haven Peace Commission. It is based on the concept of “culture of peace” as defined by the United Nations (see Appendix II) which consists of tolerance and solidarity, human rights, sustainable equitable development, democratic participation, equality of women, disarmament and security, education for peace, and free flow of information, all of which are inter-related.

This year key word pronounced by all who were interviewed was "solidarity". In this regard, there was progress this year in tolerance and solidarity, while human rights, already suffering, were threatened with further loss.

Tolerance and solidarity are supported at all levels of the city in the face of threats by the incoming national administration. They are advanced by many initiatives, including the resettlement of refugees and restorative justice in the public schools.

Human rights for many New Haveners continued to suffer, especially with regard to the rights for employment and affordable housing, while recent progress in availability of health care and the rights of LGBTQ are now under threat.

Sustainable, equitable development failed to advance this year. Employment remained inadequate. Development decisions continued to favor the construction of expensive housing, while affordable housing also remained inadequate.

More democratic participation is needed in development decisions. While city elections are marked by lack of choice and lack of participation, in other respects the Mayor and Board of Alders provide good representation.

Although equality of women remains to be achieved in many areas, Toni Harp’s administration as mayor continues to advance women’s equality as well as other aspects of the culture of peace. National attacks on Planned Parenthood have been met by strong community support in New Haven.

As for disarmament and security, there continues to be a high level of violence in the city (exaggerated by media emphasis on violent news), which is related to unemployment, a failing education system, destruction of the family and family values and easy access to drugs and guns, among other causal factors. The emphasis on community policing is seen as taking a good direction, but it will take more time to see its results.

The new initiatives in restorative justice promise to improve the atmosphere of schools and set a precedent for changing a broken criminal justice system, but education still needs to be strengthened at the neighborhood level. Unfortunately, the emphasis continues to be on magnet and charter schools to which children are bused out of their neighborhoods and which, in the long run, tends to increase rather than decrease the widening gulf between rich and poor.

With regard to the free flow of information, there are important sources for community news in recent years, such as the New Haven Independent, La Voz and the new hispanic radio station WNHH. However, the main commercial media continue to emphasize the news of violence which ultimately supports a culture of war and violence. \"
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INTRODUCTION

In 1999 the United Nations adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace which defined the culture of peace as a goal much broader than the traditional idea of peace as the absence of war. The culture of peace (CoP) includes all of the components necessary for a peace that is profound and lasting.

tolerance and solidarity
human rights
sustainable, equitable development
democratic participation
equality of women
disarmament and security
education for peace
free flow of information

The rationale for this analysis by the United Nations is explained below in Appendix II. Although the resolution was conceived and adopted in terms of the Member States of the United Nations, it is equally applicable to cities.

As will be evident below, the eight components of culture of peace are all inter-related and dependent upon each other. Thus, it is not possible to say that one is more important than another. They are all important and linked together; to illustrate this, the linkages that appear in each section are indicated in boldface, including the theme for this year’s report which is "solidarity."

With this in mind, on behalf of the New Haven City Peace Commission, 16 New Haven activists and organizations have been interviewed in all of the above areas, and a summary of their considerations are presented here. Most of them have been interviewed in previous years as well. For more information about the methodology, see Appendix III at the end of this report.

STRATEGY FOR 2017

This year, in the face of the election results and the initial appointees by the incoming national government, our interviewees were very concerned how we can continue to work for human rights, solidarity, justice and sustainable development. Here are some of their thoughts.

* Ideally, we should unite the widest movement possible to defend the human rights of everyone, beginning with the most vulnerable. And at least, we should struggle against divisiveness, not necessarily to convince the other, but at least to find ways to collaborate.

* A broad political agenda is needed that includes the collaboration of all trade unions. The key word is "solidarity."

* We need a positive program of demands that unites all our communities, demanding conversion of the national budget to service of human needs, instead of the present budget devoted over 57% to military applications. Fear is not a good motivator. Solidarity is!

* Listen to the youth. They have a more holistic view than us adults, especially with regard to sexual orientation. They’re angry and will not tolerate inaction. We need them in public office to push the legislature to defend public services and policies.
* Resistance is needed at every level against hate and persecution. For immigrant rights, the city needs to continue providing leadership and link up to the resistance on a national level. Despite the election results and false news by some of the mass media, we must realize that progressive opinions are those of the majority of Americans. For example, in all four states where it was on the ballot, voters supported an increase in the minimum wage; and exit polls around the country revealed that 70% of voters want to legalize undocumented immigrants rather than deporting them.

* Protest is necessary, but with an agenda that is clear and unifying. We need dialogue at every level, engaging the opposition and taking care that legitimate anger does not stifle dialogue. We need the emergence of a moral voice like that of Martin Luther King, with an effective media strategy.

**TOLERANCE AND SOLIDARITY**

This was the year that Mayor Toni Harp, called for initiatives to ensure that New Haven is "The City That Cares." And soon after, faced with threats from incoming President Trump against sanctuary cities, she replied that as long as she is mayor, New Haven will remain a sanctuary city, embracing immigrants regardless of their documentation status. She called the immigrant community one of the city's "enduring and endearing features." "We will protect one another," she said. She has also instructed the city's top lawyer to prepare a legal challenge in case the incoming Trump administration seeks to punish New Haven for being a "sanctuary city." Since 2006, New Haven has a general order directing police officers not to inquire into citizens' immigration status when they stop them or interview them.

The Mayor is not alone in this fight. She addressed a rally at City Hall called by activists from the Latino community. At the rally, State Rep. Juan Candelaria called maintaining New Haven's sanctuary city status in the face of threats of deportation and federal defunding a "moral obligation." Other manifestations of community support have included a march by high school students to City Hall demanding help to protect their classmates, and a large rally at Yale University of students demanding that the university be a sanctuary campus. And the Community Foundation for Greater New Haven, the city's largest philanthropic foundation has pledged to help immigrants in the face of a threatened federal crackdown in the year ahead.

Solidarity is not new to New Haven. Like many American cities, we have long received new generations of immigrants. In recent years, New Haven has taken national leadership by providing identification cards for undocumented immigrants, an initiative that has come to serve as a model for other cities across the country.

The welcoming of refugees, spearheaded by IRIS, Integrated Refugee & Immigrant Services, received headlines last year when New Haven received a family of refugees from Syria who had been refused entry to Indiana by the governor of that state. And this year, following the election of President Trump and his Vice-President, who was previously that governor of Indiana, IRIS invited the President-elect to come to New Haven to meet refugees so that he could "understand why they had to flee their own countries; why they have come to this place for opportunities for freedom, safety and the future of their children." The director of IRIS, Chris George, said that "in his first decade of resettlement work he had two community groups per year approach IRIS about welcoming a refugee family; over the past 12 months 50 groups have stepped forward to help resettle families in their neighborhoods. Those groups include the Danbury Area Refugee Assistance and five greater New Haven synagogues: Congregation Beth El-Keser Israel, Congregation B'nai Jacob, Congregation Mishkan Israel, Congregation Or Shalom, and Temple Emmanuel, which suport the work of the Jewish Community Alliance for Refugee
Resettlement. IRIS resettled 477 refugees, including 279 fleeing the brutal civil war in Syria, during the fiscal year ending Sept. 30."

Another important initiative for tolerance and solidarity in New Haven is the program for restorative practices in public schools, which is now in its third year. At least 200 teachers, 10% of those in public schools have now been trained in restorative practices, with at least one teacher trained in every school. Although the 2-year grant to establish the program has ended, restorative practices continue to be supported by the Board of Education and the Teacher’s Union, just as their national union, the American Federation of Teachers continues to make it a priority.

It is the goal of restorative practices to use strategies that develop empathy and improve relationships within the schools so that each individual understands how his/her peers feel and how each of our actions affects the other. This is accomplished in combination by using community building circles and restorative circles to repair harm through personal accountability. The ultimate goals are to build strong cooperative relationships and to reduce the need for the use of expulsions and suspensions by a process of restorative circles, in which the offending student listens to those whom he or she has harmed and comes to regret and make amends for the actions concerned.

It is useful to distinguish restorative justice from restorative practice. Restorative justice is applied once harm has been inflicted, whereas restorative practice is applied routinely and serves as a preventive measure. Unfortunately, at the present time most teachers are not afforded enough time in their official schedules to routinely employ restorative practice, and instead the school waits for disciplinary problems to erupt, at which time restorative justice is needed.

The restorative justice initiative has strengthened community ties by involving many other institutions as well as the schools, including Youth Stat, United Way, Clifford Beers, ALIVE, New Haven Family Alliance and Pinnacle, not to mention a parents’ group for restorative practice. Youth Stat is engaged in a complementary process to amend the rules on expulsion. Another related project is the Youth Court, in which young offenders are tried in a court made up of young volunteers.

We should be aware of how much solidarity is shown in our everyday lives. Here’s a simple example: take a city bus and appreciate how much your fellow bus riders as well as the bus driver are always ready to help when the bus stops to take on board someone in a wheelchair.

HUMAN RIGHTS

The human rights of a large portion of our city continue to be violated, especially concerning the human rights to employment and housing. These rights should be guaranteed by the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but the United States remains one of the few countries in the world that has refused to ratify the covenant (along with Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf nations, Cuba, Malaysia, Singapore and Myanmar).

Although local development decisions continue to favor expensive housing, there were a few victories this year for affordable housing. To resettle the hundreds of families affected by the closing of the Church Street South housing project in 2015, a lawsuit along with results of inspections by the city administration, pushed the national Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to force the owners to find new homes elsewhere for the remaining tenant families. The lawsuit, headed by attorney David Rosen, demands recompensation to the uprooted families for the losses to their health, for their lost furniture, for their emotional distress, and for the time their kids missed out on school or spent living cramped in temporary hotel
rooms. Meanwhile, New Haven’s neighborhoods agency, the Livable City Initiative (LCI), is seeking funds to redevelop the site, and the struggle is on to ensure that it includes a high percentage of affordable units.

A major problem is the purchase of foreclosed properties by slumlords and financial institutions who do not provide renovation to affordable housing. LCI director Serena Neal-Sanjurjo presented figures to the City Board of Alders in October, showing over 2000 foreclosure purchases in the city in the 2015-2016 fiscal year, and requesting funds to compete with these other buyers.

Neighborhood Housing Services, over the course of 35 years, has renovated 350 units of affordable housing, primarily in Newhallville. They admit it’s a drop in the bucket compared to the enormous needs in the city, but it serves as a model showing that affordable housing is possible. One of the obstacles has been the long wait time, sometimes several years, to receive city subsidies for renovations after they have been approved.

As for employment, progress is also slow. Little has changed since the Black and Hispanic Caucus told the Board of Alders last year that "the city’s staggering unemployment and underemployment rate is its most pressing problem." The Department of Labor estimates the number of unemployed and underemployed New Haveners at around 20,000. New development initiatives do not favor local employment but continue to favor hi-tech industries such as pharmaceuticals.

The right to organize in trade unions for fair wages received a boost when a federal judge ruled that employees of the former Gourmet Heaven in New Haven should be paid at least $175,000 by their former boss for lost wages. She also ruled that workers are constitutionally allowed to organize and that employers are not to retaliate against them for such activity. Local activists, including Unidad Latina en Acción (ULA), New Haven Legal Assistance Association ad the Worker & Immigrant Rights Advocacy Clinic at Yale Law School, also celebrated victories against wage theft at other local restaurants.

An area of progress in recent years has been in health care. In Connecticut, the Federal Affordable Care Act (ACA) obtained the largest enrollment percentages in the country, and brought affordable healthcare to thousands of people who were previously without access. Now, the new administration in Washington threatens to revoke the ACA, which would directly hurt thousands of people in Connecticut. It would also burden local healthcare providers, who have benefited by being able to devote more of their resources to other needs rather than simply supplementing the healthcare of those who were previously ineligible for it. And it would renew pressure on Emergency Room services which are the worst way to deal with healthcare.

Another source of progress in recent years has been the social and legal recognition of all sexual orientations, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ). Given the threats by the incoming national administration to reverse this progress, it is another area where attitudes and actions of solidarity are needed at all levels.

The poor are getting poorer. Last year a study by the Brookings Institution found that the poorest 20th percentile of family earners in New Haven saw their real wages plummet 31 percent (from 2007 to 2014 while the top 95 percentile in town (a much smaller group) saw wages rise 24 percent. Little has changed since a local activist told us that "We have a new record of people using our food pantry, which means more poverty. The sheer numbers of the poor are increasing. The social safety net is frayed and tattered and more people are falling through it. We have established a country of winners and losers. The trickle-down approach does not work. What is needed is an approach that is bottom up, raising the level of the poorest and unskilled as the basis for full employment. A culture of peace must be for everyone, not just the privileged."
SUSTAINABLE, EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned above, opportunities for employment are not moving forward as we had hoped in the previous few years with New Haven Works. In this regard, as interviewees have stressed over the years, unemployment is endemic to the system not only in New Haven but throughout the country. It is hard to remember when the United States was a manufacturing country, and New Haven had many factory jobs. The flight of industry to low-wage, non-union countries calls into question the sustainability of the American economy. How long can we go on importing without exporting? As one of our interviewees puts it, “We have a country that can produce the best technology, best army, and is deeply involved in research to solve many problems. Why can't we solve the problem of unemployment? It's because our development depends on the capitalist system that doesn't want it to work. Full employment is not even on its agenda.”

As for housing, there is plenty of development, but is it sustainable and equitable? It is certainly not equitable. Despite a few bright spots mentioned above, most of the construction continues to be for luxury apartments, far beyond the reach of families and individuals already homeless or in over-crowded housing. As of last year, in order to afford the Fair Market Rent for a two bedroom apartment ($1,123) without subsidy and spending no more than 30% of income on housing, it requires an hourly wage of $23.53, i.e more than two people working at the State’s minimum wage. And there is also the question as to whether the luxury housing boom will ultimately be sustainable. Will there be enough rich buyers if the economy plunges? Rising property prices have also taken a toll on small business across the city. As will be discussed further under democratic participation, these development decisions are made without effective citizen participation.

On the other hand, there is good news at the neighborhood level, as exemplified by initiatives in the West River section of New Haven. The West River Watershed Coalition has gotten the five towns along the River to cooperate and clean it up: West Haven, New Haven, Woodbridge, Hamden and Bethany, as well as community organizations such as Common Ground School and Solar Youth. Soon there will be nature trails, good fishing, and more bird habitats, blueberries and raspberries along the River. The Friends of Edgewood Park have gotten together to clean up the park and hire a director to work with kids there during the summer. And the West River Neighborhood Services Corporation has seen citizens come out of their houses to transform their neighborhood by cleaning up the streets and creating drug-free zones. Each year they sponsor a very successful celebration of the International Day of Peace. On the other side of the city, there is now progress on the construction of a Mill River Trail. All of these projects are marked by volunteer citizen participation, another example of the solidarity that is the high point of our report this year.

With regard to food and nutrition, the New Haven Food Policy Council, an official part of city government, continues to engage in food distribution which also addresses the basic human rights of New Haveners. Its working groups meet regularly for 1) cooking and food education, 2) food assistance; and 3) city farms and gardens. New Haven continues to have progressive programs, including five farmers' markets, a specialized high school (Common Ground High School, and a "mobile market" that distributes food around the city to senior centers, senior housing and low income neighborhoods. In addition there are numerous other local initiatives around food issues, including some 50 community gardens, school gardens, City Seed and the New Haven Bioregional Group. The city has recently hired a new Food Systems Director and one hopes she will help to further develop these initiatives.
Development, in general, and food policy, in particular, need to be conceived at a regional level. In this regard, a new initiative, *A New England Food Vision*, envisions New Englanders in 2060 eating more diverse and healthier foods than today, with three times as much land (15% of the region, or 6 million acres) producing food: several hundred thousand acres in and around cities devoted to intensive production and several million acres of rural farmland abandoned since World War II supporting crops and livestock.

Many other aspects of sustainable development remain problematic.

It is not possible to separate development at the city level from the problem of taxation which has always been a problem throughout the country. Cities are caught in a double-bind situation as they are forced to pay for social services, especially education, from a base of property taxes that has continued to shrink for decades as manufacturing has left the city. New Haven is in a particularly difficult situation because its largest employers, Yale and the hospitals, are exempt from property taxes.

As emphasized by some of the activists interviewed, the culture of war is at the root of our development problems. "We have massive unemployment across the country which is the core problem, and it is due to the national priority given to the military budget. Unlike what some people think, the military budget reduces employment rather than increasing it. We can see that with Pratt and Whitney which is now reduced from over 40,000 to under 1500 workers despite tripling of the military budget during that time. What we need is economic conversion from military to civilian production." A hearing is planned for January 2017 in which city agencies are invited to propose the budgets that they need to fulfull the human service needs of New Haven which follows the precedent of the 2012 ballot referendum in which the people of New Haven voted overwhelmingly to reduce federal military spending, and convert federal funds to human services. At the state-wide level, a "Futures Commission" was established which could in theory address this problem, but so far it has not been able to make any progress. Adding insult to injury, during 2016, the state gave $220 million to Sikorsky in response to their threat to move out of state. This will enable them to continue their manufacture of military helicopters in Connecticut.

The Greater New Haven Water Pollution Control Authority is mandated to reduce the problem of sewage in our rivers and streams, but it depends on a sewer separation project that is enormously costly and long-term. Meanwhile, shorter-term and less costly solutions such as increasing "green infrastructure" to absorb heavy rainwater, have not been sufficiently implemented. The Connecticut Fund for the Environment has had some success in the restoration of waterways. Meanwhile, in Connecticut as a whole, we have not begun to deal with how to get rid of nuclear waste.

As for urban planning and transportation, there is a increased interest in bicycles and alternatives to automobile transportation. According to the American Community Survey, New Haven's proportion of bicycle commuters (~5%) is one of the highest in the country. The city's Comprehensive Plan has good ideas for transit improvements, but they have not yet been realized. Unfortunately, New Haven's city planning decisions are still determined by the automobile. For example, the new parking garage at Union Station will eliminate the present parking space for bicycles. Bus transportation remains uncoordinated, and unavailable on many lines in the evening. While the Yale bus line provides an app so that their passengers can know the position of all the buses, the Connecticut Transit system is only now beginning to establish a GPS system that can inform passengers when buses are late.
Increasingly it is understood that we must develop alternative energy sources, both to reduce carbon emissions that contribute to global warming and to reduce dependence on the importation of oil. To some extent, this can be addressed at the local level, for example, by riding bicycles and eating locally-grown food. In this regard, the city is developing its own greenhouse gas strategy, and there are some useful local initiatives. The company Posigen, originally from Louisiana, has begun installing low-cost solar panels on private homes in Bridgeport and New Haven, with long-term financing by the Connecticut Green Bank. In the long run, these problems can only be solved on a national and international level. But unfortunately, the Congress has no strategy to take action, and the incoming administration goes to the extreme of denying there is a problem of global warming. Last year’s climate agreement in Paris was watered down to meet US Congressional opposition, and does nothing to reduce reliance on fossil fuels. Meanwhile, New Haven harbor remains a major center to receive imported oil on huge tanker ships, with periodic oil spills that are given little publicity and pipelines that are rotting and risk further spills. One good note was the agreement last year, under threat of legal action, that the polluted English Station power plant will be cleaned up as part of the terms allowing the merger of United Illuminating and the Spanish company Iberdrola.

People are increasingly convinced that the banking system is corrupt and unsustainable, but there seems to be little or no action in Washington to deal with this. There is a growing tendency to invest in local banks and credit agencies as an alternative, but it is still small in comparison. Unfortunately, in this regard, the local START bank decided to close its Fair Haven branch last year.

**DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION**

There needs to be more democratic participation in development decisions, especially those that determine whether housing is affordable. To some extent this takes place now in the Community Management Teams that were introduced during the 1990’s in conjunction with the move towards community policing. However, their power is quite limited; while their discussions may lead to a few more affordable housing units, their effect is small in comparison with the thousands of expensive units being planned or in construction. A case in point in 2016 was the attitude of the developer for a new housing/retail/lab/office project in the Hill neighborhood who refused to continue attending what he called “ridiculous hearings” and threatened to withdraw from the project if it continued to be questioned by the public. Hopefully, we can find ways to get more public participation in these decisions in the coming years. One possibility is the new initiative by the Democratic Town Committee to adopt a set of principles addressing both local and national issues that must be addressed by all who seek to run for office on the Democratic Party line.

In general, the Board of Alders and the Mayor provide good support to democratic participation. Mayor Toni Harp often gets out into the community, attending neighborhood events and providing a role model for the spirit of **solidarity** that we see as so important this year. Her approach to **education** has been marked by a more personal concern with the lives of youth, rather than the bricks and mortar approach of previous administrations. The Board of Alders continues to be dedicated to employment and union rights. The Board is a good model for **women’s equality** and **tolerance and solidarity**, as it consists of two-thirds women, including some from Yale union locals 34 and 35, a racial membership that reflects the city’s population, and now a Black woman President, Tyisha Walker. New Haven is exceptional in this regard, since a survey of over 42,000 elected officials nationwide found that 90% are white, in a country that is 37% people of color, and 71% of elected officials are male, even though men comprise only 49% of the population. It was symbolic that the Board has changed its official name from the Board of Aldermen to the Board of Alders. This year the Board established a public survey to obtain sug-
gestions for its legislative agenda: "we encourage management teams, ward committees, block 

watches, any groups that we’re working with . . . to fill out this survey. We want citywide feed-

back and it’s going to guide us for our work for the rest of this term.”

This year’s election was marked by long lines due to ballot shortages in four wards, moderators 

showing up late and delinquent and poorly trained pollworkers. Hopefully, this will be remedied 

before the next citywide elections.

The city has re-established the annual Democracy School, where citizens can sign up for a 9-

week course that enables them to meet department heads and public safety officials, look into 

the city's budget, tour the Emergency Operations Center, and network with other engaged resi-

dents from all over the city.

Fortunately, democratic participation includes far more than elections, because elections in New 

Haven are marked by lack of choice and lack of participation. It has been said that the best 

electoral debates and contest in New Haven was among the high school candidates for the 

Board of Education. The contested candidatures of student members for the Board of Educa-

tion provides an important precedent for democratic participation in the schools, to be discussed 

later under education.

Democratic participation includes, but must also go beyond the mobilizations and campaigns for 

elections. A good example is the modest but significant "participatory budgeting" initiative that 

has recently been introduced under the auspices of the Livable City Initiative with the funding al-

located through the management teams. More and more we see examples of local initiatives 

that provide for democratic participation. A good example is the West River Watershed Coalition 

that we have mentioned under sustainable development. Another is the civic technology 

company SeeClickFix, which encourages citizens to report problems in their neighborhood, and 

mobilize people to take care of these problems if the city government does not respond. 

SeeClickFix started in New Haven and has now gone national and international in scope. In 

2016 they initiated a new service called SeeClickFix Work to help the city government to moni-

tor more closely how work is assigned to different department and outside contractors, and to 

give certain problems priority to fix.

New Haveners are fortunate to have a number of community leadership training programs in-

cluding the Community Leadership Program of the Graustein Foundation, the Neighborhood 

Leadership Program of the Community Foundation and the Resident Leadership Program of the 

Neighborhood Housing Program.

WOMEN’S EQUALITY

Once again this year, when asked about women's equality, people mentioned immediately Toni 

Harp and the importance of having the first woman mayor in New Haven history, as well her be-

ing only the second African-American in that position. She has appointed many women and 

people of color to key positions in her administration and she provides an excellent role model 

for the young.

Over the years we see more and more women in positions of authority. Yale, in general, is an 

influence for equality, especially since women were admitted almost a half century ago. The 

most active trade union, Local 34, is women-led, and has achieved major victories for women’s 

wages, healthcare, pensions and housing mortgages. It is not accidental that a majority of the 

new alders they helped elect last year are women (see section on democratic participation). 

In addition, New Haven's congressional representatives (state and federal) include many very 

active and effective women, as well as men who are very supportive of women's rights. And
especially important, the new community policing approach includes women managers in a many of the districts.

Both teenage pregnancy and abortion rates are down nationally. According to our interview with Planned Parenthood, this is probably not due to formal sex education programs, but rather to informal communication and awareness among the youth themselves and the use of long-acting contraception like IUDs which no longer have the medical problems that were associated with them previously. Although these IUDs are expensive, they are covered by the newly available medical insurance. Planned Parenthood now talks of “reproductive justice” rather than a narrow focus on birth control.

The progress towards equality of women is threatened by the attitudes of the incoming national administration, beginning with their attacks on Planned Parenthood's funding which will have come to a head in January or February 2017 with the looming reconciliation bill in Congress. Requiring only 51 votes, this bill will likely repeal the Affordable Care Act without an adequate replacement (if any at all) and will include language to defund Planned Parenthood of its status as a Medicaid provider...the opening salvo in a plan to defund PP by abortion opponents.

Attacks on Planned Parenthood in previous years have been met by community support, for example in 2015 when hundreds of people, including the Mayor, came out to the New Haven Green to demonstrate their support, and local media gave the rally good coverage. Following the recent national election results, there has been a greatly increased turnout of volunteers for Planned Parenthood. No doubt further support will be needed in the coming years, including, perhaps, an increase in private funding if the national government withdraws its support.

Anticipating national attacks on women, there are important local and national manifestations being being planned. On the day following the inauguration of the new national administration, there was a massive march of women in Washington along with sister marches in 260 locations across the US and in 25 countries. And this year a wide range of New Haven organizations are planning a celebration of International Women’s Day in March.

Of course, many major problems remain unsolved. A large proportion of the poor in New Haven are women heads of households, some unmarried, some divorced or widowed, and too often with a husband in prison or unemployable because of a prison record. If they are married, their husbands are often victims of unemployment (see section on development). And if they are employed it is often part-time and for substandard wages without benefits. Women's non-union wages remain stuck at a level of 77% of the wages to men in equivalent jobs. Even if they make a good wage, women’s income may be largely eaten up by expensive daycare. The program of Head Start which used to take their young children during the day has been cut in recent years. Women are especially inconvenienced by the requirement of the educational system that students must be bused to distant schools.

Not to mention other particular problems that are not often considered, such as, for example, the high cost of providing disposable diapers for babies. Even if there is a man in the household who contributes to the family income, there is too often a problem of domestic violence, as will be mentioned in the following section on security.

In the past there were national organizations working explicitly for women’s equality, such as the National Organization of Women, the National Women's Political Caucus and NARAL, but now they have reduced influence or have completely disappeared. On the other hand, several women's sororities (the “Deltas”) remain strongly active for women in the Black community.
Unfortunately, the Connecticut Permanent Commission on the Status of Women, which has effectively promoted women’s equality over the years, has been downgraded by a budgetary decision of the State to merge it with the Commission on Children and Seniors and the Commission on African-Americans and to reduce the overall staffing.

**DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY**

New Haven continues to suffer from homicides among young men, mostly minorities, although the 13 homicides of 2015 are down compared to the high of 34 homicides in 2011. The violence is linked to the lack of employment opportunities (development), failures of education, destruction of the family, the easy access to guns, the drug trade which promises quick money and power, and a "culture of violence" among many young people. As a member of the Peace Commission has expressed, "the fistfights of yesterday have turned into the gun battles of today."

The causes of violence go far beyond the scope of what can be done in New Haven. The national government provides an implicit model of violence when it goes to war or engages in assassination either directly or through its unmanned drones. The drug trade involves international channels of exchange of cocaine and heroin for guns that were established during the wars with Vietnam, Nicaragua and Afghanistan, among others.

Police killings around the country have exposed the ever-present potential for violence by the police. At one point, the Peace Commission organized a discussion with the two Alders who are developing the regulations for the Civilian Review Board that was included in the Charter revisions adopted by New Haven voters in 2013. Contributions to the discussion also came from a State Senator and State Representative. Unfortunately, two years later, it has still not been possible to establish the Civilian Review Board with effective community participation and capacity for investigation and regulation. This needs to be a priority in 2017.

The easy access to guns is also a national problem, largely due to the “gun lobby.” An even greater number of minority youth are killed by each other than by the police. Like other states following the 2013 Newtown massacre, Connecticut passed a significant (though still insufficient) package of gun control reforms. But no matter how strict Connecticut’s gun safety laws, you can always go and buy an assault rifle in some jurisdiction with less strict regulations. Unfortunately, a recent national survey found that support for gun ownership is now even higher among African-Americans than among others. Over the years, the Peace Commission has held several meetings on gun control, and some of those interviewed stated that the Commission should engage once again in this issue.

On the streets of New Haven you can see young people wearing buttons of those who have been killed in gun violence, some of them innocent bystanders, others presumably involved in the drug trade or other vendettas. On one hand, this is a traditional process of mourning and regret; on the other hand, it can serve to glorify the culture of violence as if one measures "how many people will come to my funeral." As one activist told us, “Many young men do not expect to live beyond 18 years of age in this culture.”

Another casualty of the drug wars and gun violence is the high rate of imprisonment, especially among African-American men. As mentioned in the section on solidarity, this has been effectively analyzed and publicized in the book *The New Jim Crow*. Prisons have become a source of profit through slave labor, and the high rate of imprisonment contributes to the destruction of family structure. This is both cause and effect; as one activist remarked, "In the 1950's we had the values of 'good family training,' but this is no longer prevalent. Working with returnees from
prison, I find that they have no values to go back to. Instead, they have brought back to our community a kind of ex-convict culture, ranging from violent rap music and ill-fitting clothes like those in prison to the belief that you must carry a gun to defend yourself. What is needed, and the new mayor and school superintendent should take the leadership in this, is a major campaign to 'shun the gun.' We must stop being enablers of the gun culture; we must stop treating the carrying of a gun as normal behavior.” Hopefully, the newly expanded prison re-entry program, located in City Hall, will help to make the needed cultural change.

Although the drug wars, gun violence and crime involves a rather small percent of the population, often people who come from outside the city, it receives the headlines of newspapers and television which produces a climate of fear among the population in general. This will be dealt with later in terms of the free flow of information. Hence, in addition to a real problem of insecurity, there is an even larger problem in the perception of insecurity. People still say, “I'm afraid to go in the park.”

The perception of insecurity was addressed by the previous police chief's emphasis on community policing. At one point, he said in a remarkable interview that it is important that the community should not perceive the police as an "occupying army." We must hope that his successor will continue the movement towards community policing. Police are now based in 10 neighborhoods with the goal of being integrated into the neighborhood's activities. This is a major change from the previous policy, and we have only begun to see officers on foot in New Haven’s neighborhoods. To achieve this requires a larger police force, changing the methods of existing police officers and recruiting new police with a neighborhood approach. There are many new young officers, and so far the results are promising, but it will take time for the police and the neighborhoods to adopt this new approach. For one thing, according to one of the activists interviewed, it will be necessary to change the nature of discipline in the police force by introducing some kind of mediation that involves the neighborhood as well as the police hierarchy, i.e. something similar to the restorative justice approach that has begun in the schools.

Community policing is accompanied by the development of the Community Management Teams which involve neighborhoods in the question of security. Hopefully, the success of those in Beaver Hills, Quinnipiac East, East Shore, Dwight, Hill South, and Downtown will lead to more involvement in other neighborhoods.

The YouthStat program modeled after the previous ComStat program of the police force involves regular meetings of the Board of Education and housing authority officials, police, city youth workers, state probation and social workers, firefighters, street outreach workers, and people from community agencies that work with kids in trouble. This was announced by Mayor Harp who said "We have to tear down the silos" that keep information within single agencies that deal with at-risk young people. I believe this information will save lives. I believe this information will give youngsters a second chance" at a better life.

In general, however, violence needs to be prevented upstream. Peace promotion is more effective than crime prevention. For example, we need more community centers such as the planned reopening of the Dixwell Q House which promises to provide young people with positive after-school and vacation programs. As will be elaborated in the education section, it would also be good to have more schools serving this function in the future.

In general, according to those interviewed, the criminal justice system is broken, and we need to develop a radically different system. In this regard, we can look towards a system of restorative justice, as described further in the section on education.
Of particular importance is the security of undocumented immigrants against raids by the national immigration authorities. One cannot forget the raid in 2007 when 200 people were arrested and subjected to deportation. Since then, as mentioned earlier, New Haven has a general order directing its police officers not to inquire into citizens’ immigration status when they stop them or interview them, but that is not enough. There are plans for a telephone hotline to mobilize people, even in the middle of the night, to defend those who are threatened with arrest.

Sexual and domestic violence is another issue of great importance, linked in part to the destruction of family values, as mentioned above, but also reflecting long-standing values of male domination in the general population or "machismo" as it is called in the Latino community. Male domination has always been a fundamental component of the culture of war, just as women's equality is essential for a culture of peace. In New Haven, there are numerous programs addressing domestic violence, although one has the impression that sexual violence is on the increase. Or is this simply the result of a heightened awareness that it needs to be stopped? People were shocked by the high rate of sexual assault found in a recent survey of college campuses. Even if the figure of 16% at Yale may have been somewhat inflated by the survey methodology, there is no doubt that it is a real problem that needs to be addressed.

We need to recognize the use of sex in advertising and entertainment, including internet, as a destructive form of violence. One of those interviewed decried the fact that young people are now growing up in what he calls the "pornography generation." Recognition of the problem is the first step that we need to take towards finding solutions.

EDUCATION FOR A CULTURE OF PEACE

Everyone seems to agree in recent years that there is a crisis in education and that it is linked to the problem of unemployment. Here are comments we have received from activists in recent years:

"We are completely and utterly failing the kids – in both education and jobs."
"If education is to be successful, there must be a partnership between students, teachers and parents, but that is not working under the present system."
"Education, to be successful, must be tied to employment. Students must have confidence that school work will lead to stable employment with a decent wage and benefits."

A major step forward has been the development of restorative justice in all of the city's public schools (see opening section on solidarity). Hopefully, the development of restorative justice can counteract the problem that schools have come to be seen more like prisons where discipline and obedience take precedence. Many youth end up dropping out of school, often after being suspended many times, sometimes simply for "insubordination." As one activist stated, "The present system simply pushes kids into the streets and the culture of violence." The suspension and dropout rate is especially high for minority youth, which puts a racist bias on the results of the educational system.

For those who manage to remain in school, there is the difficulty of getting an education that is sufficient to prepare them for good jobs or to go to college and university. According to some who were interviewed, most graduates of New Haven public schools are poorly prepared for higher education. There is a need for vocational programs and schools, but so far there is no concrete plan for them. And, of course, we are up against the general problem of the lack of available jobs, as we have discussed in the second on development.
There is growing movement of youth organizations outside of schools. The annual Youth Summit of New Haven brings together 50 youth organizations for strategy discussions. The City-Wide Youth Coalition collaborates with many other groups and engages in development of advocacy, leadership and organizational strength for the new generation. And the New Elm City Dream youth group helped win the Q House funding, and is active for voter registration and leadership training.

Although the new emphasis on neighborhood policing gives promise of renewing community solidarity and security, the push in recent years for the busing of children out of their neighborhoods is moving in the opposite direction. The movement towards Charter Schools tends to suck resources out of the public school system and destroy teachers' unions as well as neighborhoods. Hence, the national NAACP has called for a moratorium on new charter schools. On the other hand, a few of these schools are exceptional, such as the Common Ground School, mentioned earlier for its contribution to sustainable development.

Unlike Charter Schools, the Magnet Schools are at least part of the public school system, and are required to accept at least 65% of their students from New Haven, but rather than renewing community, they weaken it, since children no longer go to school with their neighbors, and parents have a harder time getting involved in their children's school. Gone are the days of Parent/Teacher Organizations. Gone are the days when your teachers knew your parents because they all grew up in the same neighborhood. When the school buses leave, the doors of most schools are locked and the teachers leave for their homes in other cities. The tilt toward Magnet Schools is sustained by the method of school finances; while the state provides education funds to supplement the local dependence on property taxes, the funds are greater for magnet schools than for neighborhood schools.

Magnet schools are better staffed and equipped than neighborhood schools and hence they are popular for the parents of children who do well in school, despite the fact that their children have to travel out of the neighborhood. In fact, magnet schools such as the Sound School, The Educational Center for the Arts, and the High School in the Community get high marks from most who are concerned. In the long run, however, the trend to charter and magnet schools widens the gap between the rich and the poor. The education of children from poor neighborhoods who do well in a magnet school gives them the possibility to escape from their neighborhood, and this further increases the gap, as will be discussed further under human rights. Ironically, the magnet school approach came out of the Scheff vs O'Neill lawsuit in 1989 which aimed to rectify the problem of racial inequality for schooling. As one person put it, "At the time of Scheff vs O'Neill, somebody thought this approach would work. But as it stands today, it doesn't seem to work."

Can we return to neighborhood schools, either within or instead of the present system of magnet schools? This is an important question for the future of education in New Haven.

The fundamental nature of American education is criticized by those who were interviewed. The great emphasis on test scores narrows education and leaves out essential aspects. Critical thinking is not supported, nor are the cultural aspects of education that teach us to respect and live with each other which are values essential for people's security. Several people mentioned the new Montessori School in New Haven as a real alternative model of education, although it is another example of a charter school and is priced out of the range of ordinary working people. It allows students to develop at their own rhythm, unlike the public education model that puts the priority on testing to external standards, a process that often breaks down a student's confidence and desire to learn. As one activist emphasized, the testing system can be seen as a kind of psychological violence.
As mentioned earlier, the contested candidatures of student members for the Board of Education provides an important precedent for democratic participation in the schools. In general, the American educational system is not designed to prepare students for democratic participation. Instead, students are expected to simply follow instructions with little voice in how their education is structured and administered.

Unfortunately, the quarrels in the Board of Education during 2016 cast a shadow on the administration of education in the city.

On the positive side, school administrators have cooperated with the New Haven City Peace Commission to involve the school system in the annual celebration of the International Day of Peace. Each year a different neighborhood is involved. In 2016 it was held at the Conte School.

There are many institutions of higher education in New Haven, but to what extent are they involved in the culture of peace of the community? In addition to Yale which attracts students and faculty from around the world, there are Southern Connecticut State University, University of New Haven in nearby West Haven, Quinnipiac in nearby Hamden, and now the new campus of Gateway Community College downtown. Gateway now has a 15 credit Interdisciplinary Peace, Collaboration & Conflict Certificate (IPCC) for students to study peace, collaboration and conflict, which involves them in local activities that promote a culture of peace.

We may consider popular arts as part of education for peace, and in this regard there has been considerable progress in the last few years, including excellent coverage by local media (see next section on free flow of information). A new organization, Musical Intervention, has developed a program that offers individuals and groups of special needs to take part in the transformational power of creating original songs. More and more we see high quality murals on our streets, in the best cases with community participation. There is also a new initiative for "museums in the streets" to install information plaques that celebrate local ethnic history. Many local artists, playwrights, cinematographers, painters, poets, are young men and women of color, who contribute to overcoming our history of racism.

FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

As several activists emphasized, free and complete access to information is essential to democracy; only an informed public can know how to evaluate their elected officials. At the national level, secrecy is used to hid corruption and preparations for war, as has been exposed by whistle-blowers such as Julian Assange and Edward Snowden. At the local level, there is more transparency. For example, the LegiStar interface on the internet, provides an online search engine for information about legislation, Board of Alders agendas and calendars, etc. The incorporation of SeeClickFix (see section on Democratic Participation) into the City's work-flow is a significant step towards government accountability. It is said that the City needs to do more to adopt best practices of transparency, namely: open data portal, searchable database of campaign finance disclosure reports, etc.

In general, the situation for access to information is paradoxical. On the one hand, the national mass media is increasingly in the hands of very few, wealthy entrepreneurs, who use their control of the media to defend their economic and political interests. National political campaigns, based on the media, are outrageously expensive, and again, they serve the economic and political interests of the richest 1% of the population. Worst of all, in the past year, it seems that there is an increasing amount of "false news" used to scapegoat people, influence elections or
promote war against foreign "enemies." Locally, there is decreased coverage of the news by the commercial media. A generation ago there were six local radio newsrooms; now there are none. Local television is not much better. The New Haven Register has reduced to only a few local reporters.

At the same time, we are seeing the development of independent community media, print, radio and television, in both English and Spanish. New Haven now has its own local bilingual radio station, WNHH, launched in 2015 by the English-language New Haven Independent and the Spanish-language newspaper, La Voz. It broadcasts round the clock with streaming online 24 hours a day. Programming includes local music and talk shows, both Hispanic and African-American, with newsmakers (including a weekly call-in show with Mayor Toni Harp). Each day's program is published on the website of the New Haven Independent.

One also finds good local programs on the public access channel of Citizens Television for New Haven, West Haven and Hamden.

The New Haven Independent (English on the Internet) and La Voz (Spanish print and internet) continue to provide good coverage of community news, including extensive coverage of the arts. The Independent has become the major source of information for many people. In fact, most of the activists interviewed cited at least one Independent article in describing the New Haven situation. A recent book, The Wired City, by Dan Kennedy tells the story of the New Haven Independent, and concludes that it "has created a promising model of how to provide members of the public with the information they need in a self-governing society." And the New York Times in October said that the Independent "has largely eclipsed the more than 200-year-old New Haven Register as the city's civic watchdog." "Of course, we cannot please everybody," explained editor Paul Bass in our interview. "We give voice to all opinions, and needless to say, our readers will not agree with all of them."

The Internet has opened the door to enormous amounts of information. Along with informal networks of email, Facebook, Twitter, etc., they have broken the monopoly of the mass media. And now we are entering still a new phase of podcasts and dissemination of amateur videos. The biggest challenge is how to sift through the mountains of information available on the Internet to find and decide what is important. Are people more informed? It depends on how they use the new sources: for some they are valuable and useful, for others they simply add more "noise." As one activist said, "When I first ran for political office, I thought there was an information deficit, but now I think the information is there, but people don't look for it or read it."

The content of the mass media often supports the culture of war, putting its emphasis on violence and catastrophe. There are so many murders portrayed on television, in movies and on video games that violence has become banalized. Actors are shown murdered one day, and return the next. As mentioned earlier in the section on security, media violence increases the fears of the audience and results in more feelings of insecurity. Internet is not a simple solution to this because one can find sources on violence and catastrophe or culture of peace, depending on what the Internet user is searching for.

In general, the content of the mass media is aimed at the lowest common denominator. As one activist remarked, "one individual can poison the atmosphere on television and radio talk shows. This cannot be stopped by passing laws, but only through rebuilding community and renewing morality in public life."

A bright spot in New Haven is furnished by the branches of the New Haven Public Library which not only loan books and videos but also provide public lectures, films and displays on progres-
sive themes relevant to the community. Not only do the libraries provide computer and Internet access, but they also train people how to use them, bridging the “digital divide.” When you enter a New Haven library, you find the computers all occupied. Libraries also help with job-hunting and writing of resumes, in coordination with community agencies. In the library, everyone is welcome and everyone is equal, whether you are rich or homeless. Thus, the libraries contribute not only to the free flow of information and education for peace, but also to sustainable development and tolerance and solidarity.

Where Are We?

In general New Haven seems to be moving forward slowly on a culture of peace, but this is increasingly threatened by tendencies in the opposite direction, especially at the national level.

In recent years, tolerance/solidarity, democratic participation, women's equality, and the free flow of information have advanced in some aspects, while human rights, as in the rest of the country, have slid backwards. There is some good promise for advance in security if the community policing initiative develops as planned and if we can make progress in restorative justice. Serious problems remain to be addressed in education and sustainable, equitable development.

The New Haven Peace Commission will continue to help consolidate our progress and deal with our problems, in coordination with the city administration and the civil society. We are looking for more partners to work on these issues with us. Contact us in care of the Commission Chairman, Seth Godfrey at sethgodfrey@yahoo.com.
APPENDIX I
THE NEW HAVEN PEACE COMMISSION

The City of New Haven Peace Commission was established in 1988. The proposal grew from movements in the 1970’s for a nuclear weapons freeze, against apartheid in South Africa, and for people-to-people exchanges with the Soviet Union.

The Peace Commission helped formulate the International Association of Peace Messenger Cities designated by the General Assembly of the United Nations. New Haven was one of the first to be named a Peace Messenger City in 1985, and its chairman, until recently, was its International President.

One of the first major acts of the Peace Commission under its President Tom Holahan in 1989 was to put a referendum on the ballot in the November election to cut the military budget and direct the savings to the nation’s cities. It received an 83% favorable vote! More recently in 2012, a similar vote was obtained on a similar referendum.

Beginning in 2013, the Commission has published an annual report on the state of the culture of peace in New Haven.

Over its 25 year history the Commission has engaged in many activities in addition to those mentioned above:

* Children’s marches for peace on the New Haven Green (until 1992)
* Programs of live streaming on the Internet linking schools on the International Day of Peace, September 21 (since 2010)
* Peace parks in the West River neighborhood and at East Rock Park
* Annual public hearings on the negative impact of the military budget on the City of New Haven
* Annual commemorations of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
* Work on legislation that promoted the Connecticut General Assembly to ban assault guns
* Initiation of the first public hearings on immigrant rights
* An initiating organization of the Coalition to End Child Poverty in Connecticut
* An initiator of the Connecticut Coalition on Human Rights
* Initiation of a Sister City relationship with Hue, Vietnam, the first in the US to partner with a Vietnamese city
* Hosting of an international exhibition of anti-war posters at Gateway College
* Sponsoring film series at the New Haven Free Public Library and its branches
* Meetings devoted to the establishment of a Civilian Review board and to restorative justice initiatives in New Haven schools
APPENDIX II
HISTORY OF THE UN CULTURE OF PEACE INITIATIVE

The Culture of Peace initiative was launched in 1989 by UNESCO, based in Paris, at an international peace conference in Yamoussoukro, Cote d’Ivoire. The Member States of UNESCO then adopted in 1992 a Culture of Peace Programme to bring peace to states newly emerging from conflict. With the full support of the UNESCO Director-General, national programmes were then established, beginning with El Salvador and Mozambique, and over the next few years extended to a number of other countries. But the national culture of peace programmes did not receive the financing that had been expected from the UNESCO Member States, and by the end of the decade they had mostly disappeared.

Meanwhile, at the UN in New York, the Member States from the South began as early as 1995 to request a global culture of peace programme for the UN system. In 1998, the General Assembly proclaimed an International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) in its resolution A/53/25. At that time, they had already declared the Year 2000 as the International Year for a Culture of Peace, and they had received from UNESCO a draft document for a Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace.

The culture of peace concept, as presented in UNESCO’s draft document A/53/370, was specifically presented as an alternative to the culture of war. For each of eight fundamental aspects of the culture of war, eight alternative programme areas were proposed for the culture of peace.

In 1999 the UN General Assembly, after long deliberations, adopted a Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace (Resolution A/53/243) which included the eight programme areas proposed by UNESCO and which called for a “global movement for a culture of peace” that would include initiatives of the civil society as well as governments and the UN, and that would be “promoted through sharing of information among actors on their initiatives in this regard”.

For the International Year in 2000, UNESCO organized a campaign to involve the civil society and individuals around the world. Over 75 million people signed the Manifesto 2000, committing themselves to cultivate a culture of peace in daily life.

During the International Decade (2001-2010), the leadership was taken by over a thousand civil society organizations as described in World Civil Society Reports at the mid-point and end of the Decade, available at http://decade-culture-of-peace.org. Civil society reports are continually updated at http://cpnn-world.org as well as a blog based on this at http://decade-culture-of-peace.org/blog which makes the case that the culture of peace continues to advance on a global level.

More detailed information on the history of the culture of peace is available at http://culture-of-peace.info/history/introduction.html. A strategy for arriving at a culture of peace through city initiatives is elaborated in two books: World Peace through the Town Hall at http://culture-of-peace.info/books/worldpeace.html and I Have Seen the Promised Land (A Utopian Novella) at http://culture-of-peace.info/books/promisedland.html
In order to make the transition from a culture of war to a culture of peace, we need to be able to measure our progress. In the present case, it is proposed to measure progress in a particular city. For reasons explained elsewhere, it is not very useful to measure progress towards a culture of peace at a national or international level.

As described in Appendix II, the culture of peace is defined by the UN Resolution A/53/243 of 1999 as being composed of 8 inter-related areas: sustainable equitable development, democratic participation, equality of women, tolerance and solidarity, disarmament and security, education for peace, free flow of information and human rights. All of these are relevant areas for a city.

The method we use to measure progress is to interview individuals who are involved in the promotion of one or more of the 8 areas of the culture of peace. In order to cover all of these areas by several people, it is necessary to conduct about 15-20 interviews. Since the eight areas are very inter-related, those with extensive knowledge in any one area will necessarily have extensive knowledge in other related areas as well. The survey is repeated with more or less the same people at more or less the same time every year.

Hence the methodology for this study:

1) Choose a basic set of people to be interviewed, based on their extensive practical knowledge of the eight areas of a culture of peace in the city, i.e. "activists" in this area. We start here with several present and former members of the City of New Haven Peace Commission.

2) Enlarge the group of activists interviewed by asking each person interviewed to suggest others who can provide relevant information beyond what the interviewee can do. In this regard it is important to finally achieve a balance of men and women, activists from the Black, Hispanic and white communities, elected or government officials and civil society activists who can effectively criticize the city government.

3) Conduct face-to-face interviews of 1-2 hours with each activist, beginning with their area of expertise and asking for both the strengths and weaknesses of the city in this area, and how the strengths and weaknesses have developed over time.

4) Take detailed notes, because it is the specifics of their analysis that will be important for this annual report, and which need to be re-visited in the followup interviews in succeeding years. Obtain their agreement to use their ideas in the report and to interview them again one year later, as well as in succeeding years.

5) Write an extensive report including all of the information provided by the activists interviewed. It is not necessary to include the names of the activists interviewed. No one has demanded to be anonymous, but there is no special reason that the names need to be published.

6) Write a one-page executive summary of the full report.

7) Provide drafts of the full report and the executive summary to all of the activists interviewed to obtain their corrections and additions.
8) Publish both the executive summary, both on the Internet, and in local media that are read by people of the city.

9) Repeat the process annually, interviewing, if possible, the same people. Recall for them their previous remarks and the previous annual report, and ask them where there has been progress, lack of progress or retrogression. Again, draft, verify and correct and then publish the annual report.

11) Of course, the same people may not always be available. In that case, it is necessary to substitute another person with similar practical knowledge of the subject. Be especially aware of potential gaps in the report, and fill in these gaps over time by enlarging the group of people interviewed.