

THE STATE OF THE CULTURE OF PEACE IN NEW HAVEN

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As defined by the United Nations, the culture of peace requires disarmament and security, sustainable, equitable development, education for peace, democratic participation, human rights, equality of women, tolerance and solidarity, and free flow of information. As indicated by a series of interviews of New Haven community activists, all of these aspects are inter-related. The high level of violence in the city (exaggerated by media emphasis on violent news), 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 high level of unemployment in the city was addressed by two important initiatives of democratic participation in the last year. There was 84% support in the recent referendum sponsored by the New Haven Peace Commission to demand the government to reduce military spending and increase spending for human needs, since, contrary to what many believe, military spending leads to fewer jobs than other government spending. Fuller employment was also the principal demand of the community coalition spearheaded by the Yale trade unions, that got many new members of the New Haven Board of Aldermen nominated and elected last year. Unemployment and under-employment are keys to the persistent inequality of women, as women struggle to obtain jobs and equal pay, and to raise families at the same time in the face of steep childcare costs, as single head of household, or often with unemployed, imprisoned or violent husbands. All of the preceding problems impact on the state of human rights in New Haven which has been declining during the economic recession, especially the economic rights to employment, equal pay for equal work, trade unions, adequate food, clothing, housing and medical care for all family members, and the right to quality education. With regard to education, almost everyone interviewed considered that public education is failing to teach tolerance and solidarity and democratic participation, let alone prepare students for higher education. They all agree that neighborhood schooling, more than magnet or charter schools, are essential to the community-building that is necessary for a culture of peace. The situation is better with regard to tolerance and solidarity; in the face of widespread discrimination against immigrants in the rest of the country, New Haven has taken a lead in providing identity cards for undocumented immigrants. And with regard to the free flow of information, there are important new sources using the Internet such as the New Haven Independent which support a culture of peace, although the main commercial media continue to emphasize the news of violence which ultimately supports a culture of war and violence. Asked to rate New Haven in these eight areas on a scale from 1 to 10, the activists gave a rating of 4 to democratic participation, tolerance and solidarity, women's equality, and free flow of information, because there has been some progress, although more remains to be done than has already been accomplished. The greater problems and contradictions with regard to disarmament and security, sustainable equitable development, education and human rights led them to give a lower rating of 3. All of those interviewed have 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 I. 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, I have conducted a series of 15 interviews with New Haven activists in all of the above areas, and their considerations about the state of these eight aspects of a culture of peace in New Haven are presented here. They have agreed to be interviewed again in the fall of 2013 to see if the state of the culture of peace in New Haven has advanced or not during the intervening year. For more information about the methodology, see Appendix II 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.

DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY

New Haven has long been in forefront of cities confronting the issue of peace both in terms of peace at the international level, as well as peace in the streets and peace in the family. In the 1980's, New Haven established one of the first city peace commissions in the United States. The New Haven Peace Commission continues to address many of the issues raised by those who were interviewed, beginning with the high rate of violence in the community.

For many years New Haven has suffered 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 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 easy access to guns is also related to national policies that are largely determined by the "gun lobby. These topics would take us far beyond the local scope of the present analysis, and unfortunately, they are essentially taboo, without debate in national elections or discussion by the major mass media. An exception is the renewed debate on access to assault weapons following the recent massacre of schoolchildren in Newtown, which hopefully will lead to some substantive changes.

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, but also among women and among men of other races. The high rate of imprisonment contributes to the destruction of family structure. These are 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."

There are many initiatives against violence in the community, including a high-level "Project Longevity" announced at a high-profile press conference on November 26, involving government, police, local ministers and political figures and educators and social-service chiefs. "Come back in a year and see if it has any effect," said one skeptical activist, pointing to the deep-seated factors contributing to gun violence.

Although the drug wars, gun violence and crime involves a rather small percent of the population, 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.

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." So far the results are promising, but it will take time for the police and the community, who are used to another approach, to adopt this new one. For one thing, according to one of the activists interviewed, it is 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.

Despite progress in the police force, there remains a problem of racial profiling, which came to a head some years ago in the fatal shooting of a young Black man from New Haven after a car chase by police from East Haven.

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. As will be discussed later, male domination has always been a 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, including major programs in some churches.

The problem of violence reaches down into the **educational system**, which for some students, can seem more like a prison. Associated with the replacement of neighborhood schools by magnet schools is the extensive busing of students. And associated with that comes incidents of violence on the buses that cannot be handled by the driver who is busy driving the bus. A new project is being developed to deal with this by involving students, parents, school administration and the bus drivers.

SUSTAINABLE, EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT

The draft culture of peace resolution proposed by UNESCO to the United Nations General Assembly stated: "It is increasingly recognized that in the long term, everyone gains from the implementation of *sustainable human development for all*. The poverty and exclusion of some increases the vulnerability of all. This represents a major change in the concept of economic growth which, in the past, could be considered as benefiting from military supremacy and structural violence and achieved at the expense of the vanquished and the weak."

Applying this to New Haven, one cannot escape the importance of the high rate of unemployment, especially among the young. As already mentioned above, this contributes to the high level of violence in the city., and as will be discussed later it is a violation of basic **human rights**.

There are important initiatives for employment in New Haven. Perhaps the most important has been the community coalition spearheaded by the Yale trade unions, that got many new members of the New Haven Board of Aldermen nominated and elected in 2011 on a platform promising fuller employment for New Haven citizens. As a result there is now a new initiative involving the City Administration, the Chamber of Commerce, Yale, the hospitals, the trade unions and the utility companies in this regard. On the other hand, one city employment program that provides summer jobs to youth has recently been reduced from 1000 to 500 jobs, and there are serious questions as to whether the jobs are going to New Haven youth or to suburban youth as a function of political patronage.

According to some who were interviewed, there are limits to what the Board of Aldermen and the City Administration can accomplish, since unemployment is so endemic to the system not only in New Haven but throughout the country. As one of the activists interviewed expressed, "We haven't even begun to know our potential for sustainable, equitable development, because our development depends on the capitalist system that doesn't want it to work. Full employment is not even on its agenda." In particular, there is concern that it will not be easy to greatly increase **employment** among those who lack training and experience, and it is they who need it the most. It will be important to see how the various initiatives develop over the next few years.

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 including **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. There seems to be no serious solution to this dilemma. An example of the 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 which is the core problem. The progressive movement to elect Aldermen was for a jobs program building around Yale that would hire local people, but this is an illusion, because we cannot escape from the national unemployment which is due to the priority given to the military budget. Unlike what some people think, the military budget reduces unemployment 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 question of economic conversion from military to civilian production was addressed in the referendum sponsored by the City Peace Commission in the recent New Haven elections. The referendum, which called for reduction of federal military spending and increased spending on human needs, was passed with a support of 84%. Similar results were obtained in referendums in many Massachusetts cities. Of course, the referendums are not binding, since military budgets are decided at a national level and the Connecticut congressional delegation continues to give priority to military spending, but it shows that at a grass roots level, people want a different priority for their tax dollars. Unfortunately the results of the New Haven referendum received very little coverage by the media.

The question of development and lack of employment is linked in yet another way to the culture of war. To many young people it seems that they only alternative, faced with lack of other job opportunities, is to join the military. After many years of absence, ROTC is back in high schools and at Yale, encouraging young people to become military officers.

Development is based ultimately on farming, and there has been a great increase in awareness that food supplies need to be sustainable. Numerous local initiatives reflect this growing consciousness, including community gardens, City Seed, the New Haven Bioregional Group, local farmers markets, school gardens, and a Food Policy Council that has brought local supplies to school lunches.

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. Pollution is being addressed, but only to a limited extent. The New Haven Environmental Justice Network, which is part of a statewide coalition, has had some success in influencing important decisions about power plant pollution. 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, but New Haven's policy decisions are still determined by the automobile. The failure to implement the Downtown Crossing Project (former Route 34) as proposed by the public in a series of hearings is a case in point. Dominance of the automobile also has consequences for **security**, as there are too many deaths and injuries from automobile speeding, running stop signs, etc. The high speed chases by the police send a bad signal in this regard.

There is a growing understanding 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.

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.

EDUCATION FOR A CULTURE OF PEACE

Everyone seems to agree there is a crisis in education, but it is broader than that. Here are comments from some of the activists interviewed:

- "We are completely and utterly failing the kids in both education and jobs."
- "You cannot talk about schools without talking about neighborhoods and unemployment."
- "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."

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.

The push in recent years for the busing of children out of their neighborhoods and out to magnet schools was developed originally as a way of addressing racial inequities in education, but paradoxically it has weakened the parent/teacher relationship and further impoverished poor neighborhoods by depriving them of community schools. 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.

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 is the cultural aspects of education that teach us to respect and live with each other which are values essential for people's **security**. Schools at times seem 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.

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?"
- * "You can grade the schools 'F' in their failure to prepare children to become active citizens."
- * "If people are not educated, democracy can't work."

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?"

Faced with all of these problems, there are many local initiatives in New Haven to improve the educational system on a day-to-day level. For example, Teach Our Children, founded in 2006 to involve parents in the education of their children, helps students establish their own action-oriented groups that lobby school administrators for students' rights, such as questions of dress codes, better textbooks, discipline procedures, quality of cafeteria food, lack of physical facilities (for example, the poor state of toilets), and (as already mentioned), the problem of violence on school buses.

Increasingly, there is a good response of school administrators to these initiatives, as they realize that they need the involvement of students and teachers in educational planning if it is to be effective. Also 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.

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 is Southern Connecticut State University, University of New Haven, Quinnipiac in Hamden nearby, and now the new campus of Gateway Community College downtown. Gateway has an explicit peace education program which involves local students, many of them from immigrant communities. Quinnipiac has the Albert Schweitzer Institute focusing on peace issues and Yale Law School has the Orville Schell Center for International Human Rights, but they are not directly involved with New Haven. One problem is that only a small proportion of the students of these universities come from the New Haven public schools since they prepare few students adequately for higher education, not to mention that many students do not even complete their high school education. Obviously, there is a great need for improvement here.

DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

As mentioned above, except for a few exceptions, the **educational system** does not prepare students for democratic participation. Hence, other means must be used to engage people in democracy.

As already mentioned, two important democracy initiatives took place in the past year: the nomination and election of many new aldermen committed to increasing employment in New Haven; and the referendum by which New Haveners voted to demand Washington to reduce the military budget and use the funds for human needs. The history of these two initiatives illustrate how people come to participate in democracy.

The first initiative was led by the trade unions at Yale, Locals 34 and 35. Over the decades, these two unions have been the focus for some of the most important community mobilizations, both for the initial organization of the unions, and later in support of their demands for economic justice from Yale, New Haven's largest employer. By turning their attention to the city as a whole and involving the community in this initiative, the unions repaid their debt to the community for the support they have received over the years, including support during some especially difficult strikes and other labor actions. Most of the newly elected aldermen are women, not surprising in view of the fact that Local 34 is led by women, and, as a result, the Board as a whole is now majority female.

The second initiative was initiated and led by the New Haven Peace Commission. As already mentioned, there is a long history of community involvement in the issues related to peace which led to the establishment of this Commission. In fact, one of the first acts of the Commission when it was established 25 years ago was a similar referendum demanding that funds be transferred from the military budget to programs for human needs.

The histories of these two initiatives illustrate well that democratic participation includes, but must also go beyond the mobilizations and campaigns that involve people in the elections for mayor, aldermen and representatives to state and national government. Another example of this 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 for formal elections, voter registration is low and voter turnout even worse. Those who vote are often not well-informed, while elections are determined by large sums of money on media advertising which is so one-sided that it ultimately demoralizes the voters and makes them skeptical and alienated from the entire process of democracy. In general, one can say that New Haven, like the United States in general, has "lesser-of-two-evils democracy" where one rarely votes FOR a candidate, but usually votes AGAINST a candidate that the voter does not like. The recent campaign for the Board of Aldermen was an exceptional bright spot as it relied on door-to-door contact and discussion in favor of activists already known in the neighborhood.

Finally, the structure of city government ensures that the Board of Aldermen is ill-equipped to make policy. Aldermen get only \$2000 a year which does not allow them to spend their own full time, let alone engage staff, to deal with the problems of the city. This leaves real power in the hands of the mayor and his traditional patronage "machine." Decisions are made downtown. One activist noted that it does not have to be this way. Elsewhere, including in New York and Chicago, there are some initiatives that put certain financial decisions in the hands of the people in the neighborhoods, in what may be called participative budgeting. But this can't work unless people are educated to participate."

The Board of Alderman holds public hearings, but unless there is an extensive community mobilization, attendance is usually slight.

The fact that voters are not informed is not simply due to lack of information. In fact, if anything in this new era of Internet, people are flooded with too much information, and they find it difficult to determine what is important and what is true. This will be considered further in a later section on the **free flow of information**.

HUMAN RIGHTS

People are becoming more conscious of human rights, including the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. With the exception of the rights of immigrants, to be treated in a later section on **tolerance and solidarity**, we found little criticism of civil rights, but considerable criticism of basic economic rights. These include the right to employment, equal pay for equal work, trade unions, leisure time, adequate food, clothing, housing and medical care for all family members, right to quality education and to culture.

The economic recession (depression?) that has beset the American economy in recent years has worsened the economic and social conditions of most people in New Haven, and income inequality is greater than ever. There are many studies that document the problem, but there are few solutions proposed and being acted upon. As mentioned earlier, there is a new initiative for employment in New Haven that has yet to have an impact. Earlier initiatives like this over the years did not succeed, especially because they could not address workers who are unskilled and often pessimistic and depressed about their possibilities.

As one activist put it, “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.”

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, since the Yale-New Haven food workers unionized 40 years ago, they have steadfastly resisted unionization.

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. Workers who have one job are often forced to take another in addition, because one does not pay enough to support a family. The irony is that taking the second job means that there is less time to spend with the family.

And, as already discussed with regard to **development**, the most fundamental problem is the high level of unemployment itself.

With regard to housing, there is a high rate of homelessness. And although there has been an upgrading of the quality of low-income public housing in recent years, there has been no increase in the quantity of public housing. 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.” And the housing that does exist is priced beyond the incomes of the poor; how can you pay \$600 for rent if your income is \$650? An important activity of some community organizations is the support of families who can't pay their mortgages, and defending them against bank abuses.

With regard to medical care, fortunately, during the time these interviews were made, President Obama was re-elected with the promise to continue making medical care universally available to Americans. Hopefully the new system will be easier to understand, since at the present time, it is so complicated that the poor are confused as to their rights and what is available to them, and so they often fail to seek treatment. A bright spot in medical care are the Fair Haven and Hill Health Centers which reach out to the poor in their communities. Many are aware that these centers owe much to the presence of Yale and its excellent school of public health, but as one activist recalled, “few people realize that these health centers did not originate as Yale initiatives but as outgrowths of the community organizing associated with the Black Panther Party in New Haven in the 60's.”

As for the right to quality **education**, we have already discussed the weaknesses of the public education system, 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."

As for food, it was fitting that I interviewed one leading community activist while her organization was preparing for their annual Thanksgiving food distribution. As she said, "at least on one day the people will be able to eat a decent meal, but we find that the need is greater every year!"

The rights of **women** will be discussed in the next section.

WOMEN'S EQUALITY

There are many bright spots for the **human rights** of women in New Haven, which, according to one activist, tend to give a false impression of equality, while there are many basic issues of inequality that remain.

We begin with the bright spots. 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 aldermen 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 although there has never been a woman mayor in New Haven, there are more women than ever in high positions at city hall.

Now for the problems. A large proportion of the poor in New Haven are women heads of households, sometimes unmarried, sometimes 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 described 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.. Although the US Congress remains a club of rich white men, there were many important victories of women in the past national election, including several high-profile victories that were achieved on the issues of women's reproductive rights.

Teen age pregnancy is rampant. One activist told us that 30% of Latino girls have at least one baby before the age of 18. Although women's reproductive rights continue to be under attack on a national level, New Haven is fortunate to have a very active organization of Planned Parenthood

that defends women's reproductive rights on a day-to-day basis.

The Planned Parenthood program on parental sex education, Real Life Real Talk, trained over a thousand parents a few years ago, working with local churches and community organizations, especially in the Black community, but unfortunately it could not be continued due to its high cost. Planned Parenthood 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 who were discriminated against by those who had preceded them. At the end of the 19th century, it was the Irish, and at the beginning of the 20th 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. The intolerance against immigrants has been complicated by racism and religious intolerance over the years.

The lack of **human rights** such as employment, housing and medical care are compounded for immigrants, especially those who are undocumented. In the face of this there has been an exemplary initiative in New Haven to provide 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. According to one activist, these ID's are now being used by perhaps half of the undocumented workers in the city, and they are increasingly accepted by employers and public institutions. There is also a state-wide effort to allow undocumented immigrants to obtain driver's licenses. New Haven is to be congratulated especially for this initiative of solidarity as it flies in the face of widespread discrimination and persecution of immigrants in other parts of the United States.

The Latino population has found support in many New Haven institutions. For example, in Fair Haven, they 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. The priest at Saint Rose's is proud of the fact that they serve several thousand parishioners from 18 nationalities and 13 patronal feasts: "We are many tribes, but one people. It is important that we know each other's stories. To have peace in our neighborhoods, we must be co-responsible" Saint Rose's took the lead 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 church has also taken action to deal with the machismo that many immigrants have brought with them from Latin American, and the domestic violence that is often the consequence.

Racism, which has long been a major problem locally as well as nationally, continues to exacerbate other problems, such as the racial profiling by police (mentioned under **security**), 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 (see section on **development**).

Religious intolerance, like racism, has long been a problem locally as well as nationally. In recent years this has been manifested especially in discrimination against Islam. To combat this problem, there are now a number of important inter-religious solidarity organizations that involve Christians, Jews and Muslims in New Haven and other neighboring cities.

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. 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."

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 Wikileaks 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 choose among the candidates who stand for election.

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. A generation ago there were six local radio newsrooms; now there are none. Local television is not much better. The Advocate no longer has any New Haven reporter. The New Haven Register has reduced their local reporters to only a few.

At the same time the Internet has opened the door to enormous amounts of information. 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. Along with informal networks of email, Facebook, Twitter, etc., they have broken the monopoly of the mass media. Local institutions such as Yale and City government also provide abundant information via Internet and email listserves. There is increased pressure on city government and the Board of Education to provide full information, but there is not always full compliance. For example, they now release information on the financing of schools, but it is not complete since it does not include teacher benefits which are paid by the state rather than the city.

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 our 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."

WHERE ARE WE?

All those interviewed were asked to rate New Haven in these eight areas on a scale from 1 to 10.

On average they gave a rating of 4 to democratic participation, tolerance and solidarity, women's equality, and free flow of information, referring to important initiatives that have successfully improved the situation in recent years. The number is still less than 5 since more remains to be done than has already been accomplished.

The other four areas, disarmament and security, sustainable equitable development, education, and human rights, are rated lower at 3 because of persistent problems that have gotten worse and/or have not yet been improved. There are initiatives to address many of these problems, but it will take time before we can know if they are successful.

All of those interviewed have agreed to be interviewed again next fall to determine if New Haven is making progress towards a culture of peace.

APPENDIX I 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
Armament	Disarmament
Development by exploitation	Sustainable equitable development
Belief in power based on force	Education for a culture of peace
Authoritarian governance	Democratic participation
Political and economic inequality	Human rights
Male domination	Equality of women and men
Having an enemy	Tolerance and solidarity
Secrecy and propaganda	Free flow of information

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> and I write a blog based on this at <http://decade-culture-of-peace.org/blog> where I make 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 my 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 II 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, I propose to measure progress in a particular city. For reasons I have explained elsewhere, it is not very useful to measure progress towards a culture of peace at a national or international level.

As a former bench scientist (neurophysiology), I retain my scientific approach to measurement. If you can define it, you can measure it. The culture of peace is well defined by the UN Resolution A/53/243 of 1999 as being composed of 8 inter-related areas: disarmament and security, sustainable equitable development, education for a culture of peace, democratic participation, human rights, women's equality, tolerance and solidarity, and free flow of information. 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. I compare the situation to that 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?" I suggest 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 16 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 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. I started 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) Ask for a numerical value between 1 and 10 (10 being better) for the state of each of the eight areas.. The value should not be too low if any progress has been noted, but it should not be too high, since there should always be room for improvement. Relative values among the eight areas should reflect those areas that are considered in better shape (higher values) and those that are considered in worse shape (lower values).

6) 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.

7) 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 demanded to be anonymous, but there is no special reason that the names need to be published.

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

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

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

11) 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.

10) 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.