

# Notes

## Preface

1. Important works regarding partisan realignments include Angus Campbell, *et al.*, *The American Voter* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964); Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1970); and James L. Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States*, rev. ed. (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1983).

## Introduction

1. Ross K. Baker, *House and Senate*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), p. 110.

2. A listing of celebrities and the towns in which they reside can be found at <http://www.newenglandtimes.com/states/connecticut/connecticut-celebrities.shtml>.

3. The term “Rockefeller Republican” emerged during the tenure of New York governor Nelson Rockefeller. Rockefeller represented the Northeastern and moderate wing of the Republican Party. He pursued his party’s presidential nomination in 1964, but lost the nomination to Barry Goldwater, the arch-conservative Senator from Arizona. The 1964 Republican nominating contest between Goldwater and Rockefeller marked the beginning of an ideological shift within the Republican Party with respect to presidential politics.

4. Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., with Charles D. Hadley, *Transformations of the American Party System*, 2nd ed. (New York: WW. Norton, 1978), p. 26.

5. Ladd, *Transformations of the American Party System*, p. 267.
6. David Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).
7. Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*, p. 61.
8. Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*, p. 10.
9. Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*, p. 258.
10. Thomas Frank, *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2004).

## Chapter One

1. Genevieve Reilly, "4th Congressional District: A Study in Contrasts," *Connecticut Post*, May 10, 2010, p. A6.
2. *Baker v. Carr* 369 U.S. 186 (1962), *Reynolds v. Simms* 377 U.S. 533 (1964), *Wesberry v. Sanders* 376 U.S. 1 (1964). There was also a reapportionment ruling specific to Connecticut; see *Butterworth v. Dempsey*, 229 F. Supp 754 D. Conn (1964).
3. William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, 5th ed. (Newton, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 1983), p. 18, table 1-1.
4. Flanigan and Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, p. 17. See also Lester W. Milbrath and M.L. Goel, *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* 2nd ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1977), pp. 98-99.
5. At first glance, income levels appear closely related to political behavior. However, studies have demonstrated that persons with higher income are normally more highly educated. Thus, it is the educational level of a community rather than the community's income level that more fully accounts for the pattern of political behavior. See, for example, Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 7th ed. (New York: Pearson Education, 2009), pp. 114-15.
6. The increasing rise of cultural and moral issues as they relate to voting behavior and the political values of the American electorate is examined in John Kenneth White, *The Values Divide: American Politics and Culture in Transition* (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2003).

## Chapter Two

1. Data regarding the voting patterns of the seventeen communities in the fourth Congressional district are obtained from the election archives of the Office of Secretary State, Hartford, Connecticut.

## Chapter Three

1. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., *Maverick: A Life in Politics* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995).
2. Jennifer E. Manning, Colleen J. Shogan, and Susan Navarro Smelcer, "Women in the United States Congress: 1917-2009," Congressional Research Service, March 18, 2011, p. 99.
3. "Women in History: Living Vignettes of Notable Women from U.S. History," online at <http://www.lkwdpl.org/wihohio/luce-cla.htm>.
4. Stephen Shadegg, *Clare Boothe Luce: A Biography* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 155. In what follows I draw much information on Clare Booth Luce's career in politics from Shadegg's authoritative book.
5. Shadegg, *Clare Boothe Luce*, p. 162.
6. Sylvia Jukes Morris, *Rage of Fame: The Ascent of Clare Boothe Luce* (NY: Random House, 1997), p. 468.
7. Morris, *Rage of Fame*, p. 468.
8. Voting statistics are from <http://clerk.house.gov/memberinfo/electionInfo/1942election.pdf>.
9. Morris, *Rage of Fame*, p. 471.
10. Information on Luce's critique of Henry Wallace is from Wilfred Sheed, *Clare Boothe Luce* (NY: Dutton Publishing, 1982), p. 93.
11. Shadegg, *Clare Boothe Luce*, p. 171.
12. Shadegg, *Clare Boothe Luce*, p. 173.
13. Election results are from [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1944election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1944election.pdf).
14. Shadegg, *Clare Boothe Luce*, pp. 211-12.
15. Thomas A. DeLong, *John Davis Lodge, A Life in Three Acts: Actor, Politician, Diplomat* (Fairfield: Sacred Heart University Press, 1999), p. 2. In my section on Lodge I rely heavily on information from DeLong's comprehensive study.
16. Thomas A. DeLong, *John Davis Lodge*, pp. 47-118.
17. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1946election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1946election.pdf).
18. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1948election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1948election.pdf).
19. DeLong, *John Davis Lodge*, p. 131.
20. DeLong, *John Davis Lodge*, p. 131.
21. DeLong, *John Davis Lodge*, p. 134.
22. DeLong, *John Davis Lodge*, p. 139.
23. DeLong, *John Davis Lodge*, pp. 140-41.
24. DeLong, *John Davis Lodge*, p. 204.

25. My primary source for information on Morano is <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=1000039>.
26. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1950election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1950election.pdf).
27. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1952election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1952election.pdf).
28. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1954election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1954election.pdf).
29. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1956election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1956election.pdf).
30. My primary source for information on Irwin is <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=1000039>.
31. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1958election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1958election.pdf).
32. Statement of the Vote, 1960, Office of Secretary of the State, Hartford, Connecticut, pp. 8, 18.
33. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1960election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1960election.pdf).
34. My primary source for information on Sibal is <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=S000395>.
35. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1962election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1962election.pdf).
36. Statement of the Vote, 1964, Office of Secretary of State, Hartford, Connecticut, p. 8.
37. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1964election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1964election.pdf).
38. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1966election.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1966election.pdf).
39. Telephone interview with former Congressman Donald J. Irwin, November 17, 2009.
40. See [www.rjsmith.com/kiatbl.html](http://www.rjsmith.com/kiatbl.html).
41. Telephone interview with Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., November 17, 2009.
42. Statement of the Vote, 1968, Office of the Secretary of State, Hartford, Connecticut, p. 9.
43. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., with Barry Sussman, *Maverick* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1995), p. 1.
44. Weicker interview, November 17, 2009.
45. Dodd had been censured by the U.S. Senate due to a scandal involving personal use of campaign funds. Moreover, Dodd was a more centrist and conservative Democrat which at the time was politically disadvantageous. By 1970, the Democratic party in Connecticut had moved to the left over the issue of the Vietnam War.
46. Statement of the Vote, 1970, Office of Secretary of State, Hartford, Connecticut.
47. Weicker interview, November 17, 2009. The story also appears in his autobiography. *Maverick*, p. 31.
48. [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/electionInfo/1970-1986elections.pdf](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/1970-1986elections.pdf).

49. Fourth district election results for presidential election years 1972-1984:

- 1972: Nixon – 62%  
McGovern – 37%  
McKinney – 63%
- 1976: Ford – 56%  
Carter – 43%  
McKinney – 61%
- 1980: Reagan – 53%  
Carter – 37%  
McKinney – 63%
- 1984: Reagan – 63%  
Mondale – 36%  
McKinney – 70%

*Source:* Statement of the Vote, 1972-84, Office of Secretary of State, Hartford, Connecticut.

50. E-mail interview with Joseph J. McGee, June 9, 2010. McGee was the Staff Director for Congressman Stewart McKinney, 1971-78.

51. McGee interview, June 9, 2010.

52. <http://www.hud.gov/offices/cpd/homeless/lawsandregs/mckv.cfm>.

53. “Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge,” online at <http://www.fws.gov/refuges/profiles/index.cfm?id=53546>.

54. Carol Lundin, “Stewart B. McKinney: The Man” <http://homlessed.net/partners/biographies.htm>.

55. McGee interview.

56. Fourth district election results for presidential election years 1988-2008:

- 1988: G.H.W. Bush – 57%  
Dukakis – 42%  
Shays – 72%
- 1992: G.H.W. Bush – 42%  
Clinton – 41%  
Shays – 67%
- 1996: Dole – 40%  
Clinton – 51%  
Shays – 61%
- 2000: G.W. Bush – 41%  
Gore – 55%  
Shays – 57%

- 2004: G.W. Bush – 46%  
 Kerry – 52%  
 Shays – 52%
- 2008: McCain – 40%  
 Obama – 60%  
 Shays – 48%

*Source:* Statement of the Vote, 1988-2008, Office of Secretary of State, Hartford, Connecticut.

57. E-mail interview with Robert D. Russo. June 18, 2010.

58. <http://www.GovTrack.us/congress/person.xpd?id=400370>.

59. <http://www.GovTrack.us/congress/person.xpd?id=400370>.

60. Roger H. Davidson, Walter J. Oleszek and Frances E. Lee, *Congress and Its Members* 12th ed. (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010), p. 79.

61. <http://www.opensecrets.org/races/summary.php?cycle=2006&id=CT04>.

62. Center for Responsive Politics, online at <http://www.ppensecrets.org>.

63. Quinnipiac Poll, July 20, 2006, online at <http://www.quinnipiac.edu>.

## Chapter Four

1. “Jim Himes, Democrat for Congress Biography”; online at <http://www.himesforcongress.com/content/bio> (accessed June 21, 2010).

2. T.W. Farnam, “GOP’s Only House Seat in New England is in Play,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 21, 2008; online at <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB122454922394552391.html> (accessed June 21, 2010).

3. OpenSecrets.org, Center for Responsive Politics, 2008 summary, online at <http://www.opensecrets.org>.

4. Here and in what follows I draw my information on the financing of the Shays and Himes campaigns from the Center for Responsive Politics, online at <http://www.ppenSecrets.org>.

5. Mark Pazniokas, “Shays, Himes Differ on Economy,” *Hartford Courant*, October 21, 2008; online at <http://www.courant.com/news/politics/hc-4cd1021.artoct21,0,6739894.story>.

6. “New York City Mayor Endorses Congressman Shays,” WSTC/WNLK Local News; online at <http://wstcwnlk.com/localnews/2008/10new-york-city-mayor-endorses-c.html>.

7. Obama’s radio address can be accessed on YouTube.

8. Information available online at <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/person.xpd?id=412282>.

9. <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/person.xpd?id=412282>.
10. The Hill, online at <http://thehill.com/resources/lawmaker-ratings/81905-rep-jim-himes-d-conn%20>.
11. "Votes Database," *Washington Post*, accessed June 10, 2010; online at <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/congress/members/h001047/>.
12. "Jim Holds Conference Call with Constituents," Re-Elect Jim Himes Newsletter, *Connecticut News Junkie*, June 16, 2010; online at [http://www.himesforcongress.com/news\\_entry/jim\\_holds\\_conference\\_call\\_with\\_constituents](http://www.himesforcongress.com/news_entry/jim_holds_conference_call_with_constituents).
13. The significance of bipartisan constituent casework and how it relates to the power of incumbency is detailed in the landmark work of Morris Fiorina, *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

## Chapter Five

1. Robert Koch, "GOP Head: Wife's Signature Forged," *The Hour*, June 9, 2010; online at <http://www.thehour.com/story/487597>.
2. Brad Durrell, "Hermann Responds to Norwalk Petition Forgery Allegation," *TrumbullTimes.com* June 11, 201; online at <http://www.acorn-online.com/joomla15/trumbulltimes/news/localnews/61417—hermann-re>.
3. Genevieve Reilly, "Herrmann Withdraws from 4th District primary," *Ctpost.com* June 16, 201; online at <http://www.ctpost.com/local/article/Herrmann-withdraws-from-4th-District-primary-526603>.
4. Phone interview with Rick Torres, July 9, 2010.
5. Pat Eaton-Robb "Tea Party Movement Making Difference in Conn. Race," July 3, 2010; online at <http://www.boston.com/news/local/connecticut/articles/2010/07/03>.
6. E-mail interview with Christopher DeSanctis, July 14, 2010.
7. Rob Varnon, "Reefer Madness Grips GOP Congressional Race," *Connecticut Post*, July 18, 2010, p. A13.
8. Varnon, "Reefer Madness Grips GOP Congressional Race," A13.
9. Quoted in Ken Dixon, "State Spends 125K for Highway Signs," *Connecticut Post*, July 21, 2010, p. A7.
10. Elections Division, Office of Secretary of State, Hartford, Connecticut.
11. E-mail interview with Bob MacGuffie, August 12, 2010.
12. Genevieve Reilly, "Debicella Claims Big Victory," *Connecticut Post*, August 11, 2010, p. A6.

## Chapter Six

1. Poll averages, August, 2010, online at <http://www.realclearpolitics.com>.
2. The firm's website is [ayresmchenry.com](http://ayresmchenry.com). The poll was released August 12, 2010.
3. Morris P. Fiorina, *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*, 2nd ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
4. Figures presented in article by Paul Hughes, "Tax Charge against Malloy is Crux of GOP Strategy," *Waterbury Republican*, September 12, 2010, p. 1.
5. Cathryn J. Prince, "4th Distric Candidates Talk Tax Cuts," *NewCanaanPatch*, September 13, 2010; online at <http://newcanaanpatch.com>.
6. Hughes, "Tax charge," p. 6A.
7. "Democrats, Fearing a G.O.P. Wave, Plan Triage to Retain the House," *New York Times*, September 5, 2010, p. 19.
8. Brian Bolduc, "Breaking: Debicella, Himes in Dead Heat," *National Review Online* <http://www.nationalreview.com/battle10/248372>, September 30, 2010.
9. My account of the first debate is drawn exclusively from the reporting of Cathryn J. Prince, "Himes/Debicella Get Serious in First Debate," *WiltonPatch*, October 14, 2010, <http://wilton.patch.com>.
10. My account of the second debate is drawn exclusively from the reporting of Elizabeth Kim, "Security Issues Dominate Debate," *Connecticut Post*, October 21, 2010; online at <http://www.ctpost.com>.
11. My account of the third debate is drawn exclusively from the reporting of Paul Schott, "Himes, Debicella Offer Contrasting Views on Economy," *Connecticut Post*, October 25, 2010, p. A3.
12. My account of the fourth debate is drawn exclusively from the reporting of Genevieve Reilly, "Sparring Over the Stimulus," *Connecticut Post*, October 27, 2010, p. A1 and A12, from which I quote this exchange.
13. Reilly, "Sparring Over the Stimulus," A12.
14. My account of the fifth debate is drawn exclusively from the reporting of Cathryn J. Prince, "Himes, Debicella Talk Tort Reform and Transportation in Fifth Debate," *FairfieldPatch*, October 28, 2010; online at <http://fairfield.patch.com>.
15. Quoted in Prince, "Himes/Debicella Get Serious in First Debate."
16. Quoted in Prince, "Himes/Debicella Get Serious in First Debate."
17. My account of the sixth and final debate is drawn exclusively from the reporting of Cathryn J. Prince, "Himes, Debicella Run the Gamut at



Final Debate,” *DarienPatch*, October 29, 2010; online at <http://darien.patch.com>.

18. Quoted in Prince, “Himes, Debicella Run the Gamut at Final Debate.”

19. Quoted in Prince, “Himes, Debicella Run the Gamut at Final Debate.”

20. This and the following specific details about fundraising and campaign contributions are from the Center for Responsive Politics, available online at <http://opensecrets.org>; accessed November 8, 2010.

21. The results of the Connecticut Capitol Report Poll can be found at the Real Clear Politics website, <http://www.realclearpolitics.com>; accessed November 8, 2010.

22. The endorsement issued on October 20, 2010 can be found at <http://www.ctpost.com>.

23. Figures provided by Audit Bureau of Circulations, online at <http://abcas3accessabc.com/ecirc/newssearchus.asp>.

24. Quoted in Tim Loh, *Connecticut Post*, October 20, 2010, p. A1.

25. The figure of nine-thousand partisans is cited in <http://www.ctpost.com>; accessed November 5, 2010.

## Chapter Seven

1. The source of all voting statistics in this chapter is Office of Secretary of State, Statement of Vote; online at <http://www.statementofvotes.ct.gov>.

2. E-mail interview with Dan Debicella, November 21, 2010.

3. Ken Dixon and Bill Cummings, “Gov Race Still Up in the Air,” *Connecticut Post*, November 4, 2010, p. A6.

4. Dixon and Cummings, “Gov Race Still Up in the Air,” p. A6.

5. Ken Dixon, Timothy Loh, and Brittany Lyte, “Chaos in Bridgeport,” *Connecticut Post*, November 5, 2010, p. A1.

## Conclusion

1. The increasing role of the South within the context of Republican party politics is examined in many works on American party politics. See, for example, Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy: The Peril and Politics of Radical Religion, Oil and Borrowed Money in the 21st Century* (New York: Viking, 2006), pp. 171-217, and Ronald Brownstein, *The Second Civil*

*War: How Extreme Partisanship Has Paralyzed Washington and Polarized America* (New York: Penguin Press, 2007), pp. 192-95.

2. John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira, *The Emerging Democratic Majority* (New York: Scribner, 2002), p. 173.

3. For a detailed treatment of regional partisan trends, see Brownstein, *The Second Civil War*, pp. 200-14.

4. Judis and Teixeira, *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, pp. 92-93.