

Race, Reform, and the Making of a Middle Class. By Joseph O. Jewell. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Pp. x+225. \$27.95.

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The past few years of American sociology have brought forth a series of monographs on the black middle class (e.g., Mary Pattillo's *Black Picket Fences* and *Black on the Block* [University of Chicago Press, 1999 and 2007] and Karyn Lacy's *Blue-Chip Black* [University of California Press, 2007]). These and many other studies consider contemporary issues and concerns relating to the black middle class. The contribution on the black middle class that I discuss here is set in a different time and produced via very different research methods than much of the foregoing work. Utilizing archival resources, Joseph O. Jewell's *Race, Reform, and the Making of a Middle Class* is an exploration of the early formation of the African-American middle class of Atlanta, Georgia. More particularly, in this work Jewell aims to document how the American Missionary Association (AMA), a social organization aimed at service and racial uplift, contributed to the formation of this segment of Atlanta's African-American community following the end of American slavery and up to the turn of the 20th century.

The AMA was similar to many 19th-century missionary societies in that it initially existed to agitate for the abolition of slavery. After slavery came to an end in the United States, the AMA worked for the creation and expansion of social and economic opportunities for African-Americans. As Jewell convincingly argues, the AMA desired to promote both the civilization of the South, which had been wounded by the loss of the Civil War and by the disdain showered upon it by progressive Northerners who disavowed slavery, and African-Americans as well, especially as they were regarded as possessors of backward and stultifying cultural traits that would ill equip them for securing stability and prosperity in the rapidly emerging American industrial order. In situating the project of the AMA as these two interrelated historical dynamics, Jewell does not tell a new story about the turn-of-the-20th-century South as much as provide a rich and provocative case study of an institution and some of the individuals most directly affected by it that were subjected to these well-documented conditions and circumstances. That is, this book offers no new theory of race or race relations, nor does it challenge standing depictions of the American nativist mindset while the industrial sphere came into full being. Instead, Jewell documents how the agency of some of the most materially and socially privileged African-Americans came into force in dealing with the objectives and efforts of the AMA to cultivate the "right" kind of black people in the postslavery-era South.

A core thesis of the book, that American society was steeped in a racist logic that held that black Americans were in need of a Christianity-

induced civilizing process so that they would not roam freely across the national landscape and wreak havoc on that which white Americans had constructed, is repeated early and often. This also holds for Jewell's discussion of how the AMA was in many ways an institutional reflection of this national conviction. Yet the signature contribution of this work remains in Jewell's detailed investigation of how Atlanta's African-Americans responded to the AMA mandate by maneuvering and manipulating it in order to construct and direct schools (initially created by the AMA) that furthered their own aims of establishing a base of formal institutional control and civic status, which facilitated their quest for upward mobility. It was this unfolding that Jewell affirms as the basis for the cementing of an African-American middle-class community in Atlanta.

In making his argument, Jewell pulls off the challenge of trying to tell a story of race and class simultaneously. This effort involves addressing the emergence of Atlanta's African-American middle class, freed from the explicit social control of slavery, by working with and against the white American middle class, which was contending with the gradual demise of the plantation economy and the subsequent rise of merchants, small farmers, and white-collar workers in an urban domain. In essence, Jewell's account is about collective efforts to attain stability and prosperity in the midst of the turbulence and social change that was emblematic of the turn-of-the-20th-century South.

The data pertaining to the AMA and African-Americans in Atlanta during this period are rich and detailed. As such, the empirical material delivers on Jewell's thesis quite well. The slight rupture in this pattern is found in the final chapter, which provides a conclusion steeped in theoretical literature on the interconnection of race and class in the formation of the African-American middle class. Here Jewell attempts to bring in a range of sociological theoretical efforts to define and interpret American race (and really black-white) relations in order to substantiate how critical it is that race and class be thought about in tandem in a project such as his.

That point is clear and logical, yet Jewell does not attempt to advance these theoretical pursuits as much as present them in literature-review-style commentary, and then affirm that historically grounded inquiry such as his demonstrates why the theoretical efforts to interconnect class and race in sociological theory are so important. I found his conclusion a bit less daring and insightful than the material preceding it. Perhaps the author felt that including it was essential to keeping his material in the domain of sociological inquiry rather than having it appear too much of a study in social history. Accordingly, I cannot quibble too much with a young sociologist's efforts to situate himself in the discipline in this manner. However, I found myself much more satisfied with the social historical contribution made by *Race, Reform, and the Making of a Middle Class*, and I suspect that its legacy will be precisely in what it does to draw

attention to and encourage further research on the specific historical processes of racial class formation in the African-American community.

Immigration and Crime: Race, Ethnicity, and Violence. Edited by Ramiro Martinez, Jr., and Abel Valenzuela, Jr. New York: New York University Press, 2006. Pp. 248. \$22.00 (paper).

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Immigration and Crime: Race, Ethnicity, and Violence, edited by Ramiro Martinez, Jr., and Abel Valenzuela, Jr., serves as a much-needed wake-up call to scholars, policy makers, and the general public. The book's central message is that the relationship between immigration and crime has been understudied and misunderstood and is deserving of our attention. In addition to sounding the alarm, the book offers a strong foundation for the development of a literature that addresses a variety of contemporary issues spanning a broad swath of academic and public policy terrain. The well-organized volume consists of 10 primarily empirical chapters written by leading scholars in sociology, criminology, and ethnic studies. The contributions range in methodological approach and substantive focus but come together nicely to create compelling reading for anyone interested in immigration, crime, race and ethnicity, and urban sociology more broadly.

Together, the chapters document several notable patterns and processes that should be of interest to a widespread audience. First, the research presented supports a long-standing (and long-ignored) history of empirical findings that undermines the popularly held notion that immigrants commit more crime. Past and present evidence shows that, in fact, immigrants engage in criminal behavior at lower rates than native-born individuals. This pattern was first reported in the early 1900s by the U.S. Immigration Commission and, since then, has been documented with few exceptions whenever the topic has been explored. While the research in *Immigration and Crime* offers significant analytical and theoretical advances, the various findings are consistent with earlier research. Regardless of the methodological approach, the type of crime being measured, or the ethnic group being studied, all of the authors demonstrate that immigrants are less likely to engage in criminal behavior than people born in the United States. These additional nails in the coffin of the "immigrants cause crime" argument may not silence those who have used unsubstantiated claims to grease the wheels of anti-immigrant public policy, but when 73% of General Social Survey respondents incorrectly believe that "immigration was causally related to more crime" (p. 68), disseminating more evidence is of utmost importance.

Another point that becomes quite clear throughout the book is the