

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THE DISTRIBUTION
OF
POLITICAL POWER IN EAST HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

An Abstract of a Thesis

Presented to
the Faculty of the Departments of Political Science and Education
Southern Connecticut State College

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Clifford E. Hahn

May 1978

Thesis
Abstract
1978
2672

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A primary concern of this study will be the domination of the political system and political power, by the politicians from the center section of the Town, who have continued to control the political structure of the Town, as they did in 1943; thus almost completely ignoring the fact that the majority of the population of East Haven no longer reside in the center section of the Town.

A hypothesis of this study is that the population growth and development of the outlying sections of East Haven has not resulted in a corresponding redistribution of political power within the Town. A second hypothesis states that the politicians from the center section of the Town have dominated the political system of the Town for a number of years, and have controlled public policy to benefit the center section of the Town.

The design of the study is based on a number of geopolitical factors in relation to the political control of both major political parties and the town government. The leadership and active politicians of each major political party between 1943 and 1975 are analyzed in an effort to show that the politicians from the center section of the Town have continually controlled each political party and dominated the political system.

A detailed analysis of municipal election returns has been compiled and evaluated for each election held between 1943 and 1975, in an effort to show that as the population of the town has grown, the electorate has become more uniformly dispersed throughout the town; thus resulting in a decrease in the percentage of the electorate that reside in the center section. Consequently, the electorate of the center section are no longer the controlling factor in municipal elections; yet the politicians from the center sections despite their dwindling political base, have maintained political control.

In an effort to prove that the control of political power has been used by the center politicians to benefit their own section of the Town, the decision to redevelop the center section of the Town is analyzed. Emphasis is placed on showing that the Mcmauguin area of the town should have been redeveloped, but that the politicians from the center section chose their own section for the redevelopment program.

An analysis of the Comprehensive Town Plan of 1966 is also presented in an effort to show that very few of the many recommendations made in the plan concerning the outlying sections of the town have been acted on, while many recommendations made for the center section have been implemented.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the politicians from the center section of East Haven have dominated the political system and controlled the balance of political power in East Haven, between 1943 and 1975.

No evidence was found to specifically demonstrate that prior to 1964 the center section of East Haven derived any extraordinary benefit as a result of any decision made by those responsible for governing the Town. In contrast to this, the decision to redevelop the center section of East Haven, and the redevelopment program which followed, can be cited as an extraordinary benefit to the residents of the center section. This decision can be interpreted as a decision made by the politicians from the center section to specifically benefit the center section.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This study will examine the political system and the distribution of political power in East Haven, Connecticut, in relation to the population growth of the Town. The study will focus on the period between 1943 and 1975, a period during which the population of the town grew at a rapid rate, while at the same time becoming more uniformly dispersed throughout the town.

As the population grew during this period, the Town of East Haven underwent a transition. East Haven evolved from a small, rather close-knit community, into a bedroom community of the urban ring of the New Haven Metropolitan Area. As the population grew, and the nature of the Town changed, new demands were made upon the political system of the Town.

The Problem

This study will be concerned with how the political system adjusted to the growth of the population, and specifically, if there was a redistribution of political power within the Town, as the population grew, and the outlying areas of the Town developed. A primary

concern of this study, will be the domination of the political system and political power, by the politicians from the center section of the Town, who have continued to control the political structure of the Town, as they did in 1943; thus almost completely ignoring the fact that the majority of the population of East Haven, does not reside in the center section of the Town.

A hypothesis of this study is that the population growth and development of the outlying sections of East Haven, has not resulted in a corresponding redistribution of political power within the Town. A second hypothesis states that the politicians from the center section of the Town, have dominated the political system for a number of years, and have controlled public policy to benefit the center section of the Town.

As the population of the Town of East Haven has grown during the last twenty years, the town has been confronted with a multitude of problems, many of which have not been experienced by the other towns forming the urban ring around New Haven.

East Haven has had the highest property tax rate of any of the towns in the ring, and the least industrial development; pronounced civil disorders, which could only be contained with the aid of the New Haven Police Department; and a severe public works problem, in relation to continual flooding in different sections of the town.

The inability of the town government to deal with problems that have confronted the town during this period of growth, appears to lie in the fact that the political system of East Haven has been controlled by a faction of politicians, whose main concern, has been

the center section of the town. This concern has been the "sacred cow" of all political parties, and appears to have united the politicians of all parties in a common goal. The development and redevelopment of the center section of East Haven, has been given high priority by each town administration, while many other problems of the town have been virtually ignored.

The Design of the Study

A number of terms used in this study have numerous meanings, so before the design of this study is presented, a definition of major terms used in this study will be presented.

The term "political system", as used in this study, will refer to the entire system of government in East Haven, including all powers and privileges consistent with the provisions of the Town Charter, and all powers and privileges conferred upon the Town, under the general laws of the State of Connecticut. Therefore, all decisions and actions taken by any elected Town official, legislative body, Town agency, or political party, shall be considered as an act within the "political system".

Politicians, will for the purpose of this study, be considered as part of the "political system". The act of belonging to a political party, or voting in a political party primary election, although they fall within the scope of the activities within the political system, will not, in itself, be considered as making the participant a politician.

A politician, as referred to in this study will be "A person versed in public affairs and skilled in adjusting conflicting interest

within a state and in the creation and guidance of public policy."¹

For the purpose of this study, the term "political power", will refer, to that power derived from being elected to public office, or that power derived from an agreement or close association with one who has been elected to public office. This definition will also apply to that power derived from holding an office in a political party. Power, in this definition, will be considered as the ability of a person, or group of persons to exercise authority to produce a desired outcome, or the decision not to exercise authority, in an effort to maintain the status quo, in a society which is composed of elements which offer resistance to the person or group, that is exercising authority.

This definition of "political power" and "power" is based on the definition of power stated in The Theory of Social and Economic Organization by Max Weber. Power, was defined by Max Weber, an eminent German sociologist, as "The probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests."²

In attempting to prove that a redistribution of political power has not taken place in East Haven, it will not be the purpose of this study to determine specifically why this has failed to occur, but to establish that it has definitely occurred.

¹Edward Conrad Smith and Arnold John Zurcher, Dictionary of American Politics (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1965.)

²Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, ed. Talcott Parsons (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947), p. 152.

It is also the purpose of this study to establish that the political system of the Town has been dominated by politicians from the center section of the Town, but this study will not attempt to examine why politicians from other sections of the Town have not gained access to positions of power in the political system. This study will concentrate on proving that the political system has been dominated by the politicians from the center section, and that public policy has been instituted, which has benefited the center section.

Although socio-economic factors, without doubt, play an important role in the East Haven political system, this study, will not base the investigation of the East Haven political system and control of political power on socio-economic factors. An investigation of socio-economic factors, over the span of time covered by this study would only result in a myriad of data, from which no clear delineation of who controls the political system and political power in East Haven, would be possible.

A cursory investigation of socio-economic factors was made prior to the design of this study, and due to the many conflicting aspects of the data examined, the conclusion was reached that a geographical approach to the control and use of political power in East Haven, would produce results that would be less ambiguous. Therefore, this study will extensively utilize geopolitical factors in an effort to substantiate both hypotheses.

The study will commence with a brief historical sketch of East Haven, and proceed to present data in relation to the population growth and economic development of the town, during the period covered by this study.

Background information will be presented on the three distinct geographical areas that comprise the Town of East Haven. The information presented in this section of the study will serve as an introduction to how the town is divided in a geographical sense, in an effort to introduce the reader to certain factors which are pertinent to the data analyzed in the study.

The political division of East Haven by district will be analyzed, and the development of each political district will be traced from 1943 to 1975. An analysis of the election results between 1943 and 1975 will be included in this section in an effort to introduce the political growth of each district. This section will be a presentation of information, and will not be intended to offer conclusive evidence to support either hypothesis.

The two major political parties of East Haven will be extensively analyzed, to prove that during the span of time covered by this study, the political system and political power in East Haven were monopolized by the politicians from the center section of the town.

The following data will be presented:

1. A list of the Democratic Town Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen, for the span of time covered by this study, and a map of the center section showing where each resided at the time they held the Chairmanship.
2. The same procedure will be used for the Republican Party.
3. A similar analysis will then be completed for each candidate nominated to run for the office of First Selectman and Mayor.
4. Another analysis will be made for candidates nominated by each political party, for the offices of Town Clerk, Town Treasurer, and Tax Collector.

This procedure and analysis should prove that the vast majority of these politicians were residents of the center section, and therefore,

the center section controlled both the political system and political power.

A complete analysis of each municipal election held between 1943 and 1945 will be made in relation to the following:

1. The percentage of total vote received from each district.
2. The percentage of each political parties vote received from each district.
3. The percentage of the vote won by each political party in each district.

Reference to the voting statistics will be made to prove that a redistribution of political power has not taken place as the population and the electorate have grown in size in the outlying districts.

The percentage of the total electorate has increased in the outlying districts, yet a redistribution of political power has not been achieved through the political parties, because as has already been proven, they are controlled by politicians from the center. (The area that has had a percentage decrease in total voting electorate.)

The creation of the Independent Party will be discussed, and statistics presented, to explain the role that this political party had in the political system, and the effect that it had on the two-party system, and the retention of political power by the center politicians.

The evolution of what can appropriately be called the "center party" will be discussed, and evidence presented in the form of an analysis of primary election data and candidates, in an effort to show how the political system has restructured itself to the benefit of the center politicians.

The last section of this study will present data from the Comprehensive Town Plan of 1967, in regards to suggestions that were made at this time, and programs that were proposed to develop town facilities. Data will then be presented to show that the town has not followed this plan, and instead concentrated all development efforts, in that one very small area of the town, "the center". The recommendations made for improvements in the other areas of the town have been ignored by the center politicians, who have concentrated on developing their section of the town. Therefore, a redistribution of political power has not occurred through the use of public policy or public funding, and the center politicians have retained control of the political system and political power for the benefit of their own section of the town.

Chapter 2

EAST HAVEN

The Town of East Haven, Connecticut, which is a suburb of the City of New Haven, is one of Connecticut's older communities, being first settled in 1639. The rich farmland of East Haven quickly attracted settlers who engaged primarily in farming. By 1785, East Haven had approximately 1,000 residents, and in that year the Town sought and gained its independence from New Haven. The Town was incorporated as a separate community in May of 1785.

The Town of East Haven developed slowly and remained basically agricultural in nature until the beginning of the 20th Century, when public transportation facilities between East Haven and New Haven improved. The residents of East Haven now had new job opportunities in the manufacturing concerns of New Haven. As transportation facilities improved, an increasing number of East Haven residents sought work in the neighboring communities of New Haven and Branford. East Haven was on its way to becoming a bedroom community long before the large scale use of the automobile. The trend continued, and by 1971, East Haven was regarded as a "residential bedroom community for New Haven, where 60 percent of its working population is employed."³

³Community Profile, Community Development Action Plan, (East Haven, Connecticut, June 1971), p. 1.

Although East Haven has no formal ties with New Haven, "its close economic and social ties with its neighbor to the west still dominate the life of its residents".⁴ New Haven has traditionally served East Haven by providing many of the needs and services desired by the residents of East Haven which cannot be found in the smaller community.

Since 1945, population growth and economic problems are two factors which have been very important in shaping the development of East Haven. Both of these factors have affected the political system of East Haven, and form the basis of the hypotheses that are to be explored in this study.

Development and Population

In 1940, the population of East Haven was only 9,094, but by 1970, the population had increased to 25,120. Therefore, between 1943 and 1970, the population density of East Haven went from approximately 722 residents per square mile to approximately 2,000 residents per square mile in 1970. East Haven's population growth has been consistent as is evident in Figure 1, which is a graph of East Haven's total population growth between 1943 and 1975. Figure 1 also includes a graph of the population growth of children between 1943 and 1975. Between 1940 and 1950, the population increased from 9,094 to 12,086, a 32.0 percent increase. During the decade between 1950 and 1960, "East Haven experienced a greater percentage population increase than any other town in a six-town area comprised of East Haven, Branford,

⁴Community Profile, Community Development Action Plan,
(East Haven, Connecticut, June 1971), p. 1.

New Haven, North Haven, Hamden and West Haven."⁵ In 1960, the population of East Haven was 21,388, a 75% increase (more than 9,000 people) over the 1950 population."⁶ By 1970, the population had again increased to 25,120, an increase of 16.96% over the population of 1960. During the time period covered by this study, 1943-1975, the population of East Haven increased a total of 150.51 percent. The population increased from 9,094 people in 1940 to 24,600 in 1975.

Adding to the burden placed upon town facilities by the large increase in population during the period covered by this study was the fact that "Many of these new residents were school-age children and their young parents who moved to new single family houses north of the Connecticut Turnpike."⁷ The increase in the number of children can be attributed to the fact that "The new growth of population in East Haven was largely due to immigration rather than to natural increase (excess of births over deaths)."⁸

Between 1950 and 1970, the number of children in the population of East Haven increased, as can be seen in Figure 1, a graph of population growth between 1943 and 1975. The percentage of children in the population also steadily increased, as is shown in Table 1. In 1950, children comprised 20.06 percent of the population; by 1960, the proportion of the Town population composed of children had increased to 41.11 percent.

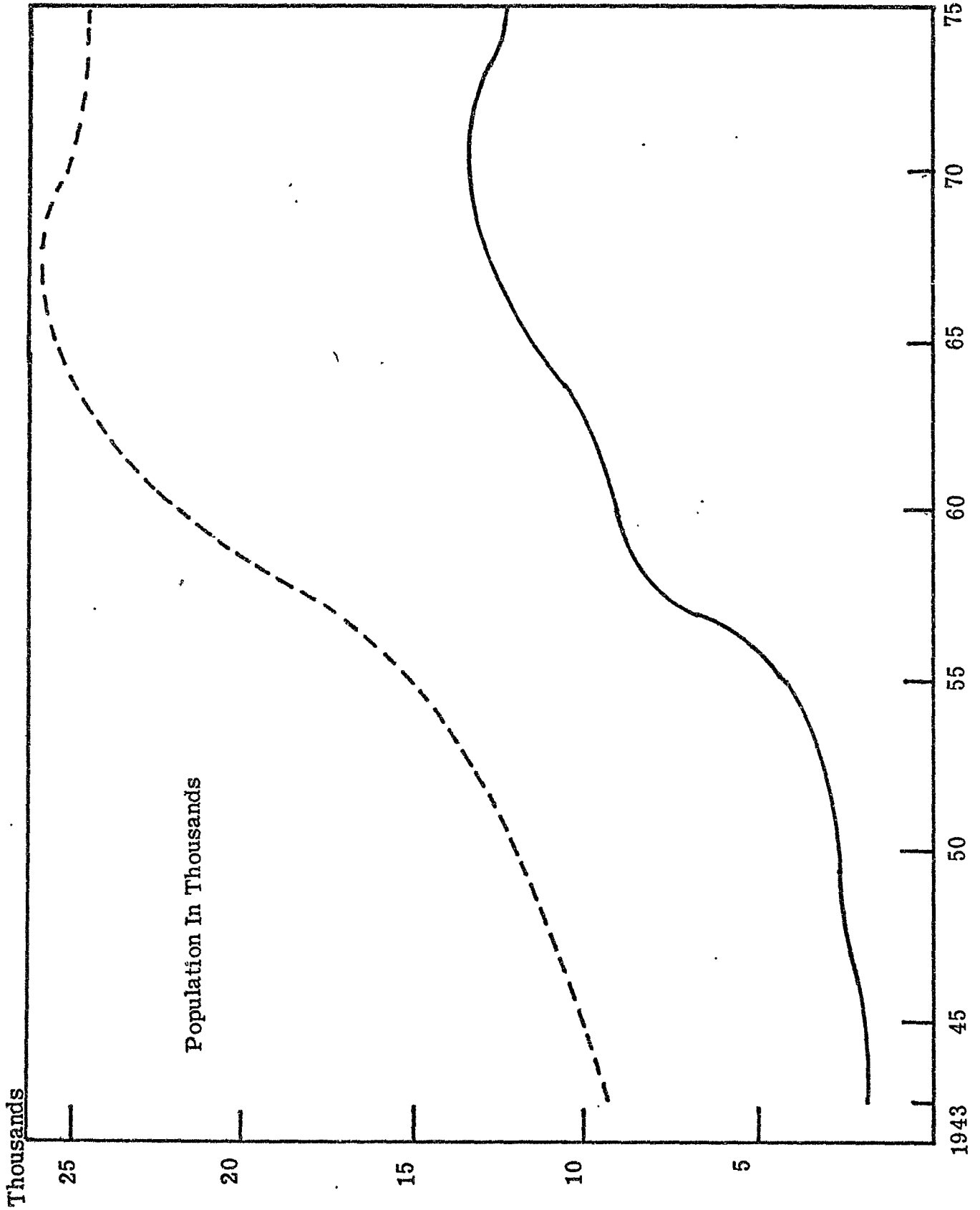
⁵The Future East Haven 1966 - 1985, Comprehensive Plan of Development for the Town of East Haven, Connecticut, East Haven Planning and Zoning Commission, (September 27, 1966), p. ii.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

Figure 1



Total Population Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975 - - - -

Total Population of Children Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975 ———

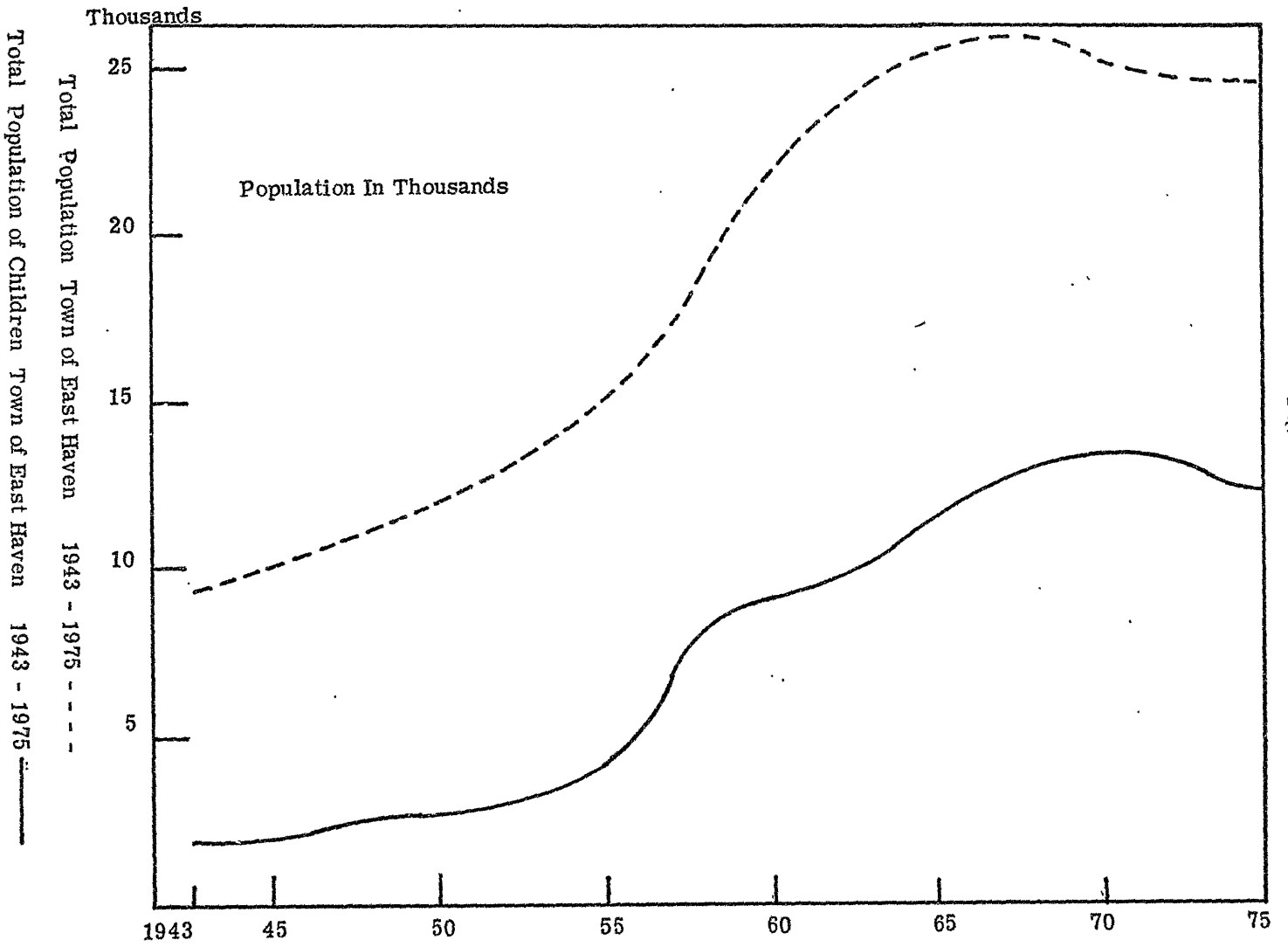


Figure 1

Table 1

Population of Children

Town of East Haven

1943 - 1975

YEAR	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN TOTAL POPULATION
1943-		
1944	1,862	-----20.47*
1945-		
1946	1,992	
1947	2,145	
1948	2,213	
1949	2,353	
1950	2,425	-----20.06
1951	2,554	
1952	2,841	
1953	3,199	
1954	3,441	
1955	3,829	
1956	4,386	
1957	5,871	
1958	7,975	
1959	8,535	
1960	8,758	-----41.11
1961	9,273	
1962	9,774	
1963	9,952	
1964	10,472	
1965	11,155	
1966	12,583	
1967	12,729	
1968	13,258	
1970	13,370	-----51.97
1971	13,057	
1972	13,057	
1973	12,936	
1974	12,282	
1975	12,367	-----50.23**

* Based on 1940 census figure for total population.

** Based on estimated population

Between 1960 and 1970, the number of children increased again; the percentage of children in the population was 51.97 in 1970. The percentage growth rate of children in the population leveled off between 1970 and 1975, and based on an estimated total population of 24,600 in 1975, the percentage of children was 50.23.

Consequently, over the time period covered by this study, the Town had to greatly expand the number of education facilities that it had, and a number of new schools were built, including four new schools north of the High Street overpass. The percentage of the Town Budget spent on education increased year after year as the school age population continued to increase, adding to the financial burden of a Town which had a slow economic growth rate.

Economic Conditions

The growing population of East Haven necessitated a larger financial expenditure by the Town, but the economic base of the town was characterized by a slow growth rate. The trend of industry to move from the central city to suburban locations, which began in the greater New Haven area after World War II had little effect upon East Haven. The Town also failed to develop as a site for large shopping centers. In 1966, The Comprehensive Plan for Development stated, "East Haven has been largely passed over in the search for new industrial and shopping center sites in the New Haven Metropolitan Area."⁹ "Thus far, new industrial development has occurred elsewhere in the metro-

⁹The Future of East Haven 1966 - 1985, Comprehensive Plan of Development for the Town of East Haven, Connecticut, East Haven Planning and Zoning Commission, (September 27, 1966), p. ii.

politan area, other than in East Haven, mainly because of more suitable sites in other towns with better transportation access."¹⁰ "The relative unimportance of East Haven today as either a shopping or employment center is reflected both in the low level of East Haven retail sales and in the low percentage of the Town Net Grand List composed of commercial and industrial property."¹¹

Existing land use figures show the following percentage of total Town land area devoted to commercial and industrial use.

Category ¹²	Approximate Acreage	% of Total Town Area
Light Commercial	75	1.0
Heavy Commercial	30	0.4
Industrial	13	0.2

Between 1958 and 1967, the sources of East Haven's General Fund Revenues remained basically the same. In 1958, the tax levied on real and personal property accounted for 74.73 percent of the annual municipal revenues, while the State of Connecticut's contribution amounted to 21.25 percent. Nine years later, taxes levied on real and personal property totaled 75.15 percent, while the state's contribution amounted to 21.71 percent. "Comparison of the percentage

¹⁰The Future East Haven 1966 - 1985, Comprehensive Plan of Development for the Town of East Haven, Connecticut, East Haven Planning and Zoning Commission, (September 27, 1966), p. ii.

¹¹Ibid, p. iv.

¹²Ibid.

composition of the revenue sources for 1958 and 1967 shows very little variation, indicating that few, if any, new local revenue sources have been developed."¹³

Therefore, as the town grew in population it failed to develop additional sources of revenue to meet the steadily increasing cost incurred due to the expansion of town facilities. Annual cost increased by \$2,957,000 or 142 percent between 1958 and 1967. During this same period, the Net Grand List increased by only 35 percent. "As a result of the inelastic revenue sources, the burden of the rapidly increasing cost of local government has fallen on the property owners."¹⁴ East Haven homeowners paid the greatest share of the property tax levy, when compared to six area towns, which included New Haven, Hamden, West Haven and Branford.

In 1968, East Haven's Net Grand List, contained the greatest percentage of residential property, and the smallest percentage of commercial and industrially assessed property of any town in the six-town area. In contrast to the other area towns, East Haven was the only town to record "a percentage increase in the proportion of residential property in its Net Grand List between 1962 and 1968."¹⁵ East Haven's Net Grand List also registered the smallest percentage increase of commercial and industrial property of any area town between 1952 and 1968.

¹³ Economic Base Analysis, Community Development Action Plan Agency, (East Haven, Connecticut, January 1971), p. 17.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

While other towns in the area developed new sources of revenue to offset increasing costs; East Haven, in an effort to avoid excessive increases in the mill rate to pay for the increasing expenditures of town government, turned to borrowing as a partial solution.

For example, in 1950, the Town debt was \$310,800; but by 1960, this amount had increased to \$3,090,600. The indebtedness of the Town had increased ten-fold over a ten-year period. The rate of taxation also increased during this period, going from 25-1/2 mills in 1950, to 34.25 mills in 1960.

In 1950, the debt as a percentage of Net Grand List was only 1.3 percent, but by 1960, it had increased to 5.28 percent. The Net Grand List figure used for 1960 included a \$15.1 million increase due to a revaluation conducted in 1958. Between 1960 and 1967, the indebtedness of the Town grew by \$6,022,400, an increase of 194 percent. The debt now amounted to 12.4 percent of the Net Grand List.

The worsening economic situation of the Town in regards to its ability to raise revenue is important when considering the issue of who controlled the political power of East Haven and how it was apportioned, because decisions made during this period of rapidly increasing expenditures eventually culminated in a fantastic increase in the tax rate. In 1970, the mill rate was increased from 57.75 mills to 95.10 mills. This was an increase of 37.25 mills in one year, or a mill increase equal to the entire mill rate of some nearby communities.

Chapter 3

EAST HAVEN: THREE GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

The Town of East Haven comprises an area of 12.6 square miles, and is approximately eight miles long from south to north, but is only two miles wide from east to west.

Geographically, East Haven, as shown in Background Map 1, is sandwiched between the City of New Haven on the west, and the towns of Branford and North Branford on the east. Both the east and west boundaries of East Haven have geographical barriers which tend to clearly define where one community ends and the other begins. For the most part, no large area exists, where a neighborhood of one community continues on into the adjacent community; natural or man-made barriers tend to prevent this.

The boundary between East Haven and New Haven is clearly distinguished by Morris Creek; a large area of meadowland; the New Haven Municipal Airport; the New Haven Municipal Golf Course; and Bishop Woods. An area of open space therefore exists between most residential areas of the two communities found along this boundary. The boundary with the town of Branford is clearly defined by the East Haven River and Lake Saltonstall, which form the boundary from south to north between the two towns. Again, the residential areas of both towns have a natural barrier between them. In the extreme northern section of East Haven, the natural boundaries tend to be less pronounced, but again, the residential areas of the surrounding towns of New Haven, North Haven, and North Branford do not tend to overlap into East Haven.

The Town of East Haven is composed of three different sections, which are shown on Background Map 1. The first section is the center, the second, the area north of the center known as Foxon, and the third, Momauguin, the area located two miles south of the center.

The Center

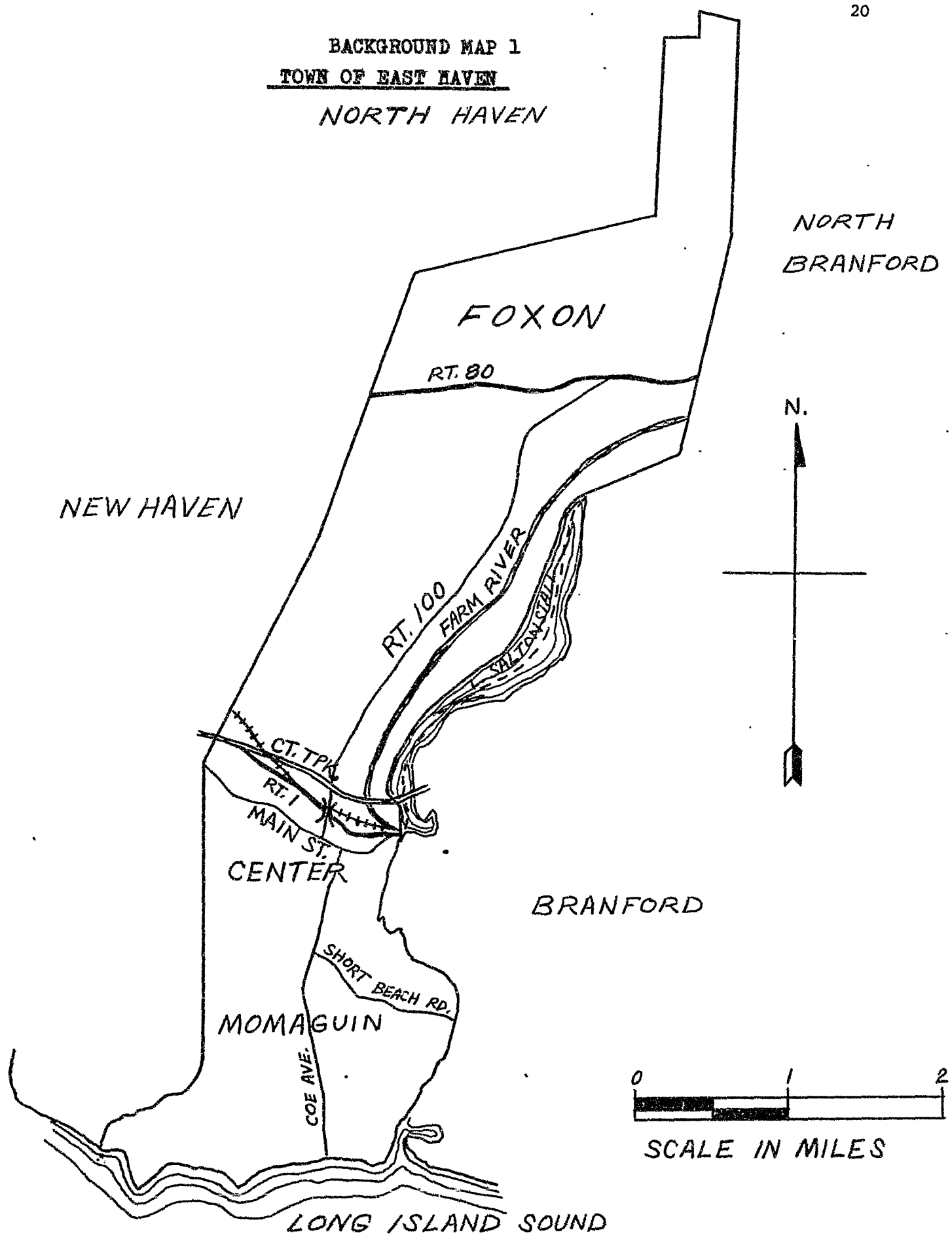
The early development of the town was concentrated in an area which is now considered to be the center section of the town. The center of the town still contains the fine Town Green, and New England's second oldest stone church, which was built in 1774. Although many of the original structures built in the center section of the town were razed in 1970 - 1971 to clear the center for re-development, some original structures remain in the vicinity of the town green.

Originally, the center of the town served as a trading center for the surrounding farms, and developed separately from New Haven, although the distance between the communities was very close. East Haven's separate development was due largely to the location of the Quinnipiac River, which served as a natural barrier, which hindered travel between the two communities. Geographical factors therefore, had a pronounced affect upon the early pattern of development of East Haven, and are presently still a formidable factor in the development and socioeconomic functioning of the town.

With the development of transportation facilities between East Haven and New Haven toward the end of the nineteenth century, the center of East Haven entered into an era of growth.

The character and extent of existing development in Town have been determined largely by transportation facilities and topography. The older, more densely settled center of East Haven, south of the Connecticut Turnpike, was developed

BACKGROUND MAP 1
TOWN OF EAST HAVEN
NORTH HAVEN



in a plain near the main streetcar line to the center of New Haven. The multi-family frame residential structures were built within easy walking distance of streetcar stops, and commercial establishments located along the sides of the trolley route. Later, when automobiles came within the average family's buying power, the central part of Town continued to be built up, since it was closest to the main east-west auto transportation route into New Haven, and thus closest to the main regional shopping and employment centers. Still more recently, with the construction of the Connecticut Turnpike, commercial establishments have been built in East Haven along this east-west route to serve customers traveling by car.¹⁶

The center section of East Haven is presently linked to points east and west by the Connecticut Turnpike and US Route 1, both of which pass through East Haven approximately three blocks north of Main Street. It is possible to commute by automobile to New Haven from the center of East Haven in less than ten minutes.

Public transportation exists from the center of East Haven to points east and west, but there is no public transportation linking the center with Foxon which lies some five miles north of the center. The lack of public transportation between the center of East Haven and the Foxon section to the north is one factor that has tended to divide East Haven as a community.

Foxon: East Haven North

The Foxon section of East Haven lies five miles north of the center of East Haven. The business area along Connecticut Route 80 is considered to be the center of Foxon, and serves the population of this northern section of town, as the center business area serves the residents of the center section of town.

¹⁶The Future East Haven 1966 - 1985, Comprehensive Plan of Development for the Town of East Haven, Connecticut, East Haven Planning and Zoning Commission, (September 27, 1966), p. iv.

Foxon is connected to the center of East Haven by only one road, Connecticut Route 100. Travel between Foxon and the center section of town makes it necessary for all vehicles to use the Route 100 (High Street - North High Street) overpass, which crosses over U.S. Route 1, and the main tracks of the Conrail System (formerly Penn Central Railroad). Route 100 proceeds north from the overpass, going under the Connecticut Turnpike, before going through a narrow valley, which has a steep ridge on one side and a narrow flood plain of the Farm River on the other. The area north of the overpass has a difficult terrain, which has hindered the development of good transportation facilities. "The two major north-south ridges remain largely undeveloped, partly because of large institutional land holdings and partly because of topographic conditions that make building difficult."¹⁷ As one follows Route 100 north, the flood plain widens and Route 100 eventually intersects Route 80.

"The Connecticut Turnpike and the Penn Central Railroad have physically divided the Town into two parts, with the High Street Bridge providing the only direct link between them. For this reason the High Street overpass is the location of the largest single traffic congestion problem in the Town."¹⁸

The Foxon section of East Haven is therefore somewhat like the top half of an hour glass, connected to the center section of town only

¹⁷The Future East Haven 1966 - 1985, Comprehensive Plan of Development for the Town of East Haven, Connecticut, East Haven Planning and Zoning Commission, (September 27, 1966), p. iv.

¹⁸The Community Development Action Plan, East Haven CDAP Agency, (East Haven, Connecticut, October 1, 1971), p. TC-1.

one main artery, through which all vehicular traffic must flow. It is this geographical factor that tends to make the norther section of the town somewhat a separate community within the geographical boundaries of East Haven.

Residents of Foxon have the convenience of shopping facilities in New Haven, North Haven, and North Branford, which are closer, or as close, as the shopping areas in the center of East Haven. Foxon residents, therefore, are not dependent upon the center section for services, and only find it necessary to travel to the center of East Haven to use town facilities such as the library and the high school, and to pay their taxes.

Momauguin: East Haven South

Approximately two miles south of the center of East Haven is the shoreline section of the Town known as Momauguin. Like Foxon, Momauguin tends to be a separate community within the geographical boundaries of East Haven. Although Momauguin is close in distance to the center, only one main traffic artery connects it to the center, and large open areas of marsh and meadowland separate it from the center. Unlike the residents of Foxon, most residents of Momauguin depend upon the shopping and services located in the center of East Haven, and in transit to and from the Momauguin area, most residents pass through the center section.

Momauguin has 3.5 miles of shoreline on Long Island Sound, and although the shores of Momauguin boast fine beaches, the area has been referred to as a "low density slum", and in some aspects, such a judgement is probably correct.

The development of Momauguin began rather recently as compared to the rest of East Haven. It was not "until 1893 when the unowned eastern third of Momauguin called No Man's Land was granted to the town by the state, chopped into 50-foot lots and sold off to benefit the town treasury",¹⁹ that this area of fine beaches began to be developed. In 1898 the New Haven Street Railway Co., built a trolley line to Cosey Beach, and the Momauguin Hotel was built, and the entire area became a favorite spot for swimming and outings.

During the 1920's "developers moved in, unfettered by zoning-- and threw in as many houses near the beach as they could. Owners of the 50-foot-wide sound-front lots put an alley alongside and sliced the lots back like a salami for up to seven houses--sometimes with a hot dog or amusement parlor on the street."²⁰ The building of so many summer cottages so close together laid the groundwork for Momauguin's future problems.

By 1935 the trolley stopped running to Momauguin. In time, the amusements folded. Momauguin was on the skids. World War II workers, hard put for housing moved in, boarded up the open underpinnings and huddled the winter out around space heaters. Many of the houses, once made per-²¹manent, stayed permanent. The unkind called them shanties.

In 1955 a plan for the redevelopment of Momauguin was completed which would have created a 1,700 foot town beach. "An estimated \$115,000 of town money would have floated it then. But the project bubbled out on the tide of a 131 vote loss at a referendum on sewers for Momauguin, a necessary prerequisite to the grant of federal funds.

¹⁹Eugene Seder, "Teetering On The Edge of Change," The New Haven Register, Sunday ed., September 19, 1971, Pictorial, p. 9, col. 3.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

Less than one-eighth of the town voters voted, but the loss stopped the redevelopment project and the town had to install sewers 10 years later anyway because of sanitation problems."²²

In 1963 another redevelopment plan was begun in Momauguin, but this plan ".....was shunted aside for a redevelopment project in the center of town....."²³ and the redevelopment of Momauguin has remained only a plan on paper.

Although plans have been formulated and property transfers have taken place in expectation of the redevelopment of this area, no significant progress was made. The Momauguin of 1975 is very much the same as the Momauguin of 1945, only a little more dilapidated after an additional thirty years of wear and tear. Grandiose plans for the development of the area which were to transpose Momauguin into an area of beach clubs, restaurants, marinas, shopping centers, and high-rise apartments, remained only grandiose plans. Although private capital has been invested, no construction has taken place.

In 1962, one 50-acre parcel of land in Momauguin was bought for \$125,000 and after a rezoning, was sold to a developer for \$850,000 in 1970. The developer had planned to construct 10-story apartment units, but by 1975, not one unit had been constructed.

In contrast to the stalled redevelopment plan in Momauguin, the plan of redevelopment for the center section of the town was fully implemented with demolition of older structures taking place in 1970

²²Eugene Seder, "Teetering On The Edge Of Change," The New Haven Register, Sunday ed., September 19, 1971, Pictorial, p. 11, col. 3.

²³Ibid.

and 1971, and a substantial amount of new construction completed by 1975, including a new traffic pattern and new road system in the center.

The plight of Momauguin is similar to that of Foxon's, because like Foxon, it has been neglected politically. Momauguin is a splendid example of how the political system of East Haven has failed to recognize the needs of all sections, except the center section. Momauguin is in itself, a history of continual misuse of political power, and political procrastination. The politicians of East Haven have given lip service to the problems of Momauguin, and initiated many studies of the area which have led to the formulation of plans to rectify the squalid conditions that exist in the area, but they have not used their political power to actually bring about a change in the area. Political power has been used to eliminate problems and produce actual physical changes only in the center section of the Town.

Evidence to substantiate the fact that only the center section has been redeveloped will be included in Chapter 6, under The Redevelopment of the Center. Evidence will also be provided to show that the residents of Momauguin desired redevelopment, and that the Redevelopment Agency agreed that it was needed; but decided instead, to redevelop the center section.

Chapter 4

THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF EAST HAVEN BY DISTRICT

Three Districts: 1943 - 1949

Prior to 1949, there were three voting districts in East Haven. District 1 was composed of the center section of the Town including that area which is presently District 4. Therefore, District 1, as shown in Map 2, a map of the political division of East Haven between 1943 and 1949, shows District 1 occupying the entire center section of the Town. District 1 was bounded on the north by District 3, which included everything north of the railroad tracks that cross East Haven just north of the center of the town, and by District 2 to the south, which included all of Momauguin.

Although District 3 was the largest district in geographical area at this time, it was not heavily populated in comparison to the center section of the Town. In the municipal election of 1945, as shown in Table 2, only 281 votes were cast in District 3; this represented only 8.9 percent of the total vote. Table 3, which lists the percentage of the total vote received from Districts 1 and 4 between 1943 and 1975, shows that in this same election, 75 percent of the total vote came from District 1.

Map 2
THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF EAST HAVEN
BY
DISTRICT
1943 - 1949

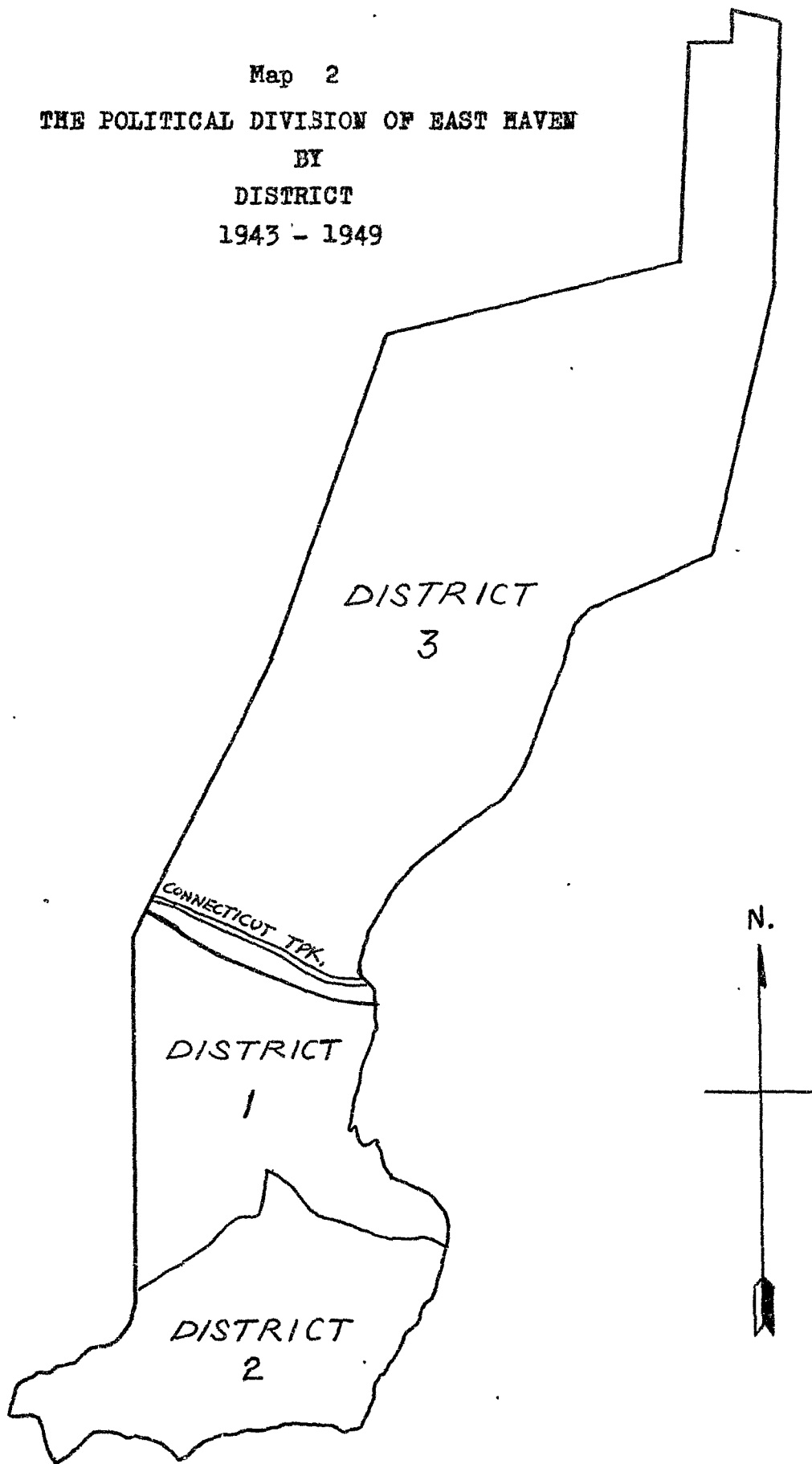


Table 2

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975

Percentage of Total Vote Received from
Districts 3, 3a, and 5

YEAR	TOTAL VOTE TOWN OF EAST HAVEN	TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES RECEIVED DISTRICTS 3, 3a, 5	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTE REC'D FROM 3, 3a, 5
1943	5513	573	10.39
1945	3147	281	8.92
1947	3715	384	10.33
1949	5143	627	12.19
1951	5452	666	12.21
1953	6016	959	15.94
1955	6239	1271	19.28
1957	6589	1636	24.82
1959	6806	1954	28.70
1961	7281	2259	31.02
1963	7903	2334	29.53
1965	7910	2344	29.63
1967	9514	3545	37.26
1969	9052	3197	35.31
1971	9744	4119	42.27
1973	9114	3768	41.34
1975	9928	4215	42.45

Therefore, because the center section was heavily populated at this time, in contrast to Foxon, District 3 and Momauguin, District 2, the center section was able to dominate all segments of the political system. Politicians from the center section controlled both political parties, and the Town government. The extent to which the politicians from the center section controlled the political system at this time will be presented in Chapter 5, THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF EAST HAVEN, which will extensively investigate the structure of each political party, and the composition of the Town government in terms of the politicians who dominated the political system at this time.

Table 3

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975

Percentage of Total Vote Received From
Districts 1 and 4

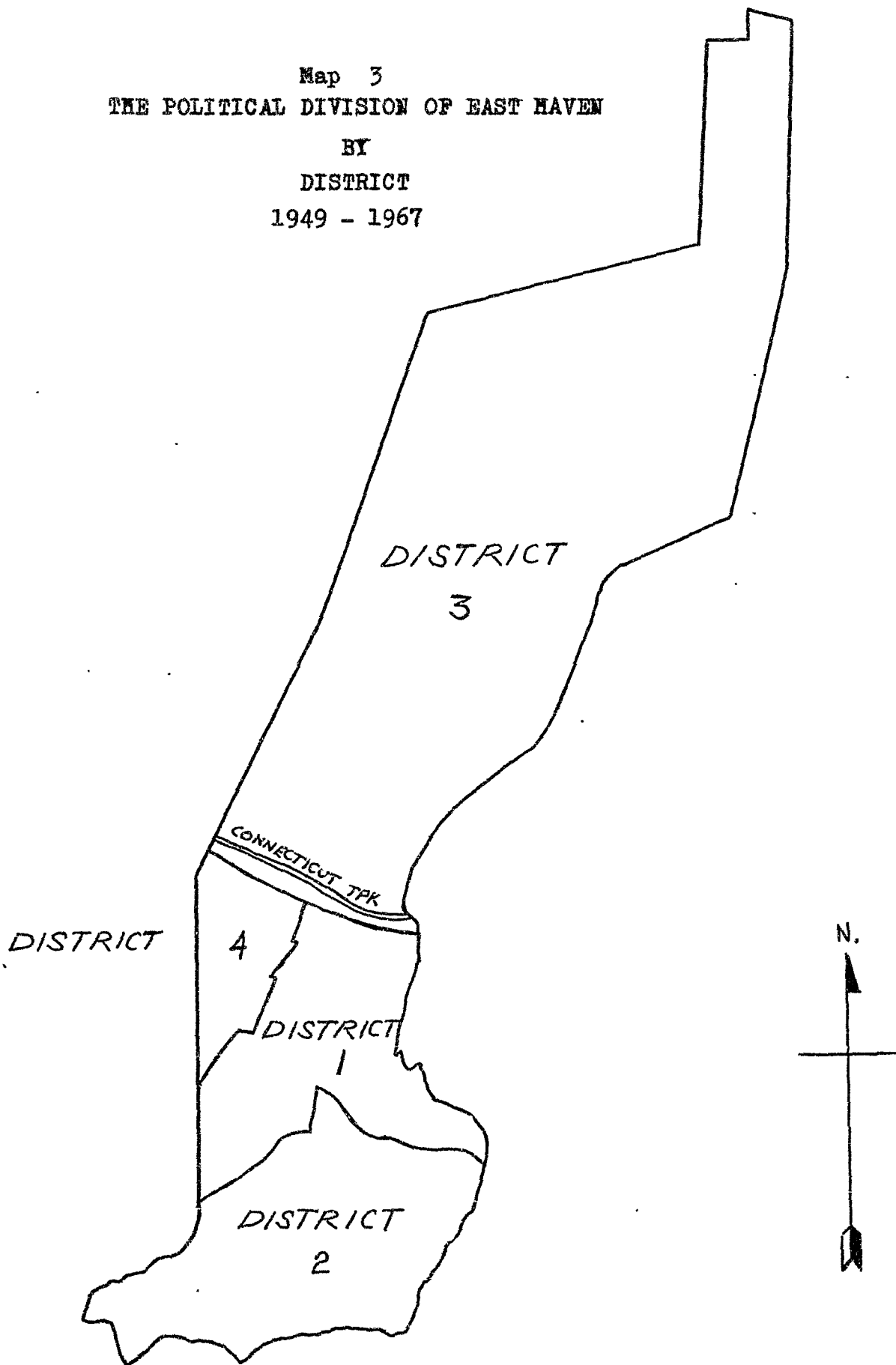
YEAR	TOTAL VOTE TOWN OF EAST HAVEN	TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES RECEIVED DISTRICTS 1 & 4	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTE REC'D FROM 1 & 4
1943	5513	3996	72.48
1945	3147	2363	75.08
1947	3715	2758	74.23
1949	5143	3714	72.21
1951	5452	3979	72.98
1953	6016	4121	68.50
1955	6239	3962	63.50
1957	6589	4018	60.98
1959	6806	3915	57.52
1961	7281	4006	55.01
1963	7903	3677	46.52
1965	7910	4468	56.48
1967	9514	4172	43.85
1969	9052	3880	42.86
1971	9744	3980	40.84
1973	9114	3826	41.97
1975	9928	4095	41.24

Four Districts: 1949 - 1967

In 1949, District 4 was created from the west end of District 1. District 4, although small in area, as is evident from map 3, a map of political division of the Town between 1949 and 1967, was already heavily populated at the time it was created.

District 4 is adjacent to the New Haven town line, and is primarily composed of a number of streets that intersect with Main Street. Because of it's location between New Haven and the center of East Haven,

Map 3
THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF EAST HAVEN
BY
DISTRICT
1949 - 1967

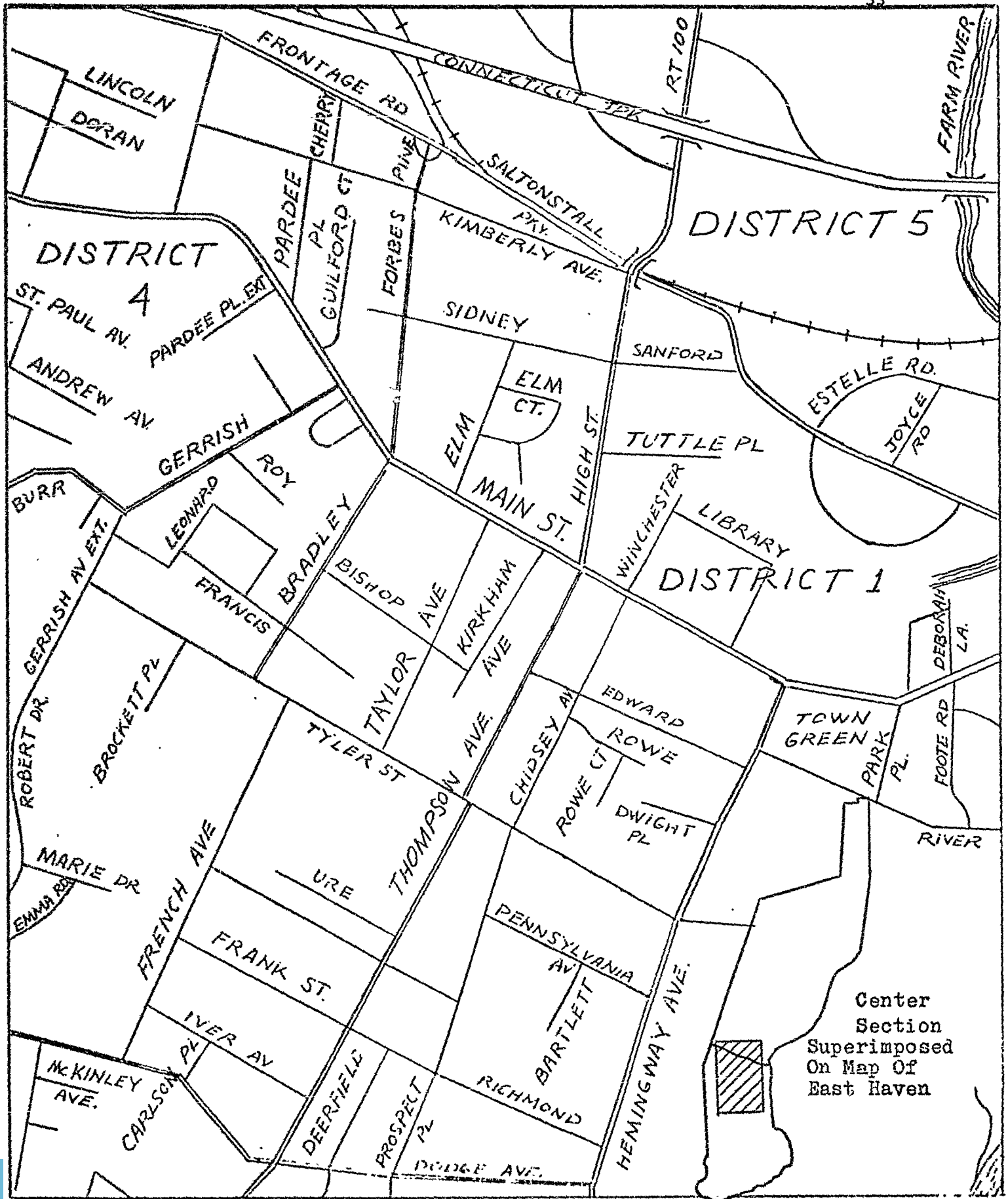


District 4 was already extensively developed as a mixed residential and business area at the time of its creation. Therefore, District 4 has not grown in population to the extent that the district's north of the Connecticut Turnpike have. For example, in 1949, the first year that District 4 participated as a district in a municipal election, 896 votes were cast in the District. Twenty years later in 1969, a total of 1,488 votes were cast in District 4. This represented an increase of only 66 percent over the total vote of the year 1949. In contrast to District 4, Districts 3, 3a, and 5, as shown in Table 2, had a total of 3,197 votes cast in 1969, as compared to a total of 627 votes cast in 1949. The 1969 vote total was approximately 410 percent greater than the 1949 total vote.

There is no distinct geographical barrier between District 1 and District 4, as there is between District 1 and the districts north of the High Street overpass, or between District 1 and District 2 in Momauguin. Districts 1 and 4 share many of the same interests in regard to public policy; and because of the many similarities between the two, and their close proximity to each other, can be considered as one. Districts 1 and 4 compose the center section of East Haven, and as Map 4 shows, the area that is extensively examined in this study is composed primarily of part of District 1 and part of District 4.

Five Districts: 1967 - 1973

In 1967, the political division of East Haven was altered again. The political division of East Haven, between 1967 and 1973 is shown in Map 5. District 5 was created from the southern third of District 3,



DISTRICT 5

DISTRICT 4

DISTRICT 1

Center
Section
Superimposed
On Map Of
East Haven

1/2 MILE

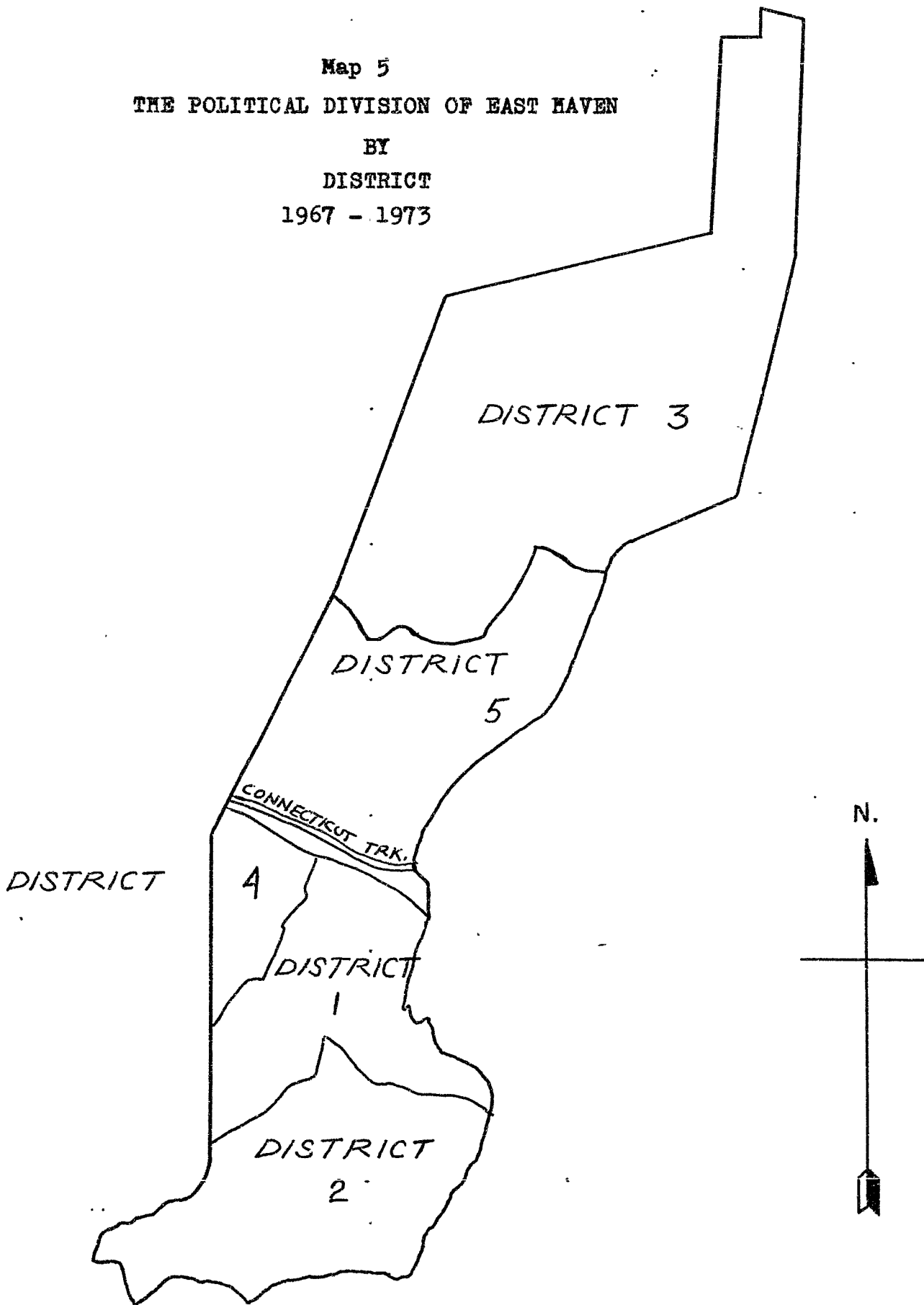
1 MILE

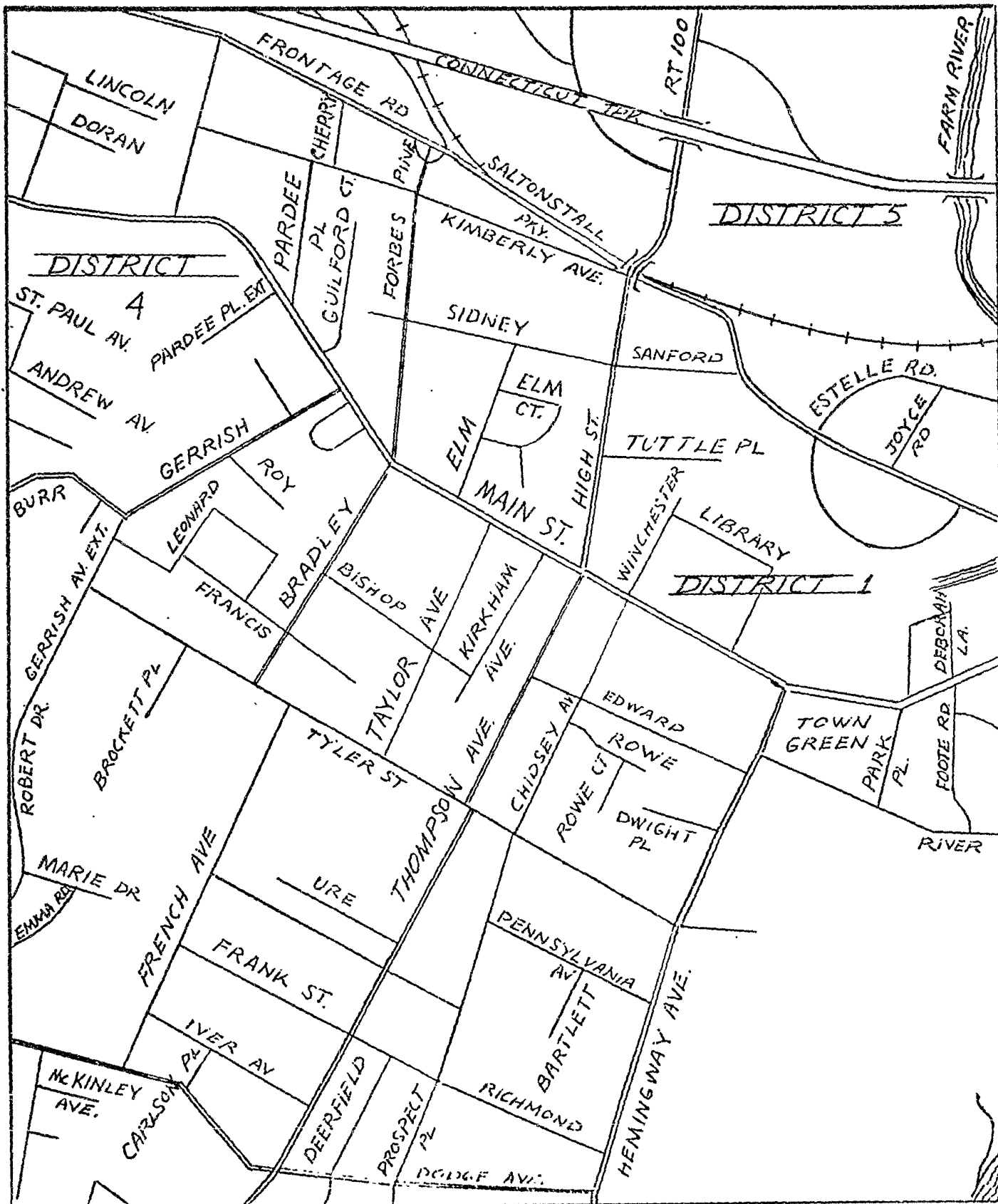
and a small portion of District 1. The area taken from District 1 consisted of Joyce Road, part of Estelle Road, Saltonstall Place, and all property along the north side of Saltonstall Parkway (Route 1). Map 6, a map of the center which includes the southern part of District 5, shows the location of this area. The area taken from District 1, when District 5 was created, although small, has affected the data included in this study. No attempt has been made in the analysis of voting statistics to compensate for the transfer of this small part of District 1 to District 5 in 1967. Therefore, any abnormally large decrease noted in the tables of voting statistics for District 1 for the year 1967, may in some cases be attributed to the transfer of this small part of District 1 to District 5.

Unlike Districts 1 and 4, the topography of District 5 is varied, and consequently, the area does not have a continuous concentration of residential structures, as in the center. District 5 also has large areas of land that are devoted to public use, such as the State Rifle Range, the Middle School and Town Athletic Complex, and the new East Haven Police Station.

The Town's sixth district, District 3a, was created in 1973 from District 3. The location of District 3a and the political division of East Haven between 1973 and 1975 is shown in Map 7. The topography of District 3a, also has large tracts of land devoted to public and institutional use. The New Haven Municipal Golf Course is located almost entirely in District 3a, and the Y.M.C.A. operates a summer camp in the district.

Map 5
THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF EAST HAVEN
BY
DISTRICT
1967 - 1973



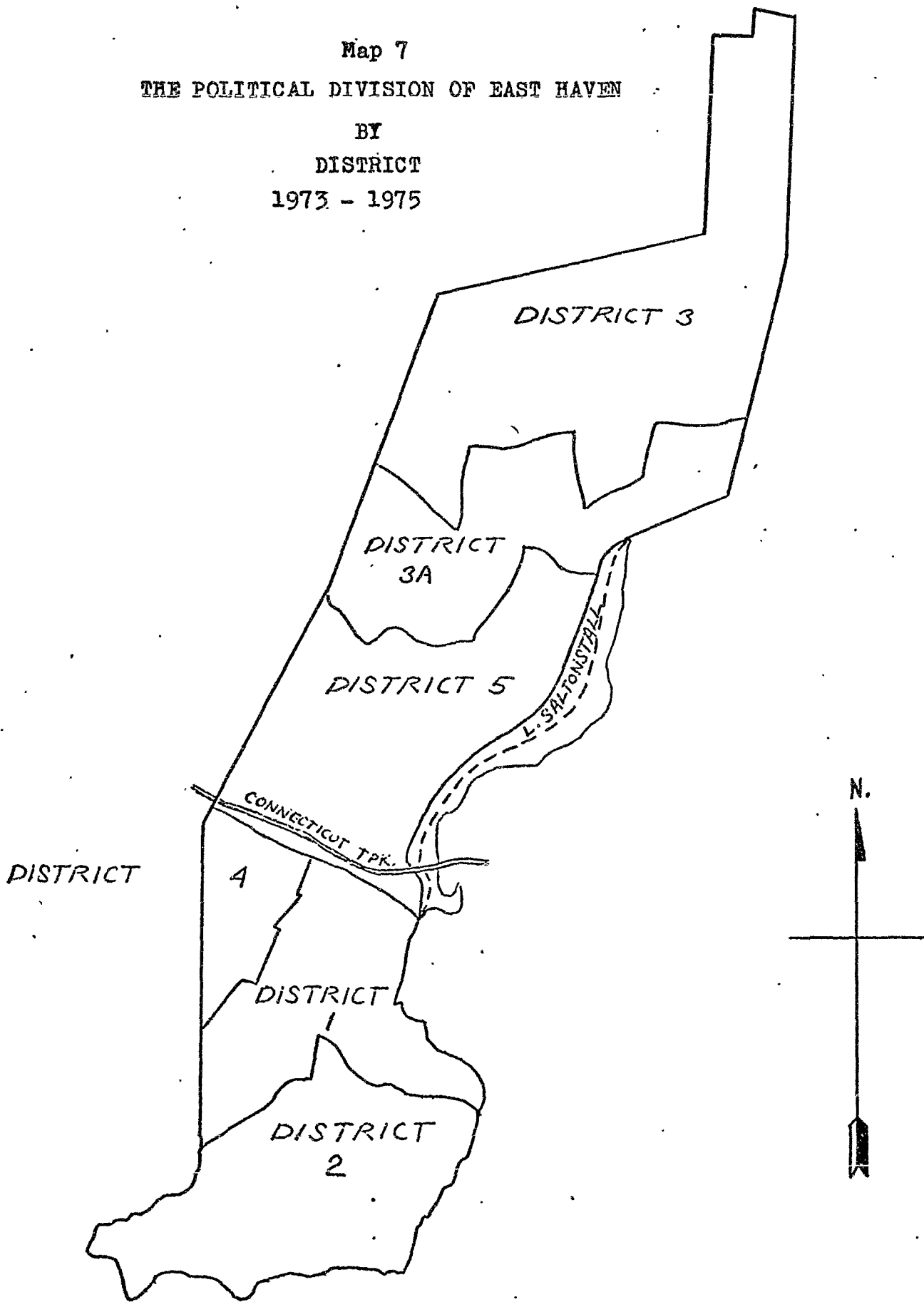


0

1/2 MILE

1 MILE

Map 7
THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF EAST HAVEN
BY
DISTRICT
1973 - 1975



Chapter 5

THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF EAST HAVEN

After being incorporated as a town in May of 1785, East Haven held its first Town Meeting on the first Tuesday of July of that year. "The evolution of government in East Haven has followed the typical historical pattern in Connecticut for most of its history, East Haven operated under the General Statues of Connecticut which provides for a Town Meeting composed of all legally qualified voters."²⁴

East Haven used a Selectman-Town Meeting form of government until 1959 when it adopted a Selectman-Representative Town Meeting (RTM) form of government. The adoption of this form of government was an attempt to retain the democratic effectiveness of the town meeting, while streamlining it to compensate for the increase in population that had occurred in the town. Under the RTM form of government, the voters chose a number of citizens to attend the Town Meeting to represent them. Citizens attended the RTM meetings, but voting was limited to elected RTM members.

Dissatisfaction with the Selectman-RTM form of government led to the establishment of a Charter Revision Commission in 1964. This Commission recommended a Mayor-Council form of government which finally became a reality in 1969, when East Haven elected its first

²⁴ Lawrence J. DeNardis, Government in East Haven, A Short History And Analysis Of The Organization Of East Haven's Government, East Haven Community Development Action Plan, (August, 1970), p. 3.

Mayor-Town Council government.

During the span of time covered by this study, the political parties of East Haven have operated in a political system that has changed in form three times, and each change has increased the complexity of the governmental system.

As the size and complexity of the political system of East Haven has grown, so has the power of the political parties; because they have been required to provide additional candidates for public office and to fill the many positions that have been created, due to the expansion of services offered by the Town.

Therefore, an understanding of how the political parties of East Haven have developed, and the role that they have played in the political system between 1943 and 1975, is a key factor in the study of the distribution of political power in East Haven. The political parties will therefore be examined in an effort to show that all political parties have been dominated by politicians from the center section of Town.

In attempting to examine the political parties of East Haven, it has not been the purpose of this study to examine how or specifically why the politicians from the center section of the Town have managed to retain control of the political power of the Town, but to establish that they most definitely did retain control between 1943 and 1975. It is also the purpose of this study to show that the politicians of each political party, when elected to office, used the political power at their disposal to benefit the center section of the Town.

Some evidence uncovered during the course of this investigation suggests that there was a definite organized effort made to monopolize political power by a group of businessmen from the center section, who were active politically, and functioned similar to a self-perpetuating organization over the years covered by this study. But, for a number of reasons, proof of such an allegation would be very difficult to obtain. Assumptions based on socio-economic data available would be very difficult to relate to specific control of political power by any one group of politicians, because of overlapping socio-economic characteristics found throughout the Town. For example, if an assumption was made that the socio-economic status of businessmen in the community was the key factor in controlling the political power of the community, a brief examination of the facts shows the following. Many businessmen who are politically active live in Foxon, yet they have not shared in the political power of the Town. Another factor which tends to diminish the validity of the assumption that a group of businessmen have controlled the political power of the Town, is the status of the most recent Democratic Town Chairman included in this study. The present Democratic Town Chairman is not a businessman, and at the time he assumed the chairmanship of the Democratic Party, was employed as a construction worker.

Another socio-economic factor upon which many assumptions could be made, is the role that ethnic politics may play in the domination of political power in East Haven. An examination of census statistics for East Haven shows that the leading country of origin for East Haven residents is Italy, and an examination of the Directory for East Haven shows an overwhelming majority of people with Italian surnames residing

in East Haven. Considering the fact that East Haven has been governed by politicians with Italian surnames since 1955, one could make the assumption that ethnic politics are the deciding factor in who controls the political power of East Haven.

Based upon the information uncovered in this investigation, any attempt to attribute control of political power to ethnic factors alone would not produce significant results. The investigation would without doubt, produce numerous statistical data in support of such an assumption, and accounts of witnesses who have counted paper ballots in an election held within the last ten years would verify the fact that some people appear to vote only on an ethnic basis. Yet, a cursory investigation of politics in East Haven shows that as recent as 1974, the Chairman of the Republican Party had a German surname, while two of the last three Chairmen of the Democratic Party did not have Italian surnames. An examination of the record shows that candidates with German, Irish, and Yankee, as well as Italian surnames have been nominated to run for political office in East Haven, and elected. People with non-Italian surnames have shared in the political power, as long as they have resided in the center section.

Although socio-economic factors undoubtedly play an important role in the functioning of the East Haven political system, I am of the opinion that the investigation of such factors over the span of time covered by this study, would result in a myriad of data, from which no clear delineation of who controls political power in East Haven would be possible.

Because the conflicting aspects of socio-economic data would only result in a dilemma, this study has been based on a geographical approach to the control and use of political power.

The investigation of the political parties and politicians that follows will therefore attempt to prove that political power has been monopolized by politicians from one geographical area, and that the geographical element has been the determining factor in their successful control of political power.

The investigation will, therefore, be based upon an analysis of election statistics and information pertaining to the location of the residences and business addresses of political leaders.

East Haven does not fall into the classic two-party political system, although the high degree of competition between politicians suggests a competitive party system. Between 1943 and 1975, the Republican Party won eight municipal elections, while the Democratic Party won nine. Underlying the apparent healthy competition between the two, and sometimes three, political parties that have participated in the political system of East Haven, are a set of unique factors that tend to diminish the degree of real competition between the parties. These factors have affected the distribution of political power within the town to the benefit of the center section.

Political parties are organized to direct the political activities of their members to secure public office, and that power derived from having the party's candidates elected to public office. The power of the winning political party is therefore increased through its

ability to formulate governmental policies which can favor the goals of those individuals and interest groups capable of influencing elected and appointed officials. In this way, and by assuring that government expenditures are made so as to promote the interest of the party, while at the same time fulfilling the needs of government, a political party distributes political power in the act of governing, while at the same time increasing the power of the party.

Ideally, a highly competitive party system will result in a situation where those in power will attempt to broaden their political base by using some of their political power to benefit individuals or interest groups not affiliated with their party, in an effort to gain additional support. Robert A. Dahl refers, for example, to the fact that "elections and competitive parties give politicians a powerful motive for expanding their coalitions and increasing their electoral followings."²⁵ In theory, the attempt by political parties to increase their political base of power should result in a greater dispersion of political power within a community, as competition necessitates an effort by both political parties to reach out to every corner of the community for support. Therefore, the political parties would share political power to some extent, with many different segments of the community, as long as the political parties remained competitive.

The apolitical strata can be said to "govern" as much through the sharing of common values and goals with members of the political stratum as by other means. However, if it were not for elections and competitive parties, this sharing would—other things remaining the same—rapidly decline.²⁶

²⁵Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961), p. 91.

²⁶Ibid. p. 92.

Although there has been competition between the two major political parties in East Haven and also enough political activity to generate the creation of a strong third party, which participated in five municipal elections, there has not been a redistribution of political power by any political party to compensate for the fact that the community has grown beyond the limits of the center section of town. Each political party that has secured political power has carried out governmental policies that has resulted in a concentration of the benefits of government in the center section. The Foxon and Momauguin sections have been given lip service by most politicians, but nothing has really been accomplished in regards to sharing the benefits of political power with these sections. The political power of all political parties has remained firmly concentrated in, and committed to, the center section of the Town.

The concentration of political power in the center section of East Haven has occurred, because of the monopoly of the power structures of each political party and the town government, by politicians from the center section of town. The real political competition is not between political parties, although it exists to some extent, but between the politicians of all parties from the center section of the Town, who control the political parties.

To prove that political power has been monopolized by the politicians from the center section of the Town, an analysis of both major political parties will be made for the years between 1943 and 1975. This analysis will show that the power structure of both major parties were monopolized by center section politicians. Data examined

will include the nominations made by each political party, for each municipal election between 1943 and 1975, in relation to the location of the candidates' home and business address. An examination of the Chairmen and Vice Chairmen of each major political party will also be made for the span of time covered by this study, in relation to the location of their homes and business addresses.

An analysis of the election returns will be made for each municipal election held between 1943 and 1975 to show where each political party received the greatest percentage of their total vote, and also the percentage that they won in each District. The purpose of this analysis is to show that political domination by the center politicians has continued while the percentage of the voting electorate living in the center section has declined substantially.

The analysis of the political parties will also include an examination of primary elections held by each political party to present the fact that the real political competition between political parties has decreased while there has been a very high level of competition between the politicians from the center section. Both major political parties have had primaries that have involved contestants from the center section, which have factionalized the center politicians of each major party, at different periods of time, thus allowing the center politicians of the opposing party to dominate the political system of the Town.

Although the primaries of each major political party that involved politicians from the center section left each party so badly factionalized that the power structure of each party was altered,

the strength of the politicians from the center section prevailed. Politicians who resided outside of the center section were not able to compete with the center politicians, even though the center politicians were divided into opposing factions.

An analysis of the 1971 and 1973 Democratic Party primary elections will also be presented to show that politicians from outside the center cannot win a primary under any circumstances. If the Democratic Party politicians from the center are united to any extent, as they were in 1973, a challenging candidate from outside the center section cannot win. If they are divided into different factions, as they were in 1971, one faction of politicians from the center will win, and challenging candidates who reside outside of the center will lose, because the center politicians control the balance of political power in Town.

The East Haven Democratic Party

East Haven, like many other small towns in Connecticut, was a predominantly Republican town. It was not until the municipal election of 1949 that the East Haven Democratic Party managed to defeat the East Haven Republican Party in another close election. The Democratic Party received 47.6 percent of the total vote in the election of 1951.

The emergence of a powerful Democratic party in East Haven began with the election of 1953 which the Democratic Party won. From this time on, the Democratic Party won every municipal election for the office of First Selectman, until their defeat in the election of 1967. Table 4, an analysis of the vote received by the Democratic Party

in municipal elections held in East Haven between 1943 and 1975, shows that the Democratic Party, after winning the election of 1953, increased the percentage of the total vote it won in subsequent municipal elections. By 1957, the East Haven Democratic Party had achieved a position of power taking 59.2 percent of the vote, and in the election of 1959, it increased its winning margin again by taking 62.6 percent of the total vote. In 1961, the last municipal election to be held before the participation of the Independent Party* in municipal elections, the percentage won by the Democratic Party dropped to 56.8. The election of 1961 marked the last time, until the election of 1975, that the East Haven Democratic Party managed to win a majority of the total vote in a municipal election for town officers. *(The Independent Party participated in the municipal elections of 1963, 1965, 1967, and 1971. On the 1963 ballot, they were listed as the Independent-Republican-Democrat.)

Although the Democratic Party won the elections of 1963 and 1965, they did not receive a majority of the total vote. Figure 2, which is a graph of the total percentage of the vote received by each political party in the municipal elections held between 1943 and 1975, shows the Democratic Party received less than fifty percent of the vote in 1963 and 1965. Actual percentages of the vote received by the Democratic Party were 41.22 percent in 1963, and 47.39 percent in 1965.

Although the Democratic Party won its first local election in 1949, and then went on to win the municipal elections of 1953, 1955, and 1957, the Democratic Party continued to lose state and national elections in East Haven. The Republican Party continued to dominate

Table 4

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975

Analysis of the Total Vote Received
By the Democratic Party

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES CAST IN ELECTION	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES REC'D BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTE REC'D BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY
1943	5,513	2,193	39.72
1945	3,147	874	27.77
1947	3,715	1,678	45.16
1949	5,143	2,615	50.84
1951	5,452	2,598	47.65
1953	6,016	3,308	54.98
1955	6,239	3,311	53.06
1957	6,589	3,906	59.28
1959	6,806	4,260	62.60
1961	7,281	4,138	56.83
*1963	7,903	3,258	41.22
*1965	7,910	3,749	47.39
*1967	9,514	3,466	37.48
*1969	9,052	3,518	38.86
*1971	9,744	3,433	35.24
1973	9,114	4,191	45.98
1975	9,928	5,993	60.36

*Three Party Elections

Figure 2

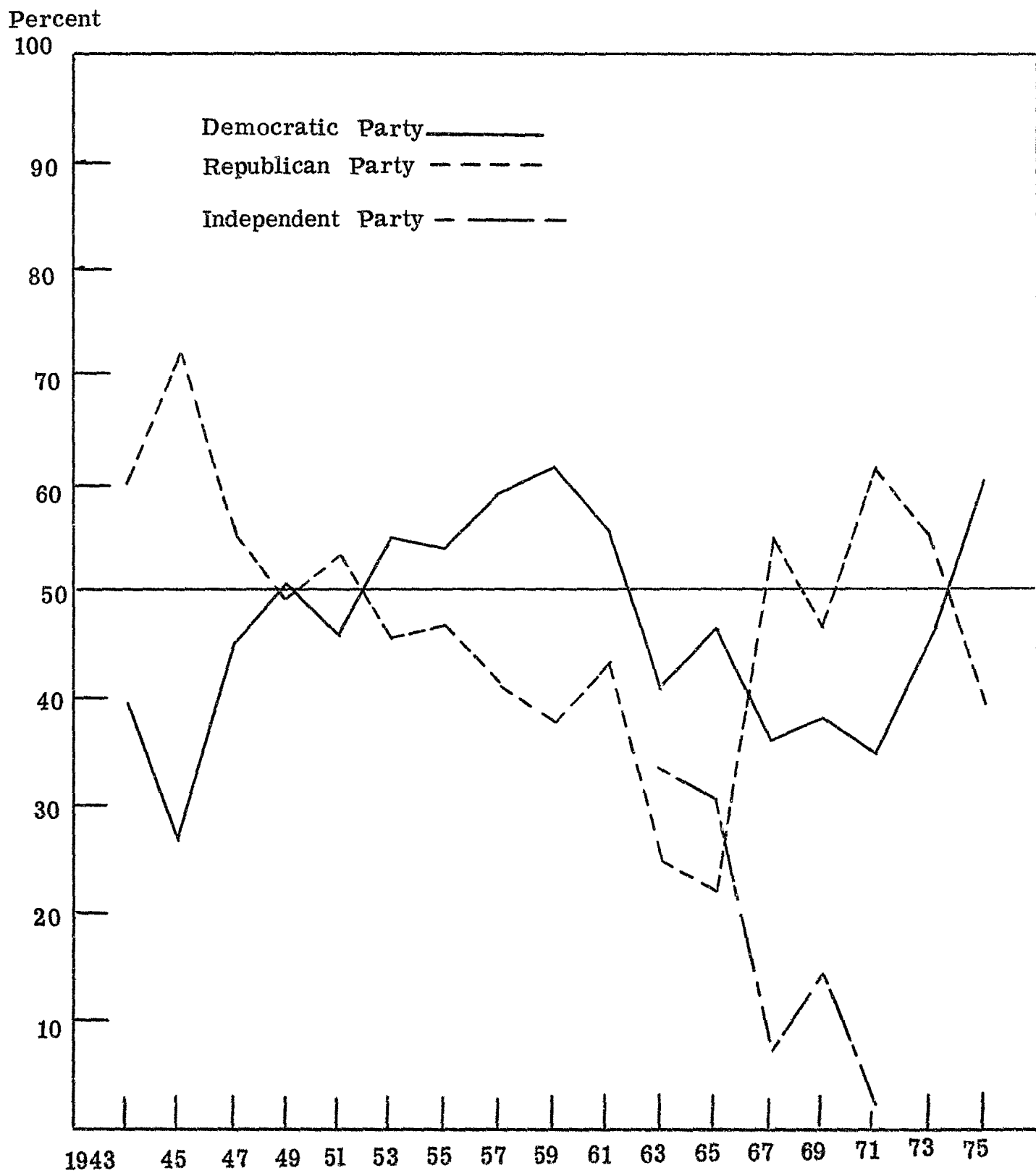
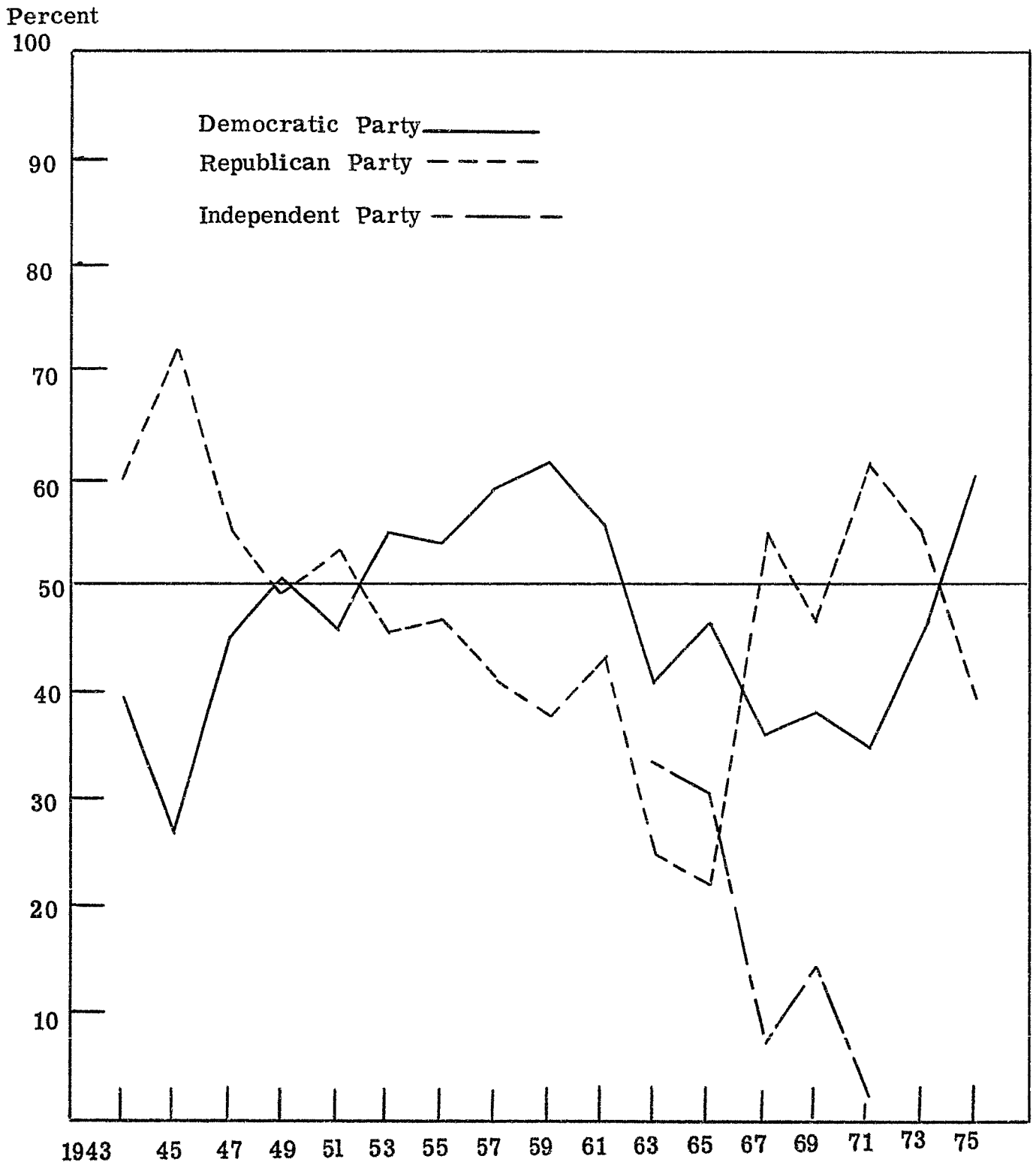


Figure 2



state and national elections in East Haven between 1944 and 1958, as they had prior to 1944. The first time the Democratic Party won a complete election for state officers in East Haven occurred in 1958, when the Democratic candidate for Governor received 60.4 percent of the vote, and the Democrats won every position on the ballot. The Democrats won their first National Election in East Haven two years later when John F. Kennedy received 58.80 percent of the total vote cast.

The election of 1958 was significant for the East Haven Democratic Party because two Democratic State Representatives were elected as well as a Democratic Judge of Probate. Prior to the election of 1958, the Democratic Party had managed to win the two State Representative seats allotted to East Haven at this time only once before. This occurred in the election of 1950, when the Democratic Party managed to win every position on the ballot in East Haven, except that of Governor. The Republican candidate for Governor carried East Haven by only 177 votes.

The year 1960 was an important year for the East Haven Democratic Party because in addition to winning their first National election, they also won every seat for Town Meeting Representative listed on the ballot, in an election held on April 4, 1960. Democratic candidates won in every district, defeating Republican candidates and Petition candidates.

The Democratic Party that rose to power in East Haven in the 1950s was a political party composed primarily of politicians from Districts 1 and 4. The Democratic Party, like the Republican Party of the fifties, was also a political party that exhibited strong competition

within the party ranks. On April 10, 1956, the competition between Democratic party members resulted in a primary election for Town Committee seats.

An examination of the primary election results of 1956 provides an excellent insight into the structure of the Democratic Party at the time, the strength of the party leadership, and the composition of the party by district. The primary election was held by district, and listed two opposing slates of candidates in each district. The party endorsed slate of candidates filled each slot allotted to them on the ballot in each district. The challengers filled all slots on the ballot, except in District 4, where only half of the fourteen positions on the ballot were filled.

Town Committee seats were apportioned by District, and the composition of the Democratic Town Committee was as follows: District 1, eighteen seats; District 2, fourteen seats; District 3, fourteen seats; District 4, fourteen seats. By combining the number of seats allotted to District 1 with the number of seats allotted to District 4, it is easy to understand how the two districts with a total of 32 Town Committee seats could control the Town Committee, which numbered only 60.

The results of the primary election showed that in District 1, most party endorsed candidates polled approximately 65 percent of the total vote cast in the district, and all party endorsed candidates won. In District 4, party endorsed candidates who were opposed, received approximately 85 percent of the total vote cast in the district. All party endorsed candidates easily defeated the opposition in District 1

and 4, while in contrast to 'this, only three of the fourteen party endorsed candidates won in District 2. In District 3, all party endorsed candidates won, but each candidate only received about 60 percent of the vote.

At the time of the 1956 primary for Town Committee seats, the Democratic Party, under the direction of the politicians from the center, was well into its second consecutive term of governing East Haven. The strength exhibited by the party endorsed candidates of the center in defeating their opponents in Districts 1 and 4 in contrast to the outcome of the election in District 2, is indicative of the political power possessed by the politicians from the center. The party endorsed candidates from District 2 had not shared in the political power the party derived from governing the Town, and therefore, were limited in their ability to control the party membership.

Further analysis of the primary election of 1956 shows the following approximate vote totals by district: District 1, 250; District 2, 140; District 3, 170; District 4, 130. The approximate vote totals give some indication of the number of active registered Democrats residing in each District. Therefore, by combining the vote total of District 1 with that of District 4, the number of active registered Democrats that resided in the center section can be approximated. The records show that 380 registered Democrats participated in the center in contrast to only 140 in District 2, the Momauguin District, and 170 in District 3, the Foxon District.

A percentage analysis of the election shows that approximately 55 percent of the total vote came from Districts 1 and 4 combined. This

indicates that the politicians of the center section, while representing only slightly more than half the active party membership, at that time, had enough political power to control the entire Party.

An investigation of election records for each municipal election held between 1943 and 1975 shows that practically all candidates chosen to run for political office by the East Haven Democratic Party during this thirty-two year period, came from the center section (Districts 1 and 4). As is evident in Table 5, all candidates chosen by the Democratic Party to run for the top political office in the town government were either residents of the center section, or operated businesses in the center section.

Table 5

Democratic Candidates for the Office of
Board of Selectman, First Selectman,
and Mayor 1943 - 1975

ELECTION YEAR	NAME OF CANDIDATE	(R) RESIDENCE ADDRESS (B) BUSINESS ADDRESS	VOTING DISTRICT
1943	Rocco Bove	94 Bradley Ave. (R)	1
	John J. Mulhern	31 Tuttle Place (R)	1
1945-	Frank Clancey	43 Kirkham Ave. (R)	1
1953		(same as above) (B)	1
1955-	Dominick Ferrara	11 Doran Street (R)	4
1967		171 Main Street (B)	1
1969	Salvatore Longobardi	425 Main Street (R)	4
		(same as above) (B)	4
1971	Mario Mozzillo	5 Holland Drive (R)	2
		265 Main Street (B)	1
1973	Anthony Proto	92 Hemingway Ave. (R)	1
1975		(same as above) (B)	1

Between 1943 and 1955, the Democratic Party chose only one candidate to run for the number two position on the party ticket who did not reside in, or operate a business in, the center section of the Town. This occurred in 1947, when a candidate from District 2, the Momauguin section, was nominated to run for the office of Selectman. Table 6 is a list of all Democratic candidates who have run for the office of Selectman between 1945 and 1967.*

Table 6

Democratic Candidates for the Office
of Selectman 1945 - 1967

ELECTION YEAR	NAME OF CANDIDATE	RESIDENCE ADDRESS	DISTRICT (VOTING)
1945	John J. Mulhern	31 Tuttle Place	1
1947	Thomas J. Hayes	36 Catherine Street	2
1949-	Alfred F. Holcombe	23 High Street	1
1951			
1953	Dominick H. Ferrara	11 Doran Street	4
1955	Jerome H. Grady	12 River Road	3
1957-	Archie A. O'Donnell	34 Hunt Lane	3
1967			

* Two candidates were chosen each election year, between 1945 and 1967, one for the office of First Selectman, the higher ranking position, and one for the office of Selectman. In 1943, two candidates were nominated to run for the Board of Selectman. Beginning in 1969, only one candidate was nominated by each political party to run for the office of Mayor.

In 1955, the Democratic Party again chose a candidate who was not from the center section to fill the second position of Selectman on the party ticket. A candidate from Foxon, District 3, was nominated and elected. In the election of 1957, the Democratic Party again chose a candidate from Foxon to fill the second position on the party ticket.

This candidate was elected, and continued to be nominated and elected to office during the next ten years. This fact, although it appears to be significant, cannot be considered important in relation to the distribution of political power, because the position itself did not guarantee the one who held the position would have any political power. No significant redistribution of political power had taken place from the center section to Foxon because a politician from Foxon had been elected for a number of years to the position of Selectman.

After winning the municipal election of 1949, the Democratic Party won every municipal election, except the election of 1951, until their defeat in the election of 1967. The Democratic Party, therefore, governed the town for a total of sixteen years during an eighteen year period, the fourteen years between 1953 and 1967 being consecutive.

During the fourteen year period that the Democratic Party controlled the town between 1953 and 1967, political power was monopolized by Democratic politicians from the center section, who dominated the Democratic Party. During this span of fourteen years, the East Haven Democratic Party had five different Town Chairmen. Four of the five resided in District 1, and the fifth resided in District 4. Although the position of Vice Chairman was filled by a Democrat from District 3 between 1956 and 1963, this cannot be interpreted as a redistribution of political power, because of the nature of the position of Vice-Chairman. The position of Vice-Chairman is more ceremonial, than one of power. At no time during the period covered by this study has the position of Vice-Chairman been a stepping stone to the position of

Chairman. The position has traditionally been filled by a woman, and has been a dead end political position.

By controlling the Town Committee, the politicians from the center section were able to monopolize the position of Town Chairman and to control the nomination of candidates for office.

The Democrat nominated and elected to the office of First Selectman in 1949 and 1953 resided in and operated a business in the center of town, as did his Democratic successor elected to that office in the municipal elections held between 1955 and 1965.

In addition to the top position on the party ticket being filled by a candidate from the center section, Democratic candidates for the offices of Registrar of Voters, Town Treasurer, and Tax Collector, as well as candidates for most minor offices were chosen from District 1 and 4, in each election held between 1955 and 1967. Table 7 lists the Democratic candidates for the offices of Registrar of Voters, Town Treasurer, and Tax Collector for each municipal election held between 1955 and 1967.

The politicians in control of the Democratic Party during the period between 1955 and 1967 were secure in their position of power, and therefore, made only token efforts to redistribute political power to Districts 2 and 3, between 1955 and 1967.

Table 7

Democratic Candidates for the Offices of Town Clerk,
Town Treasurer, Registrar of Voters, and
Tax Collector 1955 - 1967

OFFICE AND CANDIDATES NAME	ELECTION YEAR	RESIDENCE ADDRESS	VOTING DISTRICT
<u>Town Clerk</u> Margaret J. Tucker*	1955- 1967	42 Pardee Place	4
<u>Town Treasurer</u> Wilfrid J. Rafter	1955- 1967	23 Estelle Road	1
<u>Registrar of Voters</u> Henry Viola	1955- 1967	8 Martin Road	1
<u>Tax Collector</u> Salvatore Longobardi	1955- 1965	425 Main Street	4

* Margaret J. Tucker was a Republican who ran on both the Republican and Democratic Tickets.

The Democratic politicians from the center were therefore in control of both the Democratic Party and the Town government during this period. Opposition to the Democratic politicians during this period came, for the most part, from their fellow politicians from the center section, who controlled the Republican and Independent Parties. The election year of 1961 was the only election where the Democratic party was confronted with a Republican candidate who resided in District 3 and a Republican Town Chairman, who also resided in District 3.

The Democratic Party under the domination of the Democratic politicians from the center section were firmly in control of the political system and political power between 1953 and 1967. Yet, an examination of voting statistics shows that their base of power in the center section was growing continually smaller.

Table 8, an analysis of voting records, shows that in 1949, only 9.6 percent of the total Democratic vote came from District 3, the area north of the High Street overpass. Yet, by 1961, this figure had increased to 26 percent. During this span of time, the total Democratic vote received from District 1 and 4, the center districts, decreased. In 1949, as shown in Table 9, 73.3 percent of the total Democratic vote had come from districts 1 and 4, this figure steadily decreased to 58.6 percent in the election of 1961. Also, unlike District 3, the percentage of the total vote received by the Democratic Party from District 2, as shown in Table 10, on page 61, stayed approximately the same. In 1949, 17 percent of the total Democratic vote came from District 2, and in 1961, the percentage was 15.3.

In addition to this approximately three-fold percentage increase of total Democratic votes coming from the northern section of Town, there was also an increase in the percentage of the total town-wide vote coming from this section. Only 12.2 percent of the total vote had come from this section in the election of 1949, but this had increased steadily in each election until it reached 30.02 percent in the election of 1961, as shown in Table 2, on page 29.

Table 8

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975
 Analysis of the Vote Received by the Democratic
 Party in Districts 3, 3a, and 5

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES CAST IN 3, 3a, 5	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES REC'D BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 3, 3a, 5	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE WON BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 3, 3a, 5	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE REC'D FROM DISTRICTS 3, 3a, 5
1943	573	301	52.53	13.72
1945	281	88	31.31	10.06
1947	384	184	47.91	10.96
1949	627	252	40.19	9.63
1951	666	296	44.44	11.39
1953	959	535	55.78	16.17
1955	1,271	726	57.12	21.92
1957	1,636	962	58.80	24.62
1959	1,954	1,083	55.42	25.42
1961	2,259	1,079	47.76	26.08
1963	2,334	1,000	42.94	30.70
1965	2,344	1,018	43.43	27.15
1967	3,800	1,406	37.00	39.42
1969	3,688	1,377	37.33	39.14
1971	4,119	1,561	37.89	45.47
1973	3,768	1,736	46.07	41.42
1975	4,215	2,646	62.77	44.15

Table 9

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975
Analysis of the Vote Received by the Democratic
Party in Districts 1 and 4

YEAR	TOTAL NO. VOTES CAST IN 1 AND 4	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES REC'D BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 1 and 4	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE WON BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 1 AND 4	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE REC'D FROM DISTRICTS 1 AND 4
1943	3,996	1,654	41.39	75.42
1945	2,363	673	28.48	77.00
1947	2,758	1,211	43.90	72.16
1949	3,714	1,917	51.61	73.30
1951	3,979	1,873	47.07	72.09
1953	4,121	2,237	54.28	67.62
1955	3,962	2,111	53.28	63.75
1957	4,018	2,370	58.98	60.67
1959	3,915	2,536	64.77	59.53
1961	4,006	2,425	60.53	58.60
1963	3,677	1,838	49.98	56.41
1965	4,468	2,177	48.72	58.06
1967	4,172	1,517	36.36	42.54
1969	3,880	1,594	41.08	45.30
1971	3,980	1,317	33.09	38.36
1973	3,826	1,716	44.85	40.94
1975	4,095	2,408	58.80	40.18

In contrast to this, the center section showed a steady decrease in the percentage of the total vote cast. In 1949, 72.2 percent of the total vote cast came from Districts 1 and 4, but by 1961, this had decreased by 17.2 percent to 55 percent, as shown in Table 3 on page 30. The percentage of the total vote cast in District 2 remained approximately the same; 15.5 percent in 1949, and 13.9 percent in 1961.

Table 10

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975
 Analysis of the Vote Received by the Democratic
 Party in District 2

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES CAST IN 2	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES REC'D BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 2	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE WON BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 2	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE REC'D FROM DISTRICT 2
1943	944	238	25.21	10.85
1945	503	113	22.46	12.92
1947	573	283	49.38	16.86
1949	802	446	55.61	17.05
1951	815	429	52.63	16.51
1953	936	536	57.26	16.20
1955	898	446	49.66	13.47
1957	935	574	61.39	14.69
1959	937	641	68.40	15.04
1961	1,016	634	62.40	15.32
1963	1,892	420	22.19	12.89
1965	1,098	554	50.45	14.77
1967	1,542	643	41.69	18.03
1969	1,484	547	36.85	15.54
1971	1,645	555	33.73	16.16
1973	1,520	739	48.61	17.63
1975	1,618	939	58.03	15.65

An analysis of the vote won by the Democratic Party, by District, as shown in Table 11, shows that in addition to providing a larger percentage of the total Democratic vote each year, District 3 has become a district that the Democratic Party could count on winning in. The Democratic Party won more than 55 percent of the vote in District 3 in the elections of 1953, 1955, 1957 and 1959.

Table 11

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975
Percentage of Vote Won by Democratic Party
by District

YEAR	DIST. 1	DIST. 4	DIST. 2	DIST. 3	DIST. 5	DIST. 3a
1943	41.83		25.21	52.53		
1945	28.48		22.46	31.31		
1947	43.90		49.38	47.91		
1949	48.72	60.71	55.61	40.19		
1951	45.08	52.20	52.63	44.44		
1953	49.62	65.30	57.26	55.78		
1955	46.42	68.13	49.66	57.12		
1957	52.44	72.67	61.39	58.80		
1959	60.81	72.84	68.40	55.42		
1961	56.93	67.68	62.40	47.76		
1963	51.00	48.48	22.19	42.84		
1965	47.17	51.74	50.45	43.43		
1967	32.78	42.08	41.69	38.88	33.30	
1969	34.86	51.07	36.85	39.81	32.41	
1971	30.84	36.84	33.73	39.89	33.80	
1973	42.16	48.97	48.61	46.34	44.08	48.19
1975	54.95	64.57	58.03	64.50	55.73	68.17

In contrast to their success in District 3, the Democratic Party won less than 50 percent of the vote in District 1, in the elections of 1953 and 1955, and only 52.4 percent of the vote in 1957.

In 1961, the year that the Republican Party ran a candidate from Foxon, for First Selectman, the Democratic Party lost in District 3, polling only 47.7 percent of the total vote in the district. In contrast to this, the Democratic Party won in District 1, with 56.9 percent of the vote.

Since its creation in 1949, District 4 has been heavily Democratic, and the Democratic Party polled as high as 72.8 percent of the vote in this district. The Democratic Party also polled a majority

of the votes in District 4, until the election of 1963. Three political parties participated in the election of 1963, and not one of the three were able to poll a majority.

Table 9, on page 60, which shows the combined percentage of the vote won by the Democratic Party in Districts 1 and 4, shows that the Democratic Party won the center section in the elections of 1949, 1953, 1955, 1957, and 1961. The Democratic Party also won more than 50 percent of the vote in District 2, between 1949 and 1961, except for 1955, when they polled 49.6 percent of the vote in this district.

From this data, one can conclude that in the five municipal elections held prior to 1963, the appeal that the Democratic Party had to the electorate was fairly consistent throughout the town.

The Democratic Party won the elections of 1963 and 1965, but did not poll a majority of the vote. The Democratic Party received 41.2 percent of the vote in 1963, and 47.3 percent in 1965. The inability of the Democratic Party to poll a majority of the vote in these elections was due to the participation of the Independent Party, which won a sizeable percentage of the vote in 1963 and 1965.

The effect that the Independent Party had on the ability of the Democratic Party to win a majority of the votes in each district is again evident in Table 11. In the election of 1963, the only district that the Democratic Party received a majority of the vote in was District 1, where they received 51.0 percent. In District 2, the Democratic Party received only 22.1 percent of the total vote cast.

In the election of 1965, the Democratic Party won a majority of the vote in Districts 2 and 4, while in District 1, the percentage dropped to 47.1. In 1965, the Democratic Party won 43.4 percent of the vote in District 3; this was a slight increase over the 42.8 percent they had won in 1963.

On the basis of the percentage won in each District, the strength of the Democratic Party appears to have been in the center section in 1963 and 1965. District 2 obviously defected from the Democratic Party in 1963, and District 3, although winning a greater percentage of the vote than the Republican Party, was not able to provide a majority of the vote for the Democratic Party in either election.

During the period of time covered by this study that the Democratic Party was not in power, the politicians from the center section were still in control of the Party. An examination of Table 12, which is a list of the Democratic Town Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen, and their residence addresses, who presided over the Democratic Party between 1948 and 1975, shows that between these years there was only one Town Chairman who did not reside in the center section of the town. The Town Chairman for the years 1968, 1969, and 1970, resided in District 2, and did not move to the center as did the two other Town Chairmen who originally resided in District 2 during their term as Town Chairmen.

Table 12

Town Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen, East Haven Democratic Party
1948 - 1975

YEAR	CHAIRMEN	DIST.	VICE-CHAIRMEN	DIST.
1948	James F. Gartland 14 Henry Street	2	Mrs. Blance O'Connor 64 Cosey Beach Road	2
1949	Same as above		Same as above	
1950	James F. Gartland 126 Hughes Street	4	Mrs. Blanche O'Connor 64 Cosey Beach Road	2
1951	Same as above	4	Same as above	2
1952	" " "	4 (C)	Mrs. Roma McKay 15 Carlson Place	1
1953	" " "	4	Same as above	1
1954	" " "	4	" " "	1
1955	" " "	4	" " "	1
1956	James J. Canna 255 Short Beach Rd.	1	Katherine K. Byrne 19 Cecelia Drive	3
1957	Same as above	1	Same as above	3
1958	Robert C. Zampano 20 South Street	2	" " "	3
1959	Robert C. Zampano (A) 183 Main Street	1	" " "	3
1960	Same as above	1	" " "	3
1961	Joseph L. Sclabrino 35 Victor Street	1	" " "	3
1962	Same as above	1	" " "	3
1963	" " "	1	" " "	3
1964	Mario L. Mozzillo (B) 265 Main Street	1	Mrs. Dorothy M. Larkins 5 Atwater Street	2
1965	Same as above	1	Same as above	2
1966	" " "	1	" " "	2
1967	" " "	1	" " "	2
1968	Harry Morgan 76 Hobson Street	2 (D)	Esther Hendricks 33 Elm Ct.	1
1969	Same as above	2	Same as above	1
1970	" " "	2	Mrs. Mary K. McMahon 370 Laurel Street	5
1971	Leroy Jordan (E) 116 Kimberly Ave.	4	Same as above " " "	5
1972	Dominic Redente (F) 96 Tyler Street	1	" " "	5
1973	Same as above	1 (G)	Mrs. Mary K. McMahon 94 Bradley Ave.	1
1974	" " "	1 (H)	Mrs. Yolanda Barraco 16 Elm Street	1
1975	" " "	1	Same as above	1

The Democratic Party had eight Town Chairmen between 1948 and 1975; five of these were from Districts 1 or 4, one from District 2, and two others originally from District 2 who moved to District 1 and District 4 after being made Town Chairmen.

During the period between 1943 and 1967, most candidates nominated to run for public office by the Democratic Party were from the center section, and after the Democratic Party lost the election of 1967, this pattern of nominating candidates from the center continued. In 1969, the Democratic Party nominated Salvatore Longobardi, a long-time politician from District 4, and former Tax Collector of East Haven, as its candidate for the Office of Mayor. The Democratic Party lost the election of 1969, and in 1971 and 1973, candidates for the office of Mayor, from the center, who were nominated by the Democratic Party to run for the office of Mayor were challenged in primary elections.

In 1971 after the Democratic Party had nominated a candidate from the center section to run for the office of Mayor, this candidate was defeated in a primary election by one of the three Democrats who challenged his nomination. The winner of the primary resided in District 2, the Momauguin section, but had formerly resided in the center, and at the time of the primary, maintained a business office in the center that was diagonally across from the Town Hall. Although chosen by the primary election route, the Democratic Party still had a candidate who could be classified as representing the center section of East Haven.

The Democratic primary election of 1971 is a very good example of the extent to which the politicians from the center section dominated the political power structure of the Democratic Party at this time.

In the bitter four-way primary election of 1971, Mario Mozzillo, a former Town Chairman of the Democratic Party, with strong ties to the center, won out over three other candidates. Two of the defeated candidates, including the party-endorsed candidate, were from the center section, while the fourth candidate resided in District 3, Foxon, and had no ties, such as a business establishment, to the center of the Town. The candidate from Foxon finished last receiving only 218 of the 1,580 votes cast, which amounted to only 13.8 percent of the total vote.

Although the center politicians were divided into three factions, the center politicians possessed enough control over Democratic Party members to poll a combined total of 86.2 percent of the vote cast in the preliminary election. In contrast to this, the candidate from Foxon received only 13.8 percent of the total vote. The candidate from Foxon, as shown in Table 13, received the lowest percentage of any candidate in the primary, while the three candidates from the center all received an almost equal percentage of the total vote.

Table 13

Democratic Primary Election, Town of East Haven, 1971
Total Vote and Percentage of Total Vote
Received by Each Candidate

CANDIDATE	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES REC'D	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTE REC'D
Camposano*	448	28.35
Breteton	402	25.44
Giaimo	218	13.79
Mozzillo	512	32.40

*party endorsed

An analysis of Table 14 which shows the percentage of each candidate's total vote by district, reveals that the winning candidate received 23.4 percent of his total vote from District 1, and 20.7 percent of his vote from District 4, for a combined total of 44.1 percent. The party endorsed candidate received 41.9 percent of his total vote from Districts 1 and 4 combined, while the remaining two candidates received 45.7 percent, and 50.4 percent of their votes from Districts 1 and 4 combined.

Therefore, the balance of each center candidate's total vote, which in all cases amounted to more than fifty percent, came from Districts, 2, 3, and 5, indicating that the center candidates all had a significant ability to poll votes among the registered party members, who resided outside the center.

Table 14

Democratic Primary Election, Town of East Haven, 1971
Percentage of Each Candidate's Total Vote
By District

CANDIDATE	D I S T R I C T S				
	1	2	3	4	5
Camposano*	14.06	16.96	32.58	27.90	8.48
Breteton	34.57	19.65	20.89	11.19	13.68
Gaiamo	28.44	12.38	30.73	22.01	6.42
Mozzillo	23.43	21.09	25.58	20.70	9.19

*Party endorsed

The candidate from Foxon received 50.4 percent of his vote from Districts 1 and 4, but this only amounted to 110 votes, out of 708 votes that were cast, or 15.5 percent. In contrast to the poor showing made by the candidate from Foxon in the center, the politicians from the center all made a strong showing in the districts north of the

center. All three candidates from the center received a greater percentage of the vote in all districts than the candidate from Foxon. Table 15, shows the percentage of the total vote received (won) by each candidate in each district.

The fact that the center politicians were divided into three factions did not seem to affect their ability to dominate the election, and obviously the power of all three center candidates extended beyond the limits of the center section.

At the time of the 1971 primary, the Democratic Party had been out of office for almost four years and, therefore, the ability of the politicians from the center section to influence registered Democrats with any tangible form of political power, such as patronage, was almost nonexistent. Yet, the politicians from the center section, by the strong showing that they made in their ability to draw votes in all Districts and the fact that the center section itself was able to support three candidates, showed that they were still the dominant factor in the Democratic Party.

Table 15

Democratic Primary Election, Town of East Haven, 1971
Percentage of the Total Vote Won by Each Candidate
In Each District

CANDIDATE	D I S T R I C T S				
	1	2	3	4	5
Camposano*	16.40	26.20	34.11	38.58	24.67
Breteton	36.19	27.24	19.62	13.88	35.71
Gaiimo	16.14	9.31	15.65	14.81	9.09
Mozzillo	31.25	37.24	30.60	32.71	30.51

*Party endorsed

The East Haven Republican Party

Prior to 1949, the East Haven Republican Party dominated the political system of East Haven. Almost any Republican candidate whose name was placed on the ballot was assured of being elected to municipal office, or in the case of state and national elections, winning East Haven by a comfortable margin.

In the municipal elections of 1939 and 1941, the Republicans won by approximately a two-to-one vote margin. The Republicans also won in East Haven in the state and national elections of 1938, 1940, and 1942.

In the municipal elections of 1943, 1945, and 1947, the Republican Party won each of the three districts in East Haven except District 3 in 1943. The Republican Party, as shown in Table 16, received 60.2 percent of the total vote in 1945, and 54.8 percent in the municipal election of 1947.

Republican domination of the political process showed its first signs of faltering when the Republican Party lost the election of 1949 by a narrow margin; receiving only 49.1 percent of the total vote. In 1951, the Republican candidate for First Selectman defeated the Democratic candidate who polled only 47.6 percent of the total vote. The election of 1951 was the last municipal election that the Republican Party won on its own until the municipal election of 1969.

Table 16

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975
Analysis of the Total Vote Received by the
Republican Party

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES CAST IN ELECTION	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES REC'D BY REPUBLICAN PARTY	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTE REC'D BY REPUBLICAN PARTY
1943	5,513	3,320	60.22
1945	3,147	2,273	72.22
1947	3,715	2,037	54.83
1949	5,143	2,528	49.15
1951	5,452	2,854	52.34
1953	6,016	2,708	45.01
1955	6,239	2,928	46.93
1957	6,589	2,683	40.71
1959	6,806	2,546	37.40
1961	7,281	3,143	43.16
*1963	7,903	2,021	25.57
*1965	7,910	1,757	22.21
*1967	9,514	5,243	55.10
*1969	9,052	4,261	47.07
*1971	9,744	5,993	61.50
1973	9,114	4,923	54.01
1975	9,928	3,935	39.63

*Three-party elections

Although the East Haven Republican Party did not win another municipal election on its own after its defeat in 1953 until 1969, it continued to win state and national elections in East Haven. The Republican Party easily won the state election of 1954, and Dwight Eisenhower carried East Haven by a two-to-one margin in 1956. The year 1958 marked the end of Republican Party domination of state elections in East Haven. In that year, the Democratic candidate for Governor, Abraham A. Ribicoff, received 60.4 percent of the total vote in East Haven, and every Democratic candidate on the ballot was elected.

The Republican loss in 1958 was followed by a loss in the municipal election of 1959, and another loss the following year in the state and national elections of 1960. After politically dominating the town of East Haven for a number of years, the political power of the Republican Party no longer seemed to be effective.

Republican political power was traditionally concentrated in the center section of the town, and like the Democratic Party, most Republican Party leaders resided in the center. In 1943, as shown in Table 17, the Republican Party received 70.5 percent of its total vote from District 1, which at that time included District 4. In 1951, the last year the Republican Party won a municipal election in the 1950s, they received 73.9 percent of their total vote from Districts 1 and 4. In addition to supplying almost three-fourths of the Republican vote in the municipal elections held between 1943 and 1951, Table 17 shows that the Republican Party received over 50 percent of the combined vote from Districts 1 and 4, except for 1949 when they received 48.3 percent.

Table 18 shows that between 1943 and 1957 all Republican candidates for the office of First Selectman had been residents of District 1, and were operating businesses in the center section. The exception to this was the candidate who ran in 1957, who resided in District 1, but did not operate a business in the center.

Table 17

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975
An Analysis of the Vote Received by the Republican Party
In Districts 1 and 4

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES CAST IN 1 AND 4	TOTAL NO. OF VOTES REC'D BY REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1 AND 4	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE WON BY REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1 AND 4	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL REPUBLICAN VOTE REC'D FROM DISTRICTS 1 AND 4
1943	3,996	2,342	58.60	70.54
1945	2,363	1,690	71.51	74.35
1947	2,758	1,547	56.09	75.94
1949	3,714	1,797	48.38	71.08
1951	3,979	2,106	52.92	73.97
1953	4,121	1,884	45.71	69.57
1955	3,962	1,851	46.71	63.21
1957	4,018	1,648	41.01	61.42
1959	3,915	1,379	35.22	54.16
1961	4,006	1,581	39.46	50.30
1963	3,677	934	25.40	46.21
1965	4,468	965	21.59	54.92
1967	4,172	2,320	55.60	44.24
1969	3,880	1,747	45.02	40.99
1971	3,980	2,558	64.27	42.03
1973	3,826	2,110	55.14	42.86
1975	4,095	1,687	41.19	42.87

The exception to complete domination of the Republican Party by politicians from the center section was the fact that between 1943 and 1951, the position of Selectman had been filled each election year by a candidate who resided in District 3. Harold C. Hall was nominated in 1943, Lyman Goodrich in 1945 and 1947, and John Mele in 1949.

Table 18

Republican Candidates for the Office of
First Selectman 1943 - 1959

ELECTION YEAR	NAME OF CANDIDATE	RESIDENCE ADDRESS (R) BUSINESS ADDRESS (B)	VOTING DISTRICT
1943- 1947	(A) James J. Sullivan	595 Thompson Ave. (R) Same as above (B)	1 1
1949- 1955	(B) Frank A. Barker	43 High Street (R) Same as above (B)	1 1
1957	(C) William Jaspers	132 Prospect Rd. (R) New Haven, Conn. (B)	1
1959	Anthony C. Panagrossi	15 Maple Street (R) 467 Main Street (B)	3 4
1961	Harold C. Hall	220 Hunt Lane (R) Same as above (B)	3 3
1963	(D) John A. Vestuti	115 Frank Street (R) 307 Main Street (B)	1 4
1965	(E) Anthony J. Arminio	327 Tyler Street (R) 172 Main Street (B)	4 1
1967- 1975	(F) Frank Messina	29 Foote Road (R) 325 Main Street (B)	1 4

A review of Table 19, which lists the Republican candidates for the offices of Town Clerk, Town Treasurer, Registrar of Voters, and Tax Collector, shows that between 1943 and 1959 only four candidates who did not reside in the center section were chosen to run for these positions. The positions were usually filled by candidates who resided in District 1. Map 8, a map of the center section, shows the location of the residences of Republican candidates for the offices of First Selectman, Selectman, Town Clerk, Town Treasurer, Registrar of Voters, and Tax Collector between 1943 and 1959. The letter before each candidate's name in Tables 18 and 19 corresponds to the letter on the map showing the location of the candidates' residence.

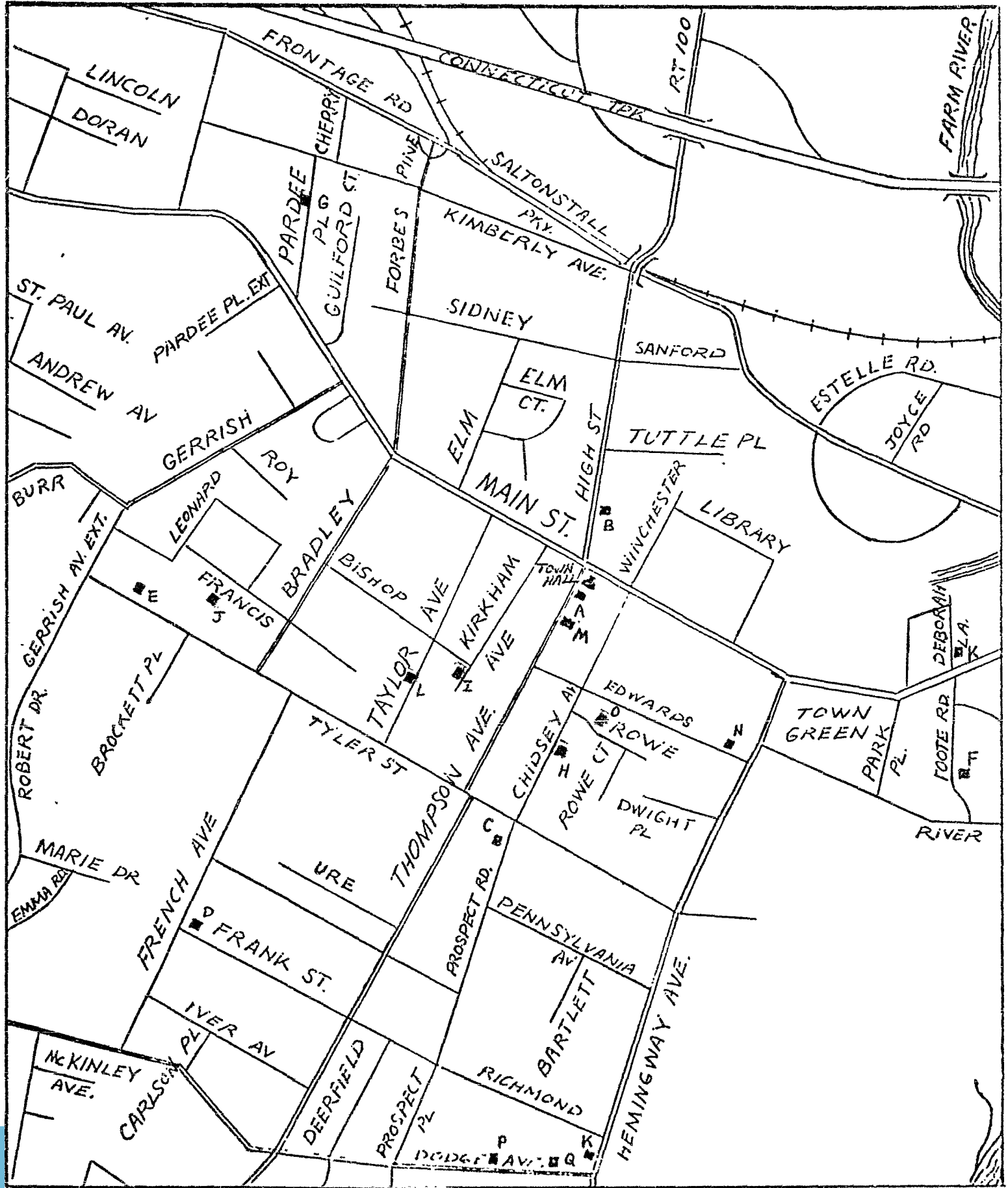
Table 19

Republican Candidates for the Offices of Town Clerk,
Town Treasurer, Registrar of Voters, and
Tax Collector 1943 - 1959

OFFICE AND NAME OF CANDIDATES	ELECTION YEAR	RESIDENCE ADDRESS	VOTING DISTRICT
<u>TOWN CLERK</u>			
Margaret J. Tucker (G)	1943- 1959	42 Pardee Place	4
<u>TOWN TREASURER</u>			
John Howard	1943	123 George Street	2
William Hasse Jr. (H)	1945- 1947	37 Chidsey Avenue	1
Alfred B. Bowden (I)	1949	6 Bishop Street	1
Walter Bussell (J)	1951- 1953	64 Francis Street	1
Donald Bartlett	1955	Mansfield Grove Road	2
Elliot J. Pantalone	1957	4 Bradford Avenue	2
Francis DeMartino	1959	643 Bradley Street	3
<u>Registrar of Voters</u>			
Mathew Anastasio (K)	1943	92 Hemingway Avenue	1
Alvin P. Sanford (L)	1945	32 Taylor Avenue	1
Mathew Anastasio (K)	1947- 1955	9 Debra Lane	1
Raymond Westlund Jr. (M)	1957	587 Thompson Avenue	1
John Esposito (N)	1959	23 Edwards Street	1
<u>Tax Collector</u>			
James C. Ogilvie (O)	1943- 1949	9 Rowe Street	1
Herman W. Hackbarth (P)	1951- 1955	43 Dodge Avenue	1
Walter Bussell (J)	1957	64 Francis Street	1
Clifford DeWolf (Q)	1959	35 Dodge Avenue	1

Between 1943 and 1959 twenty-four different candidates were chosen by the Republican Party to fill a total of sixty positions on the ballot for the offices previously mentioned. Only seven of the sixty positions on the ballot between 1943 and 1959 were filled by candidates who did not reside in the center section.

Map 8



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Between 1943 and 1959, the East Haven Republican Party had five different Town Chairmen, and each one of the five resided in District 1. During this period of time, the Republican Party also had four Vice-Chairmen, and three of the four resided in District 1. In 1958, a Vice-Chairman was selected from District 3. Table 20 contains a complete listing of the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the East Haven Republican Party between 1943 and 1975. Map 9 shows the location of the residences of all Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of both major political parties who resided in the center section. The letter before the name of each Chairman in the Tables is the key to the location of the residences on the map.

The political power of the Republican Party was concentrated in the center section of the town between 1943 and 1959. The Republican Party won District 1 in 1953 and 1955 and managed to poll 47.5 percent of the vote in 1957, as shown in Table 21. In the municipal elections of 1953, 1955, and 1957, which the Republicans lost, District 1, as shown in Table 21, was still the strongest Republican District. Although District 1 was a strong Republican district, it provided a declining share of the total Republican vote, as shown in Table 22. Yet, the combined Republican votes of Districts 1 and 4 amounted to 54.1 percent of the total Republican vote in the election of 1959.

Table 20

Town Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen, East Haven Republican Party
1948 - 1975

YEAR	TOWN CHAIRMEN	DIST.	VICE-CHAIRMEN	DIST.
1948	(I) John F. Lawler 46 Deerfield St.	1	(Q) Mrs. Charlotte Miller 63 Bradley Avenue	1
1949	Same as above	1	(R) Mrs. Dorothy Merrills 30 Kirkham Ave.	1
1950	" " "	1	Mrs. Charlotte Miller 63 Bradley Ave.	1
1951	" " "	1	Same as above	1
1952	(J) Matthew Anastasio 92 Hemingway Ave.	1	" " "	1
1953	(J) Matthew Anastasio 9 Deborah Lane	1	" " "	1
1954	Same as above	1	" " "	1
1955	" " "	1	" " "	1
1956	(K) Robert M. Taylor, Jr. 268 Chidsey Ave.	1	(S) Mrs. Elizabeth Croumey 41 Prospect Place	1
1957	Same as above	1	Same as above	1
1958	(L) Ray Westlund Jr. 587 Thompson Ave.	1	Mrs. Florence Panagrossi 15 Maple Street	3
1959	(M) Vincent J. Fasano 26 Taylor Ave.	1	Same as above	3
1960	Herbert W. Brockett 172 Bormann Rd.	3	" " "	3
1961	Francis X. DeMartino 643 Bradley St.	3	" " "	3
1962	Same as above	3	" " "	3
1963	(N) Albert Pacileo 704 Kimberly Ave.	1	" " "	3
1964	(O) John Esposito 23 Edwards St.	1	Mrs. Jane Schmidt 111 Cosey Beach Rd.	2
1965	Same as above	1	Vacancy	
1966	" " "	1	(T) Mrs. Alice Kuziel 215 Hemingway Ave.	1
1967	" " "	1	Same as above	1
1968	Alphonse Carrano 51 Glenmoor Dr.	3	" " "	1
1969	Same as above	3	" " "	1
1970	Mario Ferro 21 Joffre St.	3	" " "	1
1971	V. William Farat 16 Carol Drive	3	Mrs. Margaret Thomas 99 Hellstrom Road	3
1972	Same as above	3	Same as above	5
1973	" " "	3	" " "	5
1974	(P) Dr. Charles A. Schlegal 88 Edwards St.	1	" " "	5
1975	Same as above	1	" " "	5

Table 21

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975

Percentage of Vote Won by Republican Party
by District

Year	Dist. 1	Dist. 4	Dist. 2	Dist. 3	Dist. 5	Dist. 3a
1943	58.61		74.78	47.47		
1945	71.52		77.53	68.69		
1947	56.10		50.61	52.09		
1949	51.28	39.28	44.38	59.81		
1951	54.92	47.80	47.36	55.56		
1953	50.38	34.70	42.73	44.22		
1955	53.58	31.87	50.33	42.88		
1957	47.56	27.33	38.60	41.20		
1959	39.19	27.16	31.59	44.58		
1961	43.07	32.32	37.59	52.24		
1963	28.96	20.12	12.57	36.37		
1965	22.56	19.70	12.93	27.73		
1967	58.64	50.74	50.84	56.03	56.78	
1969	50.91	35.55	46.76	46.94	54.13	
1971	66.98	59.73	63.89	57.97	64.56	
1973	57.84	51.03	51.38	53.66	55.92	51.81
1975	45.06	35.43	41.96	35.50	44.27	31.83

Map 9

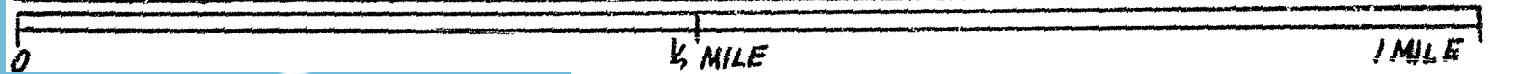
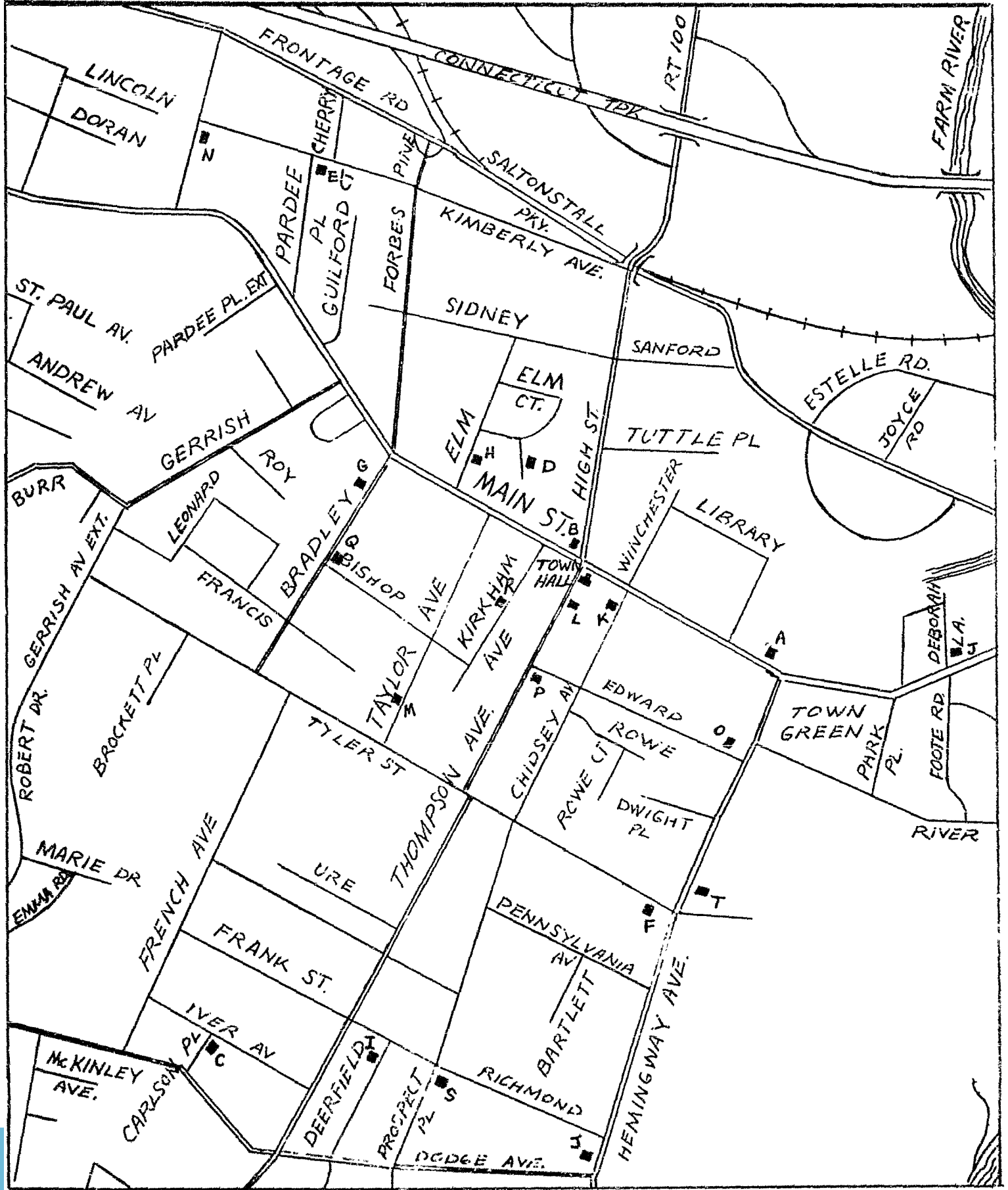


Table 22

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975

Percentage of Total Republican Vote by District

Year	Dist. 1	Dist. 4	Dist. 2	Dist. 3	Dist. 5	Dist. 3a
1943	70.54		21.26	8.19		
1945	74.35		17.15	8.49		
1947	75.94		14.23	9.81		
1949	57.15	12.85	14.08	14.83		
1951	55.22	18.57	13.52	12.96		
1953	53.87	15.69	14.77	15.65		
1955	49.59	13.62	15.43	18.61		
1957	48.19	13.23	13.45	25.12		
1959	40.41	13.74	11.62	34.21		
1961	36.52	13.77	12.15	37.54		
1963	31.46	14.74	7.57	42.00		
1965	37.90	17.01	8.08	36.99		
1967	28.72	15.52	14.95	26.91	13.88	
1969	28.58	12.41	16.28	27.03	15.67	
1971	27.40	14.62	17.26	26.38	14.31	
1973	27.21	15.64	15.86	19.07	13.16	9.03
1975	28.10	14.76	17.25	18.65	13.72	7.51

Because there was a concentration of Republican political power in the center section of East Haven, any disruption of the Republican Party in District 1 was bound to have a substantial impact on the ability of the party to function smoothly. Consequently, when the Republican politicians from District 1 began to overtly compete among themselves for political power, the overall political power of the Republican Party declined.

The Republican Party failed to win the municipal elections of 1953 and 1955, and lack of unity in the party resulted in a primary election in District 1 in 1956. Republican politicians competed with each other for political power, and the result was a realignment of political power in the center section which affected the balance of political power in East Haven over the next twenty years.

Although the maneuvering for political power among Republican politicians altered the entire political system of East Haven, it also created a set of circumstances which permitted the politicians from the center section to retain political power. The competition between Republican politicians and its far-reaching effect can best be understood by an examination of the Republican primaries held in East Haven, and the politicians involved in the primaries.

In 1945, the Republican Party held a primary for the following Town Offices: Selectman (two candidates were to be chosen to run for the Board of Selectman); Town Treasurer; Grand Jurors; Constables; and Registrar of Voters. A paper ballot was used and incumbent Selectman

James J. Sullivan and former Board of Selectman member Lyman Goodrich defeated Board of Selectman member Harold C. Hall and Fred Wolfe, Jr. Both Harold C. Hall and Matthew Anastasio who was the defeated candidate in this primary for the office of Registrar of Voters were to play a prominent role in the political process in East Haven in future years.

Matthew Anastasio who was elected as the Registrar of Voters in 1943 and again in 1947 and 1951, played a significant role in the realignment of the balance of political power in East Haven. Mr. Anastasio became Republican Town Chairman in 1951, a position he held through 1956. The Republican Party under the Chairmanship of Mr. Anastasio lost the municipal elections of 1953 and 1955, and the following year, Mr. Anastasio lost the chairmanship of the Republican Party.

On April 19, 1956, a Republican Primary which listed 26 candidates on Line A and 12 candidates on line B was held in District 1. The results of this primary had a definite effect upon the political system of East Haven for the next twenty years, because of a number of factors relating to the politicians who engaged in this primary.

The primary of 1956 was the first significant formal act of a series of events which resulted in a realignment of the political power structure of the Town. The most significant factor relating this primary to the realignment of the political power structure was the number of prominent politicians and future political leaders who participated in this primary.

Among those participating in the primary were two individuals who were destined to play a significant role in reshaping the political party system in East Haven, and in concentrating political power in the center section.

Matthew Anastasio ran as one of the twenty-six party-endorsed candidates on Line A, but was the only party-endorsed candidate to lose. Mr. Anastasio's loss in this primary was a crucial factor in the reshaping of the political party structure of East Haven, because stymied politically by this defeat, Mr. Anastasio began to seek other outlets for his political ambitions.

In 1963, Mr. Anastasio ran for the office of First Selectman on the Independent-Republican-Democratic ticket and received 33.2 percent of the total vote, as shown in Table 23. The Republican Party received only 25.5 percent of the total vote in the election of 1963. After his initial success in the election of 1963, Mr. Anastasio formed the Independent Party and ran for First Selectman on that ticket in the municipal election of 1965. The Independent Party received 30.3 percent of the vote in the election of 1965, again polling more votes than the Republican party who received only 22.2 percent of the total vote cast.

Mr. Anastasio and the Independent Party had managed to surpass the ability of the Republican Party at the polls, and in doing so, significantly reduced the political power of the Republican Party, and effected a realignment of the political system in East Haven.

Table 23

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1945
Analysis of the Total Vote Received by the
Independent Party

Year	Total No. Of Votes Cast in Election	Total No. Of Votes Rec'd by Independent Party	Percentage of Total Vote Rec'd by Independent Party
1963	7,903	2,624	33.20
1965	7,910	2,404	30.39
1967	9,514	705	7.41
1969	9,052	1,273	14.06
1971	9,114	225	2.46

Another loser in the primary of 1956 was Anthony Proto Jr. Mr. Proto was later to become the first Democratic Mayor of East Haven after remaining in the Republican Party until shortly before his nomination to run as a Democrat in the municipal election of 1973. In this primary election, Mr. Proto only managed to poll more votes than five other candidates, out of a total of thirty-eight candidates who participated in the primary.

Also participating in this primary were one former First Selectman, two future Republican candidates for First Selectman, one former Selectman, one former Republican candidate for Selectman, and one future Republican candidate for Selectman.

In addition, two former Republican Town Chairmen and two former Vice-Chairmen participated in the primary, and another two participants were to become Republican Town Chairmen in the future.

The Republican primary of 1956 appears to have been the end of an era during which the East Haven Republican Party was able to present a unified political posture to the electorate. The primary of 1956 was followed by another primary in 1957.

The Republican Primary of 1957 pitted the party-endorsed candidate for First Selectman, William Jaspers, against Frank Celantano. The Challenger, Mr. Celantano, was only able to capture 17.1 percent of the total vote, and lost in each District.

The party-endorsed candidate, Mr. Jaspers, easily won the primary election, but received only 40.7 percent of the total vote in the election of 1957. In the municipal election of 1959, the Republican candidate for First Selectman received only 37.4 percent of the total vote. This, as shown in Table 16 on page 71, was the lowest percentage received by the Republican Party between 1943 and 1975, except for the municipal elections of 1963 and 1965, which saw three political parties competing for the office of First Selectman.

The Republican Defeat in 1959 appears to have ended the era of domination of the Republican Party by the politicians of the center section; because in 1960, the Republican Party chose both a Town Chairman and Vice-Chairman who were residents of District 3. After four successive defeats in municipal elections, two primary elections, and their first local defeat in a state election in 1958, the political power of the Republican Party, and especially the Republican politicians from the center section, seemed to have dissolved.

Chapter 6

POLITICAL DOMINATION BY THE CENTER POLITICIANS

The Center Party

The municipal election of 1967 marked the beginning of a new political era for East Haven. The agreement of the Independent Party to support the Republican candidate in 1967 was the first step in a realignment of political power within the center section. The action of the Independent Party in 1967 has resulted in the replacement of party competition as practiced before 1967, with a flexible system, which has relegated both major political parties a lesser role in the political system.

The present political system is based on political parties which are now flexible enough to accomodate the movement of politicians from one political party to another. The politicians from the center section are presently in control of all political parties, and are now able to transfer their allegiances and political power from one political party to another, without losing their political stature. When the transfer of politicians from one political party to another results in tipping the balance of political power in favor of any one politician (political party), that party becomes the "Center Party". The "Center Party" then functions as a political vehicle for the

continuation of the domination of the political system and political power by the center politicians.

The candidate chosen by both the Republican Party and the Independent Party to run for First Selectman in 1967 was Frank Messina. Mr. Messina, a resident of District 1, was a true representative of Main Street, East Haven, having originally operated a barber shop on Main Street, and, just prior to his election, a real estate agency which was also located on Main Street.

Frank Messina can be considered the first "Center Party" politician to be elected to political office in East Haven, because his political career and rise to political power had traversed all three political parties. In 1945 Frank Messina was nominated by the Democratic Party to run for the office of Town Treasurer. Mr. Messina was defeated and was not nominated again by the Democratic Party to run for public office.

In 1967, Mr. Messina was nominated to run for First Selectman by the Republican Party and it is doubtful if Mr. Messina would have been elected without the endorsement of the Independent Party. In the municipal election of 1963, the Republican Party was only able to poll 25.5 percent of the total vote, as shown in Table 16 on page 71; and in 1965, the Party polled only 22.2 percent of the vote. In contrast to the poor showing of the Republican Party, the Independent Party received 33.2 percent of the vote in the election of 1963, as shown in Table 23 on page 85, and 30.3 percent in 1965. In 1967, the Republican Party received 55.1 percent of the total vote, while the

Independent Party, which had cross-endorsed the Republican candidates for First Selectman and Selectman, received only 7.4 percent. In effect, the Independent Party had transferred their political power to the Republican Party, the result being the election of Frank Messina.

Since 1967, the percentage of the electorate residing in Districts 1 and 4 appears to have slightly declined, as is evident from Table 24, which shows the percentage of the total vote received from Districts 1 and 4. In contrast to this, the percentage of the total vote coming from the districts north of the center has been increasing. Yet, the politicians from the center have remained firmly in control of the political system.

The Ability of the center politicians to remain in firm control as their political base has dwindled away has occurred because the politicians from the center section have been able to switch their party affiliations, while retaining their political power. Their ability to switch party affiliations, and fill positions of power in whatever political party they may occur, has in effect, excluded politicians from other districts from filling positions of power in the political parties.

Table 24

Municipal Elections Town of East Haven 1943 - 1975

Comparison of the Percentage of the Total Vote of
Districts 3, 3a, and 5 with that of Districts 1 and 4

Year	Percentage of Total Vote Rec'd From Districts 3, 3a, and 5	Percentage of Total Vote Rec'd From Districts 1 and 4
1943	10.39	72.48
1945	8.92	75.08
1947	10.33	74.23
1949	12.19	72.21
1951	12.21	72.98
1953	15.94	68.50
1955	19.28	65.50
1957	24.82	60.98
1959	28.70	57.52
1961	31.02	55.01
1963	29.53	46.52
1965	29.63	56.48
1967	37.26	43.85
1969	35.31	42.86
1971	42.27	40.84
1973	41.34	41.97
1975	42.45	41.24

Although switching one's party affiliation is not considered a good political strategy in an area where a highly competitive two-party system exists, it has proven successful in East Haven. This success can be attributed to the fact that there is no longer a set of rigid political party lines in existence in East Haven.

The creation of the Independent Party appears to have provided a political atmosphere and the necessary expertise for switching a political atmosphere and the necessary expertise for switching party affiliations, which in turn, ultimately destroyed the highly structured, clearly defined two-party system that existed in East Haven prior to 1963.

The Independent Party's greatest contribution to the political system of East Haven was the introduction of switching party affiliations to an electorate that previously participated in a rigid two-party system. Ironically, when the Independent Party carried party switching one step further and endorsed the Republican candidate for First Selectman in 1967, they were successful in electing the Republican candidate, but in doing so, transferred much of their own political power to the Republican Party and initiated the decline of their own Party.

Table 23 on page 85, an analysis of the total vote received by the Independent Party between 1963 and 1971, shows that in 1969, the Independent Party was only able to poll 14.0 percent of the total vote (Matthew Anastasio was the Independent Party's candidate for Mayor), could not regain the political power it had lost to the Republican Party in 1967. The Republican Party had managed to regain enough of the power it had lost when the Independent Party had been created to again function as a viable political party. Yet, the Independent Party at this time still had a cadre of skilled, influential politicians who were now unable to win an election. In terms of their own political futures, it was too late for many of them to rejoin the Republican Party and secure a position of power, because those positions were already filled; and on the other hand, they knew that they could not win an election.

After their defeat in 1969, the Democratic Politicians from the center section, like their Republican counterparts in 1957, began to squabble over what little political power the party appeared to have left. By the summer of 1970, the Democratic Party had split into a number of factions and for the first time since its organization, the candidates nominated for municipal offices by the East Haven Democratic Party were challenged, and the Party found itself engaged in a primary election.

In the 103rd State Representative District, which included Districts 1, 2, and 4, the party-endorsed incumbent State Representative, who resided in District 1, was challenged by another center section politician, while in the 102nd State Representative District, which included Districts 3 and 5, the party-endorsed candidate was challenged by a novice politician. In the 103rd District, where there was a higher degree of party organization, the party-endorsed candidate easily defeated the challenger, who only received 43.7 percent of the vote. In contrast to this, the 102nd District, where party organization was not as strong, the party-endorsed candidate was defeated by two votes.

The primaries of 1970, created additional friction in the Democratic Party, which divided the party to a greater extent, and set in motion political activities which culminated in the bitter four-way primary of 1971.

The primary of 1971 left the Democratic Party badly split, and some influential Democrats publicly endorsed the Republican candidate. The Republican Party candidate, Frank Messina, with the aid of the

dissatisfied Democrats easily won the election, while the Independent Party, participating in their last election, polled only 2.4 percent of the vote.

The election of 1971 seemed to have destroyed the ability of the Democratic Party to compete as a unified party, while the status of the Independent Party was greatly diminished and its ability to compete in another election was questionable. Defined as a "minor party" under state statutes, the Independent Party had failed to poll ten percent of the vote as required by state statute, if it were to avoid filing a petition to get its candidates on the ballot in the next election. The eventual outcome of the lack of unity among the Democratic politicians and the predicament of the Independent Party was a realignment of the political affiliations of many politicians from the center section of the Town, which occurred before the next municipal election.

In the spring of 1972, the East Haven Democratic Party held a caucus to choose delegates to the Democratic State Convention. The function of the Democratic Party that had won the primary of 1971 appeared in strength at the caucus, and nominated and elected its candidates to represent the East Haven Democratic Party at the State Convention.

Although this faction of the Democratic Party had a substantial following among registered Democrats, they had few representatives on the Democratic Town Committee, and were therefore, unable to exert their influence on party decisions. The remaining factions of the Democratic Party who dominated the Town Committee and the Executive Board of the Democratic Party; fearing another primary in 1973, sought a solution to the lack of unity in the party that they hoped would avoid another primary.

Because so many personal animosities existed between all the probable Democratic candidates in 1973, the party embarked on an unprecedented political plan. The Democratic Party began to look outside the Democratic Party for a candidate who they hoped would be acceptable to all factions of the party, and who might increase the chances of the party winning the municipal election.

In actuality, what the Democratic Party hoped to accomplish, was to transfer some political power to the Democratic Party, by accepting a politician or politicians from another political party into the Democratic Party, while at the same time, unifying the party. In 1973, a coalition of Democratic politicians from the center section decided that Anthony Proto Jr., a Republican, would be the next Democratic candidate for Mayor. The balance of political power was about to tip, and the "Center Party" was about to reform under the Democratic banner.

Mr. Proto, who had been the Chairman of the Redevelopment Agency, was a true center politician, and in addition to being a life-long Republican prior to changing his party affiliation shortly before his nomination in 1973, was also the son-in-law of Matthew Anastasio, the founder of the Independent Party. As shown on Map 9, Mr. Anastasio, and Mr. Proto, had both occupied the residence at 92 Hemingway Avenue at some time during their political careers. The home was originally listed as the residence of Matthew Anastasio, but was listed as the residence of Mr. Proto in 1973.

The Democratic Party also received a transfer of political power from the Independent Party, when a former Independent Party officer, and candidate for Tax Collector in 1971, registered as a Democrat, and became active in party affairs.

The Realignment of power that took place in East Haven prior to the election of 1973 was primarily a realignment of the political power of the center politicians: No significant concessions had been made to politicians who did not reside in the center section, and therefore, no redistribution of political power had been achieved.

Unfortunately for the Democratic Party, the attempts to unify the party in 1973 were upset by a novice politician from District 3a, Kevin Canavan, a recent college graduate, who had not participated in politics in East Haven prior to 1973, and who was technically ineligible to run for Mayor, decided to challenge the Democratic Party in a primary election. Mr. Canavan, who was ineligible because he could not meet the minimum age requirement for the office of Mayor, found it

necessary to challenge the requirement in court and after receiving a favorable ruling, which struck down the age requirement as it existed, launched an aggressive campaign, aimed at defeating Mr. Proto in the primary election.

Anthony A. Proto Jr. won the Democratic Primary of 1973, receiving 61.9 percent of the total vote. An analysis of the election returns shows that Districts 1 and 4 were a deciding factor in this election. The party-endorsed candidate, Mr. Proto, won 68.1 percent of the vote in District 1, and 72.3 percent in District 4 as shown in Table 25. In contrast to the large pluralities Mr. Proto received in Districts 1 and 4, he only received 52.3 percent of the vote in District 3, and lost in District 3a, receiving only 43.1 percent of the vote.

Table 25

Democratic Primary Election, Town of East Haven, 1973

Percentage of the Total Vote Won By Each Candidate
in Each District

Candidate	D I S T R I C T S					
	1	2	3	3a	4	5
Proto*	68.11	63.21	52.30	43.11	72.30	60.86
Canavan	31.88	36.78	47.69	56.88	27.69	39.13

*party endorsed

The ability of a relatively unknown, novice Candidate to poll 47.7 percent of the vote in the area north of the Turnpike, could be interpreted as indicating that Democratic Party members from this area resented the decisions being made by the politicians from the center, in regard to how the Party was being run. For example, the vote

may have been a protest against the decision to run a former Republican politician from the center as the Democratic candidate for Mayor.

A significant factor in this election was the relatively small percentage difference between the percentage of the total vote received from Districts land 4, and the percentage of the total vote received from Districts 3, 3a, and 5. The center section provided 43.2 percent of the total vote, while the area north of the Turnpike provided 38.8 percent. The percentage of the total vote being close between the center and the districts to the north presents the possibility that the registered Democrats who reside north of the center, or at least those who are active enough to vote in a primary election, are approaching the point of being capable of winning a primary election, if they voted as a block.

In the Democratic primary election of 1971, the percentages of the total vote from the center section and the districts to the north, followed a similar pattern to the results of the 1973 primary election. In 1971, the percentages were 44.8 for the center and 36.8 for the districts to the north. Yet, in contrast to the results of the primary of 1973, the candidate from Foxon received the lowest percentage of the vote from the districts to the north of the center in the primary of 1971. In the primary of 1971, each of the three candidates from the center polled a larger percentage of the vote in Districts 3 and 5, as shown in Table 15 on page 69, in comparison to the low percentages polled by the candidate from Foxon.

The primary of 1973, was the first clear confrontation between the center politicians and a rival who offered the registered Democrats an alternative to center-dominated politics. Yet, within a year after his defeat, Kevin Canavan moved to New Haven, leaving behind only one result of his participation in the East Haven political arena.

The Democratic primary election of 1973 resulted in one positive factor, it united some of the factions of the "Democratic-Center Party" politicians from the center section. This occurred because, for the first time in their political careers, the politicians from the center section were confronted with a political challenge from a politician who was not one of "their own", and they found it easier to unite against one who appeared as an enemy to all.

The Redevelopment of the Center

The previous sections of this study have shown that a redistribution of political power has not occurred through the political party system, and that the political system has been dominated by politicians from the center section. This section of the study will attempt to prove that a redistribution of political power has also failed to occur in the formulation of public policy, and the expenditure of public funds. Data will be presented to substantiate the claim that both public policy and the expenditure of public funds have been carried out to benefit the center section of the town, while serious problems in other sections have been denied remedial action.

A redistribution of political power could have taken place if the politicians from the center section had been persuaded to formulate public policies which resulted in a positive gain (a tangible benefit) in either Momauguin or Foxon. Such a decision would have resulted in a policy which could be classified as "redistributive". A "redistributive policy,"²⁷ as suggested by Theodore Lowi, is a policy which results in a definite winner and loser, in regards to public policy.

In effect, the politicians from the center section would have lost political power if they were pressured into redirecting the benefit of public policy to an area that was not of their choice, thus making them definite losers.

The fact that public policy effects may be distributed differentially within a city or town, might appear to raise a question as to the proportion of the benefit that would be derived by the winners in relation to the proportion of the benefit that others would receive. "Froman, for example, has distinguished between areal and segmental policies suggesting that areal policies affect everyone in the city equally and that segmental policies affect some people and groups more than they do others."²⁸ We can conclude that the redevelopment of Momauguin could not be classified as an areal policy because "Perhaps the only urban policy that affects everyone equally is the flouridation of water."²⁹ Therefore, the redevelopment of Momauguin, if it had taken place, would have been a segmental policy, and consequently it could be assumed that other sections of the town would also be affected by the redevelopment of Momauguin to some extent.

²⁷Theodore Lowi, "American Business, Public Policy, Case Studies, and Political Theory," World Politics, 6, (July 1964) pp. 677 - 715, cited by Robert L. Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), p. 192.

Although it could be argued that the center section and the balance of the town would have benefited from an improved tax base in Momauguin, the real winner would be the residents of Momauguin, because they would, theoretically, derive the benefit directly.

The area chosen by the center politicians to be redeveloped was the center area, thus a redistribution of political power had failed to occur, because the center politicians were able to carry out their decision despite resistance to their plan to redevelop the center area first. In addition to this, the redevelopment plan that was formulated and implemented has primarily benefited the center section of the Town.

No valid argument could be presented to claim that prior to 1964, the year when the redevelopment program for the center section was in its initial planning stage, that the politicians from the center formulated public policy that favored the center section, because all public policy passed was routine in nature and necessary to provide services. Prior to 1964, no significant government policy or public expenditure can be cited which specifically benefited the center section.

The economic situation in East Haven as previously discussed in Chapter 2, failed to develop new sources of revenue to offset increasing costs. As shown in Table 26, the commercial and industrial

²⁸Lewis A. Froman Jr., "An analysis of Public Policies in Cities," Journal of Politics, 29 (February 1967), pp. 94-108, cited by Robert L. Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), p. 197.

²⁹Robert L. Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), p. 197.

tax base failed to develop, while the residential tax base grew from 55.3 percent of the Net Grand List in 1950 to 67.4 percent in 1966, the year that redevelopment plans for the center section were finalized.

Table 26

Percentage Composition of East Haven Net Grand List
1940 - 1966

Year	Net Grand List	Residential and Related Buildings	Total Commercial And Industrial
1940	\$15,557,779	55.3	5.3
1950	\$25,607,150	61.1	10.0
1960	\$61,252,945	69.5	8.7
1966	\$75,663,360	67.4	9.7

The burden of taxes that were placed on the homeowner continued to increase each year and, as the mill rate increased, the chances for industrial development decreased. By 1971, East Haven had a mill rate of 95.1, the highest tax rate in the State of Connecticut.

The prospects for increased commercial and industrial development for East Haven, a community already suffering from a comparatively small industrial base, have remained in limbo, if in fact they have not diminished over the past year.

The town, which gained the notoriety this year of having the highest tax rate in the state, is actually suffering from what could be termed as an economic tax cycle. The town needs increased business and industry to be able to lower taxes and relieve property owners of the tax burden. But business and industry also look toward settling in communities which can guarantee a stable and lower tax rate.³⁰

³⁰Mary Schmiedel, "East Haven's Tax Rate Is Highest In State," The New Haven Register, January 31, 1971, Section H, p. 33, col. 1.

By continually raising the mill rate during the 1950s and 1960s, the Town of East Haven was able to provide the necessities of community life such as police and fire protection, a school system, and a sanitation system, but did not have an excess of dollars left to spend on community luxuries.

Under such circumstances, the politicians from the center section of the town, although they controlled the town government were hardly in a position to make public expenditures to benefit their section of town exclusively.

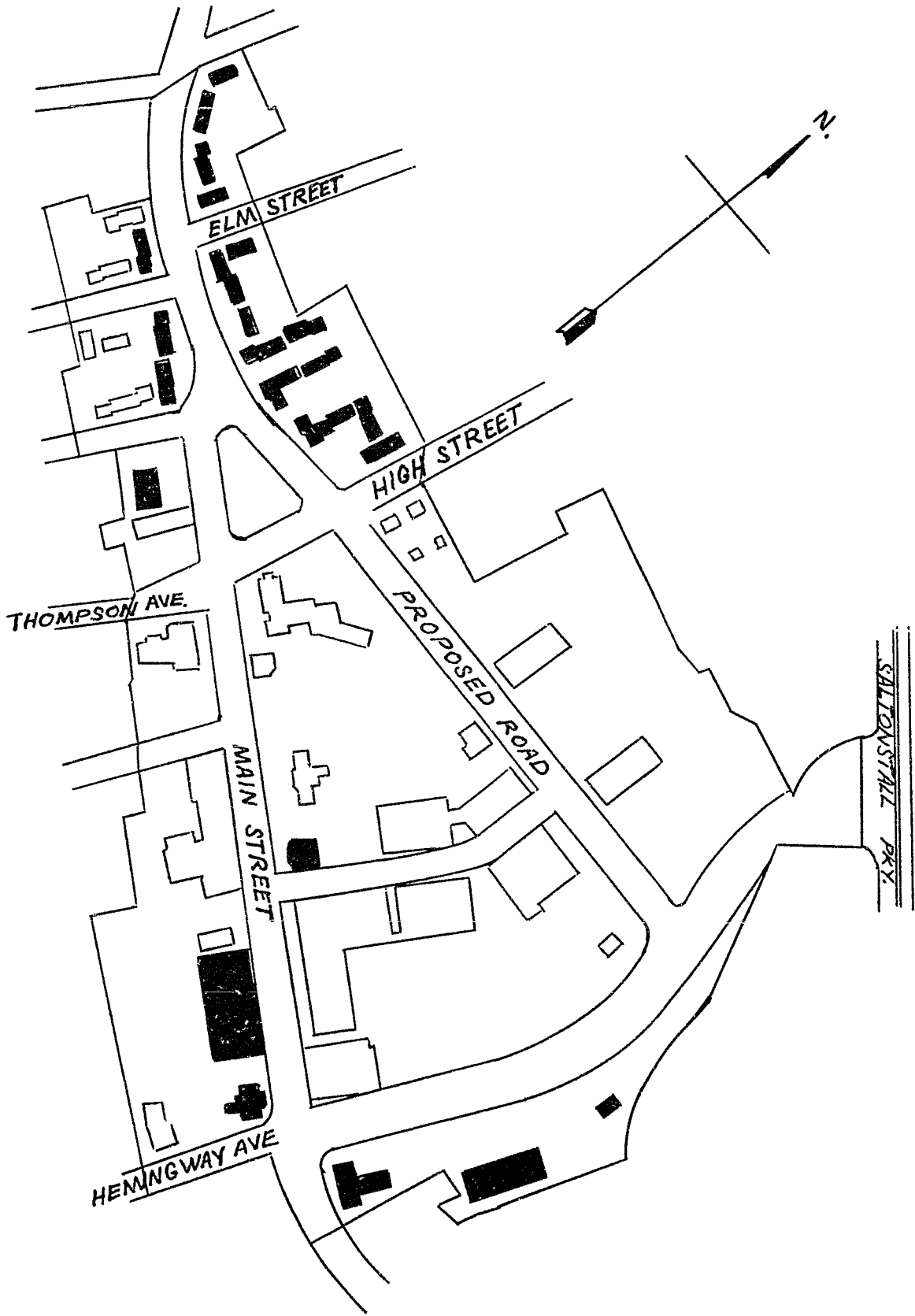
In 1964, this situation changed; the possibility of the Town of East Haven receiving Federal funding for a redevelopment project became a reality. The politicians now had their first opportunity to make a decision which would involve the eventual expenditure of millions of dollars. Yet, in 1964, despite resistance to redeveloping the center section first, the politicians from the center section decided that redevelopment funds would be spent in the center, thus assuring their section of town benefits of the greatest windfall ever received by the Town of East Haven.

On July 8, 1964, First Selectman, Dominick Ferrara, announced the creation of a Redevelopment Agency for the Town of East Haven. The five original members of the East Haven redevelopment agency included Anthony Proto Jr., at that time a Republican, and Anthony Arminio, who was the Republican candidate for First Selectman in 1965. Three of the five original members of the Redevelopment Agency resided in District 1; one member resided in District 2, and another in District 3. Politicians from the center section therefore dominated the membership of the original Redevelopment Agency.

The redevelopment proposal for the town consisted of a plan for the redevelopment of a 50-acre site in the center of the town. The Federal Government was to appropriate \$4,367,080 in grants for the redevelopment project, which was to represent 87.5 percent of the total cost of the project. On May 23, 1967, the RTM (Representative Town Meeting) implemented a Survey and Plan for urban renewal in the center section and obtained \$148,625 in planning funds from the Federal Government. Thus, shortly before the election of Frank Messina in 1967, the plan for the redevelopment of the center section was well underway.

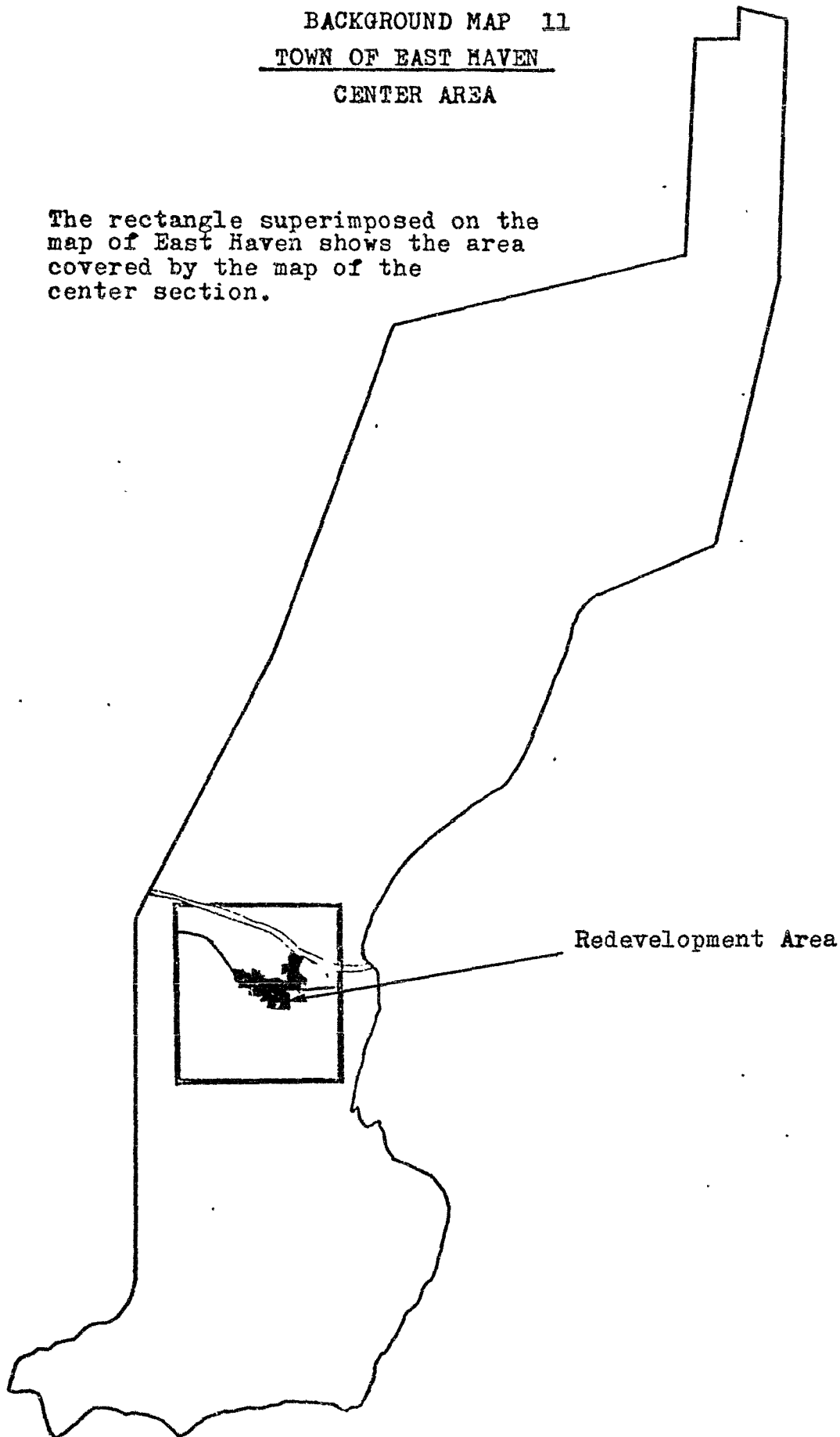
Map 10 is a map of the center section showing the proposed 50-acre redevelopment site. The structures coded in yellow in the map existed at the time the redevelopment program was proposed, and were not designated to be razed in the redevelopment process. The structures coded in green were proposed and completed or under construction by 1975. The remaining structures represented as outlines on the map were proposed, but never constructed. Map 11 shows the proposed 50-acre redevelopment site superimposed on a map of East Haven.

Prior to the creation of the Redevelopment Agency a plan of redevelopment had been proposed for Momauguin. This was the second plan for the redevelopment of Momauguin that had been proposed, and although the planning firm of Bryan and Pancino, which was hired by the town to develop a comprehensive town plan, agreed that Momauguin should be redeveloped, it was finally decided in 1966, that it would not be possible to redevelop two areas simultaneously.



BACKGROUND MAP 11
TOWN OF EAST HAVEN
CENTER AREA

The rectangle superimposed on the map of East Haven shows the area covered by the map of the center section.



At a Redevelopment Agency meeting held in March of 1966, before the decision was finalized to redevelop the center section, "Nobody at the meeting denied that the shore area has serious problems. Everyone who spoke including the agency's members, said they want redevelopment there 'as soon as possible'."³¹ Several residents attended this meeting of the Redevelopment Agency and "urged the Redevelopment Agency to change its plans--and start shore area development before the Center District."³² Mario Mozzillo, council to the Redevelopment Agency stated that "Federal authorities may allow creation of a second urban renewal project for the Momauguin area if sufficient support is aroused and evidence of good faith is demonstrated."³³ "Mozzillo said that normally the regulations provide for execution of the first project before moving on to a second area, but cited New Haven's multi-project activity in the field of urban renewal. Redevelopment Agency members stressed, however, that the best procedure is to accomplish the central area renewal as soon as possible, since a five-year setback would occur now if the proposed central area was abandoned in favor of the shore line."³⁴

³¹"Impatient Public Speaks, Shoreline Renewal Overshadows Center", The New Haven Register, March 10, 1966, p. 38, col 1.

³²Donald Dallas, "Plea to Start Shore Renewal First Rebuffed", The New Haven Register, March 9, 1966, p. 57, col. 1.

³³"In E. Haven Renewal, Second Project Rated Possible," New Haven Journal-Courier, March 10, 1966, p. 6, col. 1.

³⁴Ibid.

Members of the Redevelopment Agency "Stressed that they too strongly desired shore area development and were aware of that area's problems,"³⁵ but despite pressure from the residents of Momauguin to start redevelopment in Momauguin first, the agency stated: "We can't change plans, they are already in the works, we can only hurry them along so that we can get to the shore as soon as possible."³⁶

Residents from Momauguin who attended the meeting argued that redevelopment should begin in their area first, because Momauguin was a slum, and referred to Momauguin as a "hell hole" and a "disgrace". "Comments such as these, all on the shore area, overshadowed by far discussions of Center District renewal - now in its planning stages."³⁷ The Chairman of the Redevelopment Agency responded to the pleas from Momauguin residents for redevelopment in Momauguin first by stating that "Although the agency was anxious to start shoreline redevelopment as s-on as possible, it currently had no jurisdiction over the area. 'See the administration,' he advised."³⁸

It appears obvious that by March of 1966 the politicians of the center section had already made the final decision as to where the redevelopment program would begin. The Redevelopment Agency was created by the center politicians, and appointments to the agency were

³⁵ Donald Dallas, "Plea to Start Shore Renewal First Rebuffed," The New Haven Register, March 9, 1966, p. 57, col. 1.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Impatient Public Speaks, Shoreline Renewal Overshadows Center," The New Haven Register, March 10, 1966, p. 38, col. 1.

³⁸ "Impatient Public Speaks, Shoreline Renewal Overshadows Center," The New Haven Register, March 10, 1966, p. 38, col. 2.

made by an administration which was dominated by center politicians, and a majority of membership of the agency were from the center. Therefore, those who opposed the decision to begin the program in the center had little chance of persuading the agency to consider starting in Momauguin.

Although the politicians from the center had no intention of allowing the redevelopment program to start in the Momauguin area, they cleverly indicated that a redevelopment program would begin there in a short period of time. In explaining the Redevelopment Agency's decision to begin the redevelopment program in the center, Planner Anthony Panico stated: "We decided to clean up the center in one quick project, then go to the shore!"³⁹ "Panico told the citizens, "that before the year's out, we'll be asking you to approve our application for a survey and planning grant for the Momauguin area."⁴⁰

The redevelopment of the center section of East Haven, which was conceived and initiated by the Democratic politicians from the center, was implemented and partially completed under the Republican administration of Frank Messina and the center politicians. Among those serving as Chairmen of the Redevelopment Agency were former candidate for Mayor of East Haven Anthony Arminio (Republican), and the present Democratic Mayor of East Haven, Anthony Proto Jr., who at that time was a Republican.

³⁹Donald Dallas, "Plea to Start Shore Renewal First Rebuffed," The New Haven Register, March 9, 1966, p. 57, col. 2.

⁴⁰Ibid.

Demolition of older buildings in the redevelopment area was carried out between 1970 and 1971, and new construction began in 1970. By 1975, many new structures had been completed in the redevelopment area, but the plan as originally conceived was far from complete. Map 10, a map of the redevelopment area shows the structures that have been completed, coded in green, and those that were in the original plan, but have not yet been started, represented as outlines on the map. Approximately fifty percent of the structures that were proposed at the time the plan was unveiled have not been built. Consequently, the three to four-fold increase in the tax base that was supposed to occur in the center section because of redevelopment has failed to materialize. Many sections of the redevelopment area remain a vast wasteland.

Although the tremendous increase in the tax base that was, in theory, to have benefited the whole town has failed to occur, the redevelopment of the center section has produced changes in the center that are beneficial to the residents of the center area. Many blighted structures that lined Main Street were demolished, leaving large open areas between U.S. Route 1 and Main Street, which would make any proponent of the "greenbelt theory" envious of the residents of the center. In addition to this unofficial park, a small park and plaza has been constructed diagonally across from the Town Hall, and directly across from one of East Haven's three new banks that have been built in the redevelopment area. The center also boasts new restaurants, and new professional buildings. Those citizens who live within walking distance of the center have definitely benefited from

the removal of blighted structures and their replacement with clean, new structures which have attracted services which the center citizens can easily utilize.

In contrast to the redevelopment that has taken place in the center, no new construction of substantial scale, or redevelopment of any form has taken place in Momauguin. The "soon as possible" redevelopment of Momauguin, which was often alluded to by the Redevelopment Agency in 1966 and by each administration since 1961, has never taken place. The only demolition of structures that has taken place in Momauguin has not been part of a redevelopment plan, but has occurred as a result of numerous fires that have been set by arsonists in many buildings in the Momauguin area.

The redevelopment of the center section, which was implemented and carried out by the politicians from the center section, can be considered to support the hypothesis that public policy has been controlled and used, to benefit the center section of the town.

Evidence to further substantiate this hypothesis has been compiled from an analysis of the General Attitude Survey, which was conducted by the East Haven Community Development Action Plan Agency in 1971.

The Agency developed an Attitude Survey geared to each of the twelve functional areas of CDAP. In addition, a series of "Neighborhood Gatherings" were held in the homes of residents throughout the Town to provide an opportunity for meaningful discussion of the CDAP Program. Those attending were also asked to respond to the Attitude Survey and to participate in the CDAP process.⁴¹

⁴¹General Attitude Survey, East Haven CDAP Agency, (East Haven, Connecticut, October 1, 1971), p. 1.

The General Attitude Survey conducted a number of "Neighborhood Gatherings" in an effort to elicit the attitudes of the citizens of East Haven, in regards to the community, and to enable the citizens to express their satisfactions and dissatisfactions with community conditions.

The format of the Neighborhood Gatherings consisted of an initial introduction of the people in attendance to each other and to the CDAP program. A fact sheet was distributed which explained the purpose and mechanisms of CDAP and a short discussion period followed. The Attitude Survey, which took approximately one-half hour to complete, was then administered before more detailed discussion took place, in order to gather the unbiased opinions of the respondents for the survey.⁴²

Therefore, an analysis of the results of the General Attitude Survey can be expected to reflect the opinion of the residents of East Haven in regards to what they considered to be their needs and also what they considered to be the town's problems. "The East Haven Attitude Survey was designed to pin-point those needs and problems as identified by the residents, in a form which could be coded, analyzed and compared on a town-wide basis."⁴³

The analysis of the results of the General Attitude Survey which follows was compiled as part of this thesis, in an effort to show that Momauguin would have been the logical place for redevelopment to have taken place, and that the decision to redevelop the center area was not merely a choice between two areas of equal status. Momauguin was in need of redevelopment, while the center, although it

⁴²General Attitude Survey, East Haven CDAP Agency, East Haven, Connecticut, October 1, 1971), p. 3.

⁴³Ibid., p. 8.

had many blighted business structures along Main Street, was not in desperate need of redevelopment.

The Attitude Survey found that "Municipal services to each neighborhood were rated average to poor except for the center where services were rated average to very good by 58.3% of the respondents."⁴⁴ Housing conditions throughout the town were generally rated average, except in Momauguin, "which was rated poor to very poor by 79.7% of the respondents. The Momauguin finding indicates a strongly perceived need for serious study and improvement in that area."⁴⁵ The study stated that ". . . more attention will be needed to assure these residents of the decent conditions they desire."⁴⁶

The General Attitude Survey found that Momauguin area residents had many complaints:

Residents of the Momauguin area maintained that their neighborhood is the least serviced and most neglected. They felt that the Public Works Department should be attempting to do something about the conditions. It appears to take a great deal of complaints for these persons to get things done; streets are dirty; dead animals are not picked up; snow removal is inadequate; the dump should be open more days a week and an attendant is needed to watch for violations; and many complained that there was not enough parking space close to their homes.⁴⁷

⁴⁴General Attitude Survey, East Haven CDAP Agency, (East Haven, Connecticut, October 1, 1971), p. 11

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid, p. 4.

In regards to education the survey found that "In the Momauguin area parents are most concerned with the condition of the physical plant and the poor quality of the neighborhood."⁴⁸ "Another complaint from the Momauguin area was that although visiting nurses and well-child conferences were available, no doctors live in the area."⁴⁹

The General Attitude Survey did not reveal any other area of East Haven, where the residents expressed such needs, as were expressed by the Momauguin residents. Although the center of East Haven had a few blighted areas, it obviously never approached the squalid conditions that were to be found in Momauguin. At the time that the General Attitude Survey was conducted, the last structures were being demolished in the center, and construction had already begun. If the decision as to which section should be redeveloped had been based on need, Momauguin should have been chosen. The decision to redevelop the center section, which was made with full knowledge of the conditions in Momauguin, was a biased political decision made by those who controlled the political power of East Haven at this time.

The decision to redevelop the center section of east Haven has preoccupied each administration that has governed East Haven since the program was conceived. Therefore recommendations made in the Comprehensive Town Plan of 1966 for other areas of the Town, have not been implemented. While the center section has been undergoing redevelopment, the development of needed facilities in other sections of

⁴⁸General Attitude Survey, East Haven CDAP Agency, (East Haven, Connecticut, October 1, 1971), p. 6.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 7.

the town has been ignored or delayed. An analysis of the Comprehensive Town Plan of 1966 has been made to show that the proposals and recommendations made in the plan have not been implemented after nearly ten years.

The plan was "designed to guide development activities to occur during the next 20 years,"⁵⁰ and stated that "Some elements of the Plan will be implemented immediately, while others will be accomplished over a period of many years, perhaps more than 20 years."⁵¹ After nearly ten years, the only notable elements of the plan that have been implemented, have been in the redevelopment area of the center.

The plan included many proposals for Momauguin, and the Development Policy stated:

EFFECTIVE USE OF THE SHORE: The Long Island Sound Shore area is an important Town and regional asset. The plan recognizes its potential and provides for intensive use of a major part of the shore area for residential and recreational purposes, including water-orientated commercial recreation. The Plan includes shore development potentials as an essential part of the local economic and tax base for the future.⁵²

The Plan made twelve specific proposals for land use, yet only three of the twelve have been implemented with public funds, and two out of the three are located in the center section. One of the land use proposals which has not been implemented called for "a broad scale shore development area for houses, cottages, apartments, beach clubs, marinas and other shore recreation uses, including redevelopment of obsolete sections of the shore area and expansion of Town beach and

⁵⁰The Future East Haven 1966 - 1985, Comprehensive Plan of Development for the Town of East Haven, Connecticut, East Haven Planning and Zoning Commission, (East Haven, Connecticut, September 27, 1966), p.7.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid. p. 8.

recreation facilities."⁵³

Eight proposals were made in relation to the vehicular circulation system of the Town. Only one has been implemented and completed, and this has been in the center section. Two major proposals which would have benefited Foxon and the District 5 area, where the proposal for the "relief of the bottleneck at the High Street bridge and improvements of access to the northern part of Town,"⁵⁴ and the proposal for "provision of a new major thoroughfare connection northerly from the Turnpike to Bradley Street and eventually Laurel Street as an important solution to the problem of access to the northern part of Town."⁵⁵ Neither proposal has been acted on. A third proposal concerned the Momauguin area, it suggested, "long range development of a series of major and secondary thoroughfares in the Shore Area in conjunction with a renewal and rebuilding program at the Shore."⁵⁶

A total of four proposals were made in relation to Police and Fire Department facilities. Two of the four proposals concerned Foxon. It was proposed that a new fire house be built in Foxon, because the closest full service fire house was in the center, and the only north-south access was the High Street Bridge, and this had a potential of being blocked. Probably due to the urgency of the situation, more than any other reason, the new fire house was built.

⁵³The Future East Haven 1966 - 1985, Comprehensive Plan of Development for the Town of East Haven, Connecticut, East Haven, Planning and Zoning Commission, (East Haven, Connecticut, September 27, 1966), p. 11.

⁵⁴Ibid, p. 12

⁵⁵Ibid,

⁵⁶Ibid.

The second proposal concerning Foxon and also Momauguin stated: "because of the extreme length of the Town and the future density of population, provision of small, police substations in the Foxon area and near the shore, preferably in conjunction with Fire Department facilities, to account for convenient and efficient police activities."⁵⁷ A substation was actually built in Foxon, but never opened, and provisions were never made for it to be staffed. Although it was never used as a police substation, the Town has found a use for this structure. The Town rents it for public gatherings.

Proposals were prepared for a school system that, by 1985, would include two high schools, the existing one, and an additional one in Foxon. By 1975, there had been no attempt to implement the proposal for a high school in Foxon, and students are still bussed to the center. It was also proposed that by 1985 an additional junior high or middle school be built in Momauguin. No action has been taken on this proposal.

One can conclude from the analysis of the Comprehensive Town Plan of 1966 that primarily, only those proposals that were in the center redevelopment area were implemented or completed. The majority of proposals that were made for other areas have not been implemented, or hardly mentioned, after nearly ten years. The only section of East Haven that has really benefited by the proposals made in the Plan has been the center section.

⁵⁷The Future East Haven 1966 - 1985, Comprehensive Plan of Development for the Town of East Haven, Connecticut, East Haven Planning and Zoning Commission, (East Haven, Connecticut, September 27, 1966), p. 25.

Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence presented in this study is that the politicians from the center section of East Haven have dominated the political system and controlled the balance of political power in East Haven between 1943 and 1975.

No evidence was found to specifically demonstrate that prior to 1964, the center section of East Haven derived any extraordinary benefit as a result of any decision made by those responsible for governing the Town. In contrast to this, the decision to redevelop the center section of East Haven, and the redevelopment program which followed, can be cited as an extraordinary benefit to the residents of the center section. The decision to redevelop the center section instead of Momauguin can be interpreted as a decision made by the politicians from the center section to specifically benefit the center section.

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