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Media use in the acculturation process of Chinese immigrants in Silicon Valley

Bao-huei Huang
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**Media use in the acculturation process of Chinese immigrants in
Silicon Valley**

Huang, Bao-Huei, M.S.

San Jose State University, 1993

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**MEDIA USE IN THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS
OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SILICON VALLEY**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the

School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

By

Bao-Huei Huang

December, 1993

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Bao-Huei Huang

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APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF
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A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Zhou He', written over a horizontal line.

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ABSTRACT

MEDIA USE IN THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SILICON VALLEY

by Bao-Huei Huang

This participation observation examines the relationship between media use and acculturation among 10 first-generation Chinese-American families in Silicon Valley. It finds that media use reflects the subjects' acculturation level but does not necessarily lead to high acculturation. Their media use gratifies, to varying degrees, some noticeable acculturation needs such as the improvement of English, acquisition of information, and acquaintances with the host culture.

It finds that these subjects, as a group, demonstrate a fairly low level of acculturation, living a financially secure "bicultural life." Their acculturation process seems to suggest a "ceiling effect."

Contributing to this unique acculturation process that often bumps into a "ceiling" are their formal education in the United States, the age at which they arrived, the perception of a "glass ceiling," and the cultural environment in the workplace.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memories of my mother.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There are several people to whom I would like to express my gratitude for their encouragement, concern, time, guidance, patience, and help in making this study possible.

Dr. Zhou He, my thesis advisor, has given me accurate and clear directions. His knowledge of this field has served as an everlasting source of inspiration. I thank him for his enthusiastic support and for the depth of his thinking.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the relationship between Chinese immigrants' media use habits and acculturation by applying a uses and gratifications theoretical framework.

The term Chinese immigrant is defined in this study as a person whose parents are both Chinese or of Chinese origin and who is now living in the United States and who is a citizen or a permanent resident. Chinese immigrants were selected as the subjects of this study because they constitute a significant and still growing segment of the population in Silicon Valley. Through a participant observation, this study investigates the relationship between Chinese immigrants' media uses and the process of acculturation.

The United States is known as a nation of immigrants. The Immigration Act of 1965 permitted large-scale immigration from Asia. Today, this population continues to grow. According to the 1990 census, 40% of the immigrants admitted to the United States were from Asia. "The United States is on the verge of being transformed ethnically and racially," said Leon Bouvier of the Population Reference

Bureau and former senior demographer for the Census Bureau (Sung, 1987, p. 1).

Asian immigrants are part of a population tide that is changing the face of America. Immigrants from China and Hong Kong average from 30,000 to 35,000 each year, in addition to the separate 20,000 quota annually given to Taiwan since 1981 (Sung, 1987).

The facts that the new Asian immigrants are highly visible by virtue of their racial characteristics, that many, unlike earlier immigrants are well-educated and have professional jobs, that they include family members of all ages and both sexes, and that they are more widely dispersed throughout the country than earlier immigrants mean that the effects of these new immigrants are likely to be widely felt at all levels of society. As a result of this increase in numbers, immigration, particularly that of Asians, has become a major social and political issue in this country. This influx of large numbers of immigrants with different features, cultures, languages, and religions raises questions of assimilability (McLeod, 1986).

Santa Clara County, the heart of Silicon Valley, is the center of the semiconductor and computer industry of the United States. It has attracted a very rapidly growing population because of the development of the high technology computer industry. Also, the county has a liberal

government policy toward employment acceptance (Meinhardt, Tom, Tse, & Yu, 1986). Silicon Valley enjoys a mild Mediterranean climate with no temperature extremes. Many Asian immigrants have established residence in the county for these reasons. In Silicon Valley, some Chinese are among the descendants of one of the earliest immigrant groups, while the majority of this ethnic group in this area are more recent immigrants who have come for study or work.

Purpose of Study

Ethnic minorities are obtaining more and more of the nation's attention--in the job market, in the political arena, in education, and in the media. With the increased attention being given to minorities, the media have to pay more attention to the needs of this segment of their audience.

The purpose of this study is to explore the information-seeking behavior of Chinese immigrants and their media habits in an effort to satisfy various aspects of acculturation needs. Most Chinese immigrants in the United States encounter language problems when they first arrive. To enter and live in an environment new to them, immigrants need to have the necessary information about the politics, economy, and culture of the host country. They also need to know about the host society's customs, including fashion trends, proper manners, and socialization patterns. Many

of these acculturation needs may be partly gratified by the use of mass media. Interpersonal communication, on the other hand, compensates for the channels that can't be found in the mass media.

Little research on media use and the gratification of acculturation needs has been done with Chinese immigrants despite the fact that the population of this ethnic group continues to grow. This study will examine acculturation by applying uses and gratifications theory. The knowledge from such a study will benefit marketing and media people who are trying to reach this potential audience.

Statement of the Problem

There have been several studies exploring the acculturation process of immigrants and ethnic groups. However, these studies have primarily focused on various interpersonal communication channels and their impact on the acculturation process. Very few of them have seriously tackled the relationships of acculturation and media use of ethnic groups.

Yum (1979) noted that immigrants' patterns of communication determine the variety of information they acquire that is relevant to their process of adjustment. Kim (1976) proposed three causal factors of immigrants' communication patterns: language competence, acculturation motivations, and accessibility to host communication

channels. Other studies posited that sociodemographic variable such as sex, age, education, occupation, and residence should be considered. To explore the relationship between mass media use and the acculturation process, this study attempts to examine: (1) What are the general acculturation needs of Chinese immigrants? (2) What are the patterns of mass media use by Chinese immigrants? and (3) What are the acculturation needs of Chinese immigrants that can be satisfied by media use?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to review relevant literature so as to provide a theoretical framework for examining the information-seeking behavior of Chinese immigrants. First, theories in the following areas will be reviewed: (1) uses and gratifications and information-seeking behavior and (2) acculturation and assimilation. Second, a review will be conducted of the small number of studies that have combined uses and gratifications and information-seeking theory with acculturation theory. The focus will be the studies that have been done on Asian immigrants, particularly, the studies of Chinese immigrant populations.

Overview of Uses and Gratifications and Information Seeking

The uses and gratifications approach in mass communication research posits that audience members are active rather than the passive readers, listeners, and viewers they were assumed to be by earlier media effects researchers. The audience is seen as active, possessing particular needs and knowingly selecting the communication channels and messages most likely to fulfill their needs

(Lometti, Reeves & Bybee, 1977). Katz (1977) noted that this was a new line of research that focused not on what the media do to people but on what people do with the media. Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch (1974) and Swank (1979) suggested that the audience actively created expectations of media and media content and of the media's ability to satisfy its needs, and that the audience took action to achieve gratifications. Katz et al. (1974) summarized the basic paradigm guiding uses and gratifications as being concerned with (1) the social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media or other sources, which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (6) need gratification and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones.

Palmgreen (1984) pointed out that typological studies were at the core of the uses and gratifications tradition and had as their main purpose the identification of types of motives for media consumption. Lasswell (1948) and Wright (1960) suggested four functions of the media: surveillance, correlation, entertainment, and socialization. Mcquail, Blumler, and Brown (1972) postulated a typology that included diversion, personal relationships, personal identity, and surveillance. Katz, Gurevitch, and Hass (1973) proposed a multiple-level multidimensional

gratifications scheme and suggested that the uses of mass communication were based on the extent to which individuals attempt to connect or disconnect themselves with others. Atkin (1973) labelled the four dimensions of gratifications as surveillance, guidance, performance and reinforcement.

The findings of uses and gratifications studies have not been overly consistent and have been subjected to some criticism. The early uses and gratifications studies were condemned as atheoretical and problematic because of a vague conceptual framework (Elliot, 1974; Swanson, 1976; Weiss, 1976). In practice, researchers argued that one cannot distinguish the gratifications sought and gratifications obtained with present methodologies (Greenberg, 1974; Lometti et al., 1977; Palmgreen & Rayburn, 1979). Other criticisms are that the approach is mentalistic and individualistic (Elliot, 1974), meaning that it makes assumptions about individuals' mental processes that cannot be observed, thus failing to deal with the larger social structure; and that the methods used to uncover the functions of the media may in fact be reconstructing reality (Greenberg, 1974). In response to the criticism for a seemingly formidable array of theoretical shortcomings, Blumler (1979) argued that much of the criticism seemed to stem from false expectations. However, in agreement with Swanson's (1976) assertion of the importance of conceptual

analysis, Blumler suggested important conceptual issues facing this approach: The nature of the active audience should be clearly defined; the role of gratification orientations in mediating effects needs to be considered; the social origins of media needs and uses should be further explored. Kielwasser and others (1989) proposed that a more theoretical and practical utility of gratifications measures can be achieved through a more longitudinal and phenomenological tack. Kielwasser et al. argued that a longitudinal, processual sensitivity can be achieved through a reorientation to mediated communication. According to Katz et al. (1974), the uses and gratifications research relies heavily on the respondents' statements about media uses. The behavioral orientation of the uses and gratifications paradigm, by placing so much faith in the audience's ability to self-report its media orientation, over-emphasized the degree of audience autonomy. Palmgreen (1984) suggested that one had to consider the limitations of the self-report measure because there was a controversy over the extent to which respondents were conscious of their motives of consumption or could be made conscious of such motives through closed- or open-ended techniques. Katz et al. contended that media attributes would make some media more conducive than others to satisfying specific needs.

Palmgreen (1984) also noted that audience gratifications obtained from different media are related to medium choice.

Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld (1984) compared characterizations and expected functions of different media to gratifications associated with each medium and found that each medium has its own image. Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld confirmed that normative expectations exist for each medium. After summarizing a series of studies that had adopted an expectancy-value approach, Palmgreen and Rayburn (1985) proposed several typologies of motivation to explain media use. They postulated that gratifications sought from a media source are a function of the beliefs and expectations that audience members hold about that medium and its attributes.

Information-seeking

McQuail (1983) explained that an audience uses the media to get information, establish personal identity, help with integration and social interaction, and obtain entertainment. The uses and gratifications researchers have identified a variety of motives that reflect the utility, selectivity, and intentionality of audience activity regarding media use patterns (Levy & Windhal, 1984). Information-seeking studies seek to find when and how individuals actively seek news information. Exposure to information can be purposeful or non-purposeful, active, or

passive. In the information search, called planned action, information is purposively sought (Gantz, Fitzmaurice, & Fink, 1991). Lee and Browne (1981) did a survey among black viewers and concluded that viewing to learn or to get useful information was the primary reason for television viewing for adults and college students. Abelman (1987) studied the religious television uses and found that many regular viewers of religious programs appear to be purposeful and selective information seekers. Seeking spiritual guidance and moral support not typically found in secular programming, these viewers purposefully select religious television as an alternative. Zerbinos (1990) asserted that learning from the media is more likely to occur when motivation to be informed is present.

Information-seeking involves surveillance of the environment. People who are more conscious about the events in the society are more likely to turn to media and find further information. Uncertainty is considered a basic catalyst for information-seeking behavior. The extent to which people experience uncertainty should directly affect their communication behaviors, especially their information-seeking (Miller & Jablin, 1991). Atkin (1973) contended that people pursued information for "utilitarian purposes..., as a means to solve one's practical problems" (p. 218). Information utility refers to information seeking

which stems from the intent to use that content later in one's own communication. Once a need has been identified, a preferred source to search must be selected. Information use is a crucial variable in understanding information selectivity. The order of information-seeking parallels the utility prediction (Clarke & James, 1967; Tipton, 1970). Zerbinos (1990), in his study of people's preference in media use, found that videotext services would be used more for information seeking than for browsing as compared with the use of newspapers. With so much information available and too few hours in a day, people may find that a videotext service allows them to find the information in a more efficient and satisfactory way.

Assimilation and Acculturation

As foreign immigrants move from one culture to another, behavioral modes and values in the new setting, to some extent, turn out to contradict the old. Many aspects of life are unfamiliar to them, and they encounter a high degree of uncertainty. Soon after arrival, the new immigrant faces the barriers of a different language and outlook, different food, family patterns, and morality. The native American expects newcomers to adapt to the existing social rules, and most immigrants try to fulfill that expectation, although it can be a painful process. Through continuous learning, adjusting and trying, they find ways to

carry out their lives with increasing ease. They learn through the process and become familiar with the norms and values of the host society. This process is called acculturation. Berry (1983) included four forms of adaptation to the host culture: (1) assimilation, which is defined as relinquishing cultural identity and moving into the larger society; (2) integration, which is defined as the maintenance of cultural integrity and movement to become an integral part of the host society; (3) rejection, which is defined as withdrawing from the host society, either in the form of maintenance of one's traditional way of life or in the form of segregation of the group by the host society; and (4) marginality, which is defined as striking out against the host society and is characterized by feelings of alienation and loss of one's own cultural identity.

Assimilation is considered to be a social process generated by cultural contact (Park, 1930). Beals (1953) asserted that assimilation needs to be conceptually distinguished from acculturation. The assimilation theory was based on the experience of traditional European immigrants (McLeod, 1986). It assumed that immigrants gradually shed their ethnic identity as they became integrated into American society. Taft (1953) noted that assimilation was the process whereby immigrants and the native population become more alike as a result of

interaction. Zubrzycky (1956) contended that assimilation was the condition that the immigrant group is so completely incorporated into the society to which it has attached itself that its separate identity may be completely lost. Gordon (1964) made a more specific distinction between acculturation and assimilation. He contended that cultural assimilation was acculturation and was likely to be the first kind of assimilation to occur through cultural contact.

Acculturation has been defined as the change in individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture (Marden & Meyer, 1968; Choe, 1984). The term acculturation was largely accepted among anthropologists as referring to "those changes set in motion by the coming together of societies with different cultural traditions" (Won, 1977, p. 13). Broom, Siegal and Vogt (1954) contended that acculturation refers to "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems." Won (1977) contended that acculturation required not only the acceptance of new items in a cultural inventory, but a modification of various psychological processes.

More recent researchers have tended to use the term acculturation, which is broader, because it assumes that people can shuttle between different cultural systems,

simultaneously operating in two or more groups of cultures (Won, 1977).

Asian Immigrants

Although immigration from Europe has slowed down in recent years, Asian immigration has risen dramatically. The immigration Act of 1965 permitted large-scale immigration by Asians. Asian immigrants have made up more than 40% of all newcomers to the United States (Bell, 1985). The migration is still in progress. The term Asian-American covers more than 20 nationality groups, a wide variety of identities and a range of languages and cultures. There are four major ethnic groups in this population: Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos. Aided by liberalized immigration laws, close to half of the legally admitted immigrants come from Asia, which accounted for only 5% of legal immigrants before the 1965 law was enacted (McLeod, 1986). As a result of this increase, these new immigrants are having an impact in the United States that probably exceeds their numbers.

Asian-Americans are the fastest growing and most affluent minority in the United States (O'Hare, 1990). They have become prominent out of all proportion to their share of the population (Bell, 1985). For example, Asian-American children do very well in school. More noticeable is the entry of Asian-Americans into the nation's best

universities. In 1985, the Asian-Americans made up 10% of the freshman class of Harvard; 22% of the entire Berkeley student body, and 21% of the student body at the University of California at Los Angeles. The student body at the Julliard School of Music in New York was 30% Asian American (Bell, 1985). Asian-American families are stable and have the highest median household income of any group of Americans, including whites (Leepson, 1986). A hard-working attitude has allowed Asian-Americans to achieve some of their goals. Korean Americans own hundreds of grocery stores in New York City; Indian Americans run many of the small motels in California; Indians and Pakistanis own most of the newsstands in New York City; Vietnamese immigrants dominate the shrimp-fishing industry in Texas; and some Chinese are high-tech entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley. Former president Ronald Reagan called Asian-Americans "our exemplars of hope and inspiration." Parade Magazine titled one article regarding Asian-Americans "the Promise of America." The educational and economic success has earned Asian-Americans the reputation of America's model minority (Leepson, 1986).

However, not every Asian-American qualifies as a model citizen. Many recently arrived refugees from Southeast Asia have encountered serious difficulties adjusting to their new lives, resulting in social problems. A more serious dilemma

for Asian-Americans is racial violence. Asians are still the victims of prejudice and discrimination.

Chinese Immigrants

Chinese immigrated to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. At the time when the power of the Qing Dynasty declined, the first generation of Chinese immigrants landed on the West Coast of the United States. They worked on the railroads and in the mines. Like most immigrants, they came for diverse reasons. The primary pull was identified as social discontent and a hope for better economic conditions in the United States. Like other fortune seekers around the world, Chinese immigrants flocked to Gold Mountain (the Chinese name for the United States) in response to the lure of gold (McLeod, 1986). Economic conflict between the Chinese and other ethnic groups led to the anti-Chinese movement. The Chinese were forced to retreat to urban ghettos, called Chinatowns (Kuo, 1982). In 1882, Congress passed a Chinese Exclusion Act that denied Chinese the rights of immigration and naturalization and prohibited Chinese from entering certain professions. It was America's first national immigration restriction bill based on race. The anti-Chinese sentiment subsided during World War II because China was a principal ally of the United States. American policy toward the Chinese became gradually liberal. The United States repealed the Chinese

Exclusion Act in 1943. A new class of Chinese professionals emerged--both China-born and American-born--who were trained in engineering, science, medicine, law, and other fields (Kuo, 1982).

Chinese immigrants can be classified into three groups based on occupation and work. The upper middle class is made up of highly successful engineers, scientists, prestigious university professors, and business executives. Then there are recent immigrants, many of whom consider themselves sophisticated and urbane. But they do not have the economic power of the upper group. They are doctors, lawyers, business executives, and university professors. The lower class is made up of those who are caught in low income jobs in restaurants, garment factories, and sweatshops.

The elite group of upper middle-class Chinese are accepted and have become integrated into the American upper middle class because of their positions and high incomes. However, they are aware of prejudice against the Chinese. The middle class Chinese, less successful than the elite group, encountered both economic and social discrimination and perceived themselves to be only partially assimilated into the larger society (Kuo, 1982). The lower-class Chinese, with minimal knowledge of English and occupational skills, and lack of opportunity in both the ethnic and

larger community, remain on the fringes of mainstream society. Kuo (1982) contended that this group perceived itself as unaccepted and unassimilated. In general, a commonly accepted image of the Chinese is that of a hard-working, quiet, achievement-oriented people with a minimum number of social problems (Kitano, 1981).

Communication and Acculturation

Mass communication has been called the central nervous system of society. Communication is crucial to acculturation (Kim, 1977; Wang, 1977; Wang & Kincaid, 1982). Kim (1988) said that immigrants' successful adaptation is possible only when they are able to communicate successfully with the host environment. Communication and acculturation are inseparable processes, and a person's communication patterns are indicators of his acculturation level (Kim, 1977).

Mass media play an important role in the acculturation and assimilation process. There have been several efforts to understand the acculturation of immigrants and ethnic groups. However, communication scholars traditionally tended not to investigate the communication aspects of acculturation. A few studies dealing with ethnic communication patterns have been made in the area of anthropology and sociology in which communication variables have assumed an incidental role (Kim, 1976).

Some studies have explained the diversity of ethnic communication patterns. Chang (1972) studied Korean immigrants in Los Angeles and identified three types of acculturation movements based on the degree of changes in the original cultural values: (1) nativistic movement (resistance to change), (2) bicultural movement (recombination of cultural elements into a new whole), and (3) assimilator movement (acceptance of change). Won (1977) investigated the relationship between mass media consumption and values, and the results indicated the robust linkage between the degrees of acculturation and respondent's choice of media. Jeffres and Hur (1980) contended that the ethnic media exist for the unassimilated ethnic whose life still centers around ethnic enclaves. Hur (1981) concluded in his study of the Asian-American media audience that the content of Asian-American media is generally designed to meet the needs of audiences by emphasizing news about the community and the native country, along with cultural and entertainment news.

Nagata (1969) demonstrated differences in mass communication behaviors among Japanese immigrants. Dunn (1973) studied Mexican-Americans in Texas, and Yum (1972) proposed a model of communication patterns of Koreans in Hawaii. Kim (1976) proposed three causal factors of determinants of the immigrants' communication patterns:

language competence, acculturation motivation, and accessibility to host communication channels.

Information-Seeking of Immigrants from the Uses and Gratifications Perspective

Immigrants are faced with pressure and certain degrees of uncertainty in their daily lives in the host society. They may encounter information that is contradictory to their ethnic values. In the process of acculturation, they need information to guide them and secure their beliefs. Atkin (1973) noted that the need for information is a function of extrinsic uncertainty produced by a perceived discrepancy between the individual's current level of certainty about important environmental objects and a criterion state one seeks to achieve. Atkin contended that people pursued information for "utilitarian purposes, where an individual acquires message content as a means toward solving one's practical problems." He asserted that utility theory was very applicable to the study of information-seeking behavior.

Uses and gratifications researchers indicated that people who want to be integrated and expect interaction with others will use the media to satisfy those motivations (Palmgreen, 1984). Uses and gratifications theory can be applied in the acculturation process in which the immigrants

utilize selected media and information to gratify their needs.

Immigrants' Media Use

Kim (1976) postulated three causal factors of immigrants' communication patterns: language competence, acculturation motivation, and accessibility to host communication channels. Yet other researchers posited that sociodemographic variables should be considered. Parker (1966) found that demographic variables correlate with media use. Sex, age, education, occupation, income, and residence are all variables that influence information-seeking behavior.

Language competence. Language fluency is a basic requirement through which communication can occur. Fluency in the host language has been commonly regarded as being related to intercultural communication and acculturation (Kim, 1976). Language ability plays a role in determining the immigrants' media use. The more fluent a person's English is, the more English media one will use (Jeffres & Hur, 1980; Lee, 1979, 1985). Many studies have examined the relationship between language competence and acculturation. The results showed that language is an important variable (Graves, 1967; Johnston, 1963; Kim, 1977; Park, 1922). English fluency is a critical factor for assimilation into society.

Although the use of host media requires English competence, some research evidence has supported the concept that mass media have a positive effect on learning the host language (Graves, 1967; Kim, 1977; Park, 1922). Sunoo, Trotter, and Aames (1980) noted that mass media bombard members of society; thus they have the potential to be the source of learning about the host language for the immigrant. Likewise, personal communication with members of the host culture should lead to the use of the host language.

Educational background. Wade and Schramm (1969) contended that education was a powerful predictor of the use of media. The more education one has, the more likely one is to use print as his major source of news and information (Sunoo, Trotter & Aames, 1980). Education is a powerful component in the use of English media and the level of acculturation (Chang, 1972; Kim, 1976; Kitano, 1981).

Occupation status. People with different occupations use media differently. Dunn (1973) indicated that professional status is an important factor in the process of acculturation. Chang (1972) suggested that the role of the information environment is a critical variable in influencing the processes of assimilation, accommodation, and acculturation. For most immigrants, the workplace is one of the few places in which they participate in the host

society. With whom they interact and the occupational environment all influence the acculturation process. The consumption of mass media helps the involvement in interpersonal communication with members of the host culture.

Length of stay. The longer one is exposed to American culture, the more acculturated one will be. This is partly because one has spent more time consuming the host mass media and learning the host culture. An immigrant who has been in the host country for a long period of time will be more interested in events occurring in the host society compared with a sojourner. For example, foreign students in America may have accepted many Western values and behavioral patterns, but because of their anticipated return to their home countries, they may pay more attention to obtaining information from their home countries than from their host society.

Acculturation motivation. The degree of eagerness for an immigrant to learn about and participate in the host society determines the acculturation process. It's commonly accepted that the greater an immigrant's acculturation motivation, the greater his participation in interpersonal communication with members of the host society will be. And the greater an immigrant's acculturation motivation, the greater his use of host mass media will be.

Channel accessibility. Interpersonal communication and mass media consumption are the two salient factors in the cultural learning process. However, no matter how strongly motivated and fluent in the host language an immigrant is, he will find it difficult to develop any interaction with the host society unless he is provided with the opportunity to do so. Kim (1976) defined channel accessibility as the opportunity for immigrants to associate with members of the host society. The more opportunity an immigrant has to engage in interpersonal communication and use the host mass media, the greater the extent to which the immigrant will be acculturated into the host society.

Ethnic Mass Media and Immigrants

Ethnic mass media have played an important role in influencing an immigrant's acculturation process (Kim, 1976, 1977, 1978a, 1988). The use of ethnic mass media is related to ethnicity. Jeffries and Hur (1979) indicated that ethnic mass media use is positively related to ethnicity measures such as ethnic identification. Hur and Proudlove (1982) noted that the mass communication behavior of ethnic minorities is an indicator of the degree of acculturation. According to Zeigler (1983), the foreign language press in the United States serves three functions: (1) It provides a medium of communication for immigrant groups whose native language is not English; (2) it serves

to publish news of the home country which would otherwise be unavailable; and (3) it aids the process of assimilation by offering information and advice on the lifestyle in the new country.

Chinese Media in the Bay Area

There are three Chinese TV stations in San Francisco: Overseas Chinese TV (OCTV, Channel 38), China TV (CTV, Channel 26), and Pacific TV (PTV, Channel 66). In addition, there are eight popular Chinese newspapers available in the San Francisco Bay area: The World Journal, Cheng Pao, The China Press, The International Daily News (published in the United States); Central Daily (published in Taiwan); Sing Tao Daily Newspaper, and Ming Pao (Hong Kong); People's Daily (published in China).

Research Questions

Theories on uses and gratifications, information-seeking and acculturation are extremely useful in examining how Chinese immigrants use mass media. As Palmgreen (1984) noted, people who are socially integrated within their social grouping, and those who seek to be integrated use the media to satisfy those motivations. Atkin (1973) asserted that people pursued information for utilitarian purposes and that an individual acquires message content as a means to reduce uncertainty.

Facing the uncertainty of living in a new cultural environment, Chinese immigrants can be expected to turn to the mass media to seek information that gratifies their needs, thus reducing their uncertainty. Information received through the mass media is an important factor in the process of adjusting to the new cultural setting in the United States. Important groundwork has been laid by Kim on Korean immigrants (1976, 1977, 1978a, 1988). His work has resulted in the following hypotheses: (1) The greater the development of host communication competence, the greater the participation in host mass communication; and (2) the greater the participation in host interpersonal communication, the greater the participation in host mass communication (Kim, 1988).

Studies on Chinese immigrants' media use are necessary because the population of Chinese immigrants is continuing to grow and because they will voluntarily or involuntarily join the process of acculturation. However, this author could only find three published studies on the information-seeking behavior of Chinese immigrants. Wong (1976) classified Chinese-Americans into three groups based on occupation and work: (1) the elite group of upper middle-class Chinese who were accepted and became integrated into the American middle class; (2) the middle class Chinese who perceived themselves to be partially assimilated into the

host society; and (3) lower-class Chinese who were isolated from the society. Hur (1981) studied the Asian-American media and audience and concluded that there is a pattern of inequality in ethnic media services for the ethnic audience. There is a tendency of media channel crowding with services being unequally distributed within ethnic groups. For example, Chinese communities in Los Angeles are served by a large number of their ethnic media, including newspapers, television, and radio. In contrast, some of these communities in other areas are not served by any media at all. Hur also contended that the content of ethnic media is designed to meet audience needs by emphasizing news about the community and the mother country. Kuo (1982) depicted the perception of assimilation among Chinese in the United States and contended that assimilation is more than a behavioral phenomenon; it includes an attitudinal dimension as well. In the study of three modern Chinese organizations, which illustrate the changes in Chinese attitudes, Kuo argued that cultural assimilation need not precede structural assimilation. Kuo concluded that assimilation often depends on forces outside of the host society itself.

Although communication and acculturation are inseparable processes, little attention has been paid to determining the impact of mass communication on the

acculturation process. A study on the media habits of Chinese immigrants should help to fill this research gap.

The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the general acculturation needs of Chinese immigrants?

2. What are the acculturation needs that can be satisfied by media use?

3. How do Chinese immigrants' socio-demographic characteristics relate to their motivation for acculturation?

4. How does Chinese immigrants' use of the mass media relate to their participation in the host society?

5. How does Chinese immigrants' participation in interpersonal communication relate to the use of the mass media?

6. What is the relationship between media use and Chinese immigrants' level of acculturation?

7. What is the relationship between Chinese immigrants' interpersonal communication and the level of acculturation?

8. How does Chinese immigrants' motivation in acculturation relate to the level of acculturation?

Figure 1 on page 30 is a graphic representation of the analytical framework.

Figure 1. An analytical framework of media use and the process of acculturation.

Note. Arrow represents the direction of influence.

It is postulated that:

1. As the education, professional status, and the length of stay in the United States increases, Chinese immigrants' motivation for acculturation will increase.
2. As Chinese immigrants' motivation for acculturation increases, the use of mass media and participation in interpersonal communication with members of the host society will increase.
3. As Chinese immigrants' use of host media increases, their participation in host interpersonal communication will increase.
4. As Chinese immigrants' media use and interpersonal communication increases, the level of acculturation will increase.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The main method used for this study was participant observation. This method has been used in social research mainly in the field of cultural anthropology. An in-depth study of a culture is possible only by taking part in this culture's daily life. The use of participant observation in uses and gratifications research provides an alternative to the commonly used method of survey research. Through participant observation, the researcher can study actual communication contexts and ways in which media experiences enter the lives of the audience members. A conventional survey is not considered an appropriate technique for research in an area in which the difficulty of obtaining a complete sample list can't be overcome. Unless a representative sample is available, the dilemma of generalizing this sample to the population at large will impede the research process and results. In addition, because previous studies did not clearly identify the variables related to mass communication and acculturation, a pilot study using participant observation is more appropriate.

Participant observation is considered to be most suitable for this study because it can generate hypotheses and theories, and yield rich first-hand information. The major reasons for using the method of participant observation are: (1) It avoids the discrepancy between real and reported behavior; (2) the observation of behavior does not depend on the verbal capabilities of the interviewed person; (3) it avoids some of the weakness inherent in self-report-oriented research methods; and (4) it is less costly. The author is aware that participant observation is far from perfect. This research method relies heavily on the researcher's perceptions and judgments, and experimenter bias may be unavoidable. The small sample does not necessarily represent the population from which it was drawn. Observation may suffer from participants' reactivity.

To refine this research method and assure its validity, this study also used extensive in-depth interviewing in addition to participant observation as an integrated means for understanding the media use of Chinese immigrants. The research was conducted in Mandarin--the researcher's first language--because all the observed families speak Mandarin at home.

Research Subjects

This researcher selected 10 first-generation Chinese immigrant families in the San Jose area. The study began in early March and ended in the last week of May 1993.

Although the 10 families are not representative of the Chinese population in Santa Clara County, the respondents do include the basic socioeconomic status categories. The demographics of the Chinese population and the percentage of each socio-economic group can be categorized as follows according to the 1990 Census of Population and Housing

Summary:

1. Household income:

Less than \$5,000~\$9,999	7%
\$10,000~\$24,999	13%
\$25,000~\$49,999	27%
\$50,000~\$99,999	41%
<u>\$100,000 or more</u>	<u>12%</u>
	100%

2. Educational attainment of households:

High school graduate or below	33.4%
College or bachelor's degree	26.2%
<u>Post graduate</u>	<u>40.4%</u>
	100%

3. Occupation of households:

Operators, fabricators, and laborers	22.4%
Service occupation	10%
Sales and administrative support	32.7%
<u>Managerial and professional specialty</u>	<u>35%</u>
	100%

4. Family size:

2 persons or less	61%
More than 2 persons ~ 5 persons	35.3%
<u>More then 5 persons</u>	<u>3.7%</u>
	100%

The 10 families were chosen by a three-step method.

The first step. Two families were selected from each of the five groups under the household income category. It is assumed that household incomes reflect educational attainment and occupational status. High income families normally would be those families whose parents have a high level of education and work in managerial or technical professions. Low income families would be those whose parents have low education and work on jobs as operators, laborers, or in service occupations.

The second step. The size of these 10 families was checked to see if five families are extended families (households of three generations, or households with parents

and grown up children) and the other five families are nuclear families (couples with or without children).

The third step. The families were checked for their location. Five families out of the 10 families were chosen from racially mixed neighborhoods (for example, the Berryessa and Hostetter area), and the other five families were chosen from predominantly white neighborhoods (for example, the Saratoga area and the Almaden area).

The families were chosen in as objective a way as possible. None of the family members were friends of the researcher.

At the outset of the project, the 10 families were given a general introduction to the purpose of the research. They were told that the observer was a graduate student in mass communication who was interested in family life and was doing her thesis research in this field. The observation period was seven days for each family, from 6 p.m. until bedtime because it was the time period that most members of the family were home. The 10 families were told from the beginning that in no case should they change their routines to accommodate the observer. Independent in-depth interviews were conducted with each family member on the last day of observation in each case.

Operationalization of the Variables

In the first section of the interview questionnaire, the subjects were asked to describe their media preference. They were asked to provide explanations for each answer.

The subjects' motivational level for acculturation was determined by the questions in Section II of the questionnaire. The subjects were given a number of statements and were asked whether they strongly agreed (SA), agreed (A), were undecided (U), disagreed (D), or strongly disagreed (SD) with each of the statements. The researcher calculated all the numbers chosen; the category of 1 to 6 represents a low motivational level for acculturation; category 7 to 13 represents a medium motivational level for acculturation; and category 14 to 20 represents a high motivational level for acculturation.

The attention the subjects paid to the media when they used it was recorded and classified into three groups: (1) not much, (2) somewhat, and (3) very much.

The subjects' level of acculturation was measured by the questions in Section III of the questionnaire. The subjects were asked to give answers as well as reasons to each question.

The subjects' demographic data such as sex, age, education, occupational status, length of stay, family

income, family type, and location were recorded in Section IV of the interview questionnaire. English competence was measured by the subjects' self-evaluation. The subjects were asked to describe their English competence on a 1 to 10 scale, with 1 representing poor and 10 representing excellent. The subjects' self-evaluation was also compared with an evaluation by the researcher based on her observation.

Data Collection

The observer looked for patterns of Chinese immigrants' media behavior. Interpersonal behaviors about mass media were also observed.

The researcher took notes to record observations on media behavior and interpersonal behavior. Final interviews for some subjects were tape-recorded when permission was granted.

Four types of data that were analyzed at the conclusion of the data gathering process are as follows:

1. Written notes of observations made by the researcher during the time spent with the families. Items observed concerning patterns of media use and communication behavior include: (1) the selection of Chinese and English media; (2) mass media available in the home; (3) functions of the mass media expected by the subjects; (4) frequency of friends'

visits and telephone conversations; and (5) interpersonal communication with native Americans.

2. Written summaries made at the end of each day of observation. A reconstruction of the families' media habits and communication behaviors were made by the researcher after returning home following the observation periods each night.

3. Tapes recorded during the observation and final in-depth interviews.

After the observation of the first family was completed, the researcher developed a structured in-depth questionnaire that was used for all families.

Assessment

A filing system was constructed to arrange data by subjects' demographics and the numbers and types of media the subjects consumed along with the time spent on it, and attention the subjects paid to the media. The subjects' participation in socialization was also recorded. A qualitative assessment of the data was made to answer each of the research questions.

An in-depth interpretation of the relationships among the variables was offered--with the support of observation and interview data.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The study began in early March and ended in the last week of May 1993 after 70 nights of observation in 10 Chinese-American families. Each night the observation began at 6 p.m. and ended about 10 p.m., depending on the time the subjects went to bed. In four families with young children, there were hints that the researcher should leave earlier. During the observation period, careful notes were taken and some conversations were taped when recorders were allowed.

These 10 subject families, though not very representative of the Chinese population in Silicon Valley, include families from different socio-economic groups. Table 1 and Appendix B summarize the income levels as well as other household information and individual subject information for each of the 10 families observed in this study. (See Table 1 and Appendix B.)

Table 1. The summary of household information for the 10 families in the study in Silicon Valley.

Family	No. of people	Neighborhood	Household income	Family type	Length of stay in U.S.	No. of TV sets	Cable	VCR	Newspaper (Chinese)	Newspaper (English)	Magazine (English)
1	4	white	\$100,000	extended	10 yrs	4	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	5	mixed	\$100,000	extended	16 yrs	2	no	yes	yes	no	yes
3	3	mixed	\$ 12,000	nuclear	3 yrs	1	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
4	3	white	\$ 70,000	extended	30 yrs	1	no	yes	yes	no	no
5	4	white	\$ 80,000	nuclear	16 yrs	2	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
6	5	white	\$ 65,000	extended	8 yrs	1	no	no	yes	no	yes
7	5	white	\$ 50,000	nuclear	5 yrs	2	no	yes	yes	no	yes
8	2	mixed	\$ 45,000	nuclear	3 yrs	1	yes	yes	no	no	no
9	4	mixed	\$100,000	nuclear	7 yrs	2	no	yes	yes	no	yes
10	4	mixed	\$ 30,000	extended	10 yrs	1	no	yes	yes	no	no

Five of these families lived in predominantly white neighborhoods, and the other five lived in ethnically mixed areas. In terms of family structure, five of these families were extended ones in which elderly parents and grown-up children lived together and the other five were nuclear families in which a couple or a couple with children constituted the family. Every family had at least one TV set. Four families subscribed to cable TV. Nine families were equipped with VCR facilities. Nine families subscribed to or bought the Chinese-language newspaper The World Journal regularly. Only one family subscribed to the San Jose Mercury News, an English-language newspaper in San Jose. Seven families subscribed to at least one English-language magazine.

Profile of Subjects

In all, 39 subjects were observed for this study, and 33 in-depth interviews were conducted. Of those subjects, 38 were Taiwanese, and one was from China. This predominantly Taiwanese sample was chosen because the researcher's contacts were Taiwanese.

Six of the 10 families had at least one engineer as a family member. Of the 39 subjects, 18 were working professionals, including nine engineers, one dentist, one actuary, two accountants and five were service or sales professionals. The remaining subjects were students,

retirees and small children. All together, 28 subjects completed college or graduate education. Of these 28, eight attended both high school and college in the United States. The subjects were generally well-educated, reflecting the special social makeup of Silicon Valley.

All the 10 families observed primarily spoke Mandarin at home. Most of the telephone conversations during the observation period were in Chinese. However, their use of English increased when they were with friends, at work, or in school.

These Chinese immigrants appeared to associate mostly with other Chinese. None of the subjects reported that he or she had at least one close American friend. Nor did any one say that his or her family had frequent American visitors.

The length of stay in the United States among these subjects ranged from three years to 30 years.

Media Use Patterns

Overall, the findings showed a clear pattern of media use among the subjects: They sought and used the Chinese-language media heavily for information as well as entertainment; they used only some English-language media, mostly for entertainment and language-learning purposes. The following is a detailed description of the subjects' specific media use activities.

Print media: newspapers. Nearly all the subjects read The World Journal, a Chinese-language newspaper. Of the 10 families studied, nine subscribed to or bought The World Journal every day. Many of them preferred to buy the paper on the street because of a one-day delay in home delivery. It appeared that most of the subjects' information needs were satisfied by The World Journal. Targeting the Chinese-American market in North America, The World Journal is printed in the United States and distributed in four cities with large Chinese populations: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, and New York. With more than 54 pages, the paper features U.S. and international news as well as news about (and from) Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong. It has sections on local news, financial news, sports, family affairs, entertainment, novel serials, and other subjects.

Of the 33 adults interviewed for this study, 29 read The World Journal regularly, spending an average of 30 minutes a day reading the paper. These readers focused mostly on news about Taiwan and important stories about the United States and local communities. Seven housewives said they were avid readers of the paper's feature sections.

In contrast, only one of the subject families actually subscribed to an English newspaper, the San Jose Mercury News. But at the same time, however, it also subscribed to The World Journal. The couple, the husband being a computer

engineer and the wife a realtor, said they read the San Jose Mercury News primarily to check on classified ads on real estate and on the business section on computer technology. However, during the observation period, this couple, who lived in a predominantly white neighborhood, was not seen reading the San Jose Mercury News. Instead, they were seen reading the Chinese-language newspaper, The World Journal on a daily basis. Two other families said that they used to subscribe to the San Jose Mercury News and the Wall Street Journal, but they canceled the subscriptions when their children were born because they had less time to read. The heads of these two families were both senior engineers.

Print media: magazine. Six families subscribed to English-language magazines, while none subscribed to any Chinese-language magazines. Two families with newborn babies subscribed to Parent Magazine, and another family headed by a dentist subscribed to Dental Care magazine. Two other families headed by engineers said they subscribed to PC World magazine, and one of them also subscribed to Photography. One housewife subscribed to Harper's Bazaar magazine, which she said was a bargain at \$9 a year for 12 issues. No family subscribed to or read Chinese-language magazines. The reason, as many subjects reported, was the high price of those imported magazines.

Broadcast media: radio. Only one family listened to the radio at home during the observation period--and only the weather forecast. However, during the seven-night observation period, this family also watched television only once--watching a videotape of the cartoon movie, "Beauty and the Beast." This family is made up of two parents in their mid-60s and a 30-year-old daughter. The father has been in the United States for 30 years, moving to California one year earlier after running a restaurant and a bar on the East Coast. His daughter, who came to the United States when she was 14 and later graduated from a prestigious Ivy League University, is now an actuary in one of the largest insurance companies in the United States. She now lives on the East Coast with her American boyfriend.

All adult subjects in this study, except for the six retirees, told the researcher that they listened to the radio when they were in their cars. All the radio stations the subjects tuned in were in English. No one listened to Chinese-language radio programs that require a special radio receiver designed only for the unique subcarrier Chinese-language radio station, Ding Hsing Radio Station. In fact, only four subjects knew that there was a Chinese-language radio station in the San Jose area.

Most subjects listened to music and news reports. Only one subject, an engineer at a computer software company in

which all employees are Chinese, told the researcher he listened only to music when he was driving.

Television. Eight of the 10 subject families tuned in each night to the Chinese-language programs that began at 7 p.m., with the exception of two families that could not receive signals from the Chinese-language stations. The main Chinese channel used by these subjects was Channel 66, the Pacific Television station that provided mostly Mandarin programs. Usually, the programs began with international news followed by news about the United States and then newscasts from Taiwan via satellite. The following daily program schedule of Channel 66 shows the typical programs provided by the station:

7 - 7:15 p.m.	News from China
7:15 - 8 p.m.	Chinese Drama (from China)
8 - 8:30 p.m.	Domestic and International News
8:30 p.m.- 9 p.m.	News from Taiwan
9 - 9:05 p.m.	Law and Finance Information
9:05 p.m. - 10 p.m.	Chinese Drama (from Taiwan)

The program "News from China" is a newscast produced in China and sent to the United States daily by satellite. "Chinese Drama," which aired from 7:15 to 8 p.m., is a Mandarin-speaking series produced in China. "Domestic and International News," a self-originated program on Channel 66, focuses on domestic U.S. news and international news as

well as local news in the San Francisco Bay area. "News from Taiwan" is a newscast produced in Taiwan. Sent by satellite only four hours after its airing in Taiwan, this news program offers the overseas Chinese the most up-to-date information on Taiwan. "Law and Finance Information" is a program provided by a local law firm and a financial consulting company. The program features a host answering letters requesting information on legal and financial issues. Most of the questions are about immigration laws and about disputes with insurance companies. The program on "Chinese Drama" scheduled at 9:05 p.m. is a very popular Chinese series produced in Taiwan.

Interestingly, the eight families used the dinner preparation time to watch Channel 66's news from China and drama at 7 p.m. They did not watch the programs with full attention. But when the "Domestic and International News" came at 8 p.m., most of the subjects watched the news program attentively while eating dinner. At 8:30 p.m., when "News from Taiwan" was on, most subjects sat down and watched the program with full attention. Often, they discussed the issues that had just been reported. The news programs were followed by "Law and Finance Information." Many subjects did the dishes during this program. At 9:05 p.m. when "Chinese Drama" began, most of the subjects returned to their TV sets to watch the program. It seems

that watching Channel 66 was more than just a way to obtain Chinese-language information and entertainment. It had almost become a ritual for the Chinese families to follow every day.

Most of the subjects used English-language television when Chinese-language programs were off the air. Unlike the situation of their use of Chinese-language television in which they tuned to Channel 66 and watched the whole three hours of Chinese programming, most subjects zapped a lot when they used English-language programs. Most of the time they settled with something that looked like a movie or sitcom or with the 10 p.m. news programming offered by some local stations. The retirees did not watch English-language television at all because of the language barrier and their lack of interest in the content of the programs offered. Housewives seemed to use a lot of English-language soap operas and sitcoms. Those families who have small children normally tuned in to PBS stations. Those few subjects whose English abilities were high tended to watch mostly English-language dramas and newscasts.

Most housewives or retirees tended to leave their television sets on all the time. Television, as explained by a 27-year-old housewife, was used as a "companion." Families with children also had their TVs on most of the time. One mother of two children, a one-year-old and a

newborn, said that the sound and image of the TV attracted her children's attention. Being very concerned about her children's upbringing, this mother, to shield her children from the content of sex and violence, left the TV on the local public television channel, which is what she preferred her children to watch. Another family with a 10-month-old baby admitted to often turning on the TV solely to attract the child's attention.

Cable Television. Four families subscribed to cable TV. One subscribed primarily to watch CNN news, and the other three cited a fondness for watching movies as their motivation. Two of these four families were located in wealthy, predominantly white neighborhoods. They reported that they subscribed to cable to have more selection in programs as well as to help receive signals of over-the-air programs. These two families were affluent. The members of these families were very well-educated and had very successful careers. One family was headed by a senior engineer whose wife was a realtor. The other family was a wealthy family headed by a dentist. The son of this family was attending law school, and the younger daughter was studying in a private dental school. In contrast, the other two families were located in racially mixed areas and had lower household incomes. The heads of these two families, both having master's degrees, were not as successful

financially. The family headed by an engineer in a Chinese-American company just bought its first house, a two-bedroom ranch. The other family, with an annual household income of \$12,000, could not afford its own home. It rented an apartment in the northern area of San Jose. These two families subscribed to cable TV because they liked to watch the sports channel ESPN and movies on HBO.

VCR use. Nine of the 10 families had VCRs at home, although only six used their VCRs during the study period. Two of these six families used their VCRs primarily to view rented Chinese-language serial programs. They said that Chinese serials were well-produced and cost less than \$1 for one tape, a rate that was much lower than English-language videotapes. Both families said they watched Chinese serials to relax, as they didn't have to concentrate as hard on understanding a program that was in their native language. Both families lived in racially-mixed neighborhoods. One has lived in the United States for 16 years, and the other has lived here for seven years. A mother with two children, a 5-year-old and an 8-month-old, allowed her children to view regularly children's videotapes such as "Barney" and "Pinocchio." During the research period, it was observed that such videotapes were watched almost on a daily basis.

Computerized information sources. Nine of the 39 subjects in this research were engineers. They all reported

that they used computerized information sources in the workplace. When asked if they used these for any non-work related purpose, three said they used Prodigy, a financial news software network, to gather financial information. These three, all investors in the stock market, said they used Prodigy 30 to 45 minutes a day for financial information.

Based on the data from observations and the subjects' self-evaluation, the following section tries to answer the research questions and postulates raised in Chapter II.

General Acculturation Needs of Chinese Immigrants

The most salient acculturation need of the subjects seemed to be English-language skills--skills they needed to obtain information about the host society and to communicate with members of the society. Through the subjects' own evaluation and the researcher's observation, 10 subjects were fluent in English. These 10 subjects said that they felt comfortable communicating in English. However, their conversations with family members were mostly in Chinese. The use of English increased when the subjects were with friends, in school, or at work. The English skills of the other 29 subjects were much lower. Almost all subjects who were not born in the United States expressed their fear of not knowing enough English when they first arrived in the host country. A 25-year-old subject, whose English is poor,

studied English textbooks to learn everyday English. During the observation period, some subjects with poor English proficiency hesitated or even didn't want to answer incoming telephone calls when other family members with a better English command were not present.

The second salient acculturation need among the subjects was the acquisition of information about the host society, especially financial information. Some families who were paying mortgages would like to get information about bank loans. Two families, one in a predominantly white neighborhood and the other in a racially mixed area, said that their mortgages were too high and that they would like to refinance their houses. Three subjects said that they were active investors in the stock market. They all used Prodigy to acquire financial information. These stock market investors discussed their investment decisions with other family members and friends. They did not hire financial consultants; all were trying to beat the market by themselves. The reason seemed to be a distrust of brokers and confidence in themselves. "Americans are very used to having their financial consultants," said a 36-year-old subject who held a Ph.D. degree and was working as a senior engineer for a large American computer company, "but I feel those consultants will try to persuade you to buy or sell stocks very frequently. They only want to earn their

commission through the trading. Furthermore, Americans are not very good and confident at numbers, but we Chinese are talented in this."

Most subjects were very much interested in information on sales and prices. They discussed such matters with friends and family before going shopping.

The subjects also expressed a need to become acquainted with American culture, customs, and habits. But the researcher found that the subjects' need for knowledge of American culture and customs was not imperative and tended to be passive. The subjects did not have extensive association with Americans. All the 33 subjects interviewed said that they associated mainly with Taiwan-Chinese. Four subjects said they felt uncomfortable around Americans. These four included three retirees and one youngster. One said he was uncomfortable because of his poor English.

All the five families in predominantly white areas said that they were very comfortable living in white areas. However, none of them said that he or she had talked with the neighbors at least once a week.

Most of the subjects did not care whether their colleagues were American or Chinese. However, none said that he or she liked to socialize with American colleagues after work. The main reason, according to some subjects, was that they were worn out speaking English the whole day

or they didn't feel they had interests in common with their American colleagues.

Gratification of the Acculturation Needs by Media Use

The subjects' acculturation needs for language skills, information acquisition, and acquaintance with the host culture appeared to be gratified, to varying degrees, by their use of media.

The need for language skills was satisfied in part by the use of English-language broadcast media. Many subjects claimed that watching television was a good way to train their English listening comprehension. Six subjects said that they liked "Wheel of Fortune" because it helped increase their English vocabulary. Some subjects said that learning English was a major reason they watched English-language TV programs. Four subjects said that they listened to English radio stations when they were in their cars because "it (listening to a English radio station) enhances my English skills." However, using the English-language broadcast media was a passive, one-way process of learning English, which assisted only in the training of listening comprehension. It would be too simplistic to assume that such a media use fully gratified the subjects' need for high English skills.

The need for information, especially news and financial information, appeared to be greatly satisfied by the

subjects' use of the mass media, particularly their use of the Chinese-language media. Those who had a fairly good command of English got the information about the host society from both Chinese and English media sources. Those who were not as comfortable with English got similar information from the Chinese-language media. And those who were interested in professional information got such information from either specialized magazines or computer on-line services.

The need for knowledge of American culture seemed to be partially met by the mass media. Much of the knowledge came from English-language TV programs. For example, 17 subjects said they watched English-language television to get information about American culture and customs. Two subjects said they liked to watch "Jeopardy" because it offered them some knowledge about American history and culture. Interestingly, some knowledge in this regard also came from Chinese-language newspapers and television, which provided information about lifestyles, how-to information, and survival tips on life in the United States.

The Socio-demographic Characteristics As Related to Motivation for Acculturation

The subjects' sex and occupation did not seem to be strongly related to their motivation for acculturation. What yielded a stronger relationship seemed to be the

subjects' age, years of education received in the United States, length of stay in the host country, workplace environment, and desire to stay in the host country.

Those subjects who were younger, especially those who were brought to the United States at an early age and those who were born in the United States, were much more motivated for acculturation. Of the 39 subjects, eight fell into this category.

A subject's length of stay in the United States appeared to be negatively related to the subject's motivation for acculturation. This was particularly true with those subjects who came to the United States initially pursuing higher education and then stayed in the United States for work. When they first came to the United States, most of the subjects were highly motivated to become acculturated because they wanted to learn how to survive in the new environment. However, they all experienced a decline in their enthusiasm and interest when they were fairly settled down.

The subjects' professions were not found to be strongly related to their motivation for acculturation. Among the subjects, salespeople and dentists did not have a much higher level of acculturation than subjects in other occupations. Likewise, computer engineers did not have a lower level of acculturation than people in other more

people-oriented occupations. Even among the nine computer engineers, there was a sharp discrepancy in their levels of acculturation. For example, two middle-aged computer engineers ranked the highest in their acculturation levels both by their own evaluation and by this researcher's observation. One 28-year-old computer programmer ranked almost at the bottom of the acculturation scale. His English was poor, and he never watched or listened to English news and never read an English-language magazine or a newspaper. Moreover, he did not have any American friends or colleagues.

However, the environment in the workplace appeared to play a much more important role in determining a subject's motivation for acculturation. Those subjects who worked in companies in which most of their colleagues were Americans tended to have a higher motivation for acculturation and a higher level of acculturation. For example, those engineers who worked in predominantly American companies were much more acculturated than those engineers who worked for predominantly Chinese companies. In companies that employed mostly Americans, the subjects, whether voluntarily or mandatorily, have more chances to associate with Americans, thus increasing their knowledge about American mentality, customs, habits and culture, and therefore increasing their levels of acculturation.

A subject's educational attainment did not necessarily reflect his or her acculturation motivation and acculturation level. Ph.D. degree holders were not necessarily better acculturated than master's degree holders; and master's degree holders were not necessarily better acculturated than people who had a lower degree. A 36-year-old Ph.D. subject in this study showed a medium level of acculturation. In contrast, the five subjects in this study with bachelor's degrees showed the highest level of acculturation. The master's degree holders were divided. Four of them ranked about the lowest in their acculturation level, and the other eight registered a medium level of acculturation. What appeared to be more important was the years of education received in the United States. It was found that the more education a subject received in the United States, the higher the acculturation level was. Take, for example, the two subjects who obtained their doctoral degrees in the United States. One had a high level of acculturation, but the other had a lower level. The highly acculturated subject was brought to the United States at the age of 16. She completed her high school, university, and dental school in the United States. During the observation period, she was working at her dental practice in San Mateo, where most of her patients and colleagues were non-Chinese. She said she read English-

language newspapers in the office, and she was observed to watch a variety of English TV programs, speak fluent English, and communicate with both Chinese and Americans. The subject with low acculturation completed his master's degree in the best university in Taiwan and obtained his doctoral degree in a prestigious university in the United States. Although he was working for a large American high-tech corporation as a senior engineer, he used a lot of electronic media at work, associated primarily with Chinese colleagues, watched Chinese-language television everyday, and read only Chinese-language newspapers.

Use of Mass Media As Related to Participation in the Host Society

It was found that those subjects who had more interpersonal communication with the members of the host society, appeared to have greater host media consumption than those who did not have associations with Americans. Two subjects who had a lot of association with Americans used almost exclusively English-language media. These two subjects were brought to the United States in their teens and finished their high school and university education in the United States. They were very fluent in English. In fact, both said that they now have difficulty reading Chinese Characters after having being in the United States for more than 10 years.

But, in some cases, using a lot of host media rather than Chinese-language media did not lead directly to personal association with the host society. A subject who was an engineer in a predominantly Chinese company watched only American-language movies. However, he did not associate with any Americans at all and was apparently not interested in such an association. Several subjects occasionally used English-language television, but their association with the host society was merely that--mediated association. One 25-year-old unemployed subject, for example, stayed at home all the time watching TV, some English and some Chinese. But not once was he seen socializing or even talking to Americans during the observation period. He himself admitted that he didn't have any American acquaintances at all and didn't want to. He even refused to pick up any incoming phone calls for fear that the caller would speak English.

Relationship Between Media Use and Level of Acculturation

The relationship between media use and a subject's level of acculturation was a mixed one. It was found that those subjects who used more English-language media were generally better acculturated than those who used Chinese-language media exclusively. However, the subjects' use of English-language media needs to be further classified in terms of the content they used. Some subjects, who were observed to

be moderately acculturated with the American culture, tended to use more information-oriented TV programs like newscasts, "Jeopardy," "20/20," and "Inside Edition," or some drama series such as "L. A. Law," and "Reasonable Doubts" that require better English listening comprehension and knowledge about the host society to understand. Others, however, exposed themselves only to entertainment-oriented programs, such as movies, soap operas, and sports programs. Naturally, their use of the host mass media did not translate into a high level of acculturation.

Interestingly, some subjects who used a lot of Chinese mass media were fairly acculturated. This was perhaps because Chinese media, in addition to the coverage of the information from the home country, also provided plenty of information of the host society.

Motivation for Acculturation As Related to the Level of Acculturation

It was found that the higher a subject's motivation for acculturation, the higher this subject's level of acculturation was. Based on the data obtained from the in-depth interviews, the subjects' motivation for acculturation was in accordance with their acculturation level. Being motivated, the subjects would find ways to gratify their needs in acculturation either through the use of mass media or through interpersonal communication. As the subjects'

motivation for acculturation increased, they obviously utilized the mass media either in English or in Chinese to gain more information to help them in acculturation. A subject recalled that when she first came to the United States, she was very eager to learn English and the host culture. She checked the TV guide everyday to find programs to watch. And she went out with Americans. She said she had learned a lot of American culture and customs because she was very motivated to become acculturated. A 28-year-old subject, who is a student in biology, tried to find the news stories about San Francisco 49ers' Joe Montana when Montana was considering moving to Kansas. The subject would talk to his family about Montana and seek information about the trade. "Everybody in school talks about Montana," he said. These were two typical examples of people who were highly motivated or at a stage of high motivation. Several other subjects expressed the same experience when they first came to the United States.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study has found that, as a group, this sample of Chinese subjects in Silicon Valley is not highly acculturated. Their needs for acculturation are not salient, and their motivation for acculturation is low. Personal and environmental variables such as sex, family type, neighborhood, and household income do not seem to be strongly related to the subjects' level of acculturation. However, the subjects' formal education in the United States, the age at which they arrived, the perception of acculturation barriers, and their working environment appear to play an important role in influencing their acculturation motivation and thus their level of acculturation.

Of all the acculturation needs, the following three appear to be the most noticeable: 1) English language ability; 2) acquisition of financial and legal information; 3) and acquaintance with the host culture and customs. Those needs can be partially gratified by the use of media--often by the use of Chinese-language media--and through interpersonal communication. The subjects' low level of

acculturation seems to be in line with what Chang (1972) called resistance of change.

When compared with the postulates proposed in the analytical framework of media use and the process of acculturation in Chapter II, it was found that some of the postulates are supported but others are challenged by the findings. Rather than the relationships proposed in the framework, Figure 2 indicates that the subjects' actual media use patterns shows these relationships:

Figure 2. The actual media patterns and the process of acculturation of Chinese-American subjects in the San Jose area.

Note. Arrows represent the direction of influence.

Mass Communication Patterns of Chinese Immigrants

This study has found an interesting pattern of media use among the subjects, which features these attributes:

1. The subjects use the Chinese-language media (both the print and broadcast media) heavily both for information and entertainment.

2. They use the English-language media only as a supplementary source of information.

3. They use English-language television heavily for entertainment and language learning.

4. They rarely use any English-language newspaper.

5. They all use English-language radio in their cars.

6. They use specialized English-language magazines mostly for their professional needs.

Apparently, this pattern is related to the subjects' acculturation needs, information-seeking needs and the unique multi-cultural setting of the San Jose area. It can perhaps be explained along the following lines.

Why the subjects use the Chinese-language media heavily.
First, there is ready availability of Chinese-language media in Silicon Valley. As mentioned in Chapter II, Chinese immigrants in this area have access to at least three Chinese-language television stations, eight Chinese-language newspapers, one Chinese-language radio station, and numerous

Chinese-language magazines. Such access obviously had cast a tremendous impact on the media use patterns among the subjects. They can push a button to get a Chinese-language television channel on the screen. They can have their Chinese-language publications delivered to their doorstep. And they can grab a Chinese newspaper in any Asian supermarket. As a result, there is little incentive for them to use the English-language media.

Second, most of the subjects feel more comfortable with their native language than with English, their second language. Even those who are proficient in English and use it a lot in the workplace seem tired of using English after a long day at work. Indeed, almost all the subjects observed in this study use only their mother tongue at home. And several have openly stated that they are tired of using English all the time.

Third, there appears to be a conscious effort on the part of some subjects to maintain their cultural identity and heritage. For example, of all the subjects observed in this study, there is only one child who is at the language-learning age, and this 5-year-old girl is sent to a Chinese-language school to pick up both oral and written Chinese. The mother says that she wants her child to grow up with bilingual abilities. In another family, the parents want their grown-up children to read a Chinese-language newspaper

even though this family has been in the United States for more than 16 years. The mother of this family says that she expects her children to maintain their Chinese identity. She even goes so far as to oppose any interracial marriage among her children.

Fourth, the Chinese-language media provide a lot of information that is not readily available in the English-language media. For example, there is a lot of news about Taiwan and mainland China in the Chinese-language media, whereas there is little news about those areas in the English-language media. It was observed that, most of the time when the subjects turned on their television sets and opened their newspapers, the first thing they sought was news about Taiwan and China. In addition, the Chinese-language media also provide a lot of information about the United States, although much of such information is just a headline service. But such a service apparently satisfies the subjects' basic need for surveillance of the important events in the host society.

Fifth, the Chinese-language media, especially television and newspapers, provide much entertainment the subjects can appreciate and relate to and cannot find anywhere else. For example, Channel 66 often offers the latest TV series from Taiwan, which lasts about two months. These serials are uniquely Chinese and deal with either contemporary issues in

Taiwan (or China) or historical legends. The two popular series Channel 66 aired during the observation period were "The Ghost Father" and "Dayuer: A Legendary Empress." The former was a typical Chinese mystery that featured the ghost of a father coming back constantly to help his children with the complex problems in a modernizing society. The latter was partly a kongfu movie and partly a historical story about a legendary princess who later ascended to the throng. During the observation period, all the subjects, old and young, were glued to their television sets to watch those two serials. There was definitely a great sense of delight and appreciation, which rarely showed in the subjects's use of English-language entertainment programs.

Why the subjects shun some English-language media but use others. The above pattern clearly shows that the subjects in this study shun some English-language media, especially newspapers, but make a fairly frequent use of specialized magazines and the broadcast media.

Of all the 10 families, none read an English newspaper during the observation period. Only one family actually subscribed to the San Jose Mercury News. Two families already canceled the subscription of English-language newspapers. According to the observation and interviews, the major reason the subjects do not use English-language newspapers for current information is their reluctance to

read English and the availability of the Chinese-language news media. Although most of them are well educated in their professional fields, they still have difficulties with or find it tiresome to read English-language newspapers. When they want more information, they simply turn to Chinese-language newspapers or television stations that provide basic news and information about the host society in their mother language.

Surprisingly, seven families were found to subscribe to specialized English-language magazines. Apparently, these magazines are used by the subjects to gratify their need for information in their relevant professional fields-- information they need to know but cannot obtain from the Chinese-language media.

Compared with the print media, the English-language broadcast media are used fairly frequently by the subjects. Except for the very elderly subjects, all the subjects used at least a little bit of English-language television almost everyday during the observation. Sometimes they used it to check on local news when the Chinese television news programs were off the air. But most often, the subjects, especially those whose English abilities are fairly good, watched some entertainment programming. One major reason for the subjects' use of English-language television is their need for some entertainment that they think is better

than similar programs on Chinese-language television or programs that are not available in the Chinese media. Unlike other media, especially the print media, television offers both visuals and sound, and, therefore, it does not require high language abilities to understand or guess what is presented in the content. Indeed, no matter what their language skills were, most of the subjects appeared to enjoy their favorite English-language entertainment programs, especially action movies, whose plots, context and visuals made it easy for them to appreciate the content. Another major reason appears to be the subjects' desire to learn English through television. Most of the subjects said that they did use English television to learn everyday English expressions. Some even pointed to such programs as "Wheel of Fortune" as being an important source of English vocabulary for them when they first came to the United States.

Most of the adult subjects listen to English-language radio. Not surprisingly, such use often takes place in their automobiles while they are driving to work. Such a consumption pattern can be seen as "forced consumption." Unlike their home environment in which the subjects have a lot of choices, especially those offered by the Chinese media, the environment in their cars is one of very limited options. All the programs that can be received by a car

radio in the San Jose area are either in English or Spanish. No Chinese programs are offered on either the AM or FM frequencies. As a result, the subjects are forced to choose between English and Spanish. Naturally, they would settle for the English-language programs--"the lesser of the two evils." Were they able to receive Chinese programs on the car radio, most of the subjects would probably choose these programs.

Acculturation of Chinese immigrants

As the findings have shown, the acculturation level of Chinese immigrants in this study is fairly low. This fairly low level of acculturation appears to be associated with two major factors: 1) a ceiling effect in acculturation; and 2) the unique set of socio-demographic variables that affect their acculturation.

A ceiling effect. The findings seem to reflect a unique "ceiling effect" among some recent Chinese immigrants in Silicon Valley or perhaps in the whole nation. These immigrants are generally highly educated, holding master's and doctoral degrees. They are well trained in their specialties and professions and are usually in various fields of natural science or high technology. At work, either as scientists, researchers, professors or engineers, they use technical or scientific terminology to communicate with each other and their American counterparts. And such

terminology is almost universally applicable and identical to what they used in their homeland. When they first come to this country, there is a strong need and motivation to become acculturated. But after a period of time, the acculturation process comes to a halt; and some people even regress from the level of acculturation they have achieved. This ceiling effect may derive from several factors: the acquisition of basic English abilities that enable them to get around; the security of a relatively stable job or business; the perception of a glass ceiling in the workplace; the perception that they are already part of the host society--no matter whether it is true, and no matter how marginal that part may be.

Almost half of the adult subjects in this study, 14 out of the 23 bread-earners, have master's and doctoral degrees. Most of them work as electronic engineers for computer companies or as other professionals such as dentists and accountants. According to the interviews with them, they were all eager to get acculturated when they first came to the United States to pursue their degrees. Many said they made a conscious and tremendous effort to learn the language and to be associated with their American counterparts. However, when they found a job and established a fairly stable career, their eagerness to be acculturated drastically declined. Living in an area with a large

Chinese population further dampened their enthusiasm about acculturation. Some also expressed a frustration with what they perceived as a glass ceiling in the workplace, and such a perception again reinforced the "ceiling effect." They felt that no matter how hard they worked and how well they performed, they would never be promoted to management-level positions. A senior engineer, for example, said that he was planning to establish a new company with some of his friends because he perceived this limitation to his career development. "The position of a senior engineer is the highest post I can reach in the American-dominated company I now work for," he said.

Today, they seem to be content with what they have achieved and are not too concerned about further acculturation. They appear to live happily what Chang (1972) would call a "bicultural life."

Socio-demographic variables. Contrary to findings in previous studies, this study has found that some of the major determinants of immigrants' acculturation such as age, length of stay, occupation, and gender have not played an important role in determining the level of acculturation among the subjects in this study. Instead, age at which subjects arrived in the United States, undecidedness in future residency, the perception of a glass ceiling, and education received in the United States appear to have been

the main determinants of the subjects' level of acculturation.

At first glance, age appears to have a noticeable impact on the subjects' level of acculturation. As the findings in the previous chapter would show, the least acculturated group of people is the elderly subjects. All nine elderly subjects in this study appear to live in a secluded world made up primarily of family members and a few close friends. They watch only Chinese-language programs and read only Chinese-language newspapers at home. Almost completely insulated from American society, they live an almost completely Chinese life in the United States. In contrast, the youngest adult subjects, two 23-year-olds (this study did not have any subjects between age 6 and age 22), have the highest acculturation level. They use a lot of English-language television, speak good English with their friends and siblings and have associations with Americans at school or work. The middle-aged subjects show mixed levels of acculturation. One group, made up of eight subjects, speaks fluent English, uses a combination of English and Chinese at home, consumes a lot of English-language television, and has some associations with members of the host society. The other group, twice as large as the previous one, speaks some English, uses primarily Chinese at home, consumes mostly Chinese-language media, uses English television only for the

10 p.m. news after the Chinese programs are off the air, and rarely associates with Americans outside the workplace.

However, a closer examination reveals that what lies behind age is the age at which the subjects arrived in the United States. Those fairly highly acculturated subjects all came to the United States when they were teenagers--no matter what their current ages are. Naturally, as teenagers, they were not strongly molded by their home country's culture, and they were quick to pick up the host language, to associate with their American peers, to adopt the values in the host society, and to appreciate what is presented in the English-language media. Those subjects with a low level of acculturation all arrived in the United States when they were already adults. Obviously, by the time they came to this country, they had already formed some deeply held values, norms and moral standards. As any psychological, linguistic, or cultural study would attest, it was naturally difficult for them to change those deeply held cultural attributes. In addition, it was difficult for them to learn a foreign language at an age when the mother tongue had become an inseparable part of them. As a result, their acculturation process was slow and sometimes convoluted. This is particularly evident among the subjects who are now middle-aged but arrived in the United States at

different ages. All those who arrived as teenagers are more acculturated than those who arrived as adults.

Length of stay in the host society, according to several previous studies, is a strong determinant of the acculturation level. However, this study has found no evidence in this regard. In fact, a couple who has been in the United States for more than 30 years shows little acculturation. Another couple who has been in this country for 16 years also has a low level of acculturation. Again, the age at which the subjects arrived in the United States appears to play a far more important role in influencing the level of acculturation than the length of stay in the host society.

Occupation is not strongly related to the subjects' acculturation level either. There is no clear pattern of people in certain occupations being noticeably better acculturated than people in other occupations. Among the subjects, salespeople and dentists, two occupations that are commonly held as being people-oriented, do not show a significantly higher level of acculturation than computer engineers who are commonly seen as secluded technicians; nor is it true the other way around. What seems to play a far more important role in acculturation is the environment of the subjects' workplace rather than their occupations. The nine engineers in this study are a good example. All of

them have about the same educational backgrounds, and all are working for computer companies. However, they demonstrate different levels of acculturation. The six engineers who work in predominantly American companies have a middle to high level of acculturation, and the other three engineers who work in predominantly Chinese companies show a low level of acculturation. The two sales representatives and a realtor in this study have a fairly low level of acculturation. The main reason is that their clients are primarily Chinese.

Education, as previous studies suggested, is both a determinant and an indicator of an immigrant's acculturation level. However, this study has found that the final degrees or the years of formal education almost have nothing to do with the subjects' acculturation level. Ph.D. degree holders are not necessarily better acculturated than master's degree holders; and master's degree holders are not necessarily better acculturated than people who have a lower degree. This unique phenomenon seems to have stemmed from the fact that the subjects have received their education in different countries. Some of them came to the United States with a master's degree in hand from a Taiwan university. Others went all the way from elementary school to college in the United States. What eventually counts, then, appears to be the amount of education received in the United States.

The findings show that the more years of education the subjects have received in the United States, the more acculturated the subjects are--no matter what the final degrees are. The eight subjects who have received at least five years of education in the United States have a much higher level of acculturation than the other subjects. The nine subjects who have not received any education in the United States show a noticeably low level of acculturation.

Another important determinant of the subjects' level of acculturation is their indecision about residence. For example, two families that came to the United States primarily for advanced education and for the "green card" are still not certain whether they will stay in the United States. Their uncertainty about the future development in the United States along with their attitudes as sojourners make them unwilling to be acculturated. In addition, since they came to the United States at a mature age, with their deeply rooted Chinese traditions and values, they have a lot of reservations about American culture and customs. All these have combined to slow down their acculturation process.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has found that a group of Chinese-Americans in Silicon Valley has established a unique subculture distinct from either the culture they left behind

in their home country or the culture within which they now live in the United States. Their acculturation level ranges from low to moderate, and their life is virtually a bicultural one. Their mass media use habits do not seem to tremendously enhance their acculturation level. However, their acculturation level does affect their media habits.

These Chinese-Americans appear to lead a fairly successful and content life, a life that is apparently shaped by a combination of the following factors:

1. The unique multi-cultural environment in Silicon Valley, where many Chinese-language media are readily available.

2. The fact that the majority of the working subjects are in professions that do not require a lot of interpersonal interaction with Americans, such as computer engineers and accountants. These people's information-seeking behavior is apparently different from that of those in other people-oriented occupations. They tend to use less of the general mass media but more of the specialized media. Also, because a sizeable part of the professionals in the computer-dominated Silicon Valley is Asian-Americans, this further limits their needs for acculturation.

3. The desire of some of the subjects to return to their home country.

4. The desire of some to keep their cultural identity at a time when cultural pluralism is a trend in this country, especially in California.

5. A ceiling effect in acculturation and the related lack of English-language media use for acculturation purposes.

Limitations of the Study

This study of media use in the acculturation process of some Chinese immigrants is only an exploratory study. As such a study, it lacks clear and sufficient guidance and reference that are usually available in those well-plowed fields. Indeed, the project has frequently groped in the dark, trying to blaze the path and find ways out of the labyrinth. Inevitably, it may have run into some deadends and taken some wrong turns.

Specifically, this study has two major limitations in terms of the sample and the methodology.

First, the sample was not representative of the general population of Chinese immigrants. It was made up almost entirely of families from Taiwan, with the exception of one subject from China. And it was virtually a group of engineer-headed families that are highly educated. In addition, the families just so happened not to have any school-age children--despite the researcher's efforts to select both extended and nuclear families. Had the sample

been more representative and included people of all ages, the results, especially those about the subjects' acculturation level and motivation, might have been different.

Second, the observation was carried out from 6 to 10:30 p.m. because the researcher felt that this would be the best time for such a study. However, such a time period turned out to record only a concentrated and perhaps skewed part of the subject families media use behaviors. Had the researcher been able to live with the subject families and observed their mass media use around the clock, a fuller picture might have emerged.

Contribution to the Field

The contribution of this study to the field can be seen in the following three aspects:

First, as an exploratory project, this study helps break new ground in a potentially interesting and important area of research. Few studies have been done to explore the relationship between immigrants' media behaviors and their acculturation process. And still fewer have been done about such a relationship among Chinese-Americans. This study, as one of the few first investigations in this field, can help initiate future research along the same line and, as a result, can help broaden the field of mass communication studies.

Second, the study has come up with some initial but interesting findings--findings that either support or challenge previous results. Most interesting of all are the findings about the ceiling effect in the acculturation process, the "forced consumption" of radio, and the unexpected relationship between acculturation and such variables as the length of stay, education and age. Despite all the limitations mentioned earlier, the findings about the unique life of a subgroup of Chinese immigrants--whose size seems to be expanding--in Silicon Valley alone should be interesting to anthropologists, mass communication researchers and people who are interested in the life of Chinese immigrants.

Third, based on the findings, the study has offered some theoretical considerations that have apparently been overlooked by the existing literature. One of these considerations is the ceiling effect in the acculturation process among first-generation Chinese immigrants, especially among the highly-educated immigrants. As the literature review in Chapter II shows, this concept has not found any place in previous studies. As more Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China join the ranks of the early-birds, the number of people who fit in the profile of immigrants described in this study is likely to expand significantly in the near future. In fact,

the U.S. Congress has recently granted blanket permanent residence status to about 50,000 Chinese students residing in the United States before April 1990, and most of the beneficiaries have received or are working on their doctoral degrees. These new immigrants will definitely swell the ranks of people profiled in this study. The anticipated exodus of the Hong Kong elite to North America after China's takeover of Hong Kong in 1997 is another case in point. This striking trend of increasing Chinese immigrants cries out for researchers' attention to the ceiling effect in acculturation. Another theoretical consideration this study has pointed out is the concept of "forced consumption of the mass media." In the existing literature of media use either among Americans or among immigrants, this concept has not been given adequate consideration. Indeed, very few appear to have thought about it. But it is indeed an important phenomenon in the audience's media use and an even more important one in new immigrants' media consumption.

Directions for Future Research

This study was conducted among a selected group of people in the special setting of the Silicon Valley, where Chinese immigrants, according to the 1990 census, constitute the second largest ethnic group. Future research should be conducted in the following areas:

1. To observe a similar group in another part (or other parts) of the United States. Such an observation will be valuable to the acculturation process among Chinese immigrants living in areas that have few Chinese immigrants and few or no Chinese-language media.

2. To investigate another group of Chinese immigrants that is not made up primarily of electronic engineers or Taiwanese. This can enable researchers to examine the relationship between media use and acculturation among Chinese immigrants engaging in other types of work.

3. To compare Chinese-Americans with other ethnic groups. Such a comparison can yield interesting findings about different ethnic groups' differing or similar media use patterns in their acculturation process.

4. To further examine and test the concept of the ceiling effect. Such an examination can be best done through longitudinal studies that trace the acculturation process of immigrants with relation to their media use over time. Kim's (1976) acculturation model appears to suggest that acculturation is a continuous and linear evolution. Further studies can investigate whether there is indeed a ceiling effect in which an immigrant's acculturation process comes to a halt. If there is, then among whom, at what point, why, and what does it mean to a multicultural society?

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APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview Questionnaire

I. Media preference

1. I obtain news mostly from: Family members____Friends____
Chinese mass media (indicate which) _____or
American mass media (indicate which) _____
2. When I want to know about U.S. news, I use:
Newspapers (indicate in what language and why)____
Magazines (indicate in what language and why)____
Television (indicate in what language and why)____
Radio (indicate in what language and why)____
3. When I want to know about Chinese-related news, I use:
Newspapers (indicate in what language and why)____
Magazines (indicate in what language and why)____
Television (indicate in what language and why)____
Radio (indicate in what language and why)____
4. When I want to know about fashion trends or general news (health, medicine, etc.), I use:
Newspapers (indicate in what language)____
Magazines (indicate in what language)____
Television (indicate in what language)____
Radio (indicate in what language)____
5. When I want to know more about American people and their lives, which of the following is most helpful and why?
Newspapers (indicate in what language)____
Magazines (indicate in what language)____
Television (indicate in what language)____
Radio (indicate in what language)____
6. When I want to relax and be entertained, I choose:
Newspapers (indicate in what language and why)____
Magazines (indicate in what language and why)____
Television (indicate in what language and why)____
Radio (indicate in what language and why)____
7. Do you read English language newspapers regularly?____
(If "No," skip to Question 8.)
On an average day, how many minutes a day do you spend on English language newspapers?_____
8. Do you read Chinese language newspapers regularly?_____

- (If "No," skip to Question 9.)
On an average day, how many minutes a day do you spend on Chinese language newspapers?_____
9. Do you watch English language television program regularly?____
and why? (If "No," skip to Question 10.)
On an average day, how many minutes a day do you spend on English language television program? _____
10. Do you watch Chinese language television program regularly?____and why? (If "No," skip to Question 11.)
On an average day, how many minutes a day do you spend on Chinese language television program?_____
11. Do you read English language magazine regularly?____
(If "No," skip to Question 12.)
On an average day, how many minutes a day do you spend on English language magazines?_____
12. Do you read Chinese language magazine regularly?____
(If "No," skip to Question 13.)
On an average day, how many minutes a day do you spend on Chinese language magazines?_____
13. Do you listen to English language radio broadcasting regularly?____
(If "No," skip to Question 14.)
On an average day, how many minutes a day do you spend on English language radio broadcasting?_____
14. Do you listen to Chinese language radio broadcasting regularly?____
(If "No," skip to Question 15.)
On an average day, how many minutes a day do you spend on Chinese language radio broadcasting?_____
15. Do you regularly use electronic communication such as E-mail, bit-net or electronic bulletin boards?_____
(If "No," skip to Question 19.)
16. In what language do you use electronic communication such as E-Mail, bit-net or electronic bulletin board?_____
17. When and for what purpose do you use electronic communication? _____
18. On an average day, how many minutes a day do you use electronic communication?_____

19. Do you regularly use computer data bases to get non-work related news, information or entertainment material?
(If "No," skip to Question 21.)
20. On an average day, how many minutes a day do you use computer data bases to get non-work related news, information or entertainment material?_____
21. Choose one from the below that you most want to obtain?
News about the United States_____
News about China _____
News about Taiwan_____
News about Hong Kong_____
Other, please specify:_____
21. What is the medium that you most rely on?
Television (indicate in what language)
Newspaper (indicate in what language)
Magazine (indicate in what language)
Radio (indicate in what language)
22. What kind of information are you most interested in obtaining? Choose one and explain why.
Politics____ Economic____ International____
Cultural____ Social events____ Lifestyles____
Sports____ Entertainment____

II. Motivational level for acculturation:

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

For each of the statements that I am going to read you, please indicate whether you Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neither Agree nor Disagree (U), Disagree (D), or Strongly Disagree (SD). Please explain as detail as you can and would like.

	<u>SA</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>SD</u>
1. I'd like to become an American citizen.	5	4	3	2	1
2. Becoming a U.S. citizen will help me get ahead in my career.	5	4	3	2	1
3. I'd like to learn about American customs.	5	4	3	2	1

4. I'd like to participate in the mainstream activities.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Becoming an American citizen will help me improve my life here.	5	4	3	2	1
6. I prefer to follow American traditions rather than Chinese traditions.	5	4	3	2	1
7. I like American culture more than I like Chinese culture.	5	4	3	2	1

III. Level of acculturation:

Resistance____ Adjustment____ Acceptance____

For each of the statement that I am going to read you, please indicate whether you Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neither Agree nor Disagree (U), Disagree (D), or Strongly Disagree (SD).

	<u>SA</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>SD</u>
1. I doubt whether the decision of my immigration to America is right.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I doubt that living in America I'll lose Chinese traditions and values.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I don't want an interracial marriage.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel isolated to live in predominantly white neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I don't think an immigrant has a fair chance in work.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I'd like to associate with Chinese only.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I am more confident speaking Chinese than speaking English.	1	2	3	4	5

8. I'd like to make friends with people regardless of their races.	5	4	3	2	1
9. I speak English and Chinese interchangeably.	5	4	3	2	1
10. I feel comfortable around Americans.	5	4	3	2	1
11. I have more American friends than Chinese friends.	5	4	3	2	1
12. I talk with my American neighbors at least once a week.	5	4	3	2	1
13. I feel comfortable communicating with people in English.	5	4	3	2	1
14. I speak English most of the time at home.	5	4	3	2	1
15. I like to shop in American supermarkets than in Chinese ones.	5	4	3	2	1
16. I am active in political participation in America.	5	4	3	2	1
17. I am very concerned about the benefits and social welfare of America.	5	4	3	2	1
18. I care more about America than about my homeland.	5	4	3	2	1

Note. 1) Number 7, 8, and 9 in section I. Personal Demographics will be observed by the researcher. The subjects will be interviewed to provide the answers to all other questions in this questionnaire. 2) All the passage in the parentheses are researcher's own notes, not meant to be read to the subjects.

IV. Demographics Data

1. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

2. Age: _____

3. Education: How many years of education have you received?
Did you receive your education in the United States or
in your homeland? _____

What is the highest degree or educational level
you have attained in your homeland? _____

What is the highest degree or educational level
you have attained in America? _____

4. Occupation: Position _____

What do you do? _____

Unemployment _____

Retired _____

Housewife _____

Student _____

5. Length of stay in the U. S.: _____

6. Household income before taxes: (Put on card and use
letters,

"A" represents \$10,000~\$24,999; "B" represents
\$25,000~\$49,999; "C" represents \$50,000~\$99,999;
"D" represents \$100,000 or more.)

7. Family type: Nuclear _____ Extended _____

8. Location: Predominantly Chinese neighborhood _____
Predominately white neighborhood _____

9. English ability:	Speak	Read	Write	Listen
Excellent	_____	_____	_____	_____
Good	_____	_____	_____	_____
Fair	_____	_____	_____	_____
Poor	_____	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX B

BASIC INFORMATION ON SUBJECTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS, MEDIA USE AND ACCULTURATION

BASIC INFORMATION ON SUBJECTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS,
MEDIA USE AND ACCULTURATION

Subject	Sex	Age	Years of Education received in Homeland	Years of Education received in U. S.	Highest degree	Occupation	Command of English	Associations with Americans	Media Preference	Motivation for acculturation	Acculturation level.
1A	F	28	10	10	Doctor	Dentist	good	some	English TV(Drama series, News, Talk show)	high	Acceptance
1B	F	55	12	0	high school	housewife	poor	no	Chinese TV(news, series) English TV(sitcoms)	low	Resistance
1C	M	26	10	9	Bachelor	student	good	many	English TV(talk show, drama series, movies, sports)	high	Acceptance
1D	F	23	10	6	Bachelor	student	good	some	English TV(drama series, sitcoms)	high	Acceptance

(continues)

BASIC INFORMATION ON SUBJECTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS,
MEDIA USE AND ACCULTURATION

Subject	Sex	Age	Years of Education received in Homeland	Years of Education received in U.S.	Highest degree	Occupation	Command of English	Associations with Americans	Media Preference	Motivation for acculturation	Acculturation level.
2A	M	32	7	9	Bachelor	Engineer	good	some at work	Chinese TV (news, drama series) Chinese newspaper, English magazines	medium	Adjustment
2B	M	30	9	7	Bachelor	Engineer	good	some at work	Chinese TV (news, drama series) Chinese newspaper, English TV (sitcoms)	high	Acceptance
2C	F	23	6	10	Bachelor	Accountant	good	some	English TV (sitcoms, drama series) Chinese TV (drama series)	high	Acceptance

(continues)

BASIC INFORMATION ON SUBJECTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS,
MEDIA USE AND ACCULTURATION

Subject	Sex	Age	Years of Education received in Hometown	Years of Education received in U. S.	Highest degree	Occupation	Command of English	Associations with Americans	Media Preference	Motivation for acculturation	Acculturation level
2D	M	62	14	0	college	Retiree	fair	very few	Chinese TV(news, drama series) Chinese newspaper	low	Resistance
2E	F	57	14	0	college	Retiree	poor	no	Chinese TV(series) Chinese newspaper	low	Resistance
3A	M	30	16	3	Master	Forex dealer	fair	very few	Chinese TV(news) Chinese newspaper, English TV(movies, sports)	medium	Resistance
3B	F	27	16	2	Bachelor	housewife	fair	no	English TV(movies) Chinese newspaper	low	Resistance
3C	M	25	12	0	high school	unemployed	poor	no	English TV(movies) Chinese TV (news) Chinese newspaper	low	Resistance

(continues)

BASIC INFORMATION ON SUBJECTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS,
MEDIA USE AND ACCULTURATION

Subject	Sex	Age	Years of Education received in Homeland	Years of Education received in U. S.	Highest degree	Occupation	Command of English	Associations with Americans	Media Preference	Motivation for acculturation	Acculturation level.
4A	M	68	16	1	Bachelor	Retiree	fair	no	Chinese newspaper	low	Resistance
4B	F	63	14	0	college	Retiree	poor	no	Chinese newspaper	low	Resistance
4C	F	30	8	8	Bachelor	Actuary	excellent	many	English TV (news, talk shows)	high	Acceptance
5A	M	36	16	3	Master	Engineer	good	some at work	English TV(news, sports) English newspaper, Chinese TV(news)	medium	Acceptance
5B	F	33	13	4	Bachelor	Realtor	good	some at work	Chinese TV(news, series)	medium	Adjustment
5C	F	5	0	1	---	---	fair	few at school	English VCR	----	----
5D	M	48	0	0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
6A	M	38	16	2	Master	Engineer	fair	some at work	English TV(news), Chinese TV(news)	low	Resistance

(continues)

BASIC INFORMATION ON SUBJECTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS,
MEDIA USE AND ACCULTURATION

Subject	Sex	Age	Years of Education received in Homeland	Years of Education received in U. S.	Highest degree	Occupation	Command of English	Associations with Americans	Media Preference	Motivation for acculturation	Acculturation level.
6B	F	34	15	3	Master	Engineer	fair	some at work	Chinese TV (news, series), Chinese newspaper	medium	Resistance
6C	M	70	11	0	high school	Retiree	poor	no	Chinese TV(news, series) Chinese newspaper	low	Resistance
6D	F	65	6	0	elementary	Retiree	poor	no	Chinese TV(series)	low	Resistance
6E	M	0.2	0	0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
7A	A	36	19	3	Ph.D.	Engineer	good	some at work	Chinese TV(news, series) Chinese newspaper, English TV(news)	medium	Adjustment

(continues)

BASIC INFORMATION ON SUBJECTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS,
MEDIA USE AND ACCULTURATION

Subject	Sex	Age	Years of Education received in Homeland	Years of Education received in U. S.	Highest degree	Occupation	Command of English	Associations with Americans	Media Preference	Motivation for acculturation	Acculturation level.
7B	F	29	16	3	Master	housewife	fair	no	Chinese TV(news, series), Chinese newspaper English TV(sitcoms)	low	Resistance
7C	M	28	16	1	Bachelor	student	fair	few	Chinese TV(news, series), Chinese newspaper, English TV(sports)	low	Resistance
7D	F	1	0	0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
7E	M	0.2	0	0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
8A	M	28	16	2	Master	Engineer	poor	no	English TV(movies)	low	Resistance
8B	F	26	16	2	Master	Sales rep.	fair	no	English TV(movies)	low	Resistance
9A	F	28	12	3	Master	Engineer	fair	few	Chinese TV(news, series) Chinese newspaper	medium	Adjustment

(continues)

BASIC INFORMATION ON SUBJECTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS,
MEDIA USE AND ACCULTURATION

Subject	Sex	Age	Years of Education received in Homeland	Years of Education received in U. S.	Highest degree	Occupation	Command of English	Associations with Americans	Media Preference	Motivation for acculturation	Acculturation level.
9B	F	28	10	8	Master	Engineer	good	some	Chinese TV (series)	medium	Adjustment
9C	F	26	10	8	Master	Accountant	fair	few	Chinese TV (series)	medium	Adjustment
9D	F	26	16	2	Master	Sales rep.	fair	few	Chinese TV (series)	low	Resistance
10A	M	64	6	0	Elementary	Retiree	poor	no	Chinese TV (news... series) Chinese newspaper	low	Resistance
10B	F	62	6	0	Elementary	Retiree	poor	no	Chinese TV (series)	low	Resistance
10C	M	29	16	3	Master	student	poor	few	English TV (sports) Chinese TV (news)	low	Resistance
10D	F	2	0	0	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----