

Chapter 8 - The 1970s through 1990s

A. The Fence Keeps on Growing. The issue of access came up again in the early 1970s when the Ribicoff Cottage extension was constructed²⁶⁹. First there is a letter from a real estate appraiser who notes some issues that could impinge on a valuation analysis, as follows:

I have been advised that an oral agreement was entered into by Robert Wolfe, former Director of the Housing Authority and John DiNicola, former Mayor of the Town of Hamden, that access would not be utilized by the New Haven Housing Authority to Woodin (sic) Street. I do not know if this restriction applies only to the land easterly of the appraised parcel or all land owned by the City of New Haven fronting on Wood (sic) Street, except the Woodin Street Cemetery²⁷⁰.

Second, in a series a memoranda it was clear that HANH was attempting to meet the mandate of building a fence on the perimeter of the new development: "the fence will run along Woodin Street, the entire length of our property line...(at both Ribicoff Cottages and the Extension)...there is however a need for additional fencing along the property line...on Thorpe Drive..."²⁷¹. As a result Mr. White requested an estimate "for installing additional fencing necessary to enclose entirely the (Ribicoff Cottages) between its boundary with both Thorpe Drive and Woodin Street"²⁷². The fence constructed at that time was a 6 foot high fence that was built 153 feet along Thorpe Drive and 290 feet up Woodin Street closing in the extension property²⁷³. As Mr. White stated in mid-December 1971 the fencing was necessary, in spite of the pricing, since "without fencing around the entire perimeter, the fencing already installed does not serve its purpose...we should proceed at once to have the additional fencing installed"²⁷⁴.

B. Oriental Mason Gardens: A Disaster In Real Time. Almost two decades after the development of Brookside and Rockview, the old Springside Farm was picked by Mayor Lee as the site for a new development, Oriental

²⁶⁹ See, "Ribicoff Helps Dedicate Cottages," *New Haven Register*, 12 July 1971

²⁷⁰ See, letter from William H. Ball to Housing Authority of the City of New Haven, dated 18 June 1970 (HANH Archives).

²⁷¹ See, Memorandum from Edward White, Jr. to A. Libbey Re: Conn 4-14 Fence, date 1 December 1971 (HANH Archives).

²⁷² See, Memorandum from Edward White, Jr. to A. Libbey Re: Conn 4-14 Fence, dated 6 December 1971 (HANH Archives).

²⁷³ See, HANH Material Requisition dated 20 December 1971 and Invoice in the amount of \$2,052.70 of The Frankson Fence Co., dated 18 January 1972 (HANH Archives).

²⁷⁴ See, Memorandum from Edward White, Jr. to A. Libbey Re: CONN. 4-14, 4-24 FENCING, dated 14 December 1971 (HANH Archives).

Mason Gardens. He also picked the acclaimed architect Paul Rudolph to design the novel modular housing project in New Haven.

Again, the warnings came but the clarion calls fell on deaf ears. City Planners warned that the site remained physically inaccessible and isolated, bereft of shopping or other neighborhood amenities, contiguous to the Hamden dump, a “breeding ground for rats”, dependent on public transit and cut off from Hamden arteries to the shopping district on Dixwell Avenue. The property was a “geographic ghetto’ sandwiched between West Rock on one side and the Hamden dump on the other”²⁷⁵. In one of the rare instances of official intervention an Alderman called upon his colleagues to forestall further development of West Rock: “For too many years this area has been without transportation, retail stores, recreation, social services and still receives a disproportionate share of city services. I want a moratorium on housing in this neighborhood until these problems are solved”²⁷⁶. In response the City provided shuttle bus services from West Rock to the Amity Shopping Center and cooperation with the West Rock Neighborhood Corporation²⁷⁷.

The project was a disaster on many levels. Professor Solomon documents the odyssey commencing from the moment, in March of 1970, when Mayor Bartholomew Guida announced that “230 modular units would be leaving the manufacturer's plant that day and would shortly arrive in New Haven. Two days later, only two units arrived on the site. When the units did arrive, they did not meet the current building code requirement of a two-inch fire wall between each unit. The walls had to be added at the site”²⁷⁸. Over a year later the project languished and was not occupied until April of 1971²⁷⁹. The project descended into every conceivable hole of catastrophe: funding shortfalls, design flaws, landscaping, grading and electrical problems, leaky ceilings, leaky walls, missing gutters, units sinking into the mud, a HUD takeover and a federal lawsuit²⁸⁰. Oriental Gardens was the last new construction at West Rock until the Twenty-First century and was a harbinger of the struggles over the course of the next two decades²⁸¹.

²⁷⁵ See, Jonathan Harr, “Anatomy of a Housing Project’s Failure”, **New Haven Advocate**, 7 March 1979.

²⁷⁶ See, “Jones: Bar Housing in West Rock Area,” **New Haven Journal Courier**, 23 February 1971.

²⁷⁷ See, “Board Acts to Halt Housing Isolated from Shop Areas,” **New Haven Register**, 5 October 1971; See also, “Ribicoff Shuttle Inaugurates First Continuous Trip,” **New Haven Register**, 24 October 1971. During this time there was also a protest relating to the lack of food facilities; See, “West Rock residents Protest Lack of Food Facilities,” **New Haven Register**, 28 July 1971.

²⁷⁸ See, “Building a Segregated City” at 306.

²⁷⁹ See, “Oriental Masonic Gardens About Ready for Occupation”, **New Haven Register** (Editorial), 25 April 1971.

²⁸⁰ See, “Building a Segregated City” at 307. See also, “Anatomy of a Housing Project’s Failure”, above.

²⁸¹ In a curious aside I did find written evidence of an internal fence approved by Edward White, then HANH Executive Director regarding “Protection from the children in the adjoining project”.

The 70s and 80s would be characterized by continued pressures generated by urban renewal during the model city era; waiting lists exceeded the pace of construction and kept growing throughout the period; the forces of the great migration continued to create “a virtual insatiable demand for housing”; and, high rises were under attack and facing demolition by the late 1980s²⁸². Moreover, crime was rampant and growing. A reporter, discussing problems associated with “high rises” couldn’t resist a mention of “Brookside”:

[T]he hallways of the Elm Haven public housing project high-rise apartments are havens for drug dealers and thieves, tenants say. *The Brookside Projects provide easy pickings for criminals bent on breaking and entry.* Some of the elderly residents at the William T. Rowe Towers are afraid to leave their apartments and venture out into the street for fear they’ll be mugged, according to tenants. At the Farnum Courts project, one of the most popular forms of outdoor recreation for youngsters is a floating craps game²⁸³.

This is the backdrop of the early 1980s. By the end of the decade housing policy was moving from big box solutions to “scattered site.

C. Aldermanic Intervention. It is in this context that one of the rare instances of official intervention occurred when Alderman James O. Jones called upon his colleagues to forestall further development of West Rock:

For too many years this area has been without transportation, retail stores, recreation, social services and still receives a disproportionate share of city services. I want a moratorium on housing in this neighborhood until these problems are solved²⁸⁴.

On March 1st Alderman Jones introduced a resolution designed to prevent further development of West Rock until services were provided to the community²⁸⁵. The resolution languished for months until it was approved by the City Plan Commission²⁸⁶; however, it was given “leave to withdraw” effectively relegating the resolution to the dustbin²⁸⁷.

See Memorandum from Edward White, Jr. regarding Ribicoff Cottages Conn, dated 2 December 1974 (HANH Archives).

²⁸² See, “Building a Segregated City” at 305- 306; See also, Harvey Austes, “Lack of Housing--A Major Crisis For New Haven”, **New Haven Register**, 4 October 1970.

²⁸³ See, Steve Hamm, “Crime Reaching Crisis Stage In City’s Housing Projects,” **New Haven Register**, 13 November 1983.

²⁸⁴ See, “Jones: Bar Housing in West Rock Area,” **New Haven Journal Courier**, 23 February 1971.

²⁸⁵ See, Aldermanic Journal 1971, pp. 204-205.

²⁸⁶ *Id.*, p. 643.

²⁸⁷ *Id.*, p. 667 (26 July 1971).

During debates the Alderman gave an impassioned speech regarding the isolation and dearth of services and facilities being provided to the community. The Aldermen didn't convince his colleagues to support his moratorium instead his colleagues supported a substitute measure that created a special committee to review the situation and report back to the Board of Aldermen in a short period of time²⁸⁸.

On October 1st the Special Committee issued a report requiring that "future housing be forced to include adequate services" and suggested that future developers work with the Aldermen and the West Rock Neighborhood Corporation on addressing the issue of services to West Rock²⁸⁹. The Board of Aldermen approved the work of the Committee in early November with the following observation from Alderman Edward Piazza: "...the problems out there are so cast it is not something you can do in one month or two. The conditions are very bad..."²⁹⁰. In particle response the City provided shuttle bus services from West Rock to the Amity Shopping Center and cooperation with the West Rock Neighborhood Corporation²⁹¹.

D. "A Walk Down Crack Row" or "Building a Better Day"? "Building for a Better Day" was the hopeful title of HANH's 1979 annual report. The report went on to say that Brookside is "expected to be taken over by HUD in the Spring of 1980 and will undergo major renovations and receive similar federal subsidies to maintain operating costs²⁹². Three years later HANH was still pointing the finger at HUD for its failure to appropriate modernization funds and exclaimed:

As a result Brookside... (was) not able to be maintained properly....seeing this as a serious breach of the public trust, (HANH) intensified its effort to convince HUD to assume control over these three projects and to provide the necessary funds to refurbish the entire sites of Brookside, McConaughy Terrace and Eastview²⁹³.

Quite an achievement for HANH administrators, Brookside went full circle from a state subsidized moderate income development to a ward of the federal

²⁸⁸ Id., pp. 737-745 (9 September 1971).

²⁸⁹ Id., pp. 856 (1 October 1971).

²⁹⁰ Id., pp. 937-938 (8 November 1971).

²⁹¹ See, "Board Acts to Halt Housing Isolated from Shop Areas," **New Haven Register**, 5 October 1971; See also, "Ribicoff Shuttle Inaugurates First Continuous Trip," **New Haven Register**, 24 October 1971. During this time there was also a protest relating to the lack of food facilities; See, "West Rock residents Protest Lack of Food Facilities," **New Haven Register**, 28 July 1971.

²⁹² See, "Building for a Better Day" 1979 HANH Annual Report.

²⁹³"State aims to unload 3 city projects." **New Haven Register**. 16 December 1979.

government: "The 296-unit Brookside project is the last for three formerly state-owned developments which will be completely renovated with federal funds"²⁹⁴.

The renovations were placed on hold and jeopardized by a dispute over HANH's choice for contractor²⁹⁵ and intervention by members of the Board of Aldermen²⁹⁶. As a result of the Aldermanic kerfuffle the Brookside renovations were almost lost. HUD cancelled the plans when HANH missed a May 1984 deadline to commence construction and later permitted the project to move forward. Work commenced in October 1984.

Did the renovations make a difference? Not really, Rockview remained an island of despair. The levels of poverty and economic privation continued to grow and this isolated neighborhood was so far from the city it was scarcely on the radar of the City or even HANH. In 1986 Alderman Willie Joe Moore attempted to turn the light on the accelerating drug problem at West Rock. The **New Haven Advocate** dubbed the intersection of Wilmot Road and Rockview Circle the "Crack Corner". Alderman Moore led a "walk down Crack Row" to highlight the problem and send a warning to the drug dealers that "We're here and we'll do anything within our power to deal with this problem". The Aldermen talked about the changes since he first lived in West Rock as a child:

It was the most ideal place in the city to live...It started to go bad in the early 70s. You've got a lot of single-parent families, young women with hothead sons. In the 70s, the drugs were dealt behind closed doors. In the 80s it's in the streets²⁹⁷.

Mr. Wolkoff summed it up as follows: "Not only had West Rock become a welfare island, but it had also become a lawless center of the drug trade. Calling themselves the "Wild Wild West," youth gangs ruled the project. West Rock's street name was the "Terror Dome" and of course, there was "crack corner"²⁹⁸." In other words, buying "crack was as easy as going to the corner store and getting a cup of coffee"²⁹⁹.

It is in this context that one must view the protest from the Hamden side of the fence...not to justify the fence but to understand the fear and desire for a

²⁹⁴ See, HANH Annual Report 1983 (HANH Archives).

²⁹⁵ See, Magaly Olivero, "Waterford company picked for \$7.3 million renovation", **New Haven Register**, 14 December 1985.

²⁹⁶ See, Gregory B. Hladky and Lisa Chedekel, "Aldermen challenge renovation contract", **New Haven Register**, 4 January 1986.

²⁹⁷ Randall Beach. "The Crack Trail." **The New Haven Advocate**, 20 October 1986 (hereinafter, "The Crack Trail").

²⁹⁸ See, "Creating a Suburban Ghetto" at 86. See also, "Ghetto." **The New Journal** (Yale University). 16 April 1999.

²⁹⁹ See, "The Crack Trail".

continued quick fix. The truth is in spite of large HUD investments in West Rock, the projects lingered for twenty more years in the care of a mismanaged HANH³⁰⁰.

E. “Build a Tall Solid Wooden Fence” or A “Squeeze Space”. Complaints of rampant vandalism grew out of a forum on Public Safety with Mayor John DeNicola, Jr., Councilmen James J. Garrahan and Arthur E. Moan, Jr. on February 19, 1986³⁰¹ featuring representatives of the New Haven and Hamden Police Departments. The meeting featured testimony regarding rocks thrown at cars, twelve foot gap in the fence, burglaries, etc... As a result of the meeting Mayor DeNicola agreed to instruct “...the Hamden Police Department to co-ordinate their activities with the New Haven Police Department and the New Haven Housing Authority Police. Jurisdictional problems will be settled after the perpetrator(s) have been apprehended” and “institute extra patrols, especially the Housing Authority³⁰²”. Moreover, the Mayor also committed to investigate “...the possibility of providing other types of assistance to the New Haven Housing Authority in order to fix the fence and provide the means to secure the area”³⁰³.

On the same day Commander Gustav Gertz of the Hamden Police Department repeated many of the Mayor’s observations; however, focused on two predominant issues:

- “...repair and maintenance of the fence, located south of Woodin Street”; and,
- the fact that the chief of security for HANH “assured all residents that (HANH) would immediately repair the fence, and maintain it, to deter access from the Housing Projects into the Woodin Street area”³⁰⁴.

Woodin Street residents had been complaining that “youths from Rockview Circle and Brookside public housing apartments have vandalized and burglarized their homes and throw rocks at cars and people”³⁰⁵. On March 18, 1986 Mayor DeNicola wrote to Linda Evans, the Executive Director of HANH to the following effect: “To date, no new fence has been erected between the Housing Authority property and the Hamden Town line...It has now been a

³⁰⁰ See, “Creating a Suburban Ghetto” at 86.

³⁰¹ See, Public Notice.

³⁰² See, letter from Mayor John DeNicola, Jr. to residents, dated February 26, 1986.

³⁰³ Id.

³⁰⁴ See, Memorandum from Commander Gustav Gertz to Police Chief John P. Ambrogio on 26 February 1986.

³⁰⁵ See, “New fence to make good neighbors, communities hope,” **New Haven Register**, 11 July 1986.

month since these promises were made and the situation remains the same”³⁰⁶. It is curious that the Mayor appeared to believe that there was a space “between” HANH property and the town line. Was this observation a misstatement or misconception? That is not for me to decide; however, as we have seen the facts speak for themselves.

The issue continued to fester and accelerate when Council member Arthur Moan wrote to Mayor DeNicola urging action with the City of New Haven:

...the City of New Haven has not done one single thing and I think it is now time for us to call upon Mayor DiLieto and make our voices heard in the strongest possible of terms. This project is in the City of New Haven and the residents of the town of Hamden are the victims of the people in the project who have absolutely no respect for the people using Woodin Street. Rocks are being thrown at moving vehicles and persons walking in said area, and I think the time has come for someone to take some affirmative action before we have a major disaster in the area and the loss of life³⁰⁷.

The letter went on to use a tactic employed in the 1940s, contacting the Member of Congress to see whether the federal government would provide “financial help” to “...erect a fence that will be of a suitable nature to curtail the rock throwing by people inside the project”³⁰⁸. United States Representative Bruce A. Morrison, a Hamden resident, actually toured the property to survey the problems³⁰⁹.

On June 9th the Council member also sent a letter to New Haven Mayor Biagio DiLieto explaining the situation and proposing a “tall solid wooden fence, similar to what we see on I.91 in Wethersfield is what we will need. This will prevent the people inside the project, who are throwing the rocks, from being able to see vehicles on Woodin Street and knowing exactly when to throw in order to hit the target vehicle”³¹⁰. He also indicated that the Town of Hamden should “check 1950 Agreement with New Haven Housing Authority, City of New Haven and Hamden as to project responsibilities”³¹¹.

Pressure continued to build to address the issues resulting from the broken fence. On June 11th Chief Ambrogio stepped up police presence but

³⁰⁶ See, letter from Mayor John DeNicola, Jr. to Linda Evans, Executive Director, dated 18 March 1986.

³⁰⁷ See, letter from Councilman Arthur Moan to Mayor John DeNicola, Jr, dated 9 June 1986.

³⁰⁸ *Id.*

³⁰⁹ See, “New fence to make good neighbors, communities hope,” **New Haven Register**, 11 July 1986 (hereinafter, “New Fence to Make Good Neighbors”).

³¹⁰ See, letter from Councilman Arthur Moan to Mayor Biagio DiLieto, dated 9 June 1986.

³¹¹ See, Council Member Moan’s “Rockview Circle Project” Issues document, dated 9 June 1986.

indicated that “permanent resolution of the matter must be sought from New Haven officials. The policing of the Rockview Circle Project is the responsibility of the New Haven Housing Authority with assistance from the New Haven Department of Police Service”³¹². On June 12th the West View Civic Association issued the following list of demands to the Mayor:

- Instruct the Town Engineer to survey the Woodin Street area for a new fence “...developing pertinent information as to the best possible size, type, etc, to prevent or eliminate the rock throwing and a fence that would not be damaged in a few hours time”³¹³;
- Purchase a fence: “Since the Mayor has already agreed to 50% payment for the fence, we strongly request that this be acted upon immediately and then worry about billing the Housing Authority or City of New Haven for the remaining 50%”;
- Request a copy of the 1950 agreement between the Town of Hamden, City of New Haven and the Housing Authority;
- Increase police visibility in this area (they indicated that patrols were only visible for two weeks in February); and,
- Develop an agreement between New Haven and Hamden police regarding proper jurisdiction to deal with and apprehend rock throwers³¹⁴.

In June a local newspaper put it this way:

Tempers on Woodin Street by the Rockview Circle housing project seem to be mimicking the trash piles there---they are all building up. Even after a clean-up by the Public Works Department...the situation is still a mess...the history of the neighborhood is such that people from the New Haven low-income apartments and Woodin Street Hamden residents have feuded for years. A boiling point may be inevitable³¹⁵.

By June HANH had repaired the hole in the fence³¹⁶; however, everyone was looking for a more comprehensive solution: “The growing problem of vandalism in the Woodin Street vicinity of town has heightened tension between

³¹² See, letter from Chief John P. Ambrogio to Councilman Moan, dated 11 June 1986.

³¹³ **Note:** The Association recommended the type of fence used on state highways as sound barriers: “high, durable, wood fences.

³¹⁴ See, letter from West View Civic Association to Mayor DeNicola, 12 June 1986.

³¹⁵ See, “Town, New Haven officials look to mend fences,” **Hamden Chronicle**, 18 June 1986.

³¹⁶ *Id.*

residents there and those who live in a nearby New Haven housing project...we urge local police and council officials to work out a solution. We especially urge local residents to keep their cool. Broken fences are indeed a problem, but it seems there are more important fences to mend”³¹⁷.

In July New Haven and Hamden officials agreed to cooperate on several measures to “prevent vandalism and rock-throwing in an area bordering the municipalities”. According to the account the new 8-10 foot fence would have “squeeze” areas allowing passage to a bus stop on Woodin Street. Mayor Biagio DiLieto hosted the meeting with Mayor DeNicola at which time both communities agreed to share the \$16,000 cost of the fence. The two Mayors also indicated that they would work together to “beef up police patrols in the area and keep the area clean through public works departments”³¹⁸.

In August the Mayor indicated that he had been working with HANH to send out bids for the construction of a fence. The Town was fronting the project with funds from the “State Grant highway fund because it is protection for a traveled road”...when the City of New Haven reimburses Hamden their share of the cost, that money can be returned to the State Grant account”³¹⁹.

On October 16, 1986 Mayor DeNicola announced the “completion of work done on Woodin Street by the Hamden Department of Public Works”. The Mayor indicated that he “...was assured that half of the cost of the fence would be paid for by the New Haven Housing Authority”³²⁰.

Again, in a rare public acknowledgement of the existence of the fence, the Mayors of Hamden and New Haven, a United States Representative and neighborhood representatives came up with what was described as an “unprecedented achievement”. According to the leader of the West View Civic Association there was a desire to “foster ‘better understanding’ and work together with the Rockview tenants’ association, as well as with the town...’If we can get a bond between our groups, that will be stronger than any fence”³²¹. In response New Haven Alderman Willie Moore accepted the offer; however, he also addressed the issue of “vandalism and rock-throwing”: “We’ve been getting the blame for a lot of stuff, though our kids aren’t doing it”³²².

³¹⁷ “A hole in the fence,” **Hamden Chronicle** (editorial), 18 June 1986.

³¹⁸ See, “New fence to Make Good Neighbors”.

³¹⁹ See, Memorandum from Mayor DeNicola to Acting Director of Public Works Raymond S. D’Addio, dated 8 August 1986.

³²⁰ See, Press Release of Mayor DeNicola, dated 16 October 1986.

³²¹ Quoting John Dirzius, President of the Association; See, See, “New fence to make good neighbors, communities hope,” **New Haven Register**, 11 July 1986.

³²² Quoting Alderman Willie Joe Moore; See, “New Fence to Make Good Neighbors”. Alderman Moore’s contention was validated by a report issued by HUD Secretary Henry G. Cisneros when he stated that “Crime statistics show that public housing residents are not to blame for this

The most awkward statement is attributable to a neighborhood leader who said that “he did not see the fence as a symbolic barrier between Woodin Street people and housing project resident, but as a means of necessary protection for the area”³²³. Really? What this episode probably demonstrated was that opportunities to tackle the real problems were being missed by fortifying a fence which allowed residents to “squeeze” through to catch a bus.

F. HANH Bottoms Out. In 1989, HUD approved the demolition of all six Elm Haven high-rises, a total of 366 units. The failure of HANH to replace the units lead to a lawsuit which resulted in the “Elm Haven Replacement Plan”³²⁴ an ambitious plan calling for the “..for the development of 183 public housing units and 183 project-based Section 8 rental units within a six year period, include scattered site units in “...nonracially-impacted neighborhoods”³²⁵. The scattered site program awakened many of the same forces of class and socio economics that lead to the erection of a fence and continued in full force within the City of New Haven. Add race to the mix as strong community resistance was perverted by the “torching” of a home in September 1992 “in middle-class, mostly white Morris Cove” in the eastern-most section of the city³²⁶. Opposition to scattered-site program would intensify as evidenced by wide-spread opposition at public hearings: “People on welfare for two or three generations are rewarded with a one-family house and us poor working people are dumped on”, said an irate resident³²⁷. Even the city’s first African American Mayor, John C. Daniels opposed the plan³²⁸.

From the late 1970s through the remainder of the century HANH was on the brink of receivership, broken, empty and the target of multiple HUD investigations and reviews. HANH was on HUD’s “financially troubled” list from 1979 through 1987³²⁹ and again, faced similar issues in the 1990s. Moreover

reign of terror. The executive director of the New Haven, Connecticut Housing Authority reports...that while 10 percent of the city’s residents live in public housing, 85 percent of those arrested on housing authority property do not live there”. See, Operation Safe Home Press Briefing, the White House, 4 February 1994.

³²³ Quoting John Dirzius, President of the Association; See, “New Fence to Make Good Neighbors”.

³²⁴ See, Settlement Agreement at 2, Christian Community Action, Inc. v. Cisneros, No. 3:91CV00296 (AVC) (D. Conn. 1995).

³²⁵ See, “Building a Segregated City” at 309.

³²⁶ See, Josh Kovner, “Public Housing Home Torched”, **New Haven Register**, 19 September 1992.

³²⁷ See, Josh Kovner, “Emotions Raw at Scattered-Site Housing Hearing”, **New Haven Register**, 18 November 1992.

³²⁸ See, “Building a Segregated City” at 310.

³²⁹ See, “City agency gets off list of troubled: HUD put Housing Authority in financial notice in 1979” **New Haven Register**, 26 October 1987.

there were federal probes during this period of time³³⁰.

The situation was particularly dire in the West Rock projects, which were far away from downtown New Haven and separated from potential sources of employment by the Hamden fence. By 1992, according to Rae, only 137 of Brookside's 567 tenants had a stable source of income, unemployment was 88% in Rockview and 76% Brookside³³¹. The Ribicoff Cottages, the crown jewel of West Rock was deteriorating due to neglect by HANH³³². 41 of 278 units at Brookside were being rehabilitated after years of neglect. As one tenant sighed: "It's been discouraging. It's been a long, long haul"³³³.

With such dire unemployment came high crime rates. An urban legend, which I was unable to confirm, has it that in the '80s, the New Haven Fire Department refused to answer calls in West Rock without a police escort³³⁴ and it is said that "residents in the old Rockview rolled dumpsters filled with burning trash into the street so police couldn't get inside³³⁵".

In truth, a "thriving drug trade...at Rockview led to an influx of military weaponry, including M-1 rifles and Uzi submachine guns" which ruled the roost against a meager police presence³³⁶. This was further borne out at public hearings (at HANH) addressing the violence rooted in the drug culture that plagued the residents: "I have bullets coming through my windows and through my walls. With the drugs and with the gunfire, every night is like the O.K. Corral...It takes the police two hours and fifteen minutes to get to Rockview"³³⁷. In the case of the resident the violence of the 80s was coming face-to-face with the isolation that was rooted in the 1950s.

Moreover, "Not all of that trouble stayed in New Haven", as Hamden neighbors who told "horror stories of the 'bad days' of the '80s and '90s, can attest to. Some of those incidents were relatively harmless—kids smoking pot in people's backyards, or throwing eggs at cars during Halloween. Others were more serious. 'Our house got broken into in the late '80s,'" A reporter told the

³³⁰ For an example see, "New Haven Authority Target of Probes," **Hartford Courant**, 12 June 1986.

³³¹ See, "What Doesn't Love a Wall".

³³² See, "Neglect mars Ribicoff Cottages," **New Haven Register**, 22 June 1987; See also, "Tenants in cottages cite neglect," **New Haven Register**, 17 June 1987.

³³³ See, "Brookside rehab bears first fruit for 41 families," **New Haven Journal Courier**, 4 March 1987.

³³⁴ See, "The Town and the City".

³³⁵ See, "What Doesn't Love a Wall".

³³⁶ See, "The promise got lost in the projects," **Hartford Courant**, 13 July 1987.

³³⁷ See, "Tenants fear for their safety at projects," **New Haven Register**, 14 October 1987; See also, "Authority to crackdown on drug abuse in housing areas," **New Haven Register**, 15 July 1987; See also, "Lack of Police at Rockview fuels tensions with tenants," **New Haven Register**, 28 June 1987.

story of a 32 year old black Hamden resident who told her: "They took our VCR, and several other things³³⁸."

In spite of all the attempts to build a fortress the problems crossed the border and rather than tackling crime with a mutual aid approach frightened residents on one side of the border opted for the easy fix ---- "the fence".

When HANH applied for a Hope VI grant, Professor Rae, as a consultant described the "checkered history" of the authority "since its creation in 1938"³³⁹. In the fall of 1998, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development rejected the Housing Authority's application for a \$7.5 million HOPE VI demolition grant for West Rock after several management changes caused the agency to miss a deadline³⁴⁰.

In 1999 the design firm of Goody, Clancy & Associates ("GCA") were commissioned to submit a master plan for the revitalization of West Rock. GCA cited obstacles to development including 7 of 8 streets within the complex being "dead-ended" and little connection to the outside world both in New Haven where access is along Wintergreen Avenue a street with no sidewalks and two bus lines in New Haven and one in Hamden. The problem with the Hamden bus line is that access is limited by the "chain-link fence"³⁴¹.

Hope VI included a visionary plan proposed by the late architect/developer Wendell Harp that envisioned commercial thoroughfare or a Town Center, community center, police substation and science and technology-oriented magnet school in addition to mixed residential development³⁴² with, notably, access to Woodin Street and, possibly Route 15³⁴³.

HANH took another crack at a HOPE VI revitalization grant in 2002³⁴⁴. The hiring of Professor Solomon was an attempt to prevent the continued slide of HANH into the morass of a federal takeover and it began to work for HANH. Since Solomon took over HANH had "...undergone a 180-degree turnaround. On HUD's most recent annual housing authority assessment, New Haven scored 80

³³⁸ See, "The Town and the City".

³³⁹ See, "An Historical and Baseline Assessment of HOPE VI, Volume I Cross-site Report, July 1996", Douglas Rae, Rae Research and Consulting, , "Executive Summaries of HOPE VI Baseline Case Studies", p. B-20

³⁴⁰ See, Angela Carter, "West Rock revival on tap; Agency aims to apply for \$35 million grant: The application must be made to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development by mid-May" **New Haven Register**, 27 March 2000.

³⁴¹ Goody, Clancy & Associates, Master Plan for the West Rock Area, dated 23 August 1999, p. 11.

³⁴² *Id.*, at pp. 34-43.

³⁴³ Marc Wiznia, "Housing Authority plans to redevelop West Rock without grant," **Yale Daily News**, 10 April 2002

³⁴⁴ Marc Wiznia, "City to apply for HOPE VI grants again," **Yale Daily News**, 28 February 2002.

out of 100, finally cracking the “B” range after earning a 33 just four years ago. Solomon also helped New Haven acquire HUD’s ‘Moving to Work’ status in October. The designation, offered to just 32 housing agencies nationwide, allows the authority to pool all funds together into one account³⁴⁵. By the time Professor Solomon ended a thirteen year tenure that included service as interim Executive Director and Chair of the Board of Commissioners HANH had left “troubled” status³⁴⁶, redeveloped the Monterrey in the Dixwell neighborhood (among other achievements), obtained “moving to work” status and was moving forward with the rebuilding of Rockview and Brookside³⁴⁷.

However, even as HANH’s fortunes were, once again, rising there was an “inspection scandal” that prompted an investigation³⁴⁸ and resulted in the debarment of participants³⁴⁹ and the termination of the Director and Deputy Director. In short, HANH officials were able to obtain advance information regarding a HUD site visit prior to an inspection³⁵⁰.

³⁴⁵ See, Marc Wiznia, “City to apply for HOPE VI grants again,” **Yale Daily News**, 28 February 2002. **Commentary:** I was one of the Commissioners who engineered the hiring of the Professor, based on the Boston model where Professor Harry Spence was placed in charge of the housing authority by a federal court. We chose not to wait since the status quo for HANH had been failure and despair. There was no alternative but to punt the ball and try some new plays.

³⁴⁶ Melinda Tuhus, “‘Troubled’ No More?,” **New Haven Independent**, 26 April 2006

³⁴⁷ See, Angela Carter, “New Haven Housing Authority chairman moving on as agency enjoys progress,” **New Haven Register**, 17 May 2011

³⁴⁸ See, Marcel Przymusinski, “Housing authority faces investigation,” **Yale Daily News**, 29 March 2005.

³⁴⁹ See, “HUD Suspends, Proposes to Debar Individuals Involved In New Haven Public Housing Inspection Violation,” **HUD Archives: News Releases**, 6 May 2005.

³⁵⁰ See, Marcel Przymusinski, “Housing authority faces investigation,” **Yale Daily News**, 29 March 2005.

Chapter 9 – Mending Fences?

A. West Rock Implementation Committee: 1999. In the mid 1990s HANH began looking at a range of development projects to replace Brookside and Rockview. Formed in 1999, the fifteen-member West Rock Implementation Committee was created by a Memorandum of Understanding to include the representation of tenants, HANH officials, New Haven officials, the mayor of Hamden, and the president of Southern Connecticut State University³⁵¹. HANH was responsible for ratifying any of the committee’s initiatives³⁵². The objective was plain and simple: a “remarkable transformation” of the 762 units that comprised “Rockview, Brookside, Westville Manor, Ribicoff Cottages and the Ribicoff Extension public housing complexes”. At the time HANH’s Interim Executive Director said: “The design will be driven very much by the tenants and their needs and their hopes...It’s a great place to build,” he said. “It borders on a suburban town with single-family homes and it borders the Merritt Parkway³⁵³”.

It was evident, even in the early years of the twenty-first century, that “...West Rock—would contain a surfeit of project-based housing occupied almost exclusively by very poor families, mostly African-Americans. It enjoys little in retail shopping, social services, or anything else except its still spectacular landscape³⁵⁴.”

B. Moving to Work: 2001. In 2001 HUD awarded HANH Moving to Work (“MTW”) status, a program that affords public housing agencies with greater flexibility to design and test innovative local approaches to housing assistance programs. The objective is to address housing needs of low income families in local communities³⁵⁵. The designation, offered to just 32 housing

³⁵¹ See, City Plan Report 1433-02 Regarding Zoning Ordinance and Text Amendment for Property at 49, 60 and 200 Brookside and 205 Wilmot Road, dated 18 November 2009.

³⁵² See, Marc Wiznia, “Housing Authority plans to redevelop West Rock without grant” **Yale Daily News**, 10 April 2002

³⁵³ See, Angela Carter, “West Rock revival on tap; Agency aims to apply for \$35 million grant: The application must be made to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development by mid-May” **New Haven Register**, 27 March 2000.

³⁵⁴ “City: Urbanism and Its End” at 140.

³⁵⁵ Marc Wiznia, “Housing Authority plans to redevelop West Rock without grant,” **Yale Daily News**, 10 April 2002: “But the HOPE VI grant may not even be necessary. Housing Authority Interim Executive Director Robert Solomon said New Haven will not wait for HOPE VI funding from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to proceed with the redevelopments...HUD awarded over \$491 million last year in 15 HOPE VI revitalization grants, with a maximum of \$35 million per grant, and early figures suggest that nearly \$600 million could be allocated this year. But Solomon said each grant may be worth just \$15 million. The highly competitive HOPE VI revitalization grants allow for the replacement of blighted public

agencies nationwide, allows the authority to collect all funding sources together into one account³⁵⁶.

According to the HUD website MTW was established to “transform HANH’s existing public housing portfolio” and to provide the necessary social services to enable tenants to achieve independence. In the early 21st century HANH received almost \$4 million in Hope VI grants for the demolition of the West Rock development...at the time Brookside was down to 157 families and Rockview was “long abandoned”³⁵⁷.

The expectation was that demolition would start on February 1, 2004³⁵⁸. It did not. Almost twenty months later as the population of Brookside dwindled to the point where there were “under 50 families spread around two dozen buildings on the 62 acre site” demolition had still not occurred as it was held hostage to an “obscure Connecticut law that effectively requires one-for-one replacement of any public housing units torn down”³⁵⁹.

In March 2004, HANH demolished Rockview Terrace, a severely distressed low-income housing project on the fringes of the city. Piles of broken appliances and concrete staircases ascending nowhere were all that remained of this low-rise two-hundred unit development. Meanwhile, the Authority secured a grant to evacuate a neighboring project, Brookside, in anticipation of its planned destruction. Demolition of Brookside occurred in 2008³⁶⁰.

But even tearing down the wall and extending the project's roadways would only be a partial solution. As the history of West Rock shows, geographic isolation and design cannot predict the decline of a housing project. For its first fifteen years, residents chose to live on the urban frontier because it afforded a better quality of life than the crowded and unsanitary quarters of the city³⁶¹.

By 2005, those dangers had disappeared. HANH had cleared the Brookside and Rockview projects in preparation for remodeling, leaving only the elderly and disabled residents of Ribicoff in the West Rock area. Crime dropped

housing apartment buildings with town house layouts”. See also, the Amended and Restated MTW Agreement and both of its amendments (HANH Archives).

³⁵⁶ Marc Wiznia, “Housing Authority plans to redevelop West Rock without grant,” **Yale Daily News**, 10 April 2002

³⁵⁷ FY 2001 Hope VI Demolition Grants

³⁵⁸ Joseph Straw, “Authority gets \$4 million to move tenants.” **New Haven Register**. 19 January 2004.

³⁵⁹ Andy Bromage. “New Haven projects crumble as residents wonder what future holds,” **New Haven Register**, 18 September 2005.

³⁶⁰ See, Melissa Bailey, “Beam Me Up, Brookside!” **New Haven Independent**, 16 March 2011; See also, Melissa Bailey, “First 8 Families Return To Brookside”, **New Haven Independent**, 25 April 2014.

³⁶¹ “Creating a Suburban Ghetto” at 86.

dramatically in the empty communities as new, mixed-income housing units rose. But that same year, almost four decades after it first built a fence, Hamden responded to holes in it by erecting a second, parallel fence, adding a sturdier barrier around the city projects' three edges that rises in places to 16 feet³⁶². Consistent with MTW the new west Rock Development would create a new street grid that would provide proximity to bus lines and public streets. In the meantime it appeared that this news had not traveled to the other side of the town line...or perhaps it did.

C. LOCIP Funds to the Rescue: Mending the Fence - 2004-2005. On October 4, 2004, amidst the progress being made toward demolition and renovation of West Rock, Deputy Chief Jack Kennelly citing years of neglect and fences that were inadequate and easily penetrable asked for funds to fix the fence:

As you know, there have been reoccurring problems with the fence on Woodin Street...These problems specifically relate to individuals utilizing this fence as a pass through between the two jurisdictions. The fence has repeatedly been vandalized by way of cutting an opening at several locations allowing access to either side. It has frequently been substantiated and documented that individuals from the New Haven side would pass through the fence, commit criminal acts such as burglaries, vandalism, and narcotic trafficking, and would use these pass through's as a means of escape³⁶³.

He and other members of a planning committee recommended the use of \$100,000 of Local Capital Improvement Program Funds ("LOCIP") to remedy the situation by constructing an impenetrable fence³⁶⁴.

On June 24, 2005 the Frankson Fence Company submitted an invoice to Jackie Downing the Executive Assistant to Mayor Amento for furnishing and installing a 1241' fence on Woodin Street for a cost of \$82,477.00³⁶⁵. On June 30, 2005, Mayor Carl J. Amento submitted a resolution authorizing the Mayor to "apply for, Accept and Expend Funding Up to \$100,000" in LOCIP funds. On August 1, 2005 the Legislative Council approved the resolution authorizing the replacement of the fence³⁶⁶. One council member was quoted as follows:

³⁶² See, "What Doesn't Love a Wall".

³⁶³ Memorandum from Deputy Chief Jack Kennelly to Mayor Carl Amento, dated 4 October 2004.

³⁶⁴ Council Members Curt Leng (At-Large) and Berita Rowe (3rd District) were signatories of the Deputy Chief's Memorandum.

³⁶⁵ See, Invoice from The Frankson Fence Company, dated 24 June 2005. Note: Frankson Fence built the original fences in the 1950s.

³⁶⁶ See, letter from Evelyn N. Parise, Clerk of the Council to Mayor Amento dated 2 August 2005 certifying approval of the "resolution to help reduce vandalism and theft perpetrated by those who cut through openings in the current fence on a regular basis".

“Everybody wants this fence down there...Approving it would make everyone very happy”³⁶⁷. By the 3rd of August the Mayor applied with the Office of Policy and Management for the funds³⁶⁸ and by the 17th of August OPM had approved the use of LOCIP funds³⁶⁹. The new fence was constructed thereafter.

The LOCIP fence was described as a “...sturdier fence, which rises in places to 16 feet.” In the context of the demolition of West Rock, the inception of the West Rock Implementation Committee and the changing crime data one journalist concluded: “Beyond the physical affront, public housing residents were angered by the inequalities the fence embodied, with Hamden’s median income more than four times the average income in New Haven’s housing projects³⁷⁰.” Furthermore, it should be noted that by the time the Legislative Council approved the funds many of the dangers cited by Hamden residents “disappeared...(HANH)...had cleared the Brookside and Rockview projects in preparation for remodeling, leaving only the elderly and disabled residents of Ribicoff in the West Rock area. Crime dropped dramatically in the empty communities as new, mixed-income housing units rose”.

D. Zone Change: A Connection to Woodin Street. In 2007 the Michaels Development Company was selected as HANH’s partner for the planning of the development and by 2009 the City Plan Commission approved a zone change that would permit the development of the West Rock Redevelopment Planned Residential District consisting of 433 dwelling units (357 rental, 38 home ownership and 38 elderly) with a connection from Wilmot Street in New Haven to Woodin Street in Hamden³⁷¹.

Again, the boundary of the planned development district consisted of land owned by HANH or an affiliated entity which was contiguous to Woodin Street in Hamden³⁷². The Chair of the City Plan Commission asked how HANH would overcome problems of isolation if “completion of the connection to Hamden...did not take place”. A HANH representative testified that “this was a beautiful part of the city and many of the former residents were ready to return. The old model was not a way to build community. The new model with mixed incomes and ages, difference in architectural and design detail and roadway improvements had proven successful...(HANH) would continue to pursue the

³⁶⁷ See, Michael Gannon, “Hamden seeks funds for security fence”, **New Haven Register**, 2 August 2005.

³⁶⁸ See, letter to Sandy Huber, Planning Specialist from Mayor Amento, dated 3 August 2005.

³⁶⁹ See, letter from W. David LeVasseur, Undersecretary, Intergovernmental Policy Division, OPM, dated 17 August 2005.

³⁷⁰ See, “Breaking a Barrier”.

³⁷¹ See, City Plan Report 1433-02, pp. 2 and 14 of 15. **Note:** At this juncture there was no discussion regarding the status of the land upon which the fence remained (HANH Archives).

³⁷² *Id.*, p. 16.

*connection of Wilmot Road to Hamden*³⁷³ (emphasis added). The City Plan Commission found that *“access to Woodin Street and a direct connection between the Rockview and Brookside neighborhoods should help to ensure the successful integration of the entire West Rock neighborhood into the surrounding New Haven and Hamden neighborhoods and end the physical isolation of this community. The Commission finds that this is for the betterment of the City and the neighborhood”*³⁷⁴ (emphasis added).

E. Aldermanic Approval: Will the Fence Go or Stay? Aldermanic approval came on December 21, 2009. The Chair of the Legislation Commission expressed hope that *“...connections to Hamden to provide access to greater services throughout the area”*³⁷⁵. At the hearings of the Legislation Committee of the Board of Aldermen it was stated that *“the fence at the Hamden town line will be partially removed. Town meetings have been held with Hamden officials and residents of the neighboring area”*³⁷⁶ (emphasis added). Believe it or not that was the closest thing to an utterance about the closed boundary since the first debates in 1950 when it wasn't part of the discussion at all.

F. Forward Movement. Following approval, the redevelopment of the West Rock neighborhood which included two former public housing developments was moving forward. During FY 2009 and 2010, HANH initiated the following phases: Brookside I Rental, Brookside II Rental and Brookside Homeownership. During FY 2012, HANH commenced Brookside Phase II consisting of 100 units and Rockview Phase I Rental consisting of 77 units which is a part of the overall West Rock Revitalization Plan. The West Rock Master Plan, which was the result of a years-long planning process involving collaboration with community residents, community organizations and city officials that aims to rejuvenate a formerly blighted neighborhood, replacing 491 units of distressed Public Housing with over 500 units of mixed-income affordable rental and homeownership units, along with resident service facilities and commercial space was moving forward³⁷⁷.

G. Lingering Questions and Hostilities. It is certainly ironic and disconcerting that, with the exception of the CPI protest in the late 1960s the fence was never an issue on the New Haven side of the town line. A review of newspapers and journals of the Board of Aldermen indicate that there was no

³⁷³ Id., p. 5.

³⁷⁴ Id., p. 12.

³⁷⁵ See, Aldermanic Journal 2009, pp. 928-929.

³⁷⁶ See, Minutes of the Legislation Committee of the New Haven Board of Aldermen, dated 30 November 2009 at the office of Legislative Services.

³⁷⁷ HANH 2009 Moving to Work Annual Report pp 59-60 (HANH Archives).

sign of protest when Hamden built the LOCIP fence on property owned by HANH and located entirely within the City of New Haven. Not a peep.

The sleeping giant only reared its head as the development process was in full bore. Yet still the HANH officials spoke in muted terms “hoping” that there would be access. Yet from the time of the announcement of the public private partnership, through City Plan and Aldermanic approval it became apparent that the plans had Wilmot Street connecting to Woodin Street where New Haven flows into Hamden. All we hear from HANH: “That is something we very much hope will happen³⁷⁸”.

Finally, during this period West Rock Alderman Darnell Goldson, elected in 2009, called the fence “...a lawsuit waiting to happen...My question is: What right do they have to fence out a community? Can we put up a fence between us and East Haven? Where do they get the right to cut off a community from another community? It just limits the ability of the people in that community to have free travel. I think it’s illegal. I think we should have a conversation with mayor of Hamden again and say, ‘You can’t restrict the travel of Americans from one town to another³⁷⁹.’”

Following a theme raised by his predecessor Willie Moore in the 1980s, Goldson’s ire was raised by the depiction of West Rockers as criminals:

Right now the people of West Rock are elderly. That’s all who are out there at this point...If someone can show me statistics that crime is happening in Hamden because of Brookside, maybe they have an argument for more police protection. To characterize a group of people based on conjecture and innuendo and rumors is unfair.

Meanwhile former residents of West Rock were looking forward to returning home after a long absence. The former residents of West Rock who saw their neighborhood razed were now standing on the cusp of redevelopment. More importantly they were elated that the new development would be connected to Hamden: “Currently residents have to ride to downtown New Haven, then catch another bus miles back to Hamden to reach jobs or shopping that in reality is right near their homes³⁸⁰”.

On the other side of the fence approval and plans for renovation did not change the tenor of the debate. Hamden residents continued to insist that “the fence separating them from New Haven needs to remain, to keep the “riff-raff”

³⁷⁸ See, “Will New Haven’s Berlin Wall Fall?” quoting the Executive Director of HANH.

³⁷⁹ Id.

³⁸⁰ See, Riquee Blackman Jarmon. “West Rock Tenants Eager To Go Home”, **New Haven Register**, 5 November 2009

out³⁸¹. It may not have been clear in 2009 but this debate was on the downward spiral toward its conclusion. Mayor Jackson's first reaction early in his mayoralty was that reopening the road will require significant reassurance of nervous Hamden residents:

This is a very important issue to the neighborhood...They remember the bad old days of Brookside and Rockview" when there was a lot of "crime and bad behavior...It's going to take a lot of effort to convince the neighborhood...There's a huge trust debt that's going to have to be negotiated...You have to see more before you commit to it...I'm excited about the direction we're going in. I think we can get there³⁸².

Meanwhile a spokeswoman retorted that HANH had an agreement with Jackson's predecessor to open the road. While Alderman Goldson urged legal action, HANH continued to suggest that Hamden needed to see some progress on construction before it could be convinced to remove the fence...deliberations would continue³⁸³.

So how is it that in 2009 with all the lawyers, planners, private partners and other professional staff on board that HANH could only "pursue" access to Woodin Street, could only hope for a solution or would patiently prove the worthiness of their position to Hamden. After all, all it would take is some cursory level of due diligence to reveal HANH's ownership and control. There were property descriptions; zoning maps; surveys; assessment maps; PDD boundary maps, building plans...surely someone...anyone would have concluded that a property line contiguous to Woodin Street would actually solve the decades old riddle of the fence. The dearth of any level of due diligence is bewildering and inexplicable to say the least.

In the meantime the final skirmishes would proceed the better part of the next three years.

³⁸¹ See, "Will New Haven's Berlin Wall Fall?" Other comments in MacMillan's report ranged from the legitimately self-protective "worried about crime and drugs" to just inane "The people that are over there, they just rob"; "Kids come every Halloween and climb over the fence to go trick or treating in Hamden;" "They're in pain, so some of them cause pain." "You never know who's going to come break into your house."

³⁸² Id.

³⁸³ See, Thomas MacMillan, "Top Law Prof. To Look At City's 'Berlin Wall'." **New Haven Independent**, 22 January 2010.

Chapter 10 – Final Encounters and Skirmishes

A. “A double-layer chain link fence that Hamden as kept up for decades”. Really? By April 2012 the first eight families returned to Brookside³⁸⁴. At the ribbon cutting Mayor John DeStefano said it was time for the fence to come down:

I rode my bike here the other day...and the streets looked pretty empty. Dead ends are not good for anyone. We need open streets, and the streets need to be opened in Hamden.

However, the Mayor emphasized that the new neighborhood remained isolated from “...both downtown New Haven and neighboring Hamden”³⁸⁵.

In February of 2011 construction on West Rock commenced. Under the West Rock development program, the new residential community would consist of 433 newly constructed dwelling units. HANH expected that housing, both rental and homeownership, would be built over multiple phases of development, financing and construction. The timing of each phase will depend primarily on the availability of development financing from both private and public sources. As described in the MTF Annual Report³⁸⁶:

“The West Rock revitalization is a project to redevelop two obsolete Public Housing developments, Rockview Terrace and Brookside, and one additional parcel that previously contained a commercial building. The 491 Public Housing units and the retail building that have stood on the three sites will be replaced with a mix of Project-Based Section 8/LIHTC rental, Public Housing/LIHTC rental and affordable homeownership housing...The rental units will consist of 392 units, 352 family townhouse units and 40 senior units in a mid-rise building. The homeownership component will consist of 38 units. The project will be carried out in multiple phases. The revitalization of the Brookside site will consist of two rental phases and one homeownership phase. The revitalization of the Rockview site will be carried out in two rental phases and two homeownership phases. The estimated cost of the revitalization of all three sites is \$150-\$200 million”.

³⁸⁴ See, Melissa Bailey, “First 8 Families Return To Brookside”, **New Haven Independent**, 25 April 2014.

³⁸⁵ See, Nicolas Medina Mora Perez, “DeStefano: Time For Fence To Come Down, **New Haven Independent**, 6 June 2012.

³⁸⁶ Housing Authority of the City of New Haven, 2013 Moving to Work Annual Plan, Submitted: 29 June 2012; Resubmitted: 25 September 2012; and, Resubmitted: 5 November 2012

Yet the fence remained in the way. The Executive Director of HANH stated, "Residents in Hamden were concerned about the value of their properties (because of fear of crime in Brookside)...The fence (they erected) cuts off Brookside from Hamden's commercial area...(and remains a) major stumbling block' to connect the housing complex to the other communities"³⁸⁷. To overcome these fears the Executive Director informed the press that Mayors DeStefano, Jackson and HANH "...have discussed tearing down the fence on Wilmot Avenue that separates Brookside from Hamden after the Complex is completed"³⁸⁸. Mayor DeStefano said the West Rock development was "one of the hardest to build consensus around" and much work remained including opening the roads to Hamden: "This has got to become not a dead-end cul-de-sac, but a set of through streets...We've got to change some minds in Hamden".

In reporting on the Mayor's comments the journalist Melissa Bailey wrote:

He was referring to a *double-layer chain link fence that Hamden has kept up for decades* to keep out West Rock housing project tenants in the name of avoiding potential crime. The fence also blocks a road and keeps out all the people living by the city-town border. For decades the fence has stood as a symbol of closed opportunity to project tenants: They have to take two buses, and sometimes travel hours, to get to jobs or shopping just past the fence across the town border³⁸⁹ (emphasis added)³⁹⁰.

B. "There is No Ransom Here". The Executive Director of HANH suggested "We've been in conversation with [Hamden] Mayor Jackson, and we are hoping to bring an item before their city council...We've toured them through the new development, so that they can see how much everything has changed." The Director also indicated that New Haven was ready to offer some

³⁸⁷ See, "Brookside to be revitalized", Tom Stanley-Becker, Yale Daily News, 23 March 2011.

³⁸⁸ Id. **Note:** The City Plan Report required approval of the connected City Street. Further note: There was no mention of the ownership of the land contiguous to Wooden Street.

³⁸⁹ Melissa Bailey, "Beam Me Up, Brookside!" **New Haven Independent**, 16 March 2011. Mayor DeStefano also discussed the need for the elusive element of commercial enterprise and the need for involvement by Southern Connecticut State University in the neighborhood.

³⁹⁰ **Commentary:** It is important to take a moment to consider what was printed in **The Independent**: "...Hamden has kept (the fence) up for decades". This statement is a half-truth at best. It would be entirely accurate to assert that Hamden residents asked for the fence and wanted to close off any access to Wooden Street. It is also true that in the latest incarnation Hamden used LOCIP funds without any participation (or protest) from New Haven. However, history is replete with the complicity of New Haven through a series of "winks and nods", handshakes, actual construction and maintenance of the fence by HANH and, as recently as the mid-1980s a public statement supporting "squeeze" spaces in a newly constructed fence 50% of which was paid by New Haven.

incentives to Hamden in exchange for open streets: “We’ve also offered them to make some improvements to the streets on their side...We think [opening the streets between Hamden and Brookside] is good for this side and good for the other side.”³⁹¹

According to a press account, Mayor Scott Jackson said “although he supports eventually tearing down the wall”, he is not quite ready to agree: “I think my record has been supportive for that (opening of Hamden streets)...The question is how we get from A to B. Those fences are there for a reason.” The Hamden Mayor went on to say that New Haven should focus on better communications with the affected Hamden residents: “There needs to be an open house, an open invitation for residents to come see the construction, because they’ve seen a lot of bad stuff in that area...I know the New Haven housing authority has done a lot of great work, but the neighbors need to see it.” Moreover, with regard to “incentives” the Mayor replied: “There is no ransom here...It’s a generous offer, but you do something because it’s right, not because someone offers you something.”³⁹²

C. “Take It Down or We’ll Sue”. In August the parties commenced a flurry of public meetings. The first took place on August 8th when fifty HANH tenants and officials met on the New Haven side. The meeting at the Brennan-Rogers School was designed as a prelude to a tour the following Monday with Hamden Mayor Scott Jackson and his town councilmen the following week. The hope was that the tour of the “newly rebuilt Brookside projects, now a mix of rental and owner-occupied homes with added levels of social services and security (would) convince the Hamdenites that the time to take down the fence has not only arrived, but is decades overdue”³⁹³.

HANH Deputy Director Jimmy Miller proclaimed “We’re going to do everything we can [to convince them to pull that fence down] including suing them”³⁹⁴. But we hope that won’t be necessary.” The plan was to connect Wilmot

³⁹¹ See, Nicolas Medina Mora Perez, “DeStefano: Time For Fence To Come Down, **New Haven Independent**, 6 June 2012.

³⁹² *Id.*

³⁹³ See, Allan Appel, “Take It Down, Or We’ll Sue!” **New Haven Independent**, 8 August 2012 (hereinafter, “Take It Down, Or We’ll Sue”).

³⁹⁴ **Commentary:** Really...HANH was going to sue? Did the Deputy Director know that HANH owned the property? Did he, when he was Acting Director, ask his lawyers to determine the legal authority for the construction and maintenance of the fence by HANH and Hamden? Certainly there were legal theories to be advanced on behalf of the residents and it surprised me that the ACLU, CCLU or Legal Assistance did not commence such an action. However, for HANH to threaten a lawsuit when it could have easily remedied the situation with an appropriate level of due diligence was, arguably, a rash position to be taken as HANH was embarking on a diplomatic mission. I contrast the Deputy Director’s position with the views of the residents. In his article Allan Appel observed that some West Rock residents disagreed with HANH’s general approach which put “persuasion first and legal steps later if necessary...They should go to

Road in New Haven to Woodin Street in Hamden. Miller urged “self-interest” as a motivation for Hamden to take down the fence, stating that when all the phases of development are complete, 1,000 homes will have been built, housing 3,000 people. “Our residents have the same desires. We spend money at all the big boxes. It’s an economic boom”. At this point Mayor Jackson remained noncommittal saying he’d like to see it happen, but wasn’t sure when”³⁹⁵.

D. A Tour of West Rock: Two Sides of the Same Story. On August 13th Hamden residents reversed the commute and drove the three mile loop from Woodin Street to West Rock, for the first time. The history of West Rock is replete with stories of residents who had to “take two buses and transfer in downtown to get to the...shopping mall” on Dixwell Avenue³⁹⁶. According to the **New Haven Independent**, the trip “around a contentious border fence” was for one purpose “...to clamor for the fence to stay up”³⁹⁷.

The actual purpose of the meeting was have an “on-site face-to-face” discussion about the future of the fence between HANH residents and representatives and their Hamden neighbors “...who spend their days mere steps—yet worlds—away from each other”. About forty Hamden residents attended the meeting³⁹⁸.

court. It’s been there too long.” Moreover, the article also cited then-New Haven State Senator Toni Harp calling the wall an outrage and a “public health and environmental hazard” because it limits quick access for emergency vehicles. “If there’s flooding [without the roads being opened], we’ll have another Katrina here,” she said. It is hard to argue with that contention. The point in this note is that HANH, over the years, put itself between a rock and a hard place and by not diligently pursuing the legal underpinnings of the fence they were fighting in the dark.

³⁹⁵ See, “Take It Down, Or We’ll Sue!” In this article Appel chronicled the aspirations of West Rocks residents: “The fenceless future vision was music to April Pearson’s ears. A van for disabled people like her costs \$2.60 each way and goes to the Whalley Avenue Stop and Shop downtown via a long circuitous route. With the roads open to Hamden, Pearson said, she could go to the nearby plazas in Hamden: “The plazas have lots of stores [too, not just a grocery]. If you have to go to the doctor or foot doctor, you can plan your schedule. I could get a few things accomplished at once. Let the bus go through,” she said.

³⁹⁶ See, “Breaking Barriers in New Haven”, quoting former Alderman Darnell Goldson.

³⁹⁷ Thomas MacMillan, “Tour Brings Berlin Wall Tensions to Fore”, **New Haven Independent**, 14 August 2012 (hereinafter, “Tour Brings Berlin Wall Tensions to Fore”).

³⁹⁸ Id. In this article MacMillan stated: “Of particular importance to the Hamdeners was the fate of the decades-old fence that separates their town from New Haven. The reinforced chain link fence—**built by Hamden**—has for years divided the town from Brookside and the housing authority’s other projects nearby, Rockview and Ribicoff Cottages” (emphasis added). **Commentary:** Again, the **New Haven Independent** plays with the reality of history and bends the facts to meet its narrative. Again, the LOCIP fence was built by Hamden without involvement of HANH, although no record to indicate any protest from HANH or New Haven officials at that time. What is clear is that HANH had an active role in the building, maintenance and payment for the fence from the early 1950s at least through the public agreement in 1986. If the Independent wants to state that the existence of the fence was an “outrage” or “injustice”

HANH officials continued to advance the case for connecting Wilmot Road to Woodin Street. Spirited discussions continued with a New Haven resident accusing Hamden neighbors of "...being stuck in 'the mentality of yesteryear' and making New Haveners like her feel like 'rodents'" while a Hamden resident "accused New Haven of shoveling 'dirt' at the crowd and trying to 'change our community'." The time worn arguments of isolation, crime³⁹⁹, poverty⁴⁰⁰, traffic⁴⁰¹, access, property values, race and class⁴⁰² presented themselves at the meeting. Some of the issues were clearly articulated...others remained below the surface. Yet it was clear that there was no consensus at this meeting.

The most interesting twist in the proceedings came when Hamden Police Chief Thomas Wydra forwarded an unambiguous position on the fence: it's time to remove the wall⁴⁰³. The Chief expressed a hope "...that we can connect

or that it was the result of lobbying by Hamden residents that is fair game; however, to cast blame for the construction and maintenance of the fence for four generations is not entirely accurate and doesn't tell the true story.

³⁹⁹ In response to claims of crime HANH officials indicated that "new tenants at Brookside will all be subject to 'very rigorous and thorough' criminal background checks", according to reporter Thomas MacMillan.

⁴⁰⁰ **Note:** According to the **New Haven Independent**: "The whole make-up of the community will be different, said HANH's Executive Director: 'What used to be here was all public housing...It was the poorest of the poor who were living here.' The new development will be a mixed-income community with people who get up and go to work everyday, she said".

⁴⁰¹ **Note:** MacMillan also reports a difference of opinion between former Police Chief and then Councilman Jack Kennelly and HANH officials. On the one hand, the former Chief "predicted the completed housing project would generate daily traffic of between 600 and 800 cars". On the other, HANH officials indicated that "an independent traffic study found that only about 12 percent of residents are likely to have cars". Others indicated that the data made no difference since "No one can ever predict the future," and that the "traffic on Woodin Street is already a problem, with a steep hill that 'cars come down sideways' in the winter."

⁴⁰² **Note:** The **New Haven Independent** report also referenced a time when the fence was broken and a Hamden resident stated: "we had nothing but trouble". This person said "kids" would come over to his neighborhood and break into people's houses: "It is constantly a gun battle over here." Another resident was cited as saying "Anywhere you have low-income housing, you have more crime...When the fence went up, all the crime stopped, he said.

⁴⁰³ See, "Tour Brings Berlin Wall Tensions to Fore". **Note:** This position is also mirrored in the article by Benjamin Mueller: "DeStefano said the fence reminded him of Jim Crow laws, but didn't think people would soon see it with the same starkness. 'I don't think anyone's going to be embarrassed by it,' he said. The fence, he seemed to recognize, was based in complicated class prejudices that were harder to interpret than their racial antecedents. 'Why do people hold onto their fears and ignorances?' DeStefano asked. He said economically insecure Hamden residents wanted to feel superior to lower-class residents of the projects. But, he continued, everyone has the same self-interest in healthy communities. Ideally, the projects would improve, the fence would fall, and Hamden would benefit from new commerce. But neither community will get there without exposing itself to injury. Hamden has to trust New Haven to build a better project. New Haven has to trust Hamden to open its borders in good faith. Both communities will have to let old wounds heal in full public view. 'It means we're going to have to take chances on one another. How is that different from falling into a relationship with another

these neighborhoods...Tall fences and walls are a symbol of what is wrong.” The Chief went on to state that the fence never reduced crime. In the Independent article the Chief “recalled working on Hamden’s narc squad in the ‘90s and doing undercover drug buys near the fence from people who came through the fence into Hamden. ‘Did the fence eliminate that crime? No,’ he said. The wall didn’t stop crooks from coming into town, he said; it only made it easier for them to hide and ‘conceal their movements’ from the cops”⁴⁰⁴.

The view of Chief Wydra was amplified by New Haven Police Chief Dean Esserman who cited the isolation and lack of access to West Rock: “One way in. One way out. And good luck...It was an American failure...People need to be living amongst one another...You can’t ban people.” In the end the Chief expressed a hope that both sides could benefit from removal of the fence: “I know that what was here didn’t work. This is a much more thoughtful project with ingredients for real success.”⁴⁰⁵ The Chief’s views were amplified by Hamden’s Town Planner, Leslie Creane, who expressed a concern that residents of West Rock would have more difficulty filling its middle-income units and home-ownership units as long as the fence stands, keeping poverty concentrated and raising risks of crime. Her argument reflected a real politic approach that posited that connected streets were also safer streets: “In the case of an accident or tornado, emergency vehicles from Hamden would reach the projects faster without a fence.”⁴⁰⁶

Mayor Jackson maintained an aura of neutrality: “What the housing authority is attempting to do here is to demonstrate to the people of Hamden that the page has turned...I’m here to listen.” On the other hand he was pointing out the historic reality; in other words, that the fence exacerbated a community already victimized by a “concentration of poverty”: “...One way in, one way out, and two big bad developments locked in there.”⁴⁰⁷

person? You take a risk.’ DeStefano cited recent efforts by the New Haven Housing Authority to redevelop housing projects like Quinnipiac Terrace and Monterrey Place as evidence that mixed-income developments reduced crime and improved community life. Hamden’s Police Chief, Thomas Wydra, agreed, calling the fence ‘failed public policy,’ a symbol ‘none of us should be proud of.’ He told me the fence makes crime reduction more difficult. Dead ends attract criminals who like operating out of sight. Police response times improve without the fence.”

Commentary: It is hard to argue with some of the arguments; although it is not clear that either New Haven or Hamden adopted a “law” to make the comparison entirely apt. The impacts on generations of residents at West rock were clear and the Mayor was correct. On the other hand, the Mayor was in office for twenty years and during the time when Mayor DiLieto agree to pay for the half of the “squeeze space fence” he served as the Chief Administrative officer of the City of New Haven. Again, there are no angels in the room. See, “What Doesn’t Love a Wall”.

⁴⁰⁴ See, “Tour Brings Berlin Wall Tensions to Fore”.

⁴⁰⁵ Id.

⁴⁰⁶ See, “What Doesn’t Love a Wall”.

⁴⁰⁷ See, “Tour Brings Berlin Wall Tensions to Fore”.

E. A Meeting in Hamden: A Last Gasp of Rage. On August 29, 2012 Mayor Scott Jackson and Council Members Jack Kennelly (At-large) and Mike Colaiacovo, Jr. (7th District) hosted an information session on HANH's proposal to "take down the fence"⁴⁰⁸. The two Mayors, professional staff and consultants were there to paint a picture and have a discussion about a West Rock and its attributes:

- "new home-ownership units and market-rate rental homes would diversify the projects and decrease crime";
- "job training and education" programs designed to lead to self sufficiency and, in effect, a de facto term limit on subsidized housing; and,
- residents committed to self-sufficiency within seven years, effectively imposing term limits on subsidized living.

New Haven officials brought a traffic study showing that removing the fence would not significantly clutter any new intersections⁴⁰⁹.

The meeting was the latest conducted in the shadows of over 60 years of history, recrimination, indifference and misunderstanding. Would HANH repeat past mistakes of shoddy management practices which combined with isolation and despair create a combustible fusion? Or, would the new development and a passageway to a contiguous street create a new sense of community, opportunity and mutual aid.

In a prelude it was evident that the table was set. On the one hand, HANH "invested millions of dollars rebuilding several of the housing projects...The fence makes it difficult for (the new tenants) to access needed services such as shopping areas". On the other hand, Hamden residents reiterated their concern that "removal of the fence, will bring crime into their neighborhoods" even with assurances that "tenants will be carefully screened"⁴¹⁰. While HANH, in the past, had suggested it would sue to take the fence down⁴¹¹, Mayor Jackson urged HANH to "engage in robust communication

⁴⁰⁸ See, Kathleen Ramunni, "New Haven Proposal To Take Down Fence Raises Hamden Ire", **Hamden Patch**, 29 August 2012,

⁴⁰⁹ See, "What Doesn't Love a Wall".

⁴¹⁰ See, Kathleen Ramunni, "New Haven Proposal To Take Down Fence Raises Hamden Ire", **Hamden Patch**, 29 August 2012. According to the Patch report the counterargument was that even with screening HANH "can't control who the tenants allow in their homes".

⁴¹¹ See, "Take It Down, Or We'll Sue!"

and outreach with residents of Hamden to identify concerns and...seek to address these concerns”⁴¹².

The hope for discourse, engagement and a process for compromise fell to a night of rage, recrimination and confrontation. It was reported that during Mayor Jackson’s presentation the 300 people who filled the Keefe Community Center began taunting the Mayor with assertions about crime and traffic. At first the Mayor urged civility and encouraged conversation and deliberation. As his pleas for respect and courtesy were overwhelmed by the zeal of the crowd the Mayor pleaded, once more, for cooperation: “We’re here to talk. We’re here to talk. We’re not here to yell, alright”⁴¹³?”

When the Mayor brought up the issue of removing the fence a voice in the audience shouted: “It’s not going to happen!” Benjamin Mueller describes a scene dominated by “anger and fear”, stories of “robberies and traffic overflow...(that) would result from opening the fence”:

- “Keep Hamden in Hamden and keep New Haven in New Haven!”
- “That’s their choice to live by a fence.”
- “You put a street through, you’re jeopardizing every single person in this entire room’s life.”⁴¹⁴

The long simmering border dispute started in the late 1940s when the developer of homes for aspiring suburbanites opposed a moderate income development that would be populated by a substantial white majority. As a decade passed the story descended into the chasm of the racial divide as the black and poor population grew in the 1960s and 1970s. Now the tale has come full circle when a black Mayor of Hamden is confronted a black resident who supports retaining the fence.

As Benjamin Muller describes it “Mr. Jackson had grown so frustrated with his town’s support of the fence that in 2012 he had to be restrained as he confronted a constituent during a heated public meeting”⁴¹⁵.” The reporter describes an altercation with the constituent who asked “How many times have you had your house broken into?”⁴¹⁶ When the constituent interrupted the

⁴¹² See, Kathleen Ramunni, “New Haven Proposal To Take Down Fence Raises Hamden Ire”, **Hamden Patch**, 29 August 2012.

⁴¹³ See, “What Doesn’t Love a Wall”.

⁴¹⁴ Id.

⁴¹⁵ See, “Breaking a Barrier”.

⁴¹⁶ **Note:** If one reads the Mueller piece in the **New Journal** you might conclude that the clash of class has taken on the hues of a post racial America. His profile of the constituent and his wife paints a picture of a “black working class couple” who kept a baseball bat at every door and

Mayor's answer it would appear that the years of recrimination, bellowing, quarreling and criticism reached a crescendo and took their toll. The Mayor shouted out in a moment when strength of will flew the coop and, according to Mueller, yelled "...YOU ASK THE QUESTION, I ANSWER." Two people grabbed hold of Jackson's shoulders and pushed him into the hallway. The demons Jackson once described on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day had come out to play in the town he now led and they chased him from the gym"⁴¹⁷.

Nothing was resolved at that meeting. However, a month later it was reported that HANH was seeking police and fire personnel to move into the new development: "to create a sustainable and vibrant community"⁴¹⁸.

F. A Time-Out. Yet at this meeting Mayor DeStefano took the issue of the "fence removal" off the table for the time being, at least. The Mayor indicated "I don't want to force this on this neighborhood. I don't want a fight between Hamden and New Haven. Hamden and New Haven have been neighbors for hundreds of years. At the end of the day we're important to each other. We have more in common than not...Over the next year, let's deal with each other with a fence there. Let's be the best neighbors we can be". The Mayor opted for the creation of a fence committee comprised of representatives of both sides of the municipal boundary⁴¹⁹. This was the last step for Mayor DeStefano and a temporary reprieve for resistant Hamden residents.

As the communities embarked on the work of the Fence Committee, things did not bode well for peaceful resolution. Benjamin Mueller's article in the New Journal laid out the stark differences of an elderly Hamden couple whose home was "...broken into four times and robbed twice...We deserve security, we deserve the comfort of being in our homes without someone breaking in⁴²⁰." Juxtaposed against this imagery is the sentiment of a young

"Browning high-powered 9 millimeter" and "Wesson 357 Magnum" at the ready. They are described as "self-made folks" defined by a work ethic which rejects the notion that there are no jobs available. In their view, the difference between "people in Hamden and the people in New Haven's projects is work ethic". These Woodin Street residents decry "thugs...with the pants hanging down", "...people (who) don't know how to raise their kids"; "people in grocery stores with food stamps" (who) don't need them". He describes the couple as replaying Ronald Reagan's "welfare queens" critique underscoring the "caricature of anti-poor prejudice". On the other hand, the other side of the argument is fear and insecurity. These middle class Hamden residents live in a time of declining family income and delayed retirements and don't feel that they have the luxury to reach out and touch those closest to them...on the other side of the fence. See, "What Doesn't Love a Wall".

⁴¹⁷ Id.

⁴¹⁸ William Kaempffer, "New Haven Housing Authority seeks increase police presence at redeveloped Brookside complex", **The New Haven Register**, 25 September 2012.

⁴¹⁹ Allan Appel, "Tear Down Fence? Idea Shelved," **New Haven Independent**, 30 August 2012.

⁴²⁰ **Note:** According to Mueller the speaker "...grew up in the Brookside projects and didn't want to let that way of life into Hamden".

West Rock father who speaks of the fence as a “generational curse” which says to the children of West Rock: “...your children can’t come amongst our children. You can’t ride up the street and see our holiday decorations when the snow falls.” The simplest recipe for sustained prosperity on both sides is “to open the border. People would move freely, crime would fall”⁴²¹.

Mayor Jackson summed it up poignantly when, as Mueller describes it, he called the fence a relic from the past, a barrier that allows Hamden residents to ignore the aspirations of people in the projects. “It’s about preserving a mythology...The myth is that the people living on the New Haven side will be fundamentally different from people on the Hamden side”⁴²².

⁴²¹ See, “What Doesn’t Love a Wall”.

⁴²² Id.

Chapter 11 – The Enduring Myth

A. A Spotty Track Record. The “time-out” called by Mayor DeStefano was designed to offer one last chance to see if the parties could work out a solution to the issue of Woodin Street access. For Mayor Jackson the issue was whether the parties would overcome the mythologies that drove wedges between people. Presumably, neither Mayor had any knowledge of the legal underpinnings of the decisions regarding the fence.

After the Fence Committee was established in September/October 2012 it established a spotty track record, at best. The following four committees were established to address topics that had been the subject of the inter-municipal dialogue, such as it was:

- Coordinating;
- Public Safety;
- Community Development; and,
- Traffic/Quality of Life.

An initial meeting was held on October 23, 2012 for the purpose of assigning tasks and identifying resident committee members. The New Haven co-chairs, HANH staff and Mayor DeStefano attended as well as Hamden representatives, including Council Member Mike Colaiacova. At this point the Hamden co-chairs had not been identified. A second meeting was held on December 18th with both Mayors present as well as the co-chairs of both communities. Hamden had not yet identified a representative of the police department for representation on the Public Safety Committee.

The third meeting was held on January 23, 2013 with representatives from both communities meeting in working groups; however, there was still no representative from the Hamden police department. A fourth meeting followed with an equal number of representatives on the Traffic/Quality and Public Safety Committees, although NHPD Lieutenant Martin Tchakirides raised concerns about the failure of Hamden to appoint a police department representative. Hamden residents complained that there were not enough New Haven residents participating⁴²³.

⁴²³ Note: There were no representatives of the Community Development Committee; although HANH staff was present.

On March 27, 2013 a fifth meeting was held; however, the public engagement descended to the level of antagonism that was witnessed at the meetings during the summer of 2012. A number of Hamden residents attended for the first time, again, raising issues about crime and violence. Most resident were not aware working committees had been established to address these issues. While there were representatives of each of the working committees in attendance, including Chief Wydra of the Hamden Police Department, it was difficult to stay on topic. A Hamden caucus was convened and the meeting was concluded without any progress⁴²⁴.

On March 28, 2013 the Hamden members of the Fence Committee reported they were at an impasse and had no desire to continue meetings with New Haven until Mayor Jackson provided them with the following requested information:

- Traffic and Crime information from 2000-2005;
- Data from Woodin Street traffic study; and,
- Presence of a Hamden PD representative.

The Fence Committee members finally met with the Mayor on April 15, 2013.

In April of 2013 Hamden Traffic Committee member Cherlyn Poindexter sent the following email to HANH:

The Hamden Committee has made a written request to meet with Mayor Scott Jackson. I will email you as soon as we have been given the opportunity to meet and discuss our concern and issues with him. Please don't schedule another meeting until you hear form Council (member) Mike Colaiacovo, Sherri Roberts or myself⁴²⁵.

No meetings occurred in May or June of 2013 in spite of significant outreach from HANH. On May 30th Ms. Poindexter indicated that the Hamden representatives met with Mayor Jackson on April 15th however, did not have the information they needed to prepare for a joint meeting⁴²⁶.

On July 5, 2013 Ms. Poindexter, again, requested a delay of a meeting scheduled for July 9th due to the unavailability of most of the Hamden members⁴²⁷. Thereafter, on July 8, 2013 Mayor John DeStefano cited several unsuccessful

⁴²⁴ See, New Haven-Hamden Community Partnership Timeline obtained from HANH file archive.

⁴²⁵ See, email from Cherlyn Poindexter to Jasmin Franjul, dated April 2013 (HANH Archives).

⁴²⁶ See, email from Cherlyn Poindexter to Jasmin Franjul, dated 30 May 2013 (HANH Archives).

⁴²⁷ See, email from Cherlyn Poindexter to Jasmin Franjul, dated 5 July 2013 (HANH Archives).

attempts to reconvene meetings between the New Haven and Hamden delegations, including attempts to set up meetings on June 3rd and July 9th to no avail⁴²⁸. The Mayor indicated a continued willingness to meet during the month of August.

A meeting was scheduled for August 14th at which time presentations were made by the New Haven committee chairs to address concerns raised by the Hamden members on the following subjects: crime statistics, property value research and traffic data. It appeared that the Hamden representatives were “still not receptive to the information presented and showed no interest in participating in community activities to help develop the partnership”⁴²⁹.

On September 13, 2013 Mayor DeStefano followed up by citing New Haven’s continued efforts to meet and address issues of mutual concern, including a Hamden-West Rock Community Day on September 7th. The Mayor reiterated a commitment to a joint effort by the New Haven and Hamden Police Departments “...to work together on public safety concerns facing both communities including joint patrols and a shared substation”. The Mayor also cited a number of “public improvements and traffic calming measures” proposed by the City and HANH to address concerns raised by Hamden residents⁴³⁰.

There were no more meetings of the Fence Committee.

B. The End of the Chase. Yet, in October of 2013 representatives of Hamden and HANH met to discuss a driveway permit for six houses facing Woodin Street and a street opening permit to connect Wilmot Street in New Haven to Woodin Street in Hamden. At that point it would appear that HANH realized that the property was entirely within the City of New Haven; or, at the very least, all the property was owned by HANH subject to a right-of-way for the maintenance of Woodin Street. Hamden did raise the fact that State approval might be necessary since LOCIP funds were used to place the fence on the property⁴³¹. This meeting and the intransigence of Hamden officials brought the matter to a head.

⁴²⁸ See, letter from Mayor John DeStefano and HANH’S Executive Director to Mayor Scott Jackson, dated 8 July 2013.

⁴²⁹ See, New Haven-Hamden Community Partnership Timeline obtained from HANH file archive.

⁴³⁰ See, letter from Mayor John DeStefano and HANH’S Executive Director to Mayor Scott Jackson, dated 13 September 2013.

⁴³¹ Unattributed memorandum prepared short following the meeting (HANH Archives). **Commentary:** This assertion by Hamden representatives must fall into the “are you kidding me” category. It would seem to me the last thing Hamden would want is to inform the State of Connecticut that it expended almost \$100,000 on a fence that posed a barrier to residents of a public housing development. To add insult to injury the fence was either built as a result of a trespass or in a right of way protected both by common law and state statute.

The long road to denouement came on October 14, 2013 when HANH's Executive Director stated her case to Mayor Jackson. In her letter the Director avowed that:

- HANH owned all the land on the southerly side of Woodin Street;
- All the land was in the City of New Haven;
- The fence encroached on HANH land and its right of way; and,
- Hamden had no legal authority for the construction of the fence⁴³².

The assertions led the Town of Hamden to notify their insurance carrier of the potential claim(s)⁴³³. The carrier set up a claim "...because there is the potential of an action civil rights violations..."⁴³⁴.

By the end of 2013 as Mayor DeStefano was leaving office after twenty years of service he concluded that the efforts to mediate the concerns of Hamden residents "...didn't change people's attitude in a meaningful way". At this point Mayor Jackson referred the matter to counsel: "The fence is an asset. The disposition of a publicly owned property has to go through a process. I have no interest in fighting Karen, Mayor DeStefano, or the City of New Haven, but there are processes. I can guarantee access to process. I will not guarantee outcome"⁴³⁵.

C. To Sue or Not To Sue. In December of 2013 counsel for HANH requested consent from the Department of Housing and Urban Development ("HUD") to commence litigation resulting from Hamden's failure to approval a road opening and driveway permits relating to the development of West Rock. According to HANH the,

⁴³² See, letter from HANH's Executive Director to Mayor Scott Jackson, dated 14 October 2013. **Commentary:** It is hard to determine why HANH did not determine its ownership interests until late 2013. A title policy in HANH's files from June 26, 2002 demonstrates clearly the ownership of the property that was owned by HANH; See, Commitment Title Insurance, First American Title Insurance Company, 26 June 2002 at 8:00 A.M. A subsequent commitment for Title Insurance confirmed the deeded property rights of HANH on 30 June 2011 at 9:00 A.M. This was subsequently confirmed by a title report prepared by Attorney Marc Shaiken for HANH on 1 December 2013 (See, HANH Archives).

⁴³³ See, email from Patty Lujick of the Hamden Town Attorney's office to Ray Ashton of CIRMA, dated 24 October 2013.

⁴³⁴ See Email from Cathy Gambrell of CIRMA to Town Attorney Sue Gruen, dated 24 October 2013.

⁴³⁵ See, Allen Appel, "Rockview Homes Ready; Fence Fight Resumes," **New Haven Independent**, 18 December 2013.

...proposed litigation is cost beneficial, is not frivolous as a matter of law, and is not inconsistent with HUD policy. In fact the relief sought by the proposed complaint is consistent with HUD's stated policy regarding the creation of '...strong sustainable, inclusive communities and quality, affordable homes for all'. The fence is literally an insurmountable barrier designed to keep the residents of three public housing programs in New Haven out of Hamden; the resultant isolation and segregation of the Brookside, Rockview and Abraham Ribicoff Cottage is the antithesis of an inclusive community".⁴³⁶

The position of HANH could easily be viewed as perplexing inasmuch as HANH had determined the fence was on its property⁴³⁷.

Apparently, HUD agreed. In early 2014 while HUD was actively reviewing the issue it recommended that HANH use federal funds to demolish the fence on its property rather than commencing a trespass action at the same time that HUD would commence a compliance review under federal law to keep the pressure on Hamden⁴³⁸.

On February 10, 2014 HANH wrote to Mayor Jackson indicating the it would be removing the fence from "its frontage on Woodin Street from just east of Fawn Ridge Drive to just west of Thorpe Drive...*there is no legitimate reason for Hamden to maintain the fence which serves only to unfairly isolate and segregate the residents of HANH's West Rock Development*"⁴³⁹ (emphasis added). As stated, the "fence separate(d) the real property owned by" HANH⁴⁴⁰.

⁴³⁶ See, letter from Berchem, Moses & Devlin, P.C. to David Furie, HUD Chief Counsel dated 18 December 2013 (See, HANH Archives).

⁴³⁷ It should be noted that on the 17th of December 2013 HANH's executive Director notified Mayor DeStefano of it's intent to sue Hamden; See, email from Karen DuBois-Walton to Mayor John DeStefano, Jr., dated 17 December 2013.

⁴³⁸ See, emails from Timothy Robison of HUD dated 18 February 2014 and from Benjamin D. Gworek of HUD dated 9 January 2014 (HANH Archives).

⁴³⁹ **Commentary:** Did the Executive Director really say "...there is no legitimate reason *for Hamden to maintain the fence* which serves only to unfairly isolate and segregate the residents of HANH's West Rock Development" (emphasis added)? While the words ring true regarding the issues of isolation and segregation, the holier than thou proclamation betrays HANH's decades-long complicity in this sorry story. Nothing really changed since the property passed from the City of New Haven to HANH. There is nothing in the record that would indicate that HANH protested when Hamden used LOCIP funds to rebuild the fence in 2005. During that period of time buildings were being demolished, federal funds were being utilized yet there was no outcry. It is evident from the date Mayor William Celentano executed the deed until the date of this proclamation was issued that the real property was suddenly encroached had always been HANH's property. Why HANH did not know this relatively simple truth is one of the mysteries of this story. In the last analysis this assertion by the Executive Director to Mayor Jackson was an unnecessary exercise of effrontery and impudence, under the circumstances. Was this really necessary at this point in the exercise?

⁴⁴⁰ See, letter from HANH Executive Director to Mayor Scott Jackson, dated 10 February 2014.

On February 26, 2014 the last shoe fell to the ground. Susan M. Forward, Director of the Office of Fair Housing & Equal Opportunity of the U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development wrote to Mayor Jackson notifying him of HUD's intent to conduct a "compliance review" regarding compliance with:

- Nondiscrimination requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Section 109 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974;
- Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1974;
- The obligation to affirmatively further Fair Housing ("AFFH") under the Fair Housing Act;
- Executive Order 12892; and
- Requirements governing the Community Development Block Grant⁴⁴¹.

Remarkably, there was no mention of the fence in the letter. It wasn't really necessary was it since the reason for transmittal was as clear as the noon day sun in a cloudless sky.

⁴⁴¹ See, letter from Susan M. Forward, HUD FHEO Region 1 Director to Mayor Scott Jackson, dated 26 February 2014.

Chapter 12 – So...the Fence Was Always On New Haven’s Property?

A. A Letter to Woodin Street Neighbors. On May 1, 2014 it was all over. At that time, Mayor Jackson addressed the “long, complex and emotional” history of the Woodin Street fence. He recounted how an “abandoned pig farm” in a “geographically secluded area” of New Haven transformed into a “low income housing” development in “Hamden’s backyard”. The Mayor recited the cycles of “crime, poverty, drug abuse, segregation and sub-standard education” in “one of the poorest and most dangerous placed in our region”. He further recounted the history of “a series of fences (that) were erected on the site” and pointed out that the West Rock Development was demolished and going through a period of reconstruction that is premised upon removal of the fence in order “...to improve transportation circulation”.

Additionally, the Mayor discussed the continued “forceful” advocacy of the Woodin Street neighborhood and his commitment to maintain an open and public process with checks and balances: “It was my intention to have this controversial issue go through a full public forum process, with numerous opportunities for stakeholder input which would include Town Commissions and the Legislative Council”. However, the Mayor cited an abrupt change in circumstances:

- Evidence that HANH owned the property contiguous to Woodin Street conclusive of the fact that Hamden had no right to build or insist on retain a fence on private property;
- HANH threats of a civil rights legal action seeking permission from the federal government;
- A forceful mediation session conducted by the Civil Rights Division of the United States Attorney’s office attended by representatives of the United States Departments of Justice and Housing and Urban Development.

The Mayor concluded that the Town of Hamden had “no authority to prevent the Housing Authority from taking down a fence on their property”. The Mayor then pivoted to the future by stating “neither Hamden nor New Haven will tolerate a return to the problems of old” and, as a result he cited the following developments:

- Expanded community bike patrols in the Woodin Street neighborhood by the police;

- Establishment of a Mutual Aid police Sub-station operated by both municipalities;
- Traffic, speed and pedestrian safety initiatives, including, traffic calming, sidewalk and cross-walk improvements, enhanced signage, installation of speed bumps and speed compliance units⁴⁴².

B. The Fence is Demolished. In May 2014 excavators began tearing down parts of the fence on Wooden Street to accommodate three roads from the HANH property into the town of Hamden. It is, at best, a “grudging truce”. Mayor Toni Harp of New Haven said the fence’s fall was long overdue. “It’s a relic from the past...It was trying to keep the problems of low-income people in one town and not have them move into another town⁴⁴³.”

At the time the following account appeared in the **New York Times**:

The partial dismantling of the fence was prompted in part by inquiries by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development into New Haven’s claim that its existence fostered discrimination against poor, mostly black residents of public housing. But the city also discovered that the fence, long assumed to sit on Hamden property, actually was built on land owned by New Haven. That allowed New Haven to tear down the fence without Hamden’s approval⁴⁴⁴.

Another account discussed the “..strong symbolic effect as a border between two worlds”:

Built by Hamden in the 1950s to keep crime out of an aspiring middle-class neighborhood, the fence choked off access to jobs for public housing residents and obstructed emergency responders. Anger festered in the projects, and unemployment rates surpassed 75 percent. By 1990, New Haven’s violent crime rate nearly tripled the national average. Rocks

⁴⁴² All statements attributable to Mayor Jackson derived from his “Letter to Woodin Street Neighbors”, dated May 1, 2014.

⁴⁴³ See, “Breaking a Barrier”.

⁴⁴⁴ *Id.* **Commentary:** Even the **New York Times** gives the benefit of the doubt to HANH; yet, the facts suggest that the equities favored neither community. It is important to keep in mind that the fence was not an issue for HANH until the 1990s and early part of the 21st Century when the receipt of MTW and hope VI funds for a new development caused the leaders of HANH to take another look at the “fence” and isolation. Better late than never but certainly more could have been done for the residents of West Rock to bring this matter to close well before 2014.

sometimes flew over the fence, once battering a Hamden school bus⁴⁴⁵ (emphasis added).

In the last analysis, the demolition of the fences did not end the debate and recriminations. Hamden residents continue to complain about “traffic” or “more police protection” while New Haven residents complain that Hamden residents did not seem willing to participate in a “cross-border picnic” and brought “two police officers” to an inter-town mediation session. The racial undertones which were prevalent for so long are muddled by the fact that “...more black homeowners are now moving into Hamden has muddled the conflict’s racial dynamics, leading to suggestions that growing class anxieties have made Hamden residents more guarded about opening the border”⁴⁴⁶.

It is apparent, as we celebrate a new year that much work needs to be done.

⁴⁴⁵ James Brasuell, “Fences Make Bad Neighbors in Hamden, Connecticut”, **Planetizen**, 13 July 2014. **Commentary:** Mr. Brasuell’s reporting relied consistently on anecdotal recollections and commentary and he clearly did not delve into the history of what actually occurred. If he had he would have found that Hamden did not build the initial fence...a developer built the fence, which, according to the record, was apparently subject to reimbursement by HANH. Based upon the facts revealed in this story there is no doubt that HANH, over the years, assumed responsibility for maintaining and fortifying the fence. Moreover, it is evident that HANH accepted the fact that West Rock would remain isolated and there would be no access to Woodin Street for its residents. There is no doubt that there was a bond of complicity between the two communities.

⁴⁴⁶ See, “Breaking a Barrier”.

Final Thoughts – There Are No Angels in the Room

During the end-game the rhetoric on both sides escalated. Over sixty years of isolation and constriction reached its conclusion based upon the revelation of a relatively simple set of facts: the Housing Authority of the City of New Haven (“HANH”) owns the property upon which the fence was located and is, therefore, entitled to a right-of-way and access to Woodin Street.

Instead of demonstrating some level of understandable embarrassment, at the time of revelation HANH officials chose to speak in soaring terms about segregation and isolation⁴⁴⁷, casting blame on Hamden without explaining to anyone how it is they did not know that they owned the property and had those rights for over six decades. Such self-awareness would require acceptance of their having essentially looked the other way for the better part of six decades.

At the same time, residents on the Hamden side kept up pressure on their town officials to delay the demolition of the fence, and looked for any rationale for maintaining the status quo. Were they motivated by fear of the unknown, class or racial bias or perceived self-interest? It doesn't really matter. The issues raised by the residents of Woodin Street area in 2014 were same as those raised in 1950 when they sent a lawyer to Boston to fight New Haven's plans for low and moderate income housing at Springside Farm. The Boston foray resulted in the original “understanding” to isolate the residents of West Rock in the early 1950s by government representatives of New Haven and Hamden.

There should be no misunderstanding. The erection of a fence was the product of an accord between the leaders of New Haven and Hamden. There is evidence of an “understanding” and some references to a written agreement, however, despite an exhaustive search, no written agreement could be found. In other words, there was no smoking gun...just a great deal of smoke and mirrors. It is clear that at key points in the history of the fence residents of Hamden consistently advocated in favor of the need for a fence. At the same time New Haven officials did virtually nothing to address either the existence of the fence or the isolation of the community at West Rock. New Haven or HANH maintained or paid for extensions or repairs over the years. Such participation in the expansion and preservation of the fence clearly demonstrates mutual involvement, “understanding” and support of the perpetuation of the isolation of the residents of West Rock.

From the very beginning, this story has been about a dead end street in a no man's land. The residents of West Rock were isolated and segregated by

⁴⁴⁷ See, letter from HANH's Executive Director to Mayor Jackson, dated 10 February 2014.

their city's leaders on the basis of a canard that somehow their isolation by cul-de-sac and a series of fences would allow for the development of a robust and sustainable community in West Rock and, at the same time, "protect" the residents of Hamden. The back door was always closed to West Rock when, in point of fact, it could have easily been the front door. Officials from both towns kept the door closed.

As discussed in earlier chapters of this report, the residents of Hamden were well represented but not well served. History shows that the fence did not truly meet the needs of Hamden. Did it really prevent crime? That is not really clear. The fence did accomplish the delay of natural cross boundary and regional cooperation⁴⁴⁸ for public safety mutual that could have addressed crime as well as neighborhood and community development. One could argue absolution for many of New Haven's mayors for their having failed to provide the simplest of community amenities, like access to a grocery store, had access to Dixwell Avenue's commercial districts been allowed. Access to Dixwell Avenue would have been of enormous value to Hamden merchants with negligible impact on traffic loads. Additionally, a police substation and community policing techniques would have had an enormous impact on both sides of the divide. Isn't it a pity.

History shows that the residents of West Rock were poorly served by generations of elected officials, HANH staff and federal regulators who seemed to go along with the "wink-and-a-nod" agreement to keep West Rock housing sequestered from New Haven and Hamden. As the City Planning Commission indicated in the late 1940s, there was no rationale for the development of West Rock in such an isolated location. There were no bus routes, no shopping, no schools and no community infrastructure. Until HANH began to debate the demolition and reconstruction of West Rock in the 1990s, there was virtually no mention of the fence or the isolation of the residents of West Rock.

Another disconcerting issue is the contention that HANH discovered their ownership interests and rights sometime in late 2013. Is this really a credible

⁴⁴⁸ In the Mueller piece he said: "When I met New Haven's Mayor DeStefano...one of the first things he expressed was his pride that New Haven welcomed 600 Hamden students into its schools every day as part of an inter-district program. But he said none attend Catherine Brennan School in West Rock even though it posted the largest testing gains in the district last year and is close to Hamden students' homes...'You know why...It's got a rep.' He pointed to a nine-foot-tall map on his wall showing the West Rock projects sticking out of New Haven like a lonely peninsula. He said the school was a proud place, 'but because we allow it to be separated and isolated—particularly from Hamden which surrounds it on three sides!—it's got a rep. It's not based on a fact, it's based on an ignorance.' The fence kept Hamden from getting to know the school; its physical isolation reinforced its bad reputation. The school's reputation, in turn, reinforced its isolation, keeping Hamden students away even as the school made gains. As long as the fence remained, homes would be harder to fill and crime more likely to rise. Suddenly the projects' reputation becomes reality and Hamden has a reason to stay away." See, "What Doesn't Love a Wall".

claim? How is it possible that neither HANH nor HUD sought clarity on the issue of ownership during a period of time when millions of federal dollars were being expended on demolition, relocation and re-development in the 1990s. Likewise, how did Hamden come to expend LOCIP funds on a fence without true knowledge of its right to do so?

I express my incredulity regarding HANH with some level of personal discomfiture since I served on the Board of Commissioners from the middle 1990s through the early 21st century. Looking back, I am chagrined at my lack of awareness and by my failure to ask the right questions of our staff and attorneys. In retrospect, I suppose I operated, like others, on the assumption that there was some agreement or that the fence was on Hamden's property and that there was no need to either negotiate or find a legal theory to force the issue of opening the doors to Woodin Street.

How vexing it is that I and others failed to press to find out the truth. No one volunteered knowledge, and by the 1990s many of the early participants who knew the answers weren't around. That said, there is no such excuse for commissioners, staff and elected officials during the 50s, 60s and 70s when those present at the inception of West Rock and the fences were still in power. During that time, there was barely a stir on behalf of the residents of West Rock. While Hamden residents may have been well represented but not well served, New Haven residents were given short shrift at every stage over the course of six decades.

So, when a HANH official in 2012 tells a journalist, "Someone long ago should have taken a civil rights action. [The fence] is there and it's been reinforced. They did it unilaterally. They got no permission⁴⁴⁹", it contradicts the historical reality of complicity. I am not casting blame or making a judgment. The truth is that if anyone had asked the right question and performed even the most rudimentary level of due diligence, HANH would have had the tools to remedy the situation decades earlier.

When another HANH official in 2014 gave a speech saying "HANH realized that legal action would be the only way to resolve this matter. We involved US HUD as we needed their consent to move forward with legal action that would be paid with federal money (and) it became clear that HANH in fact owns the land upon which the fence is constructed"⁴⁵⁰, it was in the context of recently revealed facts that could have been easily determined many years earlier, without resorting to threatened litigation. Thankfully, HUD agreed and rejected

⁴⁴⁹ See, "Take It Down, Or We'll Sue!"

⁴⁵⁰ See, Notes attached to meeting notice "Removal of the First Hamden Fence, 12 May 2014 (HANH Archives).

litigation in favor of the mediated approach that brought this matter to a close⁴⁵¹.

I am not questioning the frustrations of HANH leadership after years of persistent opposition from its resolute neighbors. It is clear that Hamden had no legal right to expand the fence in 2005, yet it is hard to cast sole blame on the Hamden side of the fence. No one had clean hands in this story. The history is unambiguous. Generations of officials at HANH and in New Haven created a development of dead ends, cul-de-sacs and fences, maintaining the status quo for over sixty years. Pointing the finger of blame is not just bad form; it is disingenuous in the extreme.

As indicated at the beginning of this story, this report was authorized by the Hamden Legislative Council to bring closure on the epoch of the fence. This was done at significant expense. The issue of "the fence" was settled, in the end, by the practical wisdom of Mayor Jackson, Mayor Harp, HUD and the legal reality that the fence encroached on the property rights of HANH.

Now that the outcome has been determined, it is time for both communities to roll up their sleeves to advance the legitimate interests of citizens on both sides of the divide. Mayor Harp has described the fence as "a relic from the past...trying to keep the problems of low-income people in one town and not have them move into another town⁴⁵²." Mayor Jackson, for his part, posed a very thoughtful question during the end game: "Do you establish public policy out of fear or out of hope?⁴⁵³" We all know what the answer to that question should be.

The words of these two leaders presage a time where the hard work of assimilating these two neighborhoods must begin in earnest, founded upon the hopes and aspirations of the residents. It will not be easy but it is the only road that can be taken...at long last. In closing I am reminded of an editorial published in 1986 by the **Hamden Chronicle** that has particular pertinence today:

...we urge local police and council officials to work out a solution. We especially urge local residents to keep their cool. Broken fences are indeed a problem, but it seems there are more important fences to mend⁴⁵⁴.

⁴⁵¹ See, emails from Timothy Robison of HUD dated 18 February 2014 and from Benjamin D. Gworek of HUD dated 9 January 2014 (HANH Archives).

⁴⁵² See, "Breaking a Barrier".

⁴⁵³ See, "What Doesn't Love a Wall".

⁴⁵⁴ "A hole in the fence," **Hamden Chronicle** (editorial), 18 June 1986.