

The author shows how migrant bodies are hidden from the public gaze or made into ethnic Others. Both enact a symbolic violence in which social asymmetries are hidden from the conscious mind or naturalized. Meanwhile, Triqui migrants internalize this symbolic violence and come to believe they belong in their low social location.

Chapter Seven reviews the Bourdieuan concepts that inform the analysis throughout the book. The author also problematizes many of the terms found in immigration studies that can misrepresent and justify social and health inequalities (e.g., migrant, migrant worker, farmworker). Finally, borrowing Paul Farmer's phrase, the author calls for "pragmatic solidarity" from U.S. society at large and shows the incipient efforts made on the farm to improve the lives of his Triqui companions. Holmes paints a grim picture of life for these migrant farmworkers; the few efforts made to alleviate their suffering are incomplete. Yet, this book does much to shed light on the inequalities and struggles these farmworkers face.

One of the book's major strengths comes from its multisite fieldwork following farmworkers as they move seasonally between agricultural fields. Many migration studies focus on populations in one location at one time and do not capture the many ways that seasonal movement, outside of transnational movement, can be disruptive. For the Triqui farmworkers, this movement impacts sustained medical treatment and worker compensation. It also broadcasts how different state laws govern farmworkers both in the fields and in the housing they are eligible to receive. A major weakness of the book is its focus on the male bodies of Triqui migrants. In passing, Holmes notes that, "there is an increased risk of stillbirth and congenital birth defects in children born near farms," yet women's bodies, illnesses, and medical treatments are never discussed (p. 101). Holmes continuously uses Bourgeois' notion of "conjugated oppression" to explain how ethnicity, class, and citizenship work to produce an oppression experientially and materially different from that produced by one of those categories alone. The inclusion of gender would have added more depth to this analysis. This exclusion is particularly jarring given that the cover of the book is of a Triqui

woman kneeling in a strawberry field. A discussion of gender would have also allowed the author to include some of the literature on intersectionality—which expands the notion of "conjugated oppression." Despite this critique, this book presents an important contribution to discussions of migrant health, social justice, ethnic inequality, and agricultural labor. It is an accessible and compelling text that many outside of the college setting should read, including immigration and environmental justice activists.

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*Black Citymakers: How The Philadelphia Negro Changed Urban America*, by **Marcus Anthony Hunter**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. 286 pp. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780199948130.

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*Black Citymakers* returns to the neighborhood made famous by W. E. B. Du Bois' meticulous study, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899). Marcus Hunter did not attempt a full "revisit" of DuBois' research. Instead, he investigated pivotal moments in the neighborhood's subsequent history: struggles involving banks, housing, urban renewal, and political representation. Hunter discovers how diverse black leaders and residents shaped their own future, at the same time grappling with forces well beyond their control. He asserts that blacks have been active citizens of the neighborhood, city, and state. This is all the more incredible and, he argues, understandable *because* they have faced daunting challenges of discrimination, poverty, and disenfranchisement.

"The Problem" is the title of *The Philadelphia Negro's* second chapter. Like DuBois, Hunter admits that sociologists need to study problems experienced by black people, but emphasizes that they must do so in the context of the diversity of experiences and situations and that they ought to emphasize black people's agency. It is sad but understandable that Hunter and others need to make this point. Too often, sociologists have presented black urban residents simply as victims of white political leaders

and structural conditions beyond their control. Cornel West has admonished the authors of such studies for attempting to demonstrate what should be assumed of all research subjects: their humanity. Humanity includes some agency and some submission to structure. What is most important is what agency and structure particular studies that assume such humanity expose. Many studies of neighborhood change that take agency seriously focus on the decisions (and constraints surrounding those decisions) to stay in or leave a neighborhood; to manage households while workers are either unemployed, receiving low wages, and/or suffering from the carceral state; to react to development threats from more economically and politically powerful outsiders; or to construct identities around the conjuncture of race, class, and neighborhood. For Hunter, agency and structure are found in political orientations and engagements of diverse actors in collective action, action meant to change a neighborhood's trajectory.

Hunter investigates what he calls "critical junctures" in the neighborhood's history: moments of intense conflict and collective organization. Concentrating on these moments allows him to expose fractures (among leaders, businesses, and residents) and to cover a variety of crucial social issues. The dominance of finance in today's economy makes Hunter's first chapter, on an early twentieth-century crisis in black financial institutions, especially important. It demonstrates how local economic self-sufficiency pursuits—two black-owned and -operated banks—emerged from the dust of the imploded national Freedmen's Bank. The locally operated banks failed their investors too, so the Seventh Ward residents' savings disappeared, despite their protests.

Two subsequent chapters cover demands to ameliorate slum conditions and the related alliances and conflicts between poor and middle-class blacks. We read about how the neighborhood's black residents pushed housing availability and conditions to the forefront of policy agendas and about their successful resistance to a crosstown expressway plan, which would have practically eliminated the neighborhood. To be sure, despite political wins in both cases, results were disappointing: Public housing was

sited and distributed by racial formulas, often reproducing racial inequalities. Twenty years of uncertainty during the struggle to stop the expressway caused disinvestment, irrevocably damaging the neighborhood. The final empirical chapter demonstrates how political leadership and demographic shifts from previous years enabled the election of the city's first black mayor, W. Wilson Goode, in 1983. Hunter details how Goode's leadership, like the many other political successes covered in the book, came with costs, at least to poor blacks still living in the Seventh Ward. Hunter elegantly captures the complicated, and often tragic, outcomes of political successes. But his primary concern is with the fact that these struggles happened at all, that blacks led them and had conflicts over how to lead them, and that their efforts made a difference to the neighborhood and the city.

One of Hunter's important innovations is to connect grassroots politics to the cultural, economic, and demographic changes in neighborhoods observed by other urban sociologists. More specifically, Hunter considers how grassroots political leaders' strategic moves and residents' responses are rooted in changing neighborhood conditions. Hunter builds, for instance, on studies of the active construction of neighborhoods' collective memories from the inside by Japonica Brown-Saracino and Fred Wherry and from the outside by Sharon Zukin, and from somewhat inadvertent differences in generational experience by Mario Small. Similarly, Hunter extends investigations of ethnic and racial enclaves such as those by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Karyn Lacy, Mary Pattillo, and Alejandro Portes. Unlike these researchers of community, Hunter focuses precisely on the political action that can emerge from a racial or ethnic enclave.

Another important lesson of *Black City-makers* emerges from Hunter's constant attention to how a neighborhood is nested within larger communities of the city, state, and nation. Throughout the book, Hunter masterfully illustrates political action and structure within a complicated network of different scales, perhaps heeding Neil Brenner's call for spatial sensitivity through attention to multiple, connected scales. In

Hunter's account of the Seventh Ward, interests, frames, coalitions, and consensus are formed at intra-neighborhood, neighborhood, city, state, and federal levels; none is independent of the other. For instance, while discussing the collapse of a single set of rental housing units, Hunter discusses the experiences of the families who lived there, the neighborhood leaders who took up the cause, city politicians who listened to or ignored them, and city and federal housing policies—as well as how they all react to each other. In Hunter's book, it almost always seems clear that the context of any political action, whether at the neighborhood or any other level, is the activity happening in nested political communities.

Hunter's investigation will motivate worthwhile debates in sociology. *Black City-makers* may inspire sociologists to articulate just how leaders and residents of a neighborhood are, or are not, pivotal to change in a city or in the nation. Hunter's suggestion, for instance, that the Seventh Ward mattered significantly to W. Wilson Goode's election or to the institution of post-WWII public-housing policy is likely to be challenged by explanations relying primarily on city- and national-level changes. Hunter's selection of cases across the entire twentieth century will also provoke discussion about whether Hunter's method of narrowing the geographical focus to a single neighborhood allows for reliable conclusions to be reached in a study of such historical breadth.

Because it spans the entire twentieth century, *Black Citymakers* will provide a unique resource for undergraduates taking courses in urban sociology, particularly those focused on neighborhood change and urban history. Hunter's book will help students synthesize much of what they learn about the twentieth-century city in segments of an urban sociology course (such as on cultural, demographic, economic, political, racial, and ethnic changes). He creates a living, breathing, memorable narrative illustrating many of the processes that other books make their singular focus. Reading Hunter's book on black Philadelphians of the Seventh Ward can help sociology students incorporate and debate more finely-grained studies into their understandings of the histories of American cities.

*My Dog Always Eats First: Homeless People and Their Animals*, by **Leslie Irvine**. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013. 197 pp. \$55.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781588268884.

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Many homeless pet owners face criticisms like these: "You can't possibly take good care of that animal! You're being irresponsible and unfair. You can't even take care of yourself, or you wouldn't be homeless." But what do we actually know about the kind of care that homeless people provide for their animal companions? How do homeless pet owners themselves respond to these slurs and accusations?

Based on interviews with 75 homeless pet owners (mainly dog owners) in five U.S. cities, Leslie Irvine's book provides crucial insights for anyone interested in a deeper understanding of homelessness, human-animal relationships, deviance and stigma management, and the construction of self through narrative. Organized into chapters focusing on separate themes that emerged in her analysis, *My Dog Always Eats First* relates richly detailed stories and weaves in literature from history, ethnography, and sociological theory and research.

Homeless pet owners are a somewhat hidden population, not accessible through shelters and soup kitchens, where pets are generally banned, and difficult to approach successfully on the street, where they may view researchers with suspicion. Irvine gained access through introductions from veterinarians who provide free care to the pets of homeless people, plus their assistants and students, who had already established trusting relationships with homeless pet owners.

Irvine's use of narrative analysis is instructive for anyone wishing to understand or use this analytic approach. She focuses on how stories produce selves; that is, how people create and recreate themselves through the stories they tell about their lives, in this case about their homelessness and their connections to animal companions. Irvine emphasizes how social structures shape these