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DR. HERMAN: These are very difficult acts to follow. In fact, some of the things I was going to mention about segregation and flagship developments have already been mentioned today.

One of the main things that I want to point out is how inequality is inscribed into the landscape, that basically what we're talking about here in the present day 40 years after the events of '67 is we're still looking at a hyper-segregated society, as has been pointed out by Roland and others. The segregation index that I had jotted down here has hardly changed, that blacks and whites in Essex County are as segregated as they have ever been.

And this is not just a Newark story, I should add, but this is an American story because this is happening in other cities.

I often spend my summers in Detroit and I've spent a lot of time talking to residents of Detroit about the future of their city as well, and unfortunately Detroit remains hyper-segregated, too.

And unfortunately in a hyper-segregated society like ours, geography to some extent becomes destiny, and I'm just going to mention a brief anecdote that struck me from a few weeks ago.

I was invited to go to a talk in Upper Montclair at -- a member of my synagogue was inviting a fellow to speak about his recent book, and we drove up there in the afternoon to Upper Montclair. We drove by the tree-lined streets and the large homes, and at the end of the day we drove back into Newark and we drove to visit some friends, also members of the synagogue, who happen to live on Clinton Street near the Irvington border.

And this is a space of less than ten miles that we drove. It took us maybe 15, 20 minutes tops, but it was like we were in two completely different worlds; one in a world of relative safety and security and privilege, and another in a world where kids are basically kept inside most of the day, unable to go outside and play, living in fear of violence, going to schools that are underfunded, working with teachers who are doing the best that they can under very difficult circumstances.

And unfortunately that divide since 1967 has grown wider. The kids that are growing up in Upper Montclair have a very different life, a very different destiny than the kids

unfortunately that are growing up in inner city Newark. And we wonder sometimes what do we do for those kids.

My partner and I have discussed this family who live on the border of Irvington and we're always talking, well, what can we do for them. Maybe we should try and help them move to a different community, somewhere with better schools, somewhere where the kids don't face violence, but that's only an individual solution. I think rather the challenge is to do something about the neighborhoods, the communities that these kids live in to improve the circumstances that surround them.

Unfortunately I'm a pessimist about this as well because I don't see this happening at the moment. Instead what I have been noticing, and Monsignor Linder pointed this out, is that the poor people are being pushed out of the center of the city as the center of the city redevelops and are moving to the fringes, often to the inner core suburbs like Irvington and East Orange and Bloomfield, and the more affluent folks are moving further and further away, but my message to those folks is there's only so far that you can go and eventually you cannot escape from the situation that is engulfing our cities. You can try and pretend that it doesn't exist, that race doesn't matter, that class no longer matters, but, in fact, it's inscribed into the landscape itself.

A number of townships on the edge of Essex County in recent years have been talking about seceding from the county. They don't want their tax dollars going to support the schools and fire departments and the police in the inner cities, and I think this is the absolute utmost matter for the station of neglect is that people are -- and this kind of division, that people don't see that we're all essentially in this thing together and that the city and the suburbs are inextricably linked, that if you live in Montclair or Short Hills or Livingston, for example, that the life of Newark does affect you, that you simply cannot escape from it.

So unfortunately we've become more polarized as a society and this has been manifested in the geography of race and class.

Over the summer people were asking me about the future of Newark and I kind of stole a line from John Edwards because he talks about the two Americas and I think sometimes about the two Newarks and I'm very divided about this as well.

It seems like there are two Newarks emerging at the moment. There's a downtown Newark with an entertainment complex largely for people of means and, frankly, I must say as someone of modest means but of some means, I like that. I like the arena. I like to go to NJ PAC. I like to come down here and partake of the cultural institutions in the city.

On the other hand, as the downtown is increasingly developed with these flagship projects like the arena, a lot of the city remains neglected, and there you have it are the two Newarks.

And I think again of these kids growing up in the Newark, Irvington border. Do they come downtown to go to the museum. Can their family afford to buy tickets to go to a hockey game or a Seton Hall game at the arena, and I don't think so.

So there's kind of the sense of the downtown to some folks feels safer. It feels more spatially coherent, but yet it's also become a little bit more mean spirited, a little bit foreboding towards the residents of this city who have lived here, you know, even after the worst times of the 1960s.

So the challenge is for the city to have a renaissance, does that necessarily mean that the residents who have been here and who have stuck it out for so many years have to be displaced, and I personally don't think so. But the danger is that we, as we move more and more towards the two Americas that the Kerner Commission Report describes, that we are moving more and more towards dual cities, towards cities that are suffering from uneven development, cities that are encouraging the young and the wealthy to move in and enjoy them, but, on the other hand, cities that kind of -- that are beset by poverty and insecurity in other sectors.

So I think the challenge for the future is to find a way to create a city that is a city for everyone. Not just for those who can afford to live here in the future, but to find ways of incorporating the newcomers, people like myself, and incorporating those who have been here for the longest time and the people that need to see realistic improvements in their communities as well.

If we just build up the downtown and we neglect the neighborhoods of Newark, then this is a potential recipe for further unrest in the future.