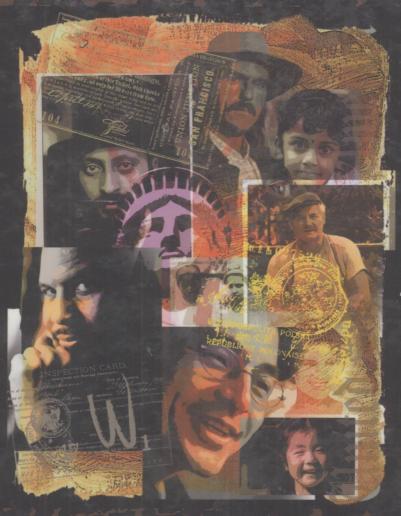
STRANGERS to These SHORES

Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States



SIXTH EDITION

VINCENT N. PARRILLO

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Vincent N. Parrillo

William Paterson University

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To my Italian American father and my Irish American mother

Foreword

The United States has been aptly called a "permanently unfinished" country, a global sponge remarkable in its capacity to absorb tens of millions of people of all classes and cultures from all over the world. "Strangers" to these shores, and in some egregious cases strangers in their own land, they have made their passages to and in America a central theme of the country's history. In the process, America has been engaged in an endless passage of its own, fraught with irony and paradox. American ethnic groups were forged, along with peculiarly American ideologies of "race," in the tumultuous history of its national expansion. In myriad ways, their unequal destinies reflect their diverse origins. From the European conquest of indigenous peoples to massive waves of both coerced and uncoerced immigration, the United States has evolved into what is arguably the world's most ethnically diverse society—with all of its alluring, perennial promise as a land of opportunity and fresh starts for the ambitious stranger and the tempest-tost, and with all of its enduring, bitter legacy of a history of racial exclusion and color lines.

On the eve of the 21st century, new American ethnic groups are forming faster than ever before. Indeed, now four decades into a new era of mass immigration, it has become commonplace to observe that the United States is in the midst of its most profound demographic transformation in a century. The sheer magnitude of the phenomenon is impressive. The "immigrant stock" population of the United States at this writing numbers approximately 55 million people—that is, persons who are either immigrants (27 million) or U.S.-born children of immigrants (28 million). That figure is one fifth of the total U.S. population, and growing rapidly through ongoing migration and natural increase. If today's immigrant stock formed a country, it would rank in the top 10% in the world in population size—about twice the size of Canada, and roughly the size of the United Kingdom, France, or Italy. This newest immigration is overwhelmingly non-European in national origin. Of the 27 million foreign-born—already the largest immigrant population in world history—about half has come from Latin America and the Caribbean; nearly a third has come from Asia and the Middle East, or about twice as many as all of those born in Europe and Canada combined. And unlike the last great waves of European immigration, which were halted by the passage of restrictive legislation in the 1920s and especially by the back-to-back global cataclysms of the Great Depression and World War II, the current flows show no sign of abating. On the contrary, inasmuch as immigration is a network-driven phenomenon and the United States remains the premier destination for a world on the move, the likelihood is that it will continue indefinitely.

The rapid growth of this emerging population—unprecedented in its diversity of color, class, and cultural origin—is changing fundamentally the ethnic and

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racial composition and stratification of the American population, and perhaps also the social meanings of race and ethnicity, and of American identity. All of this has led to a burgeoning research literature and an intensified, at times xenophobic, public debate about the new immigration and its manifold impacts on American society. Who knows what the long-term national consequences will be? Will the newcomers move into the middle-class mainstream of American life or into an expanded multiethnic underclass? Will their social mobility be enabled by the structure of opportunities or blocked by racial discrimination and a changed economy? Will they "repeat" the history and experience of previous waves of European immigrants? If we can learn something from that checkered past, it may be to harbor few illusions about the value of gazing into crystal balls. When those now-legendary millions of young European strangers were disembarking at Ellis Island early in this century, who could have imagined what the world would be like for their children in the 1930s, or their grandchildren in the 1960s? And today, who can foresee what world will await the children of millions of Latin American and Asian strangers in the 2020s, or their grandchildren in the 2050s? In a world changing seemingly faster than we can learn about it, it is a fool's errand to extrapolate naively and myopically from the present in order to divine the distant future.

Nonetheless, it is precisely at times like these, of vertiginous change and jolting surprise, that clear and dispassionate social science knowledge is at a premium. In a field as dynamic and controversial as this one, when issues of immigration, race and ethnicity command national policy attention, there is an urgent need for a theoretically-informed vision with wide-angle lenses that seeks to grasp the complexity of the ever-changing present within its larger sociohistorical context. Vincent Parrillo's *Strangers to These Shores* is such a book.

From its opening reflections on the stranger as a social phenomenon, to its thoughtful conclusion on the nature and future of the American mosaic, Strangers to These Shores remains one of the best textbooks ever published on race and ethnic relations in the United States. Indeed, that it is now in its sixth edition is a measure of its success, and of the alert and constant effort of its author to stay on top of rapidly changing circumstances. As in previous editions, Professor Parrillo takes diversity in America seriously and seeks to understand it through historically grounded comparative analyses of the variety and evolution of patterns of majorityminority relations in the United States. The book is especially effective in its richly drawn portraits of several dozen groups, eschewing the Procrustean, pretentious, and obscurantist tendency of introductory textbooks—and of the larger society to reduce the complexity of American ethnicity to a handful of one-size-fits-all racialized categories ("Latino," "Asian," "black," "white," "American Indian"), thereby obliterating the histories and cultures of distinct peoples in the process. Freshly updated, engagingly written, with an eye for the telling and compelling detail-from instructive international vignettes to the experiences of young strangers then and now—this new edition will both inform and enlighten the student and the general reader. It is an excellent introduction to a challenging, everchanging, and permanently unfinished field of study.

> Rubén G. Rumbaut Michigan State University

Preface

Race and ethnic relations is an exciting, challenging, and dynamic field of study. It touches all of us, directly and indirectly in many ways, and it does so on personal, regional, national, even global levels. Each generation thinks it lives through a unique situation, as shaped by the times or the "peculiarities" of a group's characteristics. In truth, each generation is part of a larger process that includes behavioral patterns inherited from past generations, who also thought their situation was unique.

Intergroup relations change continually, through alternating periods of quiet and turmoil, of entry of new groups of immigrants or refugees, and of problems sporadically arising between native-born racial or ethnic groups within the country. Often, we can best understand these changes within the context of discernible, recurring patterns that are influenced by economic, political, psychological, and sociological factors. This is partly what C. Wright Mills meant when he spoke of the intricate connection between the patterns of individual lives and the larger historical context of society, a concept we discuss in Chapter 1.

To understand both the interpersonal dynamics and the larger context of changing intergroup relations—particularly the reality of historical repetitions of behavior—we must utilize social science theory, research, and analysis. Moreover, we can only truly appreciate a diverse society like the United States, as well as the broader applications of social science by examining many groups, rather than focusing only on a few groups (as most other college texts that focus on this subject do).

I am gratified by the continued widespread adoptions of *Strangers to These Shores* and the favorable response from colleagues and students throughout the United States, Canada, and Europe. Their helpful comments and suggestions have been incorporated into this sixth edition to make an even better book.

New to this edition is an examination in Chapter 4 of the growing number of hate groups and hate crimes in the United States. Chapter 12 now includes coverage of Santeríans and Hindu Americans, practitioners of two religious faiths that claim hundreds of thousands of U.S. adherents, whose presence reflects the ever-growing diversity of U.S. society. Social indicators of minority progress, previously a section in the chapter on African Americans, is now included as a feature for all current minorities in Chapters 7–11 and 13. Added to the updated International Scene boxes are critical-thinking questions to aid the reader in making the link to each chapter's material. I have also updated the demographics throughout the book and included, where appropriate, new research findings or analyses of recent events.

The first four chapters present a conceptual and theoretical overview of the subject area, giving students a basis for examining the experiences of the different

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minority groups discussed in subsequent chapters. Major sociological perspectives—functionalist, conflict, and interactionist—as well as some middle-range theories are applied throughout the book, though overall its treatment of topics remains eclectic. Instructors can either follow this approach or emphasize their own theoretical viewpoint, since the book's structure allows for varying applications.

Following a presentation of some introductory concepts in the first chapter—particularly that of the stranger as a social phenomenon and the concept of the Dillingham Flaw—the first group of chapters examines differences in culture, reality perceptions, social class, and power as reasons for intergroup conflict. They also look at the dominant group's varying expectations about how minorities should "fit" into its society. Chapters 1 and 2 include coverage of some middle-range interactionist theories. Chapter 3 explores the dimensions and interrelationships of prejudice and discrimination, and Chapter 4 covers the dominant-minority response patterns so common across different groups and time periods. This chapter presents middle-range conflict theories about economic exploitation, too.

Chapters 5 through 13 offer the reader insights into the experiences of a wide array of minority groups. In-depth studies of the cultural orientations and degree of assimilation of each group are not possible, because the intent is to provide a broad comparative scope rather than extensive coverage of only a few groups. Not every racial and ethnic group is discussed, though more than fifty are included to illustrate the diversity of U.S. society. For a more comprehensive examination of any subject or group discussed in this book, the reader should consult the sources listed in the chapter notes and the suggested readings.

Chapter 14 returns to holistic sociological concepts in discussing ethnic consciousness; ethnicity as a social process; current racial and ethnic issues, fears, and reactions; and the various indicators of U.S. diversity in the twenty-first century.

As in the past, this edition of the book incorporates several features to enhance understanding of the topics. A sociohistorical perspective opens each chapter to the study of specific groups. Preceding a retrospective summary at the end of each chapter is a sociological analysis of the groups' experiences utilizing the functionalist, conflict, and interactionist perspectives. Most chapters include boxed first-hand accounts by immigrants of their experiences, boxed summaries of text highlights, and extensive photo, map, and line-art illustrations. Review questions and an annotated bibliography appear at the end of each chapter, along with a list of key terms. At the end of the book, the reader will find an accessible glossary and an appendix giving immigration statistics for the period 1820–1996. I also encourage readers to visit the book's web site at http://www.abacon.com/parrillo to find links and exercises directly related to each chapter.

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I am especially grateful to my friend and colleague Rubén Rumbaut for writing the foreword to this edition. My thanks also go to other friends and colleagues: Peter I. Rose of Smith College for writing the forewords to the fourth and fifth

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Finally, I want to acknowledge my gratitude to my wife, Beth, for her support and to my children, Chrysti, Cara, Beverley, and Elizabeth, for the joy they bring to my life.

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