Strangers to These Shores

Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States

TWELFTH EDITION

Vincent N. Parrillo
William Paterson University
To my Italian American father and to my Irish/German American mother
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- Deviance
- Defiance
- Acceptance

Consequences of Minority-Group Status
- Negative Self-Image
- The Vicious-Circle Phenomenon
- MARGINALITY
- Middleman Minorities

Dominant-Group Responses
- Legislative Controls
- Segregation
- Expulsion
- Xenophobia
- Annihilation
- Hate Groups
- Hate Crimes
- Exploitation

Minority-Minority Relations
Theories of Minority Integration
- Assimilation (Majority-Conformity) Theory
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- Polish Americans Today

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- Life in the United States
- Xenophobia
- Recent Immigrants

Ukrainian Americans
- Earlier Immigrants
- Recent Immigrants

Italian Americans
- The Great Migration
- Societal Hostility
- Social Patterns
- Marginality
- Social Mobility

French Americans
- Marginality and Assimilation
- Francophobia
- Pluralism
- LOUISIANA FRENCH • FRENCH CANADIANS

German Americans
- Early Reactions
- The Second Wave: Segregation and Pluralism
- Societal Responses
- Cultural Impact

Irish Americans
- Cultural Differentiation
- Societal Reaction and Finding Jobs
- Minority Response
- Upward Mobility
- The New Irish

Social Realities for Women
- Assimilation

Sociological Analysis
- The Functionalist View
- The Conflict View
- The Interactionist View

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- Key Terms • Discussion Questions • Internet Activities

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- The Early National Period
- The Pre–Civil War Period
- The Great Migration

English Americans
- The Departure
- Culture Shock

Dutch Americans
- Structural Conditions
- Pluralism

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South, Central, and East European Americans

Sociohistorical Perspective
- The Push–Pull Factors
- Structural Conditions
- Societal Reaction
- RACISM • AMERICANIZATION • XENOPHOBIA • LEGISLATIVE ACTION

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Foreword

Any grasp of the U.S. present and future requires knowledge about the manifold aspects of the subject of race and ethnicity. The United States is in the midst of a far-reaching transformation of its population and fundamental social patterns. The ethno-racial complexion of the country is changing rapidly and profoundly as a result of trends such as increasing immigration and declining fertility among native whites.

A half-century ago, in 1970, the United States was a country largely divided between whites and blacks, with whites by themselves nearly 85 percent of Americans and blacks 11 percent, while Hispanics, Asians, American Indians, and all others together amounted to a mere 6 percent. As of 2015, whites who are not Hispanic have declined to just 62 percent of the population, while the proportionate share of blacks has remained almost stable at 13 percent. Some groups that represented just a sliver of Americans in 1970 have virtually exploded in size, mainly because of immigration: Hispanics are 18 percent, Asians and Pacific Islanders 6 percent. And religions that had previously seemed “exotic” have now become a part of the U.S. landscape: mosques have appeared in many parts of the country, as have Sikh gurdwaras and Buddhist temples, for example.

In short, it has become virtually impossible to imagine the U.S. mainstream as essentially white and Christian, though a century ago the great majority of Americans would have confidently identified their nation in this way. “Diversity” has become the mantra to express these changes, and many Americans believe that we are on our way to becoming a majority-minority society, in which no group, not even whites, can claim to be more than 50 percent. The Census Bureau has in fact projected this outcome by the 2040s (though census data and population projections are distorted by classifying the growing group of Americans from mixed white-minority family backgrounds as “non-white”). Total population figures in a sense underestimate the changes because of their relationship to age: older Americans are disproportionately white, and young Americans disproportionately non-white or Hispanic.

The impact of growing ethno-racial diversity on the nation’s public culture is visible everywhere, from the Obama White House’s recognition of Muslim holidays such as Eid al-Fitr, the end of the Ramadan fast; to the common sounds of Spanish and other immigrant languages on the streets, public transportation, and the airwaves; and to the celebration of Chinese New Year in a number of cities. What will U.S. culture look like in a decade or two, when non-white minorities will probably draw equal to whites among youthful Americans?

In light of the complexity of these changes, Americans need a guide to help them understand how their country is being altered. For this purpose, there is no better single volume than Vincent N. Parrillo’s Strangers to These Shores. Two features set this book apart from all others that aim to fill the same need. First, Parrillo fully develops the theoretical foundation required for an understanding of the chameleon-like qualities of many ethno-racial phenomena, which vary in their expression from group to group and from one historical era to another. These ideas allow the reader to consider, for example, the questions: what is one to make of the apelike stereotype of the Irish in the nineteenth century (see the cartoon, “Mutual: Both Are Glad There Are Bars Between Them?” on p. 51), which seems unrecognizable today? What does it indicate about the capacity for ethno-racial change and the conditions that bring it about?

Second, Parrillo delves deeply into the historical record of the conquest of Native Americans, the enslavement of African Americans, and the immigration of European, Asian, and Latin Americans. An appreciation of the past is an essential prelude to clear thinking about the present and future. This is especially true because much that many Americans currently think is new in fact has analogues in the past. For example, all too many believe that immigrants in the past rapidly learned English and that the persistence of Spanish among the children of Latin-American immigrants today represents a new resistance to assimilation. However, this view of the past is incorrect, and in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of groups found ways to preserve their mother tongues. This took place either in parochial schools where instruction was bilingual or even dominated by the mother tongue, as was true for the French Canadians in New England, or in bilingual public schools, which were established in many Midwestern cities and towns for the benefit of German speakers (see pp. 121–122). But over time, English won out, as it appears to be doing across generations among Latinos today.

Broadly speaking, two perspectives structure the ways scholars and ordinary Americans understand ethno-racial history and contemporary patterns, and the reader will find much in this volume to support each of them. One sees the essential U.S. story as about whites’ dominance of other groups, despite the many transformations along the way. To boil many complexities down to a single word, race, then is the key to understanding U.S. society. According to this view, there is a fundamental continuity between whites’ dominance in the early years of European conquest and colonization of the new continent, when they killed many Native Americans and drove away others while importing
African slaves to provide labor, and their position at the top of an ethno-racial hierarchy today.

Critical race theory (discussed on p. 310) argues that this continuity is maintained by the basic institutional arrangements of U.S. society, which continue to favor whites and which they therefore defend against challenge. For instance, African Americans are greatly handicapped by the operation of the criminal-justice system, which since 1980 has imposed felony convictions and prison terms on a startling proportion of young black men, leaving them disadvantaged for life even after they have served their sentences. Many Latino immigrant families suffer from an immigration system that tolerates their undocumented status because they provide necessary labor in agriculture and services but refuses to grant them a legal position no matter how long they reside and work here.

A very different perspective emphasizes the ways that over time the United States has tried to ameliorate ethno-racial inequalities. One high point was the Civil Rights movement and the ensuing legislation of the 1960s, which though they failed to create full equality between blacks and whites prepared the way for the emergence of a sizable black middle class and the very gradual decline of residential segregation. This perspective is perhaps epitomized in ideas about assimilation, which see their proof in a growing fluidity of ethnic and racial identifications. In a pattern that echoes the post-World War II rise of marriage across ethnic lines among whites, this fluidity is associated with a sharp rise in marriage and other unions that span the major ethno-racial divisions. In any recent year, about 15 percent of weddings unite individuals from different racial groups or a Hispanic with a non-Hispanic partner (compared to 7 percent in 1980, according to Wendy Wang of the Pew Research Center). Most of these marriages involve a non-Hispanic white partner and a minority one and thus cross the majority-minority divide. Needless to say, rising mixed unions are having a pronounced impact on the child population, as a significant fraction of infants now have parents from different ethno-racial groups. From what we can see, identities and social affiliations for these individuals are more fluid compared to those from families that are not mixed. They are gradually changing the rigidity of ethno-racial categories, in other words.

Neither of these two perspectives illuminates the whole truth about ethnicity and race in U.S. society. But both help us to understand their powerful role in the past, present, and future, as the reader of this volume will come to see.

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Preface

In this book you will be reading and learning about one of the most interesting, ever-changing, and personally relevant subjects in your academic career, because the area of 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 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 detectable, 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 use 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.

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, Europe, and Asia. Their helpful comments and suggestions have been incorporated into this 12th edition to make an even better book.

What’s New in the 12th Edition

First, and most important, this new edition continues our policy to provide a thorough updating to supply the most recent data and information throughout the book and the inclusion of the most current and relevant studies not only in sociology but in many other related fields as well. Of more than 1,100 reference citations in this edition, 47 percent are either new or updated since the previous edition. In the Notes section in the back of the book, these new references appear in blue for easy identification.

Second, this book—often imitated by competitors—has always been the content leader and the most comprehensive in the field and the leader in including new focus areas, and we continue that proud tradition. For example, in this edition you will find a special boxed feature, “Students Speak,” appearing 52 times and offering reactive comments from recent readers.

Third, a new foreword written by Richard D. Alba—a distinguished sociologist, highly esteemed expert on assimilation, and member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences—offers timely and insightful commentary on changes in U.S. society.

Fourth, more unified and comprehensive sections on assimilation have been created in Chapters 7 through 11 that deal with contemporary minorities.

Changes in Each Chapter

As always, each chapter in this new edition contains the latest data and research findings. In addition, here is a detailed list of additions and updates:

Chapter 1: The Study of Minorities

- New Students Speak: Social distance and race
- New Reality Check: Cross-racial social interactions in college

Chapter 2: Culture and Social Structure

- New Students Speak: Portuguese community in Newark
- Commentary on Syrian refugees and their class status affecting acceptance
- New discussion of internal colonialism applied to Appalachia

Chapter 3: Prejudice and Discrimination

- New Students Speak: Stereotyping of girls
- Recent affirmative action rulings
- New section on the influence of social media

Chapter 4: Intergroup Relations

- New Students Speak: Koreans selling black beauty products
- New Students Speak: Two school cafeterias for different races
- Updated International Scene box on minority (Islamic) violence in France
- Updated map of hate groups in the United States (Figure 4.2)
- New Students Speak: Hate groups using the Internet
- Updated figures for bias/hate crimes in 2015 (Table 4.1.)
- Updated Reality Check: Hate crimes on campuses
Chapter 5: North and West Europeans
- Coverage limited to major groups only
- New Students Speak: Creole culture
- New Reality Check: Why is the experience of north and west Europeans relevant today?

Chapter 6: South, Central, and East Europeans
- Coverage limited to major groups only
- New Students Speak: Prejudice against Poles
- New Reality Check: Why is the experience of south, central, and east Europeans relevant today?

Chapter 7: American Indians
- New discussion: Standing Rock Sioux pipeline issue
- Updated figures: census population data, social indicators of progress, employment
- Updates on legal cases, demographic data

Chapter 8: East Asians
- Asian Indians moved to Chapter 9
- Coverage limited to major groups only
- New commentary on religious affiliations of Vietnamese Americans
- Updated and more detailed graphics on population, education, occupation, income, poverty, unemployment, and home ownership

Chapter 9: Middle Eastern and Asian Indian Americans
- Coverage limited to major groups only
- Depiction of Arabs in post-9/11 films
- Updated graphics and data throughout the chapter
- Updates on Syrian refugees and travel bans
- New Reality Check: What danger do Muslim refugees present to Americans?

Chapter 10: Black and African Americans
- New Students Speak: Seven students discuss how they prefer to identify themselves
- Black Lives Matter and recent police incidents and unrest
- Updated graphics and data throughout the chapter
- New social indicators graphic comparing native American-born, Afro-Caribbean, and African-born Blacks

Chapter 11: Hispanic Americans
- Reasons for high numbers of Salvadoran immigrants
- Cuban immigration post-normalization
- Updated graphics and data throughout the chapter
- New graphic on Hispanic group by generational status

Chapter 12: Religious Minorities
- Updated graphics and data throughout the chapter
- New graphic on religious groups by generational status
- Updated discussion on religious tolerance and Muslim assimilation

Chapter 13: Women as a Minority Group
- Updated graphics and data throughout the chapter
- Updated discussion on sexual harassment in the news

Chapter 14: LGBTs, People with Disabilities, and Older Adults
- Updated tables and graphics throughout the chapter
- Updated studies and polls on public opinion about homosexuality
- Updates on the legal status of same-sex marriage and gay parenting
- New discussion on transgender rights

Chapter 15: The Ever-Changing U.S. Mosaic
- Updated tables and graphics throughout the chapter
- Expanded discussion on symbolic ethnicity
- Terrorism fear similarities of Muslims, French, Irish, Germans, and Russians
- Updated discussion on immigrant costs and contributions
- Updated discussion on public opinion on unauthorized immigrants and federal actions
- New graphic on English-speaking ability by regional origin

The Organization of This Book
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 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 because 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 conflict and 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.

Chapters 5 through 14 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 50 groups 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 Internet activities.

Chapter 15 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 now and two generations from now.

Special Features in This Book

As in the past, this edition incorporates several features to enhance understanding of the topics.

- As the first text in its field to begin chapters with a sociohistorical perspective for the study of specific groups, and to close each chapter with a sociological analysis of the groups’ experiences using the functionalist, conflict, and interactionist perspectives, we again do so in this edition.
- Sociological concepts of the stranger, the Dillingham Flaw, and the interrelationship of personal and societal issues (Mills) offer students insights into the study of race and ethnic relations.
- In examining intergroup relations among more than 50 minority groups, this book remains the most comprehensive one in its sociological coverage of U.S. diversity.
- Tables, graphics, and text on social indicators provide clear insights into the socioeconomic status of contemporary minority groups.
- The Ethnic Experience boxed features give firsthand accounts by immigrants of their experiences.
- The International Scene boxes offer cross-cultural parallels and include critical-thinking questions.
- The Reality Check boxes provide applications to everyday life or geo-political profiles. In Chapters 7, 10, and 11, “What’s in a Name?” explain changes over the years in accepted terms to identify American Indians, black and Hispanic Americans.
- The Students Speak boxes provide comments from recent readers of this book about some aspect in that chapter provoking their reaction.

- An extensive, up-to-date array of photo, map, and line-art illustrations give an appealing visual complement to the text material.
- Discussion questions and Internet activities appear at the end of each chapter, along with a list of key terms.
- At the end of the book, students will find all chapter research notes, a glossary, and an appendix giving immigration statistics for the period 1820–2015.

Helpful Features for Students

- Learning objectives at the beginning of the chapter enable students to focus on themes and key topics.
- Use of endnotes instead of parenthetical citations enhances readability as words and thoughts flow smoothly from one sentence or paragraph to the next.
- The closing Retrospect section in each chapter provides an opportunity for students to review and retain the main points covered.
- Key terms appear in bold type and are page-numbered in the summary list at the end of the chapter and are explained in the end-of-book glossary.
- Discussion questions stimulate reflection and critical thinking.
- Internet activities offer opportunities for exploring other dimensions of the subject matter.
- The Students Speak boxes reveal how other student readers reacted to parts of the book.
- The Reality Check boxes—many of them about student behavior—offer a recognizable example that relates to material in the chapter.
- The International Scene boxes help students develop a wider perspective.
- The Ethnic Experience and Gender Experience boxes help to humanize the text content.
- Numerous photos, historical political cartoons, graphs, and maps enrich the text material by bringing appealing visual components to the pages.

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About the Author

Born and raised in Paterson, New Jersey, Vincent N. Parrillo experienced multiculturalism early as the son of a second-generation Italian American father and Irish/German American mother. He grew up in an ethnically diverse neighborhood, developing friendships and teenage romances with second- and third-generation Dutch, German, Italian, and Polish Americans. As he grew older, he developed other friendships that frequently crossed racial and religious lines.

Professor Parrillo came to the field of sociology after first completing a bachelor’s degree in business management and a master’s degree in English. After teaching high school English and then serving as a college administrator, he took his first sociology course when he began doctoral studies at Rutgers University. Inspired by a discipline that scientifically investigates social issues, he changed his major and completed his degree in sociology.

Leaving his administrative post but staying at William Paterson University, Parrillo has since taught sociology for more than 40 years. He has lectured throughout the United States, Canada, Europe, and Asia, and often conducted diversity leadership programs for the military and large corporations. His keynote address at a bilingual educators’ conference was published in *Vital Speeches of the Day*, which normally contains only speeches by national political leaders and heads of corporations and organizations.

Parrillo was a Fulbright Scholar in the Czech Republic and Scholar-in-Residence at both the University of Pisa and the University of Liege. Currently a Fulbright Senior Specialist, he has been a keynote speaker at international conferences in Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Korea, Poland, and Sweden. He has met with government leaders, nongovernment agency leaders, law enforcement officials, and educators in more than a dozen countries as a consultant on immigration policy, hate crimes, and multicultural education. He has done on-air interviews with *Radio Free Europe* and *Voice of America*, appeared on national Asian, Canadian, and European television programs, and often has been interviewed by numerous Asian, Canadian, and European reporters.

Parrillo’s ventures into U.S. media include writing, narrating, and producing five award-winning PBS documentaries: *Ellis Island: Gateway to America; Smokestacks and Steeples: A Portrait of Paterson; Gaetano Federici: The Sculptor Laureate of Paterson; Paterson and Its People;* and *Silk City Artists and Musicians*. Contacted by reporters across the nation for his views on race and ethnic relations, he has been quoted in dozens of newspapers, including the *Chicago Sun-Times, Cincinnati Inquirer, Houston Chronicle, Hartford Courant, Omaha World-Herald, Orlando Sentinel, and Virginian Pilot*. He has also appeared on numerous U.S. radio and television programs.


An active participant in various capacities throughout the years in the American Sociological Association and Eastern Sociological Society, Parrillo has been listed in *Who’s Who in International Education, Outstanding Educators of America, American Men and Women of Science, and Who’s Who in the East*. Recipient in 2013 of the Faculty Achievement Award for Excellence in Scholarship and Creative Expression from William Paterson University, he was Robin M. Williams, Jr. Distinguished Lecturer (2005–2006) and vice president (2008–2009) of the Eastern Sociological Society.