

## THE STATE OF THE CULTURE OF PEACE IN NEW HAVEN 2014

### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The following analysis is based on a series of interviews of local activists conducted by David Adams for the New Haven Peace Commission and based on the concept of "culture of peace" as defined by the United Nations (Appendix II). It consists of 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 which are inter-related.

There was modest, unspectacular progress in all areas.

Previous advances in **sustainable equitable development** were further developed. New Haven Works, in its second year, showed that it has the potential to address the great problem of unemployment and under-employment, while the second Food Summit continued to advance projects in local food production and distribution. There is not much progress, however, in solving the serious development problems of taxation, pollution and over-reliance on the automobile for transportation.

New Haven Works is the direct result of advances over the past few years in **democratic participation** by which a Board of Alders and the first ever woman mayor were elected with the promise to provide more and better employment. Also, this year, thanks to a major mobilization in New Haven, the state remained in the hands of a governor dedicated to progressive action.

Although **equality of women** remains to be achieved in many areas, the first year of Toni Harp's administration as mayor fulfilled much of its promise to advance women's equality as well as other aspects of the culture of peace.

In recent years, New Haven has been a national leader in **tolerance and solidarity** by providing identity cards to undocumented Latin American immigrants, an approach that is now being taken up by other cities. Meanwhile, the newly developing interest in restorative justice in the schools and community has the potential to develop into an important new dimension of solidarity.

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 has just begun so it cannot yet be seen if it will produce good 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 the rich and the poor.

With regard to the **free flow of information**, there are important new sources in recent years that employ the Internet in support of a culture of peace, such as the New Haven Independent. However, the main commercial media continue to emphasize the news of violence which ultimately supports a culture of war and violence.

New Haven, like the rest of the country continues to slide backwards in basic **human rights**. However, this year there were several bright spots in this otherwise negative picture. The implementation of the Affordable Care Act in Connecticut has enabled thousands to obtain decent health care for the first time. And the 100-day campaign for the homeless not only provided homes to some previously on the street, but also set a precedent that this can be done in the future.

Several of those interviewed agreed to come to a Peace Commission meeting to discuss the report and its implications for the Commission's work, and all agreed to be interviewed again next fall to determine if New Haven is making progress towards a culture of peace.

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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.

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

With this in mind, on behalf of the New Haven City Peace Commission, 15 New Haven activists have been interviewed in all of the above areas and a summary of their considerations are presented here. Most of them were interviewed two times, one in the fall of 2012 and again in the fall of 2013 in order to determine if the state of the culture of peace in New Haven has advanced or not during the past year. For more information about the methodology, see Appendix III at the end of this report.

### **INTER-RELATIONS AND PRIORITIES AMONG THE EIGHT COP COMPONENTS.**

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, and it makes no difference where we start in the analysis. To illustrate this, the linkages that appear in each section are indicated in boldface.

## SUSTAINABLE, EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT

In recent years we have seen advances in the domain of sustainable, equitable development. In particular, there has been an important first step towards full employment through the program of New Haven Works. This is especially important because unemployment, especially among young people, is not only a fundamental violation of **human rights**, but also is a major cause of our high level of violence and lack of **security**.

The New Haven Works initiative is a truly community effort, reflecting the advance in recent years in **democratic participation**, by which a community coalition spearheaded by the Yale trade unions got many new members of the New Haven Board of Aldermen nominated and elected in 2011 and re-elected in 2013 on a platform promising fuller employment for New Haven citizens. Its Board of Directors, which meets regularly, includes representatives from New Haven's largest employers, as well as representatives from the city government, the major trade unions at Yale, and from the community. In its first 12 months New Haven Works provided employment orientation to 2300 people, of which 323 obtained employment 60% full-time and 40% part-time. They expect to double the employment rate in the next 12 month period. Although this represents a small portion of the estimated 20,000 unemployed and under-employed in New Haven, it has already increased the expectation of New Haven employers to find capable workers among New Haven residents. In addition to increasing the number of participating employers and preparation and placement of workers, a priority is placed on assuring sustainable funding for the initiative since significant results will require a long-term effort..

At New Haven's largest employer, Yale University, the recent union contract has made progress to ensure 1000 jobs for New Haven residents over the next five years, as well as obtaining better benefits including better pensions for its membership.

According to some who were interviewed, there are limits to what New Haven Works can accomplish since unemployment is so endemic to the system not only in New Haven but throughout the country. As expressed by one of the activists interviewed, "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."

Unfortunately, we are not addressing directly the alarming rise of youth unemployment. The local effort Youth@Work is slowly been defunded.

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. For the second year, there was a "food summit" for the city which is followed up by 5 working groups: school food; food assistance to the poor; development of city farms and gardens; sustainability issues such as composting; and cooking and food education. New Haven is a leader among cities on these issues, with numerous farmers' markets, a specialized high school (Common Ground High School) and a "mobile market" which 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.

While in 2013 the office of sustainability in City Hall was lost with the ending of its federal grant, in 2014 there has been a reactivation of the city's Environmental Advisory Council, and it is hoped that this will lead to a renewed full-time staffed sustainability office.

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. The Board of Alders recently passed a resolution demanding a increase in the State funds for New Haven in lieu of Yale taxes, but that depends on action from the State legislature. There is hope that next year's session of the legislature will approve the initiative of New Haven Senator Martin Looney to increase the Payments in Lieu of Taxes (PILOT) program, which was designed to reimburse communities for tax revenue lost on tax-exempt hospitals and universities and state property.

An example of the tax dilemma is the recent move of Gateway Community College to downtown New Haven. On the one hand, it brings educational services to the community and, to some extent, income to local businesses. On the other hand, it takes more space off the tax rolls and it increases the expense of providing parking spaces.

Another of the activists interviewed pointed directly at the culture of war as the basic problem. "We have massive unemployment across the country which is the core problem, and it is due to the 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." The people of New Haven voted overwhelmingly in the 2012 ballot referendum to reduce federal military spending and increase spending for human needs, and a state-wide "Futures Commission" was established which could in theory address this problem, but so far it has not been able to make any progress.

There is now a general understanding that we cannot allow pollution to continue. In particular, the pollution of air and water continue to be major problems, especially in the poorest communities where air pollution is a major cause of asthma. In this regard, the New Haven Environmental Justice Network, which is part of a statewide coalition, has achieved some success in influencing important decisions about power plant pollution and reversing the pollution in West River, along with a new organization, the "West River Watershed Coalition."

The Greater New Haven Water Pollution Control Authority is supposed 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 effectively 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.

Recycling has moved forward in recent years, but it is not consistent. In some neighborhoods there is over 50% recycling, but in others less than 15%. Compare San Francisco with 70%! And like San Francisco we should do composting with food waste.

As for urban planning and transportation, there is a greatly 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. Unfortunately, however, New Haven's city planning decisions are still determined by the automobile, as could be seen in the final results of the Downtown Crossing Project. Bus transportation remains uncoordinated, and unavailable on many lines in the evening and there is still insufficient parking at the railroad station." While the Yale bus line provides an app so that their passengers can know the position of all the buses, the Connecticut Transit system that serves New Haven has no general information system. The appointment of an environmental activist as head of the city's transportation department is considered to be a good sign of the intentions of the new city administration, although it will take time to see any concrete results.

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. However, other than riding bicycles and eating locally-grown food, there is the feeling one cannot do much about this on the level of the city. On the national level, our Congressional representatives and national government do not even have a strategy to take action. 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. In this regard, the oil spill at English Station into the

Mill River and New Haven Harbor in the summer of 2014 is a painful example of New Haven's inability to address its brownfields problem.

Hundreds of New Haveners took part in the national climate march at the United Nations in September. They were supported by a resolution from the Board of Alders that was initiated by the Peace Commission. Follow up action is under discussion.

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. The frustration was expressed by the Occupy Wall Street movement, which managed to keep its tents on the New Haven Green longer than in most cities. There is a growing tendency to invest in local banks and credit agencies as an alternative, but it is still small in comparison.

## DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

2014 saw Governor Dan Malloy of the Democratic Party returned to office, thanks in part to a major get-out-the-vote campaign in New Haven, sparked by the trade union movement. This was important for several reasons: 1) as described under **Human Rights**, this ensured that the Federal Affordable Care Act would be enacted in our state; 2) it upheld union organizing and bargaining power, including the unionization of private home healthcare workers for the first time; 3) it ensured that priority would continue to be given to funding for Connecticut's cities; and 4) it ensures continuation of the governor's progressive stance on gun control. The door-to-door pre-election campaign by New Haven Rising not only encouraged people to vote but also educated them on these issues.

Major advances in democratic participation in recent years were sustained in the past year. In particular the Board of Alders continues to be dedicated to employment and union rights. As mentioned under **sustainable development**, this has made possible a serious project for employment in the city. The Board is a good model for **women's equality** and **tolerance and solidarity**, as it now consists of two-thirds women, including some from Yale union locals 34 and 35, and a racial membership that reflects the city's population. New Haven is exceptional in this regard, since a recent 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 is symbolic that the Board has changed its official name from the Board of Aldermen to the Board of Alders.

As will be expanded under **women's equality**, this year's city administration was the first in history to be governed by a woman mayor. Mayor Harp is considered to be open and attentive to the needs of all the people of New Haven. She gets out into the community, and has impressed those we interviewed by the way she has chosen the members of her administration by merit, even if they supported her opponent in the election. 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.

Democratic participation includes, but must also go beyond the mobilizations and campaigns for elections. In this regard, we see more and more examples of local initiatives. A good example is the West River Watershed Coalition that we have mentioned under **sustainable development**. Another is the web-based organization 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. As one activist said, "I see more people doing volunteer work and taking care of each other, which reflects an increase in the attitudes of **solidarity**."

Finally, as is the case throughout the country, with few exceptions, the **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.

## WOMEN'S EQUALITY

Virtually every person interviewed, when asked about women's equality, mentioned immediately Toni Harp and the importance of having the first woman mayor in New Haven history, as well her being 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 women of New Haven.

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 3 of the 10 districts.

On the other hand, 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. Although it has yet to make a significant impact on this inequality, New Haven Works is pleased to report that half of the job placements they have made are for women, and that their wages are, if anything, higher than those of the men who have been placed.

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 later in the earlier 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.

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. The organization now talks of "reproductive justice" rather than a narrow focus on birth control. In fact, they are especially pleased by a privately funded daycare for teenage student mothers at a local high school: "Although some claim that this encourages teenage pregnancy, we don't think that this enters into the decision-making of teenage sex. What is important is that they should be able to continue their education."

## TOLERANCE AND SOLIDARITY

New Haven, like many American cities, has long received new generations of immigrants. As described by one Peace Commission member, New Haven is a truly multi-cultural city with a progressive social and economic history. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the principal immigration was Irish, and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Italians and European Jews. At mid-point in the century it was the African-Americans who came up from the South seeking jobs in post-war industry. And now it is the immigration from Latin America. These succeeding waves of immigration are especially evident in neighborhoods such as Fair Haven and the Hill. Each succeeding wave of immigration has had to fight against intolerance by those who came before. One activist from the Peace Commission provided us a very instructive history of the organization of the Latino population over the past 50 years in the face of racism and intolerance. A key role was played by access to **education**. The full history goes beyond the scope of this report and deserves a separate account..

The lack of **human rights** such as employment, housing and medical care are compounded for immigrants, especially those who are undocumented. In recent years, New Haven has taken national leadership by providing identification cards for undocumented immigrants. This was started in 2004 by the Fair Haven Junta and Unidad Latina En Accion, and supported by hearings backed by the New Haven Peace Commission, which led eventually to acceptance by city hall in 2007. Among other things, prior to that, undocumented immigrants could not put money in a bank which made them vulnerable to be robbed. According to one activist, these ID's are now being used by perhaps half of the undocumented immigrants in the city, and they are increasingly accepted by employers and public institutions. Thanks to a recent state-wide efforts, inspired by New Haven's experience, undocumented immigrants can now obtain driver's licenses and obtain college tuition for Connecticut universities. New Haven's initiative has served as a model for other cities across the country

The Latino population has found support in many New Haven institutions. In Fair Haven, immigrants receive priority treatment from the Fair Haven Health Clinic and have found a home in Saint Rose's Catholic Church which is one of the largest churches in the city. Saint Rose's took part in addressing the racist anti-Latino problems in neighboring East Haven, which led to a US Department of Justice investigation and a shake-up of the East Haven police department. The new jobs program, New Haven Works (described under sustainable development), includes three bilingual workers among their ten staff members, in order to ensure a specific outreach to Latino neighborhoods and community organizations.

Racism, which has long been a major problem locally as well as nationally, continues to exacerbate other problems, such as the extremely high imprisonment rate of African-Americans, the high drop-out rate of Black and Hispanic students, and the extremely high unemployment in the African-American and Hispanic communities. To counteract this, the Amistad Committee continues to publicize the historic Amistad trial and the contributions of African Americans and Abolitionists to New Haven history. The problem of racial profiling by police is being addressed by the Connecticut Racial Profiling Prohibition Project (CTRP3). They publicize the 1999 Connecticut law that prohibits any law enforcement agency from stopping, detaining, or searching any motorist when the stop is motivated solely by considerations of the race, color, ethnicity, age, gender or sexual orientation. Since the end of 2013, the police are now required to inform motorists of their rights, including the right to file a complaint, during all traffic stops.

In general, most activists agree that there is increased consciousness on the part of most New Haveners against racism, for religious tolerance and acceptance of immigrants. The question is to what extent this increased tolerance is being translated into concrete solidarity and real social change. There is a problem, for example, that many non-profit organizations are funded to deal with these problems, but do not advocate radical social change from fear of losing their funding from sources that tend to be more conservative. In general, it is difficult to escape completely from the national trend toward right-wing fundamentalism in politics and mass media. As one activist puts it, "The public space in the United States becomes 'meaner and meaner' as political parties stoop to anything in order to win."

Another aspect of solidarity comes with a shift from punitive justice systems to those of restorative

justice. Rather than concentrated solely on punishment of the offender, restorative justice involves the victim as well as offender in a process of truth, apology and compensation, if not reconciliation. The move towards restorative justice in schools, mentioned under **education**, is an important first step towards this transition. Another good example in the New Haven community is set by the Bereavement Care Network.

### DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY

New Haven continues to suffer from a high rate of homicides among young men, mostly minorities. This 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.

The police killing in Ferguson, Missouri, exposed the ever-present violence of police throughout the country. In response there were a number of mobilizations in the New Haven Community, including a human chain and "die-in" stretching from Yale Law School to the State Courthouse that was organized by Yale Law students. Also responding to Ferguson, 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. Hopefully, an effective Board will be established in 2015.

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.

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 me, "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. 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."

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 is being addressed by the new police chief's emphasis on community policing. Police are now based in 10 neighborhoods with the goal of being integrated into the neighborhood's activities. As the chief said in one remarkable interview, it is important that the community should not perceive the police as an "occupying army." This is a major change from the previous policy, but so far the results are not evident as one rarely sees police on foot in the neighborhoods. To achieve this will require a larger police force, changing the methods of existing police officers and recruiting new police with a neighborhood approach. Door-to-door recruiting was initiated last year, and there are many new young officers. So far the results are promising (for example, 54% of new recruits are people of color), but it will take time for the police and the community 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.

According to some who were interviewed, the high-level "Project Longevity" has moved in the wrong direction, i.e. towards an "occupying army" perception. By targeting young males with a criminal record for continual observation, it tends to increase the gap of confidence between the police and the youth rather than dealing with the root causes of violence. A better approach is seen to be the new YouthStat program modeled after the previous ComStat program of the police force. It involves regular meetings of Board of Ed and housing authority officials, cops, 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 the planned re-opening of the Dixwell Q House which promises to provide young people with positive after-school and vacation programs.

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**.

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.

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 there is a crisis in education and that it is linked to the problem of unemployment. Here are comments from some of the activists interviewed:

\*"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."

We have already remarked on the negative relationship between **development** and education, as the funding for education depends on local property taxes which continue to decline in the city while they rise in the suburbs.

This year, for the first time in several decades, we have a new Superintendent of Schools, and a partially elected School Board that will include two student representatives. As one education activist remarked, we have a new potential for change. An indication of this is the new agreement between the Board of Education and the Teachers Union to prepare a process of restorative justice in schools that can replace the emphasis on suspension or expulsion when there is a conflict. To reinforce this approach the City-Wide Youth Coalition helped organize a citywide student debate tournament devoted to restorative justice. Already there are peer mediation groups in middle schools and a few high schools organized by Community Mediation. 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.

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. This year the younger ones wanted to discuss how to stop bullying, while older ones put the emphasis on how to develop good social relationships. The City-Wide Youth Coalition collaborates with many other groups and engages in development of advocacy, leadership and organizational strength for the new generation.

Although the new emphasis on neighborhood policing gives promise of renewing neighborhood solidarity and **security**, the push in recent years for the busing of children out of their neighborhoods is moving in the opposite direction. The worst are the new Charter Schools, since they suck resources out of the public school system and destroy teachers' unions as well as neighborhoods. As one person put it, the Charter Schools put profits before people.

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 neighborhoods, they weaken them, 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 when your teachers knew your parents because they all grew up in the same neighborhood. The tendency 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 funded 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 Common Ground School, 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 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."

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 importance of the new Montessori School in New Haven. Although it is another example of a charter school, it provides a real alternative model of education. 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.

Nor can one separate the question of education from that of **democratic participation**. Here are quotes from three activists:

\* "How can we expect people to participate in democracy when they are adults when they have not been able to participate in the decisions of their schools?"

\* "If people are not educated, democracy can't work."

\* "You can grade the schools 'F' in their failure to prepare children to become active citizens."

It seems that everyone loses by the present system. Neighborhoods lose their schools and children lose contact with other children of the neighborhood. Family structure is weakened as family time is lost to travel time to and from distant schools, and parents no longer have contact with teachers. While some children may get a better education, the majority, faced with the high levels of unemployment, are not motivated to study: "Why should I study when I can't make money from what I learn?"

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. This year it was held at Wilbur Cross High School, with the presence of the new Superintendent of Schools.

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 has just obtained a 15 credit certificate for students to study peace, collaboration and conflict, which will involve them in local activities that promote a culture of peace. Some examples are the restorative justice workshop that was carried out in collaboration with the New Haven Family Alliance, and working with the New Haven Community Violence Prevention Group and the Juvenile Review Board.

Aside from Gateway, only a small proportion of the students of the other universities come from New Haven, since the city's public schools prepare few students adequately for higher education, not to mention the many youth who do not even complete their high school education. Of course, students who come from other regions to New Haven may also bring good initiatives, as for example, the Teaching Peace Initiative of Yale students that focuses on training high school students to teach peace, tolerance, and nonviolence to middle and elementary school students in their communities.

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. 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.

### **FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION**

At the national and international level there is more secrecy and disinformation than ever, connected on the one hand to war and the preparations for war, and on the other hand, as a cover for incompetence and corruption. Whistle-blowers such as Julian Assange and Edward Snowden are pursued as enemies of the state. The situation is different at the local level where government is free from involvement in war and war preparation, but disinformation and lack of information can

still be used to hide incompetence and corruption.

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. In this regard there is some improvement in the city's information transparency with the availability of the LegiStar database, 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 and transparency. The City needs to do more to adopt best practices of "Government 2.0", namely: open data portal, searchable database of campaign finance disclosure reports, etc. Also, the City's response to freedom of information requests is still inadequate.

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. Locally, there is decreased coverage of the news by the mass media. The Advocate, which for many years was a good source of information, was disbanded completely a year ago. 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.

The New Haven Independent, based on the Internet, 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." "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 media often supports the culture of war. The commercial mass media continues to put 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 progressive 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**.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights, as defined by the United Nations, includes the rights to a decent job with fair wages sufficient to support a family, the right to trade unions, to housing, healthcare, education, and a clean and peaceful environment.

In New Haven, as across the country, the overall situation for human rights has gotten worse in recent years. As one activist described, "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. Past approaches often helped primarily those who were already well trained and experienced, what I call 'going for the low-hanging fruit.' 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." Her remarks were echoed and supported by almost everyone who was interviewed.

As of this year, there were some bright spots, however. In Connecticut, the Federal Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") obtained the largest enrollment percentages in the country, and brought affordable healthcare to thousands of people who were previously without access. This was sustained by the overwhelming support of New Haveners for the Democratic candidate for governor, since the Republican governors, across the country have blocked effective implementation of the Act. It has greatly aided local healthcare providers who can now devote more of their resources to other needs rather than simply supplementing the healthcare of those who were previously ineligible for it. It also reduces the pressure on Emergency Room services which may be considered as the worst way to deal with healthcare. The bad news is that it is not a single-payer system but a complicated system pitched towards the profits of the various insurance companies which makes enrollment and understanding of entitlement very difficult for everyone. Education programs are needed to make people aware of their rights and privileges. On the down side, the new system is not yet available to undocumented immigrants.

Another bright spot this year was the 100-day campaign for the homeless which aimed to decrease the chronically homeless population of New Haven, estimated at 700 people. By the end of the 100 days in July, 43 chronically homeless individuals had been housed, and 59 were document-reading and waiting for a housing match. By Nov. 25, those numbers were 107 and 87, respectively. Those involved in the effort included service providers at places like Columbus House, the Connecticut Coalition to End Homelessness, policy organizations such as Partnership for Strong Communities, and representatives from state and federal agencies. St. Paul's Church in Wooster Square hopes to continue this progress.

But we still have a housing crisis. Although there has been an upgrading of the quality of low-income public housing in recent years, there has been no increase in its quantity. There are over 7000 people on the waiting list for the Housing Authority. Many landlords refuse to accept the poor who must depend on section 8 to pay the rent. Instead, there is expansion of existing businesses, universities and schools that takes land by destroying private housing previously occupied by the poor. According to one activist, "It seems that city authorities would prefer that the poor move to other cities and seek housing there. Housing that does exist is priced beyond the incomes of the poor; how can you pay \$600 for rent if your income is \$650? And besides there is very little housing available under \$1000 a month!"

Under **sustainable development**, we have already discussed the problem of chronic unemployment and under-employment which, unfortunately, is endemic to America's economic system. The massive unemployment and the presence of undocumented immigrant workers in New Haven makes it possible for many employers to pay sub-standard wages without benefits. Usually this involves small enterprises that are not unionized. In 2014 the problem of "wage theft" was addressed by a conference of New Haven Legal Aid, immigrant rights organizations and trade unions. Following this, public pressure by Unidad Latina en Accion in collaboration with the CT Department of Labor resulted in the police department prosecuting wage theft as an infringement of labor law. Although understaffed, the Ct Department of Labor continues to address

the problem, including at construction sites which they can shut down if there is evidence of wage theft.

As for equal pay for equal work and the right to trade unions and leisure time, New Haven has a long history of trade union organizing, including unions in its traditional main employer, Yale University. As mentioned under **democratic participation**, gains have been hard fought and required community support over the years. However, the struggle is not finished. New Haven's largest employer is now the two hospitals, both now related to Yale, and, ever since the Yale-New Haven food workers unionized 40 years ago, the hospitals have resisted further unionization.

Now there is a new influx of people into poverty – those who used to be employed and own their own homes, but have lost their employment, have exhausted their unemployment benefits and then lost their homes in the mortgage scandals of recent years. An important activity of some community organizations is the support of families who can't pay their mortgages, and defending them against bank abuses.

As for the right to quality **education**, we have already discussed problems of public education: the high drop-out rate of students, and the fact that many children have no choice but to go to distant schools. In terms of its content, the present education system with its emphasis on testing for technical knowledge fails for the most part to address the following provision of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

Looking in general at the deteriorating situation of human rights, one activist said "we are in a moment of definition in the history of our country. What should be our priorities? Do we exist to make the rich richer and the poor poorer? There is a gigantic ideological struggle which came to a head in the shutdown of the government this year. We can no longer afford to put bandaids on the wounds of our culture, but we must address the underlying disease!" "Unfortunately," as another activist expressed, "when it comes to the federal government, it is confrontation not cooperation which is the value of the day." In the end, however, both of these activists came to the same conclusion: "What we need is hope and optimism to keep us working for a better world!" And, as it was put by a third person interviewed, "We have a lot of work to do!"

### **Where Are We?**

In general New Haven seems to be moving forward on a culture of peace, but slowly and unevenly.

In recent years, sustainable development, democratic participation, women's equality, and tolerance/solidarity 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 free flow of information.

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](mailto:sethgodfrey@yahoo.com) or 203-946-7431.

**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 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.

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. In 2009 this was marked by a video linkup from the Wilson Branch Library to the Hiroshima Peace Foundation and we spoke with Sada Kasaoka, who was as survivor of the bombing.
- \* Credit course for New Haven teachers on conflict resolution
- \* 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

In 2014, initiatives for live-streaming in schools on the International Day of Peace and hosting of an international exhibition of anti-war posters were continued. In addition, sessions of the Commission were devoted to public events about gun control and the development of a Civilian Review Board (see section on disarmament).

## APPENDIX II HISTORY OF THE UN CULTURE OF PEACE INITIATIVE

The Culture of Peace initiative was launched in 1989 by UNESCO at an international peace conference in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire. Its final declaration called for the construction of "a new vision of peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between women and men."

The Member States of UNESCO then adopted in 1992 a proposal for 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 General Assembly 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 1997 the General Assembly recalled in its resolution A/52/13 that "the creation of the United Nations system itself, based upon universally shared values and goals, has been a major act towards transformation from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace and non-violence." The following year, 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.

CULTURE OF WAR	CULTURE OF PEACE
Development by exploitation	Sustainable equitable development
Authoritarian governance	Democratic participation
Male domination	Equality of women
Having an enemy	Tolerance, solidarity and international understanding
Armament	Disarmament and security
Belief in power based on force	Education for peace
Secrecy and propaganda	Free flow of information and knowledge
Political and economic inequality	Human rights

The draft resolution from UNESCO called for "a global movement" involving "partnerships for a culture of peace . . . between the United Nations and the Member States with various inter-governmental, governmental and non-governmental organizations, including educators, artists, journalists, parliaments, mayors and local authorities, armed forces, religious communities, and organizations of youth and women."

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 is advancing on a global level, even though it is not recognized by the media or academia.

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>

### **APPENDIX III METHODOLOGY OF PRESENT ANALYSIS**

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.

The culture of peace is well 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.

There are no absolute, objective measures of these areas (only partial objective measures), but we can develop relative and subjective measures. This can be compared the situation of a typical stock market index which is based on a set of "representative" stock values. The absolute value at any given moment , i.e. the sum of the values of these stocks, is not especially interesting. What is important is whether the value is going up or down over time, and, if so, which sector of stocks is responsible for the change.

That leads to the next question: what is the equivalent of "representative stocks?" We propose that it consists of a set of individuals who have a good knowledge of the state of this particular area. In order to obtain a good overall view, it is important that interviews should be conducted with two or more individuals with intimate knowledge of each of the eight areas of a culture of peace. That requires 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 most important measure is the trend over time, for example over succeeding years. For this, the survey needs to be repeated with 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. In other words they should be "activists" in this area. We start here with several present and former members of the New Haven City 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) After discussing the initial area, review with them the other 7 areas, and ask for suggestions of other people to be interviewed in all of the 8 areas.

5) 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.

6) 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.

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

8) Provide drafts of the full report and the executive summary to all of the activists interviewed to obtain their corrections and additions.

9) Publish both the executive summary, both on the Internet, and in local media that are read by people of the city.

10) 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, as is done with stock exchange indexes, 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.