alleged transgressors were not stiff-backed Irish step dancers slumming in the swing scene: most Americans have been dancing "blackly" since their teens. Ellison, too, as a Marxist through the 1940s, knew full well that all that is holy will eventually be profaned.

Still, I adore this book, for it comes so close. With a strong-willed editor, dozens of hermetic claims such as "this cultural engagement not only oppresses African Americans, but . . . dominates whites themselves as they remain trapped in their own essential whiteness" (p. 79) might have been better attuned to the more open-ended coda—in a word, made more Ellisonian.

Allegory deserves a readership beyond well-credentialed white liberals committed to more expansive forms of self-loathing and would be a vital addition to syllabi in courses on racialization, culture, and methodology. Like the protagonist of *Invisible Man*, Hancock's hunger for justice remains unabated, I figure, and I look forward to his next excavation of the remaining riddles in the American vernacular.

Black Citymakers: How the Philadelphia Negro Changed Urban America. By Marcus Anthony Hunter. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. xviii+286. $35.00.

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In *The Philadelphia Negro*, W. E. B. DuBois examines the physical and the "far-mightier social" environment in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward. His classic and too-neglected account of racial inequality in urban space develops an elegantly multidimensional story about how massive poverty and decay occurred in this neighborhood over the course of the 19th century. This multidimensionality enables DuBois to focus on a main story—the historical and structural conditions perpetuating racial domination—while refusing to relent to an overdetermined view of the black residents of the Seventh Ward (we see evidence of agency and find suggestions for how the oppression of this community can be eased). After all, he is attempting to provide an analysis that leads to further academic study and to more "practical reform." Unfortunately, sociology has not taken the DuBoisian multidimensionality to heart. While a robust literature has developed around the causes and consequences of racial inequality, less research has focused on the agentic responses black Americans develop to counteract and resist systematic forms of racism, discrimination, and political disempowerment. Marcus Anthony Hunter's book, *Black Citymakers: How the Philadelpia Negro Changed Urban America*, provides a way forward by focusing on the political agency of black residents of the Seventh Ward in the 20th century.

Hunter's emphasis on political agency draws attention to the strategies that people in weak positions use to make sense of and challenge structural conditions. In this framework black Philadelphians need not successfully

combat structural disadvantage to engage in meaningfully agentic acts, but, rather, even seemingly unsuccessful acts or expressions of agency can change the urban landscape—or play a role in (re)making the city—in a variety of political, cultural, and demographic ways. Thus, as Hunter writes, "'the truly disadvantaged' might also be seen as *citymakers*" (p. 214). By drawing this connection between structure and agency, Hunter performs the kind of delicate theoretical acrobatics that make this book a significant contribution to the sociological literature on the causes, consequences, and, most important, responses to social inequality.

To examine political agency and test the boundaries of his concept, he analyzes four critical junctures in the 20th-century history of Philadelphia's Seventh Ward. Chronologically, we see the black residents of the neighborhood centered around South Street participate in an unsuccessful effort via the creation of a locally owned bank to concentrate black wealth in the neighborhood in the 1920s; an effort to respond to housing degradation in the 1930s that leads to migration away from the Seventh Ward; a lengthy but successful midcentury effort to impede the development of a neighborhood-splitting highway; and the successful election of a black mayor in the early 1980s. Coinciding with this shift in the effects of black political agency were demographic and economic shifts—mostly gentrification—that decentered the Seventh Ward as a primary hub of black Philadelphia. Hunter—following DuBois's emphasis on a protoecological idea of "social environment"—highlights how these junctures exhibit various forms of interdependence. We can see networks between individuals, organizations, and neighborhoods as creating glue that binds black Philadelphians together and contributes to the city making at the heart of Hunter's book. For example, Seventh Ward leaders help tie together citywide intra- and interracial organizations to successfully impede the implementation of the highway plan that would bisect the neighborhood.

Hunter's concept of interdependence is an appealing tool for sociohistorical analysis, especially for those studying people in disadvantaged positions—outcomes aren't the sole product of those in power—but carries with it the cost of a certain messiness: organizational and individual networks within the Seventh Ward expand to a jumble of intersecting and competing ties that are occasionally difficult to keep straight. This messiness is only emphasized when Hunter narrows his focus to one or two actors. Here, at his very best as a writer, Hunter animates his story of interdependence with biography and narrative. We see Lucy Spease tucking in her children prior to the devastating tenement collapse of 1936 and develop a sympathetic picture of Alice Lipscombe's grassroots effort to preserve some part of the black Seventh Ward. The former tragedy emphasizes the motivations for weak actors to seek broader ties, while the latter highlights how the successful creation of these ties can lead to meaningful social change.

Hunter's study design—returning to the Seventh Ward—is not an update of *The Philadelphia Negro* in a literal sense. Hunter does not, for example, trace the social environment with DuBois's breadth, nor does he

spend too much time discussing how well 20th-century events map onto 19th-century conditions. In fact, I am disappointed that he resists several opportunities to draw these connections. Rather, Hunter has a specific theoretical aim—developing the concept of political agency—and the Seventh Ward provides an "ideal case" for elaborating this aim. He accomplishes this task well, contributing to current debates about structure and agency, race and politics, and the heterogeneity of urban space. Scholars and students (advanced undergraduate and graduate) interested in historical, political, and urban sociology as well as race, inequality, and social movements should read this book. DuBois scholars may be disappointed that Hunter engages in a more tangential conversation with *The Philadelphia Negro*, but I suspect that this disappointment will quickly subside as the story of 20th-century Philadelphia unfolds and Hunter's discussion of political agency develops.

DuBois believed that residents of the Seventh Ward were too disconnected from the civic associations that help structure civil society. In *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*, he wrote, "The art of organization is one of the hardest for the freedman to learn, and the Negro shows his greatest deficiency here" (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996 [1899], p. 221). Hunter's book highlighting the political agency of Seventh Ward residents ultimately shows that DuBois was right about the importance of civil society, as Hunter's black city makers, while developing the "art of organization," profoundly changed the urban space in which they lived.

What Is Your Race? The Census and Our Flawed Efforts to Classify Americans. By Kenneth Prewitt. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013. Pp. xiv+271. $29.95.

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Kenneth Prewitt has written a provocative book on the way that the census counts and sorts individuals by race. Drawing on a wide range of secondary sources as well as his own experience working within the Census Bureau, *What Is Your Race* argues that politics and an outdated logic of racial hierarchy influence the way that the bureau racially classifies individuals. The author advocates for the eventual removal of racial categories on the decennial census and suggests instead that more open-ended ancestry questions should be inserted on the smaller-scale American Community Survey (ACS).

Prewitt's monograph is part history and part policy manual. In the first part, Prewitt draws on published works and sketches a history of how the census has dealt with race. He notes that slavery and taxation politics helped introduce the first black and white binary categories, and he traces the way that arguments about racial hierarchy and immigrant assimilation