

Congers to These Chores

RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

IN THE UNITED STATES

Strangers To These Shores

Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States

FIFTH EDITION

VINCENT N. PARRILLO

The William Paterson College of New Jersey

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Foreword

Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Sent these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

These words by Emma Lazarus, written as if spoken by "the mighty woman with a torch," the Statue of Liberty, are well known to American children schooled in the romantic notion of the United States as a haven, an island in a stormy sea, a free and open society that extends worldwide welcome to the downtrodden as well as the adventurous. From its title to its content, Vincent Parrillo's Strangers to These Shores is about that poem. However, as the reader soon learns, while the book is clearly suffused with the spirit of the most famous of our national icons (Lazarus called the Statue of Liberty the "Mother of Exiles"), it is tempered by the reality of the true history of this democracy—a history marked by progress in many spheres of social and political life but also marred by the legacy of colonization, slavery, nativism, class conflict, and too many broken dreams.

The author tells about these things and details their consequences. But Strangers to These Shores is not a history book. It is a sociological examination of the structure and character of the United States, which is today one of the most racially and ethnically diverse, promising, and troubled nations in the modern world—and surely one of the most interesting.

As a textbook for courses on race and ethnic relations in the United States, Strangers to These Shores is a comprehensive examination of both the sharpest edges and the nuances of American pluralism. Its 14 chapters provide students and other readers—even those for whom it is not assigned—a well conceived, carefully constructed, and highly readable introduction to a very complex subject. It also offers a point of view. The entire volume is linked to the author's notion of the dynamic relationship between insiders and outsiders (or "strangers") and his contention—sometimes explicit but more often implied—that the degree of integration that exists at any given time is determined by a variety of cultural, socioeconomic, and situational factors.

In Part 1 of the book, we are provided with a framework for studying dominant-minority relations. Professor Parrillo introduces, defines, explicates, and imaginatively illustrates key sociological concepts and social processes useful to any critical analysis of the subject. Among the concepts are culture, diffusion,

ethnocentrism, social distance, marginality, minority status, prejudice, discrimination, and the stranger, too—all, including the last, treated as social constructs. Among the processes are modes of differentiation, patterns of adaptation, and reactions to discrimination. The author also provides an overview of three of the most widely adopted theoretical frameworks, two of them macrosociological. The first, structural functionalism, is seen by many as a conservative approach that encourages reform through expanding tolerance limits of acceptable behavior. The second, conflict theory, emphasizes institutionalized exploitative inequities in power relationships and the need for radical change. The third theoretical framework is microsociological. Known as symbolic interaction, it focuses attention on rules, roles, and the meaning of social acts.

Although Professor Parrillo is not wedded to any of the grand theory approaches (and could not be called a Parsonian or a Marxist or anything else associated with particular perspectives or theorists), he does see the utility in having readers recognize the importance of viewing society from different angles, from the top and from the bottom and at the intersections. This is illustrated in various ways, including his assessments of affirmative action and of the debates about *The Bell Curve*. He uses such examples throughout the book.

Grand theory is not the only framework sociologists use to assess the character of the social order. There are many middle-range theories that focus on particular issues. The fourth chapter, "Dominant-Minority Relations," gives quick takes on three such explanatory models relating to interethnic affairs: the power-differential theory, the internal-colonialism theory, and the split-labor-market theory. Furthermore, and most welcome, Vincent Parrillo offers his own views of the advantages and limitations of each of these theories. This is particularly noteworthy in the discussion of his own notion of the "Dillingham Flaw."

In each chapter in Parts 2 and 3, the author applies what the reader has learned in the beginning of the text to the detailed treatment of a variety of U.S. racial and ethnic cohorts. Part 2 discusses northern and western Europeans and southern and eastern ones. Part 3 covers people of color—Native Americans; East, Central, and West Asian Americans; African Americans; and Hispanic and Caribbean Americans. Each group is treated as something apart from and yet linked to the others, a skillful method of helping the reader gain knowledge of and insight into the complex character of U.S. social history, the mixture of motives for coming to our shores (or of forcing reluctant leavers to cross the forbidding oceans), the varied responses of newcomers to those in the dominant group and to one another, and the move on the part of so many from being immigrants or refugees (or, in the case of the descendants of Africans, slaves and captives) to becoming minorities and, eventually, American-style ethnics.

While the principal focus of *Strangers to These Shores* is on newcomers (and, to a limited degree, on natives—both Native Americans and those who laid claim to being the "Founders"), the author also considers the plights of religious minorities and women of all backgrounds, using some of the concepts introduced early on to examine what he implies are subcultural variations on the theme of ethnicity. This device of spiraling back and forth is especially useful in maintaining the continuity of the book. So, too, is the practice of ending every chapter

with the three now-familiar sociological perspectives—functionalism, conflict, and interactionism—introduced and explained in Part 1.

Much of this fifth edition is well-established text that has been rewritten and updated. Most noteworthy is Part 5, which deals with the trends and possibilities. Here Professor Parrillo offers particularly insightful examinations of several old debates, including Hansen's law (what the child of an immigrant wishes to forget, the grandchild wishes to remember), symbolic versus real ethnicity, and ethnic bases of achievement motivation. He considers such timely matters as the rise in interethnic and interfaith marriages, the current fears and possible consequences of increased immigration, and thorny problems related to the presence of undocumented aliens. He also examines the question of the efficacy, and the political ramifications, of "English only" and the lively and often polarizing controversy over multiculturalism—often played out ethnosyncratically as the latest rendition of an attempt to answer an old query, "What is America to me?" posed some 50 years ago in a ballad by Lewis Allan and Earl Robinson.

It is noteworthy that Allan and Robinson—and the young Frank Sinatra, who sang their song in the early 1940s—answer the question with words that still resonate, especially in the minds and souls of liberal pluralists such as this writer and Vincent Parrillo. "What is America to me?" the songsters ask. And then, answering their own question, they spell it out in a series of stanzas, including this one:

The house I live in.

My neighbors white and black.

The people who just came here.

Or from generations back.

The townhall and the soapbox. The torch of Liberty.
A home for all God's children.
That's America to me.

The question remains a challenging one—as Vincent Parrillo repeatedly shows.

Peter I. Rose Smith College

Preface

Race and ethnic relations is an exciting, challenging, and dynamic field of study. It touches all of us in many ways, both directly and indirectly, 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 from past generations who also thought their situation unique.

Intergroup relations also change continually, through alternating periods of quiet and turmoil, of entry of new groups of immigrants or refugees, or of problems sporadically arising between different native-born racial or ethnic groups within the country. These changes can be understood within the context of discernible, recurring patterns influenced by economic, political, psychological, and sociological factors.

To understand both the 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 some competing books do).

I have been gratified by the 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 fifth edition to make an even better book. Some recent events as well as my own growth in analyzing dominant–minority relations have suggested other changes.

Since the last edition, my continuing examination of past and present patterns in intergroup relations has led me to look more closely at the dual realities of pluralism and assimilation at any given moment in time. In doing so, I have conceptualized what I find to be a common but erroneous comparison of today's immigrants with those of the past. I call this misinformed perception the Dillingham Flaw. What is significant about the Dillingham Flaw is that it easily serves as an impetus to anti-immigrant sentiments such as we are witnessing once again in the United States and elsewhere.

New to this edition, then, are discussions of the Dillingham Flaw and of the ever-present dual realities of pluralism and assimilation. Complementing these topics is the inclusion of C. Wright Mills's observations about the lack of under-

standing of the connection between public issues and personal troubles. In addition, the political and judicial attacks on affirmative action and the furor generated by *The Bell Curve*—Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's controversial book linking genetics and IQ—have prompted further analytical commentary in this edition. All other parts of the book have been updated in their demographics; and, where appropriate, new research findings and analyses of recent events have also been included.

The first four chapters present a conceptual and theoretical overview of the subject area, providing students with a base from which they can examine the experiences of the 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 over all it remains eclectic in its treatment of topics. Instructors can follow this approach or emphasize their own theoretical viewpoints because the book's structure allows for varying applications.

After some introductory concepts in the first chapter, particularly that of the stranger as a social phenomenon, the chapters examine differences in culture, reality perceptions, social class, and power as reasons for intergroup conflict. In addition, they look at the dominant group's varying expectations about how minorities should "fit" into its society. Chapters 1 and 2 include some middle-range interactionist theories also. Chapter 3 explores the dimensions and interrelationships of prejudice and discrimination, and Chapter 4 covers dominant-minority response patterns of various groups and time periods. Included in this chapter are middle-range conflict theories about economic exploitation.

Chapters 5 through 13 offer 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 scope rather than extensive coverage of only a few groups. Not every racial or ethnic group is discussed, though almost 50 have been included to illustrate the diversity among North Americans. 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 suggested readings.

Chapter 14 returns to holistic sociological concepts by discussing ethnic consciousness; ethnicity as a social process; current racial and ethnic issues, fears, and reactions; and the various indicators of American diversity in the 21st century.

Included in the book are several features to enhance understanding of the topics. A sociohistorical perspective opens each chapter on the study of specific groups. Preceding a retrospective summary at the end of each chapter is a sociological analysis of the groups' experiences that utilizes the functionalist, conflict, and interactionist perspectives. Within most chapters are boxed firsthand accounts by immigrants about their experiences, boxed summaries of text highlights, and extensive photo and line-art illustrations. Review questions and an annotated bibliography appear at the end of each chapter, and lists of key terms appear at the end of the first four chapters. At the end of the book are an easy-to-read glossary and an appendix giving immigration statistics for the period 1820–1994.

A cknowledgments

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I have also had the good fortune to work with a team at Allyn and Bacon whose competence, cooperation, and dedication have made the production of this edition a most satisfying endeavor. My special thanks go to Karen Hanson, Editor-in-Chief, whose support, wisdom, and skill have greatly eased the complex transition of the book from Macmillan, the publisher of previous editions. Her assistant, Jennifer Jacobson, handled various details with aplomb, thus facilitating the book's going into production. Jo-Anne Naples provided excellent copyediting and I appreciate her meticulous efforts. As production manager, Helane M. Prottas was an outstanding guiding force in creating the book's design, doing its photo research, and coordinating all technical aspects of its production. To her I am especially beholden for both the book's look and its timely delivery within a shorter-than-usual production schedule.

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Atlantic University wrote the Foreword for the second and third editions. He also provided valuable guidance in the development of the first edition, as did Robin M. Williams, Jr. of Cornell University. I am indebted to all three for their important contributions to this book.

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V.N.P.

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