1994

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**The role of Chinese-language broadcasting media in the San
Francisco Bay Area**

Li, Chiao-Chu, M.S.

San Jose State University, 1994

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**THE ROLE OF CHINESE-LANGUAGE BROADCASTING MEDIA
IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA**

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

Chiao-Chu Li

August, 1994

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APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND
MASS COMMUNICATION

Dr. Diana Stover

Dr. Zhou He

Prof. Robert Rucker

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF CHINESE-LANGUAGE BROADCASTING MEDIA IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

by Chiao-Chu Li

This thesis examined the role of Chinese-language television and radio in the San Francisco Bay Area. A media sociology approach was used to determine the constraints on Chinese-language broadcasting media and their effect on content. In-depth interviews and a content analysis of programming were conducted. This study found that economic constraints had the most influence on media content. The four communication functions in order of strength to weakness were: entertainment, surveillance, socialization, and correlation. The acculturation functions of the Chinese-language broadcasting media in order of importance were: (a) separation: maintaining the Chinese cultural identity and disseminating information about the home countries; (b) integration: informing Chinese immigrants about local and national news and helping the immigrants fit into American society; and (c) assimilation: enabling the Chinese to adopt American values, customs, and behaviors.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am favored that Dr. Diana Stover is the chair of my thesis committee. She is an outstanding graduate thesis adviser and cares about this thesis topic. I sincerely appreciate Dr. Stover for her thorough advice, encouragement, and patience. In addition, I am grateful to Dr. Zhou He for his guidance on my thesis proposal and for helping me analyze the content analysis data. I also want to thank Prof. Robert Rucker, my third reader, for his encouragement.

Certainly, it was impossible to do this research without the help from the interviewees. My sincere appreciation goes to the 19 interviewees for their time and for providing me helpful and valuable information and primary sources.

A special feeling of gratitude and thanks is extended to my dear cousin-in-law, Faith Lee, for her patience in editing and proofreading my thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Tzu-Chiang Hsieh, for his complete support, positive influence, and constant encouragement. He also provided helpful and thoughtful assistance for my thesis. I also wish to thank my family and friends for their continued support during the research and writing of this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In society, people rely on communication to maintain and to modify the social order and social regulation, and to cope with the environment (Lasswell, 1948). Ethnic media have an advantage of penetrating specific audiences by offering mainstream information sources; further, ethnic media play an important role of helping retain an individual's own culture and of assisting immigrants to adapt to a new environment. Therefore, it is important to study the role and contribution of ethnic media.

This study examined the role of the Chinese-language broadcasting media in the San Francisco Bay Area and determined what kind of information was available to Chinese in the Bay Area. Historically, Chinese have been in California since the 1850s. Chinese-language media were founded during this period. Chinese-language newspapers have served the Chinese population in California since the Gold Rush days (Coolidge, 1909; Sam, 1973). *The Golden Hill News*, the first Chinese-language newspaper in San Francisco, was published in 1851 (Sam, 1973). But it was not until the 1970s, that Chinese-language broadcasting media began serving Chinese immigrants. Today, Chinese use both Chinese-language newspapers and broadcasting to satisfy specific information needs. As Wang (1991) noted:

"Newspapers, periodicals, books, and audio-visual materials from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong are brought daily to the Chinese in the United States and vice versa with the aid of modern telecommunications and transportation" (p. 185).

Although Chinese-language broadcasting media have had a relatively short history, it has become the easiest and most convenient way for the audience to get news, entertainment, and information. Existing studies have focused mainly on the development of Chinese-language newspapers. Although the media constraints that affect content directly or indirectly are considered factors that influence the content of the Chinese-language broadcast media, they have generally been ignored in previous studies.

The functions of ethnic media are to help minority groups to integrate into American society and to offer information on their home countries as well as entertainment. Liu (1994) wrote:

(a) Chinese media are able to communicate their messages in Chinese to a significant amount of audience who demonstrate a marked inability to communicate in English; (b) Chinese media bring back the native culture, traditions and values that are especially important for the foreign-born Chinese immigrants constantly living in nostalgia; (c) Chinese media update immigrants on the political, economic or social development in Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong or other areas where they are from. (p. 9)

Although it was not easy for ethnic media to survive and the competition for advertising dollars was intense (Alvarez, 1991), the necessity of Chinese-language

broadcasting for the Chinese audience has increased. At present, there are nine Chinese television and radio companies in the Bay Area. They use Mandarin and Cantonese to serve their audience. The broadcasting programs include news, entertainment, and information. The advertising on Chinese broadcasting provides useful consumer information to its audience. Chinese-language media are becoming more and more popular.

According to the 1990 Census, there were 284,191 Chinese in northern California. It was estimated that the population would reach 542,000 by the year 2000 (Bouvier & Agresta, 1985). Furthermore, it was possible that the Chinese population in the United States would reach 10 million by the year 2000 (Delener & Neelankavil, 1990). The Chinese population in the United States is made up of American-born as well as Chinese from around the world, especially, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China, and Vietnam. Chinese-language media can help to unify the diverse population.

In the literature review of this study, ethnic media in the United States, Chinese immigration patterns, media use and acculturation, and information-seeking behavior of Chinese were discussed to determine the factors that influenced the content of Chinese-language broadcasting media. This study used Lasswell's (1948) and Wright's

(1986) four major communication activities (surveillance, correlation, socialization, and entertainment) to determine the role of the Chinese-language broadcasting media. Furthermore, this study used a media sociology approach to examine constraints on Chinese-language broadcasting media and their effect on content. Ettema, Whitney, and Wackman (1987) used three levels--individual, media organizational, and institutional--to analyze media content. This research was also designed to study the external and internal constraints on Chinese-language broadcasting media content. External constraints that were examined were the economic, sociocultural, technological, and ideological-political environments within which the Chinese-language media operate. Internal constraints that were studied were economic and organizational influences. In addition, this research examined the relationship between Chinese-language broadcasting media content and the various level of acculturation: separation, integration, and assimilation (Berry, Kim, & Boski, 1988).

The methods of the present research were programming content analysis and interviews with owners, top managers, and employees of Chinese-language broadcasting media to examine the role of Chinese-language broadcasting and what kinds of information and programs were provided in the San Francisco Bay Area.

The findings of this study could provide Chinese-language media owners with the necessary information on media survival possibilities. The results could also contribute to the history of Chinese-language broadcasting in the United States. This analysis should increase understanding of the role of Chinese-language broadcasting.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Wright (1986) contended that "as a social process, communication is essential to society and to human survival. Every human society--so called primitive or modern--depends on communication to enable its members to live together, to maintain and modify working arrangements about the social order and social regulation, and to cope with the environment" (p. 4). He also modified the three major communication functions identified by Lasswell (1948) --(1) surveillance, referring to the collection and distribution of information; (2) correlation, including interpretation of the information and attempting to influence attitudes and conduct; and (3) socialization, assimilating people into society--by adding a fourth function, entertainment.

This study examined the role of Chinese-language media in the Bay Area based on the four functions. Constraints on media content, patterns of Chinese immigration, and media use and acculturation are reviewed in separate sections. The literature on ethnic media in the United States could help to provide an understanding of the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media.

Ethnic Media in the United States

Because of the increasing population of immigrants in the United States, cross-cultural communication is considered vital (Limaye & Victor, 1991; Marchionini, 1992). Minorities sometimes feel powerless to control their everyday lives or their destinies. They feel overwhelmed by outside forces and are considered to be silent groups.

Zwingmann (1973) found that because of cultural isolation, immigrants were encouraged to seek information about their own ethnic group and their homeland. Also, today, ethnic media help people to fit into American society. Alvarez (1991), the press secretary to the mayor of San Jose, noted:

Ethnic media tend to reach two distinct audience groups: monolingual or low-English-proficiency immigrants who depend on these outlets as their primary source of information, and the established ethnic elite groups that are usually most involved with city programs and developments. Whether the issue is increased participation in curbside recycling, planned housing development, or neighborhood crime watch, these are crucial audiences for the success of the city's communication goals. (p. 29)

In the very early period, the role of the immigration press was strongly connected with the preservation of the native language and culture. Both consciously and unconsciously, the press might be expected to control immigrants' interests and activities in native lands to separate them from American life (Park, 1922). However, Sam's (1973) study found that the immigrant press was apt to

help rather than prevent their people from integrating into the American community at large. Further, Trevino (1991) found that the Spanish-language press in the 1930s helped Mexicans in Texas to integrate into American life. The ethnic media helped them to view themselves as part of United States culture without losing their identity as Mexicans; they became a bicultural ethnic group as Park (1922) noted:

The mere facts of residence and employment give the immigrant an interest in American events, customs, ideas. He needs some familiarity with these in order to "get along." The foreign-language press must print American news to fill this need of its readers, and by so doing, it hastens the development of this personal necessity into a general interest in America. (p. 87)

With the development of new media technologies, ethnic media, especially broadcasting, are serving minority groups. Since the early days of radio, ethnic media programs have been important. Cable television is also becoming as specialized in its programming as radio. Obviously, cable is a potential media for ethnic groups (Eiselein, 1978; Huston et al., 1992). Spanish, black, and Asian groups have their own cable enterprises in California.

Hispanics are highly concentrated, so radio is generally considered the strongest media for its localized characteristics (Jereski, 1985). It was also found that broadcasting and print advertising were designed to reflect

Hispanic values, traditions, and language (Delener & Neelankavil, 1990).

In Los Angeles, there are two channels broadcasting Korean programs. One is controlled by the Korean government and directly affiliated with KBS (Korean Broadcasting Service); the other is private. The objectives of both channels are: (a) to entertain Korean Americans and (b) to educate Korean-Americans on how to adjust to American life (Won-Doornink, 1988).

Ethnic media could disseminate information on the host culture (Trevino, 1991). For example, the Foreign Language Information Service, in 1921, a department of the American Red Cross, was a bureau of information. Park (1922) noted that it successfully played a role of providing news to the immigrant press:

It [The Information Service] confines itself to sending out to the foreign-language papers information in regard to the activities of the different departments of the government. It is not directly concerned with radicalism or the class war. It is a news service. (p. 459)

As to Asian media, much consumer information was conveyed through a growing number of Asian-language newspapers, magazines, television, and radio. In fact, Shao (1991) noted that "San Francisco's KTSF-TV expects ad revenue from its mostly Asian-language programming to hit \$1.7 million this year, up from \$200,000 in 1986" (p. 55). Alvarez (1991) suggested that successful ethnic media

should: (a) provide vision and leadership at the top; (b) assign staff and have a road map; (c) network with community leaders and city employees; (d) maximize special opportunities; and (e) establish appropriate procedures.

Chinese-Language Media in the San Francisco Bay Area

Chinese-language broadcasting media has been operating in the San Francisco Bay Area for 18 years; however, Chinese-language newspapers have had a relatively long history. Historically, various Chinese-language newspapers were born, some disappeared after the first few issues, and some survived for a longer period (Sam, 1973).

Chinese-language newspapers had to provide a variety of content to meet diversified readership interests (Lau, 1989; McCue, 1975). McCue's (1975) study of Chinese-language dailies in New York City found that the older Chinese-language newspapers, which were more concerned about the future of China and lack of community news could not continue to exist. New Chinese immigrants, who were urbanized and better-educated, demanded new and different things from the Chinese-language press. In the 1960s, because the United States passed a new immigration law (Sam, 1973), a steady flow of Chinese immigrants was admitted from Hong Kong. *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, a Hong Kong daily, was distributed in San Francisco in 1968. At that time, Chinese-language newspapers upgraded and expanded local news

rather than American national news to attract more readers.

McCue (1975) contended:

The first major difference between the old and the new style of newspapers is the amount of space devoted to features. While the new style papers generally print as much serialized stories and other fiction as the older papers, they print substantially more factual features, i.e. sports, household hints, movie and entertainment news. (p. 274)

Sam (1973) contended that the *Chinese Times*, which was devoted to the coverage of local events of Chinatown, and *Sing Tao Jih Pao* filled the demand for news from Hong Kong. Both gave considerable space to national and international news coverage and became the two most popular newspapers in Chinatown.

Pang found that in 1986 there were three Chinese-language television stations in San Francisco: Overseas Chinese Television (OCTV), World Chinese Television (WCTV), and China Television (CTV). But by 1993, nine television and radio stations-companies were operating in the Bay Area. They were All Star Chinese Radio Stations (ASCERS), Chinese Star Television & Radio (CSTVR), Sinocast Television & Radio (SINO), the Jade Channel(JADE), Chinese Television Company (CTC), KTSF (Channel 26), KCNS (Channel 38), and KPST (Pan Pacific Television, Channel 66).

Generally speaking, Chinese-language broadcasting media in the Bay Area broadcast programs from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, including drama, variety shows, locally produced

interviews, news, and other special programs. Through the special assistance of the Government Information Office of the Republic of China, Hong Kong, and the People's Republic of China, Chinese-language television stations feature daily satellite news programs from Taipei, Beijing, and Hong Kong. The advertising of physicians, travel agents, attorneys, and real estate companies also offer information for Chinese immigrants. Chinese-language media try to meet the general and specific interests of members of the Chinese community in an effort to attract the largest audience (Lau, 1989; McCue, 1975; Pang, 1986). At present, in the Bay Area, viewers can watch Chinese-language television programs through regular channels and through cable subscriptions. In New York, a local Chinese-language television station also published its TV guide to promote its own programs (Lau, 1989).

Chinese Immigration Patterns in the United States and San Francisco Bay Area

Chinese immigration patterns have influenced the structure of the communities and have had an impact on the content of Chinese media. Generally speaking, Chinese immigration could be divided into three periods (Sam, 1973; Wang, 1991). The first period was right after the Gold Rush in California in the mid-19th century.

Historically, Chinese have been in California more than one century. Chinese began coming to California in large numbers during the San Francisco Gold Rush early in the 1840s. These pioneers formed their own communities. The reasons many Chinese left their home country were that, at that time, the southern ports of China, especially Guangdong (Canton) Province suffered from disaster, such as drought, flood, or plant pests, so millions of people were in danger of starvation. The external reason was for gold. The first large group of Chinese immigrants were almost all laborers (Cloud & Galenson, 1991; Coolidge, 1909; Fong & Markham, 1991; Henz, 1940; Wang, 1991). During that period, California lacked labor; Chinese supplied these needs. Most became cooks, laundrymen, and the like, as well as doing the heavier work in the mines and railroad building. In the first few years, Chinese were welcomed as Coolidge (1909) wrote in *Chinese Immigration*:

In 1850 forty-four vessels left Hong Kong for California with nearly 500 passengers and by the end of 1851 it was estimated that there were 25,000 Chinese in California engaged either in placer mining or in domestic and manual labor (p. 17). . . . They [Chinese] were highly valued as general laborers, carpenters and cooks; the restaurants established by them in San Francisco and in the mines were well kept and extensively patronized; they took to pieces the old vessels that lay abandoned in the channel of the Golden Gate; they cleared and drained the rich lands, which white miners were too busy to undertake. (pp. 21-22)

According to Wang (1991), the second period--the anti-Chinese movement--was from 1882 to 1965. Because of job

shortages and depressing economic conditions, Congress passed a series of Chinese exclusion acts to prohibit the admission of Chinese laborers into the United States (Fong & Markham, 1991; Sandmeyer, 1939; Sung, 1967). As Sam (1973) wrote:

The various exclusion acts had a great effect on the Chinese community at large. Thousands of Chinese males were stranded in the country where they were not welcome and were unable to bring their wives and children from China. So, they could not enjoy family life. Chinatown as a result was crowded with married men without roots. (p. 20)

In 1888, exempt groups, who were diplomats, merchants, students, professors, and tourists as well as their spouses and children, were permitted to enter the United States. The background of the new arrivals was significantly different from the ones of the first period. However, these groups were ineligible for citizenship. American-born Chinese were increasing. They were struggling to choose to be Chinese or to be Americans. Wang (1991) noted that "most opted for assimilation or Americanization, rejecting their cultural heritage in favor of acceptance by white society" (p. 188).

Although the exclusion of the Chinese remained in effect from the 1940s to the 1960s, several historical events changed Chinese immigration patterns. During World War II, 15,000 Chinese who served in the United States Armed Forces became eligible for citizenship (Wang, 1991). After

World War II, because the Communist government came to power in China in 1949, Chinese came to America seeking political asylum (Chan, 1969). Furthermore, Chinese who had strong educational and commercial backgrounds were admitted into the United States. Similarly, foreign students from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia gained admission to study in American universities.

The McClellan Immigration Act of 1965, which set an upper limit of no more than 20,000 immigrants a year from any country, ensured a steady flow of Chinese immigrants to the United States (McCue, 1975). The act allowed Chinese immigrants to reunite with their relatives long separated by the exclusion laws and resulted in diversity with the influx of a large number of intellectuals. From 1965 to 1970, 30% of the Chinese immigrants were professionals, managers, and administrators (McCue, 1975). Chim, Lai, and Choy (1969) found that "the increased number of new immigrants is causing much revision in the social, economic, and political life of the Chinese in America" (p. 1). More than 20,000 Chinese a year are entering the United States. In addition, 8,000 Chinese immigrants, mostly from Taiwan, have entered the United States to study and, after completing their education, only 2% of the students went back to Taiwan (McCue, 1975).

Since 1975, thousands of Chinese refugees escaped from Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea to the United States; little by little, these refugees are identifying themselves as Chinese-Americans (Wang, 1991). In 1987, there were about 67,000 Chinese students enrolled in American colleges or universities. Moreover, many Chinese with well-educated, professional, and entrepreneurial backgrounds were looking for more secure investment opportunities and better educational environments for their children in the United States; they began to move their families out of the political turmoil. Britain's return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 and the Tiananmen Square Movement in 1989 also had an impact on the patterns of Chinese immigration in the United States. The newcomers were urbanized Chinese from Hong Kong, who were more familiar with urban life than the previous rural immigrants, who tended to come from more conservative areas. In the post-Tiananmen era, dissenters with higher education also came to the United States (Wang, 1991). Wang (1991) also identified types of Chinese immigrants: sojourner mentality, total assimilation, accommodation, ethnic pride and consciousness, and the uprooted, which meant "to anchor their roots in receptive and compatible soil--whether in China or in the United States" (p. 205).

Pioneer Chinese immigrants, American-born Chinese, and new immigrants constituted Chinese communities. Their different characteristics were reflected in the change in Chinese-language media.

Acculturation and Media Use

In recent years, a flow of immigrants and refugees came to America in search of freedom, security, and social, economic, or cultural betterment (Kim, 1988; Morrow, 1985; Shao, 1991). Adaptation inevitably occurs for all individuals as long as they functionally depend upon and continue to communicate with the host culture (Kim, 1989). Kim (1989) also noted:

Through continuous new learning, trial and error, and more learning, they [immigrants and refugees] are finding ways to carry out their life activities with increasing ease, confidence, and proficiency. . . . Their survival and livelihood are largely dependent on their ability to acquire new learning and to perform according to the standards and practices of the host society. (p. 275)

Redfield, Linton, and Herskovist (1963) defined acculturation as "cultural change that results from continuous, firsthand contact between two distinct cultural groups." Lee (1975) analyzed the definitions of acculturation and assimilation:

Complete acculturation will lead to assimilation which has no cultural distinctiveness. It is questionable whether a complete assimilation will exist, but acculturation taking place because it is a process and not an end, that occurs when two or more cultures meet. (p. 59)

Berry, Kim, and Boski (1988) identified four adaptation types for different individuals: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. Kim (1989) contended that the factors of cumulative-progressive adaptation included the host language ability, adaptation motivation, and attitude about the host society and the host mass media usage. Moreover, mass communication was an important source of acculturation for immigrants and ethnic groups (Kim, 1979).

Some researchers have studied the variables associated with the use of ethnic media rather than host media. Lee (1975) found that the variables of the Korean immigrants acculturation in the United States were residence, locality, and communication ability. Won-Doornink (1988), who studied communication patterns of Korean immigrants, commented on the results of some acculturation research:

Chang showed differences in mass media behavior among three groups of immigrants ("cultural assimilation group," "bicultural group," and "nativistic group"), which are indicative of cultural change. Kim believed that "the extent to which members of an ethnic group are acculturated will depend at least partially on the extent to which they participate in the communication channels of the host society." (p. 80)

Adult immigrants with formal education used more English-language print media to learn English, while their children used television or radio (Sunoo, Trotter, & Aames, 1980). Won-Doornink (1988) studied television usage of Korean immigrants and found that television programs

acquainted immigrants with majority cultural patterns; those who watched more Korean-language television would be less apt to watch English-language television and vice versa and they also adapted to American culture with more difficulty. Mendelsohn (1973), in a study of an information campaign targeted to Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles, found the target audience was not found to be enthusiastic in formal instructional programming in television, but soap operas in their own languages could be learned to resolve the issues of their families and themselves.

Jereski (1983) also found advertising in Hispanic media depended on the level of the audience acculturation.

Further, Shao (1991), head of Sosa & Associates, noted:

In the top 33 Hispanic markets, we look at the three levels of acculturation based on media consumption, language use, education and income. The overwhelming factor is language use. A Hispanic who uses Spanish with co-workers, children and parents is in group one. People in that demographic tend to cluster together in "safer neighborhoods." They are not in the American mainstream. (p. 101)

Delener and Neelankavil (1990) found that Asians exhibited some differences, depending on age and education: Older Asians tended to prefer ethnic newspapers and magazines; younger Asians used similar print media as other professionals in the United States.

Length of residence in the host culture possibly affected the immigrants' acculturation. Pang (1986) suggested that Chinese who had been in the United States for

a long time were more interested in things happening here than in Asia. However, Liu (1994) found that Chinese immigrants in California who were highly educated newcomers preferred to use American media and were integrated into American society more easily than the old immigrants. Therefore, language ability played an important role in influencing immigrants acculturation (Kim, 1977; Liu, 1994; Pang, 1986). Sunoo, Trotter, and Aames (1980) studied the key variables associated with the immigrants' learning of the language of the host culture. They found that mass media use, interpersonal communication, personal aspirations, and demographic characteristics could influence language learning.

Information-Seeking Behavior and Media Use of Chinese Immigrants

Atkin (1973) wrote that people sought information when they encountered problems or needed special knowledge to meet their personal or social requirements:

Information-seeking comprises two modes of message exposure: (1) information search, which refers to the seeking behavior of an individual approaching a media source in order to become familiar either with the general content or a specific message; and (2) information receptivity, which describes receptive encounters with topic-related cues during routine scanning of the message environment; selection occurs if the message-included question arouses cognitive uncertainty. (p. 191)

Gantz, Fitzmaurice, and Fink (1991) researched how and when people actively sought news and information. They

found that information seeking behavior was stimulated by media and interpersonal sources, and media could limit the use of information seeking behaviors. News seeking behavior (Atkin, 1972; Chaffee & McLeod, 1973; Gantz et al., 1991; Westley & Barrow, 1960) was influenced by information content, people's interests, and social constraints. In addition, Atkin (1972) and Chaffee and McLeod (1973) found that an individual's anticipated communication affected media content selection directly. They also suggested that social and individual variables could be taken as evidence of selective exposure.

Patterns of information-seeking are distinct. They correlate with the personality attributes of individuals and are also influenced by the information content (Atkin, 1972; Donohew, Tipton, & Haney, 1978; Sears & Freedman, 1967). Although knowledge about the information-seeking behavior of Chinese has become more important, not enough research has been done in this area. However, McCue's (1975) study provided information on the use of Chinese-language dailies. He found that the new immigrants who were more educated and urbanized expected new and different things from Chinese-language newspapers. Pang (1986), who studied the information-seeking behavior of San Francisco Bay Area Chinese, wrote:

English-language television is the most popular medium for Chinese from both Hong Kong and Taiwan. For information about housing and jobs, and for advertisements, both groups look first to English-language newspapers. Chinese from Taiwan rely heavily on Chinese-language newspapers printed in the United States for information about travel, legal or immigration matters, and news of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China. Respondents from Hong Kong, however, use Chinese newspapers printed in the United States as their major source only when they want information about legal matters; they turn to English-language newspapers, and for news of China and Hong Kong, they use ethnic newspapers originating in Hong Kong. They use newspapers from Taiwan when they want news of Taiwan. (p. 101)

Pang (1986) also found that most of the Chinese respondents use English-language media, not primarily for becoming better acculturated, but for relaxation, or because the English-language media provided them with a quicker and more readily available source of information than did the Chinese-language media. Chinese with formal education also use English-language media to learn English.

Chinese advertisements in Chinese-language newspapers, television and radio commercials, and the Chinese Yellow Pages also serve as sources of information. Lam (1990), the president of L3 advertising agency, noted that Chinese-language media are very powerful in Chinese communities: "Advertiser use tends toward newspapers first and radio second on the East Coast, and newspapers and TV are very close on the West Coast, depending on the product" (p. 32).

Constraints on General and Ethnic Media Content

Media content is constrained by internal factors, including economics, media organizational structure, technology, and personal influences, as well as external factors, including sources, audience, and advertisers as well as the political, economic, technological, and social environment within which the media operate. These factors produce different degrees of influences on the media content.

Ettema, Whitney, and Wackman (1987) noted that there were three levels which should be used to analyze the influence of media content: individual level, media organizational level, and institutional-industrial level.

Personal constraints. Individuals' values, attitudes, and beliefs influence the selection of media content (Ettema et al., 1987; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991; Stocking & Gross, 1989). However, the power and the positions of individual media workers within media organizations are related to their power to make decisions. The power of top superiors or managers can shape media content but it is also maintained by organization-wide pressures for conformity (Breed, 1955; Gans, 1979). Ownership can influence content in several ways (Lacy, 1991). Owners have the power to set the policy and to decide the structure of the media organization (DeFleur & Dennis, 1981; Shoemaker & Reese,

1991). Shoemaker and Reese (1991) discussed the power of individuals:

It is possible that when communicators have more power over their messages and work under fewer constraints, their personal attitudes, values and beliefs have more opportunity to influence content. (p. 85)

However, Whitney (1991) found the best predictor of what influenced media content was not the individual level but the individual-organizational interface and the organizational-industrial or organizational-institutional level. Organizational routines, positions, organizational structure, and policies affect the media content and overrule individual level influences (Ettema et al., 1987). Media structure also influences media content (Davison, Boylan, & Yu, 1982). However, intra-organizational conflict also affects content; for instance, news desks battle for claiming front page story status, news space, and news coverage (Sigal, 1973; Tillinghast, 1980).

Economic and technological constraints. Budget is one of the basic determinants of media content. Because of financial constraints, ethnic-language television programs rely heavily on programs imported from the motherland.

Eiselein (1978) wrote, for example:

Many of the Spanish stations are affiliated with Spanish International Network (SIN) which primarily distributes programs supplied by Mexico's televidentro. The programming consists of telenovelas, musical variety programs, comedies, and some dramas and films. (p. 12)

In the view of Sigal (1973) and Gans (1979), economic considerations constrained newswork, influenced editorial decisions indirectly, and limited the space and time that could be devoted to media programs. Competition is another factor that shapes media content. Brandwein, Levin, and Seiden (1971) found that "competition among television broadcasting companies occurs in three interrelated arenas: for advertising dollars; for audience (through the selection and scheduling of program material); and in the production of program material" (p. 53). Audience reaction can give media workers some ideas of its general interests, so that the audience also help to shape media content (Altheide, 1976; Davison et al., 1982). However, some researchers concluded that audience images had a minor influence on media and media workers cared more about opinions of their peers or superiors (Whitney, 1991).

Media organizations with high ratings or high circulations are able to attract more advertising and earn higher profits. Similarly, obtaining advertising is still the central economic problem that minority owners, producers, and programmers face. Further, ethnic-language media are often small and short-staffed and the competition for advertising dollars is intense. As a result, some ethnic media are short-lived (Alvarez, 1991; Eiselein, 1978). Therefore, when media workers are under pressure to

please advertisers and the audience, top leaders have a tendency to ask employees to give up their beliefs or individual values to attract advertising (Altheide, 1976).

Media policy decides what can or can not be produced "within the constraints of market control or other systems of socioeconomic control" (Ettema et al., 1987).

Technological determinism is a belief that "technology is a cause of social change" (Lowery & DeFleur, 1983, p. x). New communication technologies may lead to different news formats, which influence the description of news content. How technology is used by the mass media also influences media content (Bailey & Lichty, 1972). Economic limitations may determine how to use technological tools in media organizations. Media organizations with high technology can determine not only the installation of systems but also the development of media programs (Davison et al., 1982).

Political constraints. Media organizations exist in a social environment. Other social institutions as well as the economic, political, and technological environment shape media content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). Shoemaker & Reese (1991) noted that "the greater the dependency of a media firm on the elite institutions, the greater the chance for their control over mass media" (p. 175).

Social institutions make use of offering sources to news organizations in an attempt to control the news

content. For instance, governments can exercise control over media organizations through regulations, licenses, political doctrine, and political policy (Lasswell, 1948; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). However, Davison et al. (1982) noted that governments primarily control news content through the use of official sources more than by regulation. Smith (1988) noted that "the administration seemed to want a news monopoly until it could shape public attitudes" (cited by Shoemaker & Reese, 1991, p. 109).

Ethnic-language media are often affected by overseas politics. Historically, ethnic-language media were easily used for propaganda by both host and home government. For example, during World War I, Germany was active in building culture colonies through the media in any place where German commerce and German immigration had penetrated (Park, 1922). Further, the media, which are subsidized by foreign governments, can gain stronger financial support (Eiselein, 1978; Lau, 1989; Park, 1909).

There is no doubt that Chinese-language media struggle to survive. However, they are still profitable because they maintain ties with their homeland governments. The Communist Party introduced an overseas edition of the *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*), in 1985, which became the Chinese government's Chinese-language propaganda organ in America. According to Lau's study (1989), for Chinese-language media

in the United States, the political factor is as important as the economic factor in analyzing their structure, conduct, and content (Lau, 1989).

Summary and Research Questions

In summary, research on constraints on general and ethnic-language media content has shown that the following constraints are important determinants of content: personal influences, economic, technological, political, and social environments within which the media operate. For example, the ethnic-language media are very much affected by the struggle for advertising. Thus, Chinese-language media need additional financial support which many times comes from overseas governments, which want to use the media for propaganda. The researcher examined these constraints to determine if they were applicable to Chinese-language broadcasting media and whether the constraints affected the kinds of programming and the reasons why certain programs were broadcast on Chinese-language television and radio.

The Chinese population is increasing in the Bay Area. Research on the Chinese-language media found that the patterns of Chinese immigration influenced the content of media. The media use of immigrants in the past is different from the way that recent immigrants use the media. The change is found in the content of newspapers. Today,

Chinese immigrants need modern and useful information on not only their mother countries but also on the host country.

Additionally, literature on the relationship between minority media and acculturation suggests that the use of ethnic-language media did not always lead to less acculturation. Also, minorities are able to get information on the host environment in their native languages to allow them to further adapt to the new culture. Importantly, ethnic-language media bring the home culture, values, and traditions to the immigrants. Thus, different people use ethnic-language media in many different situations. This study used three adaptation types: assimilation, integration, and separation to examine the role of Chinese-language broadcasting programs in the acculturation process.

The researchers who had studied information-seeking behavior found that patterns of information-seeking were determined by social and psychological factors. Information-seeking is a form of problem solving. The variables that influence Chinese-language media use by Chinese immigrants are age, language ability, length of residence, and educational level. Chinese people rely much on Chinese-language media for getting information about travel, legal, or immigration matters as well as news about Taiwan, China, or Hong Kong. This study determined if the perceptions of the audience were held by the owners and

managers of Chinese-language broadcasting media. The researcher also examined the reasons the media broadcast certain programs to see if the broadcasting content coincided with or different from the perceptions of media workers. The research questions are as follows:

1. What constraints affect the content of Chinese-language broadcasting media and how do the constraints affect the content?
2. How do owners, managers, and employees of Chinese-language broadcasting media view their audience?
3. What kind and how many programs do Chinese-language broadcasting media provide? This general question can be broken down into the following subquestions: (a) What news do they provide? (b) What kind of entertainment do they broadcast? (c) What information (how-to programs) is provided? and (d) What advertising is shown on television and radio?
4. What is the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media in the San Francisco Bay Area as viewed by the media owners, managers, and employees? Does Chinese-language broadcasting contain content that will allow it to fulfill the following sometimes contradictory roles? (a) helping retain Chinese culture, (b) being a bridge between the old culture and the new one, (c) helping the second generation of American-born Chinese learn their home language and

culture to maintain a Chinese identity, (d) providing surveillance information about the old and the new society, and (e) providing entertainment.

5. Is there any difference between Chinese-language broadcasting media workers' view of the role of the media and the actual role as reflected by the content?

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the role of the Chinese-language broadcasting media in the Bay Area. This study investigated the perceptions of media owners, top executives, and employees of the role of these media as well as the role as reflected by the programming content. The method was in-depth interviews and content analysis.

Chinese-language broadcasting media were divided into two systems: (a) those owning channels that carry programming, including All Star Chinese Radio Station, radio programming of Sino Broadcasting Corporation (SINO-R), the Jade Channel-TV, KTSF-TV (Channel 26), KCNS-TV (Channel 38), and KPST-TV (Channel 66), and (b) production companies that produced or provided programming shown on other channels, including Chinese Television Company (CTV), Hua Sheng Broadcasting Corporation (HSTV), Chinese Star Television and Radio, and television programming of Sino Broadcasting Corporation (SINO-TV).

In-Depth Interviews

Interviews were conducted to determine the perceptions of the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media on the part of the media owners, managers, and employees and to

examine how they viewed their target audience and the constraints on their programming content. At least one owner and/or one general manager from each television and radio station was interviewed.

In addition, staff members were interviewed to solicit their views on the constraints on their media organizations and on the staff within the organizations. The researcher took notes during the interviews. In important interviews, a tape recorder was used when permission was granted. All questions were open-ended. Most of the interviews were conducted in Chinese, although some were conducted in English when interviewees spoke only English and/or Cantonese. Most of the interviews were conducted in September of 1993.

There were 19 persons interviewed in the nine Chinese-language broadcasting media (see Appendix A for detail and interviewing schedule). The list of interviewees is as follows:

1. Charles Chan, general manager of Sino Broadcasting Corporation, personal interview conducted in English;
2. Leo Chen, president of TV-KCNS (Channel 38), personal interview conducted in Mandarin;
3. Jie Chen, news anchor and reporter of TV-KTSF (Channel 26), personal interview conducted in Mandarin;
4. Ida Y. Choy, executive director and producer of Chinese Star Television and Radio, personal interview conducted in Mandarin;

5. Zhi-Fang Hu, program director of Hua Sheng Broadcasting Corporation, personal interview conducted in Mandarin;
6. Jenny Hwang, station manager of Chinese Television Company, telephone interview conducted in Mandarin;
7. Annie Lau, disk jockey and bookkeeper of Sino Broadcasting Corporation, personal interview conducted in English
8. Lily Liu, station manager of All Star Chinese Radio Station, personal interview conducted in Mandarin;
9. Zhou Liu, anchor and salesman of All Star Chinese Radio Station, personal interview conducted in Mandarin;
10. Alex Ouyoung, program traffic coordinator of Jade Channel, personal interview conducted in Mandarin;
11. Brent Scheiner, station manager and director of sales of TV-KCNS (Channel 38), personal interview conducted in English;
12. Michael Sherman, station manager of TV-KTSF (Channel 26), personal interview conducted in English;
13. Sung, engineer and cameraman of Hua Sheng Broadcasting Corporation, personal interview conducted in Mandarin;
14. Agnes Wong, secretary of Chinese Television Company, telephone interview conducted in Mandarin;
15. Lun Wong, regional sales manager of TV-KPST (Channel 66), telephone interview conducted in Mandarin;
16. Sammy Yang, program manager of TV-KPST (Channel 66), personal interview conducted in Mandarin;
17. Cindy Yeh, disk jockey and program producer of Sino Broadcasting Corporation, personal interview conducted in English;

18. Tiffany Yeh, program producer of TV-KPST (Channel 66), personal interview conducted in Mandarin; and
19. Charlie Young, salesman of TV-KCNS (Channel 38), telephone interview conducted in Mandarin.

Content Analysis

Obviously, Chinese-language media workers' self-reported perceptions reflected only one dimension. To provide additional information, a content analysis was conducted. Such an analysis is able to more or less objectively reflect the content of television and radio programming. It can show what programs exist and how often they appear (Dominick & Fletcher, 1985). More important, it is able to help identify and evaluate underlying relationships among various content elements that may not be readily apparent (Dominick & Fletcher, 1985). This analysis was designed in such a way that it detected the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media (see Appendix B for the coding sheet).

Sample. The content analysis of the Chinese-language television and radio programs was divided into two parts: (1) the logs were examined to determine what kinds of programs there were and for how long they were aired; and (2) programming content was systematically analyzed for four categories: news, entertainment, information-knowledge, and advertising. The purpose was to identify what kind of

programs or information was emphasized and to examine what role the program content played.

The content of the nine broadcasting companies in the Bay Area were examined. Among the nine companies, Sinocast Broadcasting Corporation and Chinese Star Television and Radio provided both television and radio programs. Thus, the content of 11 Chinese-language broadcasting media was coded. The selected time frame was the period from October through November of 1993. Three weeks during this period were randomly chosen for the systematic analysis of each radio company. Another three-week period was randomly chosen for the television content analysis. For each company, the number of 30-minute segments in each category was counted proportionally to the amount of content run by each company based on an entire week. Television and radio programs were sampled separately. Because advertisements were inserted into the other three program categories, advertising was analyzed when the other three program categories were coded. In the analysis, if a company had proportionally less than one 30-minute segment of content in any category, at least one-half of the programming in each category was coded for each company during the sampled week. A 30-minute segment sample for each category from each station was randomly selected. To avoid bias, festivals and other special occasions during which programs were likely to

be atypical were avoided. The sample included 252 half-hour segments, totalling 126 hours of television and radio programming. It was representative of the Chinese-language programming in the San Francisco Bay Area in October and November of 1993.

Reliability test. Ten percent of the content was coded by the researcher and another coder to test the intercoder reliability. Two formulas were used for the test. First, the Holsti formula was used:

$$CR = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N1 and N2 refer to the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder, respectively.

Because use of this formula results in some coder agreement that occurs strictly by chance, Scott's *pi* was also used:

$$pi = \frac{\% \text{ observed agreement} - \% \text{ expected agreement}}{1 - \% \text{ expected agreement}}$$

This formula "corrects for the number of categories used and also for the probable frequency of use" (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, p. 154).

Definitions of categories. All the programming content in the sampled weeks was first coded by the time and date shown, as well as identifying the stations-companies. Theoretical coding categories were: 1. Origins: where the

programs were produced. The subcategories for the origins and subjects were: (a) Taiwan, (b) China, (c) Hong Kong, (d) local--the programming produced by the staff of the Chinese-language broadcasting media in the San Francisco Bay Area, (e) the United States, and (f) other.

2. Four programming types were coded: (a) News was defined as items that were included in news programs; (b) Entertainment was defined as amusement for its own sake, such as series, drama, theater, variety shows, movies, music shows, concerts, Chinese operas, talk shows, Chinese stand-up comedies, cartoons, complete sports games, and non-educational children's programs; (c) Knowledge-Information category was defined as all other programming that did not fit into the news or entertainment categories, such as religion programming, law, real estate, cooking, teaching English language programs, medical, spiritual, financial, stock/trade, tour guide, and current traffic information; and (d) Advertising was defined as any paid material promoting a product, idea or service. It included material promoting and selling food, drug, restaurants, insurance, supermarkets, banks and financial institutions, attorneys, electronic products, daily necessities, warehouse, hospitals/clinics, furniture, cosmetics, public welfare, department stores, and telephone companies.

The unit of analysis was each news story, each commercial, and individual program.

To directly examine the roles, all sampled content from each company then was coded according to the following categories.

3. Society functions were coded as: (a) Chinese society, subject matter of the programming unit devoted to Chinese politics, people, or places, including stories about homelands as well as Chinese community in America; (b) American society, programs including all general news, information, and advertising about America, including state and local politics, such as, news about American policy viewing about foreign countries; selling American products, American immigration law or health care law about foreigners; and c) Both society, programs related to the United States and Chinese countries, including, Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, and any Chinese community in other countries.

4. Programming categories were based on Lasswell (1948) and Wright's (1986) four functions of mass media. The four categories on media's role were operationally defined as follows: (a) Socialization: becoming a part of the society, transmission of cultural values and social, religious, and political beliefs, or helping immigrants adapt to social needs and unifying the society; (b) Surveillance: collection and distribution of information

concerning events in the environment, both within a particular society and outside it. Operationally, it included the following items: consumer information--the purpose of the programs was to inform consumers about shopping or merchandising, such as real estate, finances, or insurance; immigration law and citizen information--any law that dealt with the process of immigrating to America was under this category; information and news--including propaganda, which was defined as any systematic, widespread dissemination or promotion of particular ideas, doctrines, practices, etc, to further one's own cause or to damage an opposing one. Examples were news stories that exclusively reported on economic or political achievements in a particular country; documentaries that presented only one-sided points of view on historical or current events, and entertainment that sang unreserved praise for the Communist system or the Chinese National Party's (Kuomintang) rule; (c) Correlation: a process of explaining, interpreting and commenting on the meaning of events and information, such as editorials, analysis, and commentary; and providing support for established authority and norms or coordinating separate activities (McQuail, 1984); and (d) Entertainment: the same as defined in the categories for the types of programming. Other occasions, for example, a news story related to entertainment was under the entertainment role.

5. Acculturation was normally defined as the process of becoming adapted or resistant to a new or different culture with more or less advanced patterns. Acculturation took three forms: separation, assimilation, and integration (Chang, 1973; Kim, 1989; Jereski, 1983; Shao, 1991; Won-Doornink, 1988). This study used these three forms as categories to examine the role of acculturation.

Separation was operationally defined as a process in which different cultures remained separate from one another. In this study, any nativistic programs that exclusively presented Chinese culture without mentioning American society was considered playing a role of separation. Similarly, any programming that aimed to help second-generation retain Chinese identity was considered playing the same role. Examples included news stories primarily about Taiwan, Hong Kong, or China, series based on traditional Chinese novels and/or set entirely in a Chinese context, advertising promoting Chinese products, services, or ideas, and documentaries about the culture, politics, and economy in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and/or China.

Assimilation was operationally defined as a process in which one lost his subjective identity and was absorbed into the social structure of another group (Van Den Berghe, 1981). Operationally, it was defined as programs that dealt with American society to help Chinese fit into it and to

promote American culture. Examples were news stories primarily about American society, music programs introducing American top 10 songs, advertising promoting American products, service or ideas, and information programs presenting American resorts and celebrities.

Integration was operationally defined as a process in which people accommodated two different cultures. Operationally, it was defined as any program that promoted both Chinese and American cultures, promoted bicultural activities and intercultural exchanges. Examples included news stories about both the United States and Chinese home countries, programs teaching Chinese to American-born Chinese, movies or dramas played by both Chinese and American characters, and advertisements selling long-distance calling plans with both American and Chinese models. A fourth category, not applicable, was created to code content that could not fit the three categories above. Examples included international news, information, and entertainment that was not related to Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, or the United States.

6. Region covered: regions covered by the content of the programming. The main places were coded as Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, Bay Area, United States, and Asia.

7. Language: the languages used in a program. The sub-categories for the languages were: (a) Mandarin, (b) Cantonese, and (c) English.

Procedure. The content analysis was done in five steps. First, up-to-date television and radio logs and other information were collected. Clarification of vague titles was sought at this stage. Second, samples were chosen. Third, a step pretest of the coding scheme was conducted. After the pretest, categories were revised and sharpened. Fourth, an intercoder reliability test was administered. Finally, the actual coding was carried out.

Limitations of the Study

Although precautions were taken to ensure the reliability of the measures, this study had several limitations. Some of the limitations were inherent in the methods employed by this study; others were primarily the result of a lack of resources.

The in-depth interviews provided self-report data. First, respondents might have tried to please the interviewer by providing responses that they felt were socially desirable. Second, interviewees might have had inherent bias stemming from the age, gender, social class, and race of the interviewer. Third, some weaknesses, illegal behavior, or financial problems might have been underreported by the interviewees. Fourth, media workers

were very busy. Because of time pressures, interviewees might not have provided full explanations to questions asked.

To overcome some of these weaknesses inherent in self-report data, the interviewer double checked information with other sources and verified dubious statements. She also personally observed what actually happened in the television and radio stations and conducted an objective content analysis. The researcher used three data collection methods--interviews, documentary analysis, and content analysis--to ensure the validity of data gathered from interviews.

The limitations of the content analysis primarily stemmed from the lack of resources. Ideally, the sample should have been chosen randomly from an entire year of programming.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Ethnic media function to assist immigrants to cope with their new environment in many ways. With the increase in the Chinese population in the San Francisco Bay Area, Chinese-language media have become more and more important. The purpose of this study was to examine what kind of Chinese-language television and radio programs are available to Chinese and to determine what constraints affect the content of Chinese-language broadcasting media in the Bay Area.

The study used Lasswell's (1948) and Wright's (1986) four major communication activities: surveillance, correlation, socialization, and entertainment to determine the role of Bay Area Chinese-language broadcasting media. In addition, it examined the media's acculturation functions--assimilation, integration, and/or separation.

The first section of this chapter addresses the first research question: What constraints affect the content of Chinese-language broadcasting media and how do the constraints affect the content?

Content Constraints: External Factors

Media content is influenced by internal and external constraints (Ettema, Whitney, & Wackman, 1987). This study used three levels--external, internal, and personal factors--to examine constraints on the content of Chinese-language broadcasting media in the Bay Area. External constraints, which include economic, sociocultural, technological, and ideological-political influences, can affect the internal constraints. Therefore, this section begins with a discussion of the external constraints.

Economic Influences

Most of the time, economic considerations are the most important constraint on content. To reduce costs, Chinese-language broadcasting media did not originate much of their programming. The majority of the Chinese-language programming, especially entertainment programs, were bought overseas. Most Chinese-language news provided by the stations relied mainly on satellite feeds through a joint effort by the station and the homeland. Only KTSF and KPST produced local news. Sammy Yang, program director of KPST, stressed that "news is considered the most stable programs in the Chinese market. News can always keep a 40% rating." With the tight budget, the Chinese-language broadcasting media used news footage from American stations, such as KRON (Channel 4), NBC, and CNN, for their international,

national, and local news. For example, KCNS contracted with KRON to simulcast KRON's evening news with a Cantonese voiceover on KCNS. "Although contracted news can allow Chinese media to reduce their costs," Yang said, "we give pre-censored news by those American stations to our Chinese audience. Therefore, to build our own news network is very important."

Another economic effect on the content was selling airtime to businesses, such as law firms, dental clinics, real estate dealers, and insurance companies. Generally speaking, these sponsors also were the programming hosts and producers. They provided information in their professional fields as well as promoted their businesses. This kind of programming was called informmercial (information-commercial) programs.

All of the interviewees noted that, since the advertising market for Chinese-language broadcasting media was not mature, it was very difficult to make money. The main reasons for this are as follows:

1. The majority of the advertisers are small Chinese businesses. These businessmen in the Chinese community do not fully appreciate or understand the long-term benefits of advertising. Leo Chen, a pioneer in the Chinese-language broadcasting media, explained that:

They always thought that their businesses were famous enough in the Chinese community. In the early stage, Chinese-language media salespersons begged advertisers to put ads in their media; then, they gave them good discounts. The advertisers did not pay their bills until the last minute. Right now, the rate per spot is as low as \$20 or \$30. Little by little, this situation led to a virulent competition. Nobody can make money!

2. Because of low viewership and lack of a rating system service, large American enterprises are not willing to sponsor Chinese-language programming. The advertising rates of American television stations are based on the ratings. The higher the ratings, the higher the cost for airtime. According to Brent Scheiner, sales director and station manager of KCNS, Nielsen and Arbitron do not measure viewership in households where English is the secondary language because the market is relatively small. American advertisers, such as car companies, prefer to advertise to more viewers on English-language channels. Sammy Yang of KPST indicated that:

There is an audience of around 40,000 Chinese households in the San Francisco Bay Area. This area is figured the fifth largest Chinese market in the United States, but the Chinese population is less than one tenth. Of course, people can not ignore the number, but for the American large budget corporate advertisers, the population number is still too small.

3. The economic recession in the early 1990s also influenced the Chinese advertising market. Yang and Lun Wong, regional sales manager of KPST, and Brent Scheiner of KCNS noted that the recession could stimulate the growth of the advertising dollars. However, small businesses in

Chinese communities, such as Chinese restaurants, that are the main clients of Chinese-language media, were affected by the recession. Scheiner stated that advertisers were not familiar with Chinese market:

When the economy is not great and when inflation is high, people tend to spend less money. . . . However, if business is poor, you should increase your advertising budget to bring more people in. No one is really aware of the Asian community and their economic power.

Based on the problems noted above, clearly, the Chinese-language broadcasting media were affected by economic factors.

As noted earlier, with the extreme competition, advertising rates got lower and lower; however, many interviewees contended that they never reduced the charge to advertisers (see Appendix C for the rate cards for each company). Only KCNS does not provide its rate card to the public. Scheiner of KCNS noted why this is so:

We do not have a published rate card because there are so many variables in determining the cost of a spot that it would be foolhardy to commit ourselves to a set price. We negotiate the cost with the client based upon the client's needs and budget. It's like buying a car. There are many factors that affect the price that are negotiable. . . . With a small budget of around \$500, for example, it makes more sense to advertise frequently in low-cost morning spots 20 times rather than advertising in high-cost spots once or twice. On the other hand, if you have a large budget of around \$10,000, you can hit the high-cost, high-profile spots frequently. Every deal has to be considered individually.

The Chinese-language broadcasting media compete with one another for audience and advertiser attention. They also compete with types of Chinese-language media as well as traditional American media.

Competition among Chinese-language broadcasting media.

All of the interviewees thought that the competition among the Chinese-language broadcasting media in the Bay Area was extremely intensive. Ironically, few felt that they had strong competitors. Chinese broadcasting companies reacted to competition in three ways: (a) by changing schedules, (b) by selling airtime at cut rates, and (c) by building different target audiences. For instance, KTSF (Channel 26), KCNS (Channel 38), and KPST (Channel 66) carried the same sources of satellite news, but they never broadcast at the same time. They frequently changed their programming schedules to avoid broadcasting similar programs at the same time. Alex Ouyoung, program traffic coordinator of JADE, noted that:

KTSF could be our only competitor with its evening Cantonese news. Fortunately, we got the Hong Kong satellite transmission of news in August of 1993. We broadcast news before KTSF airs its evening news. So, our news viewers may keep watching our subsequent entertainment programs.

Yang of KPST explained that KPST originally only provided Mandarin programs, but it began its 15-minute Cantonese newscast to compete with the Cantonese news conducted by KTSF.

As for competition for good media programming, according to the interviewees, news and drama series are considered the most popular programs. KPST was the first to broadcast news originating from the homeland. While discussing the competition for the homeland news, Yang stated:

In 1987, KPST syndicated with the Chinese Television Service (CTS, one of Taiwan's three network television stations) for the updated news. CTS and KPST exchanged news of Taiwan and of San Francisco with prerecorded news tapes. Then, the tapes were be shipped by air. The Chinese in the Bay Area could watch the news from their homeland after 36 hours.

The homeland news won great favor with the Chinese immigrants; it also brought more intensive competition among Chinese-language broadcasting media in the Bay Area. Other Chinese television stations wanted to get in the market and to obtain a permit to broadcast news from Taiwan. Finally, the Government Information Office of Taiwan (GIO) stepped in to consult with overseas television stations and Taiwan's three network television stations: Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), China Television Company (CTV), and Chinese Television Service (CTS). The result was that the three network stations each took a turn in providing daily news by satellite to each overseas television station. The GIO claimed that the free homeland news was committed to serve all Chinese in the United States. Consequently, in

1991, China Central Television (CCTV) also transmitted news from China to the Bay Area free of charge.

After news, drama series are considered to be the most popular programs in the Chinese community. Leo Chen of KCNS explained that Chinese-language broadcasting media bought television programming from the homelands. Those programs were air mailed until 1979. In that year, International Audio-Video Communication Incorporated (IAVC), which was founded in the United States by TTV, CTV, CTS, and GIO, supplied videotapes produced by Taiwan's three networks. IAVC offered a variety of program types, including drama series, variety shows, quiz shows, weekly news, news magazines, how-to programs, situation comedies, and educational programs. At that time, Chinese-language television companies had an easier time of getting television programming from the homeland in the Bay Area. On the contrary, Leo Chen explained that "IAVC had the authority to rent programs to other station companies. IAVC also operated a large part of the Chinese home video market; it shared the interests of the small market."

In the beginning, television companies bid for high quality drama series. KPST always obtained the rights to broadcast good drama series. Yang of KPST noted that "we were willing to pay \$450 per episode with a copyright to maintain our high quality programs and to build a stable

viewership." Unfortunately, IAVC changed this policy to protect its Chinese home video market. As videotapes became available, IAVC released them first to video stores; then, after three months of marketing, the program could be aired on television stations. Even though IAVC reduced the price of videotapes, Yang noted that not only KPST, but also other Chinese-language television media were victims of these policies. He also stressed that this policy lead to a virulent competition. He stated:

Superficially, GIO and IAVC help all of Chinese immigrants to watch the programs from the homeland, especially, from Taiwan. However, they do not perceive the advertising market of overseas. News and entertainment programs are not exclusive. News is all the same on every station. You are not unique, except when producing local news. The weakness of IAVC's policy is, if a good series is shown on television, the audience also can go to the video stores to rent it; if a bad drama series is shown, the audience numbers will reduce naturally. Therefore, both of the situations can lead to decreasing viewership and can not attract commercial sponsors to pay good prices for the TV spots.

Jenny Hwang, program manager of Chinese Television Company (CTC), noted that Cantonese programming tapes from Hong Kong are very expensive. It costs \$250 per episode, as compared with the average price of \$35 per episode from Taiwan or China. However, Hwang said that they still were affordable because of the stable audience rating. CTC's main competitor is the Jade Channel (JADE) because it has similar program sources. Moreover, JADE has priority in getting programming from Hong Kong-TVB free of charge.

However, CTC indicated that it was not a threat to this competitor because JADE only could reach the audience in San Francisco with JADE's transmission limitation. With a small budget, Sino-TV and KCNS got out of the Hong Kong television programming market and bought Cantonese programs directly from Singapore and Mainland China.

The competition among the three Chinese-language radio stations-companies was not as intensive as that found among the television stations. The interviewees who worked at Chinese radio stations contended that they did not have to worry much about competition from other radio stations because they served different segments of the Chinese market. SINO-Radio was the only one that broadcast Cantonese programming; All Star was the only Mandarin programming station; and Chinese Star Radio was the only one that broadcast on an FM Channel. Charles Chan, general manager of SINO-Radio, said:

Sinocast is the only Cantonese radio station in San Francisco. So we do not need to compete with anyone. As to television, we have different functions, the target audience, and especially, more various programming types. . . . As we know, most of the television programming is aired at night. The majority of people who listen to our programming base it on the time of the day, not for any particular program. The audience share in the evening is less; during the daytime from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. we have more listeners.

Competition among all Chinese-language media.

Obviously, the Chinese-language radio stations are caught in a struggle for survival with other Chinese-language media--television stations and newspapers. Annie Lau, disk jockey at Sino-Radio, and Lily Liu, station manager of All Star Chinese Radio Station (ASCRS), both noted that the audience got its information first from television, then newspapers, and finally from the radio. Liu noted that advertising rates for newspapers were more expensive than for radio: "Advertisers complain that radio advertisements are easy to forget. Listeners can not remember for too long. In the Chinese community, Chinese-language newspapers are more popular than radio. *World Journal* and *Sing Tao Daily* are considered the most popular newspapers in the Bay Area." According to information provided by Time Advertising Company, a study in the San Francisco Chinese community conducted by Selection Research, Inc./Gallup Research in 1993 also showed that only 1% of the Chinese population had recently heard advertising in Chinese on the radio compared to 64% on television, 34% in newspapers, and 1% on billboards.

Competition among traditional media. Because of the different target audiences, English-language broadcasting media are not viewed as direct competitors by the Chinese-language broadcasting media. As noted previously, since

they have no reliable rating service to use to attract American advertisers and because the Chinese population is relatively small, Chinese-language broadcasting media find it hard compete with mainstream media. However, Chinese-language broadcasting media do attempt to obtain American advertising sponsors.

Charles Chan, general manager of Sino Television and Radio, stressed that minority media sometimes had to struggle to survive in the American media environment. He said that Sino-Radio had tried to buy space on an FM frequency, but he found:

It lost money! I had bought six hours a day seven days a week on one FM station; two in the morning, two in the afternoon, the other two in the evening. After two months, they did not want my programming. The station said it did not work and they planned to sell the space to another minority. Of course, it was hard to make money in the first couple months. The white people cheated me! So, the only thing I could do at the present was to keep on my subcarrier frequency.

Another access problem was that San Francisco Bay Viacom Cable Company was not willing to carry some wireless television programs until the FCC announced its "Must Carry" rule in 1991. Before the announcement, KCNS and KPST spent much time and effort attempting to gain broadcasting rights on the cable system.

In summary, the study found that the main external economic constraints on Chinese-language broadcasting media are as follows: lack of big-budget corporate advertisers,

lack of a reliable rating service, the economic recession, and intensive competition.

Sociocultural Environment Influences

As a result of a change in Chinese immigration patterns, the content of the Chinese-language broadcasting media also changed. For instance, when SINO started its business 16 years ago, it focused on elderly listeners. Now, more and more Cantonese in their 20s who do not speak English are immigrating from Hong Kong and Guangdong Province in China. They are working in factories, tea houses, and bakeries while listening to the radio. Also, interviewees at KPST and All Star Chinese Radio Station noted that the Mandarin-speaking population is growing. Jie Chen, the Mandarin news anchor at KTSF, pointed out that year by year, Mandarin speakers will increase faster than Cantonese ones, because the number of Hong Kong immigrants is expected to decrease after 1997. Instead, more and more Taiwanese and Chinese from the Mainland are expected to come into the United States. Besides, people who speak Cantonese also can understand and speak Mandarin, but not the reverse. Chen noted that "it is the reason that other Chinese television stations increase the percentage of the Mandarin programs."

As noted earlier, because of economic necessity, Chinese-broadcasting media provided informmercial

(information-commercial) programming for immigrants. However, the interviewees explained that this kind of programming does meet immigrant needs. Chinese need to understand the American social and cultural environments to fit into this new society. These programs can suggest how the audiences can solve their economic and social problems.

Technological Influences

Another obstacle to the development of Chinese-language radio media are technological constraints. The programming of Sino-Radio and All Star Chinese Radio Station (ASCRS) was carried on FM-SCA, which, according to Fortner (1992), were "subcarrier frequencies of licensed radio stations, but these frequencies could only be detected by special receivers that tune in frequencies within the channel allocation of the regular signal" (p. 19). It meant that listeners needed to spend extra money to buy a special radio set costing about \$95-\$130. Although selling radio sets could bring in revenue, it also became an obstacle that hindered growth. Lily Liu, station manager of ASCRS, indicated that there were technological problems at the station. She explained that "the transmission power of subcarrier frequencies was very weak and broadcasting areas were limited. Because of a limited budget, it was impossible for us to buy airtime on any FM or AM frequency.

On the other hand, we could broadcast 24-hour programming on FM-SCA."

As for television stations, it was found that Jade Channel's programming could transmit only in San Francisco County because of its technological limitations.

Ideological-Political Influences

None of the interviewees directly admitted that any government has controlled over their general programming content. According to FCC regulations, no United States media company can receive regular and continuing financial support from any government.

News is thought to be the most sensitive area in regards to political constraints. Before showing satellite news from the homelands, KTSF regularly announced that "the views expressed by persons appearing on this program are those of the individuals and do not reflect those of KTSF staff or management." In addition, after the news from Taiwan, KTSF also declared that "the preceding program was sponsored by the Broadcasting Development Fund of the Republic of China."

According to the interviewees, Chinese-language television and radio stations-companies in the Bay Area have the right to edit satellite news originating from overseas. Zhi-Fang Hu, executive director of HSTV, noted that:

We have editing rights to the news transmitted from China Central Television (CCTV) in Mainland China. CCTV is sponsored by government of Mainland China; thus, the news is so called official announcements and propaganda news. This content does not satisfy Chinese in the Bay Area. So, we cut off some propaganda news which is not pleased the officials of Consulate General or local American government.

"Inside China," a news magazine format program, was aired on KCNS weekly. This program was produced by CCTV of Beijing and was dubbed in English by KCNS. Leo Chen, president of KCNS, explained that "there is not any political purpose in this program. This program is only for publicizing Chinese culture and can be strongly recommended to the second-generation of Chinese immigrants." Charlie Young, KCNS salesman noted that KCNS received a no-charge package of programs produced by CCTV of Beijing and other television stations in Mainland China to promote Chinese culture. The programs included drama series, Chinese opera, Cantonese opera, and Mandarin-language lessons. Because of this free-of-charge programming from China, other interviewees felt that KCNS provided propaganda programs.

The board of directors of KPST consists of Chinese immigrants from Taiwan. David Li, general manager of KPST and Sammy Yang, program director, are members of the Shing-Chung Huei (SCH), which has a political view similar to the Chinese National Party, Kuomintang (KMT). Li and Yang respectively hosted and produced two community

programs--"News Events Commentary" and "Face to Face." They interviewed Taiwan government officials and analyzed Taiwan government policies. KPST was criticized by other stations for being supported by the Taiwan government. When the researcher asked if KPST got economic support from KMT, both of the interviewees of KPST, Yang and Yeh declared that it was impossible for any licensed television station to get financial support from any government. They argued that KPST and SCH were different organizations. Even, KPST has built good relationships with some television stations in Mainland China. KPST also would like to promote the birthday celebration of Mainland China.

SINO-Radio produced a program that was sponsored by the Hong Kong government in San Francisco. Annie Lau, disk jockey of SINO, explained that the content of this program was not related to politics but to answering listeners' questions on such topics as immigration laws and Hong Kong visas.

According to Lily Liu, station manager of All Star Chinese Radio Station (ASCRS), the Chinese Community Culture Center in the Southern Bay Area donated \$2,000 to ASCRS because of its significant role in disseminating information about Chinese cultural activities. Furthermore, a Chinese social organization supported a news commentary program to publicize the policy of Taiwan's government on ASCRS. This

program was on the air once a week and charged \$400-\$500 a month for a year. Liu indicated that these sponsored programs were satisfying their audiences. Another program aired by this station, "Let's speak English," was entitled to receive financial support from the American government because it helped immigrants integrate into American culture. However, ASCRS did not apply for it because of its lack of manpower. Zhou Liu, salesman and disk jockey at ASCRS, claimed that the political views of the station have remained neutral. However, Zhou Liu felt that programs featuring commentary on homeland issues were inclined to promote Taiwan's political positions.

Economic and technological factors also affect the ideological-political influences. Jie Chen of KTSF noted that economic achievements in the homelands also had an influence on the growth of media businesses in the United States. Chen explained that economic conditions in the homelands can hinder a country's ability to have a strong media presence overseas: "After developing good economic conditions, a home country has more budget to make use of the media to build her image worldwide. Naturally, her media in overseas were also promoted by the home country." Further, Zhou Liu of ASCRS noted that Taiwan is able to put more money into producing high quality news and programming than Mainland China. Taiwan's government can provide more

financial support for overseas media than China's government. Radio programs on ASCRS were more likely to originate from Taiwan than from China. For example, as noted earlier, Taiwanese social organizations in the Bay Area sponsored news commentary programming on ASCRS.

Content Constraints: Internal Factors

Much of the time, external, internal, and personal factors are very much interrelated. Internal economic, organizational, and personal constraints are affected by external factors, such as programming suppliers, government regulations, competition from other media, advertisers, and audiences preferences.

Economic Influences

According to the interviewees, advertising revenue was still the major income source for the Chinese-language broadcasting media in the Bay Area. However, not all companies were willing to provide percentages for their different income sources. Only, Michael Sherman, station manager of KTSF, noted that 60% of its income was from TV commercials, 35% from advertising broker time, and 5% from other sources. Cindy Yeh, producer of Sino-Radio, explained that 80% of its income was from advertising and 20% was from other sources, such as selling radio sets. Agnes Wong, secretary at CTC, stated that 90% of its income was from advertising and the other 10% was from television commercial

production fees and related sources. Unfortunately, none of the individuals interviewed, except KTSF personnel, stated that they made money from broadcasting Chinese programming.

Chinese Star Television and Radio's (CSTVR) income source was not mainly from advertising dollars but from donations. The staff consisted of only one part-time paid employee and the rest voluntary workers. Executive director of CSTVR, Ida Choy, noted that "currently, CSTVR is financed by a few sponsors and an annual fund raising event. Most of the staff were only getting gasoline reimbursement."

Because of support from HK-TVB, JADE did not need to spend any production fees; the only expenses were the employees' salaries. JADE's cable programs were divided into two kinds of programming. One was basic programming (2 p.m.-6 p.m.); the other was premium programming (6 p.m.-2 a.m.). The results of the content analysis showed that no advertisers supported JADE's basic programming. Even the advertising rate was lower than premium programming. Alex Ouyoung, program traffic coordinator of JADE, explained that its advertisers felt that the premium subscribers had higher incomes because they paid higher subscription fees. The advertising revenue from its premium programming could only break even after expenses. Therefore, the leading economic factor that affected the Jade Channel was the support from HK-TVB.

Although buying videotapes from other sources is considered the most inexpensive way, the prices of the videotapes can also dictate the program content. Leo Chen noted that in the 1970s, to entice his linguistics' students to study the Chinese language, he planned to buy Bruce Lee's movies, which cost U.S.\$1,000 per hour, but the price was not affordable. Thus, he bought drama series for U.S.\$100 per hour from Taiwan's television stations and showed them on channel 20. KTSF bought packages of Chinese-language television programs--including old and new, and good and bad programs--to reduce expenses. KCNS got a group of videotapes from Mainland China inexpensively, and some of them were free. Because of the small budget, KCNS could not afford to produce any local news or Chinese community programs. According to Charlie Young, salesman for KCNS, it was difficult for KCNS to attract Chinese advertisers because there were no local Chinese-language television programs. A vicious circle resulted: The less programming they produced locally, the less advertising dollars they made.

The next two cases provide further description of the internal organizational economic crises caused by external environments.

Case 1: KCNS encountered financial difficulties in 1988. The president of KCNS, Leo Chen, explained that "KCNS

got into debt of over \$2 million due to inferior management by our headquarters in Seattle. We spent two years to get out of the debt--from 1988 to 1990. During that time, we had a lot of sponsored programs to support our station." In 1992, KCNS developed very well. In that year, it invested 2.5 million in equipment and a new headquarters. But, it still could not afford to produce any local or community programming.

Another problem at KCNS was that a religious program under the direction of Gene Scott's, the ex-owner of KCNS, was broadcast during prime time. As a result of transferring the station license to KCNS, Scott was given the rights to broadcast his programming on KCNS from 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. every night until August of 1994. This situation made it hard for KCNS to build its viewership.

Case 2: KPST was the only television station whose investors and managers were Chinese immigrants. When KPST gained a television construction permit from the FCC in 1985, it planned to broadcast 16 hours of Chinese programs daily. However, several marketing consultants suggested broadcasting American programs as well. At first, KPST tried to buy English-language movie packages or dramas. It meant that KPST would need to compete with other American channels to share the market. Later on, KPST found that good quality programming had already been sold to some

American television stations. Therefore, it decided to discontinue the strategy. KPST then tried to become affiliated with another American channel. At the same time, the Fox Network and the Latin Network were looking for an affiliate station. Eventually, the negotiations with the two stations proved unsuccessful as they could not reach a financial agreement.

After concluding that the operation expenses were impossible to afford, in 1986 KPST decided to sell the license in 1986 for \$11 million to Silver King Broadcasting of Northern California, a branch of Home Shopping Network (HEN) (Feng, 1992). Unfortunately, this agreement was against FCC regulations. KPST must be the first to air its programming before the license is transferred. According to Tiffany Yeh, under FCC regulations, KPST should provide a certain amount of programming. Thus, KPST decided to lease airtime to HEN 21 hours every day. With this alternative, KPST produced funds to cover its operation expenditures.

KPST insisted on keeping the prime time hours for its Chinese-language programming. Certainly, the income from HEN was its main source of revenue. The income and the expenditure of its three-hour Chinese-language programming enabled the station to simply break even.

Another example helps to explain the interrelationship between the internal economic and the technological

constraints. Seemingly, ASCRS could dominate the Chinese-language radio market because it was the only Mandarin broadcasting radio station. Unfortunately, ASCRS stopped providing its local programs and its radio business in June 1993 because of the economic crisis crippling the station. Specifically, the reasons were the following: (a) the transmission power was too weak; (b) its programming could be transmitted only in the Santa Clara County and Fremont areas where the Chinese population is not so unified or localized; and (c) the owner did not want to continue supporting the station because it was not making money quickly enough. Currently, the radio programming originating from ASCRS headquarters is still available in the Bay Area; no one is in charge of its local programming and advertising.

Organizational Influences

Internal organizational constraints on Chinese-language broadcasting media content were found. Ida Choy, executive director of Chinese Star Television and Radio (CSTVR), a non-profit organization, noted that its emphasis is on non-commercial programming, particularly educational and information programs.

JADE is backed by the rich resources of its parent company--TVB of Hong Kong (HK-TV), in the supply of programming. Definitely, the majority of its programming

was determined by HK-TVB although it was the most inexpensive way to provide programming.

According to the interviewees, KTSF (Channel 26) was considered the largest competitor in the market because of its strong Cantonese news. Michael Sherman, station manager of KTSF, noted that in 1989 KTSF, which now has a 15-person news team, invested an initial \$400,000 or 27% of its annual year budget to provide Cantonese news programming. Most of the interviewees considered a big investment in the Chinese-language media. Nonetheless, major Bay Area stations typically employ up to 200 people and spend millions on their English-language newscasts. Sherman also noted that until 1985, KTSF was not profitable:

News is the driving force. It is much more expensive to produce an hour of news. We have a 15-person news team. News may not be a money-maker itself; however, it can build credibility for the station and certainly draw an audience and become a good lead-in for our other programs. We are a multiple station, and our major U.S. national advertisers are increasing for the other language programming. By doing Chinese newscasts, it gives us high feasibility programs, so AT&T comes to buy not only Chinese programming but Filipinos and Vietnamese as well.

Jie Chen, the only Mandarin news anchor at KTSF, also analyzed the other strength of the news at KTSF. Unlike other Chinese-language broadcasting media, the division of labor at KTSF was very clear. The KTSF newscast staff was not allowed to become involved in advertising sales because it wants to maintain neutrality in its news.

Sherman noted another strength of KTSF is that it was the earliest Chinese-language television station to be on cable for its UHF system. Once the audience got used to watching KTSF programming, especially news; they would not switch to another channel.

However, in October of 1993, KTSF started an hour of Cantonese news. KTSF is managed in a very American manner, since all of the top managers are Americans. Chen of KTSF contended that there are organizational constraints on the news programs, noting that KTSF has only 15 minutes of local Mandarin news, as compared with an hour of Cantonese news:

Top management personnel does not want to extend the Mandarin news because they do not understand that Mandarin speakers will be getting more and more. Further, our marketing personnel is closer to the Cantonese community. It is very difficult to communicate with these American managers with lack of numbers to prove that Cantonese speakers will be less than Mandarin ones in the near future.

Another constraint existed in Chinese-language broadcasting production companies, such as CSTVR, Chinese Television Company (CTC), and Hua Sheng Television (HSTV). Since they did not own a channel to carry their programming, they paid to use other stations' airtime. This circumstance limited their programming content. CSTVR produces an hour of programming on KUSF FM 90.3 Monday through Friday from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. CSTVR wanted to buy more airtime on KUSF, but it was not successful in doing so. CTC had a similar situation. CTC has purchased airtime from KTSF for a long

time. Since October 1 of 1993, KTSF extended its half-hour Cantonese news to an hour; thus, KTSF could only offer one and a half hours Monday through Thursday to CTC instead of two hours as before. CTC is trying to find a way to survive, such as changing its programming format. Choy of CSTVR explained that production companies had more limitations than independent stations:

A production company should rely on other stations to offer it the available time. If you have built very good viewership or listenership on your particular air time, your contract with the station could be due. The station has the right to stop the contract or to raise the rental. There is nothing you can do!

Leo Chen, president of KCNS, was the first to start Chinese-language broadcasting in the Bay Area. Chen started the first Chinese programming on Channel 20, and then on Channel 26. Finally he bought his own station. He said that "if you want to manage Chinese media programming, first of all, you should own a station."

HSTV used to pay \$300 an hour in airtime fees in 1982; now it pays \$1,000 an hour. However, CTC and HSTV, which bought airtime on KTSF and KPST respectively, claim to have a very good relationship with one another. An example was provided by Feng (1992) that, during the Asian Games in 1991, KPST collaborated with HSTV for the first time. HSTV received news footage from China Central Television (CCTV) and broadcast the games on KPST. For this cooperation, HSTV obtained free commercial time during the program

broadcasting and shared the advertising revenues. According to Sammy Yang, program director of KPST, KPST does not control the program content of HSTV. KPST only asked HSTV to provide news from Mainland China six days a week.

Content Constraints: Personal Influences

The majority of the managers and/or owners of Chinese-language broadcasting media were able to decide what kind of programs they wanted to provide. Program managers of HSTV, JADE, SINO-TV, and CTC could personally make decisions on what drama series they wanted to air; producers or hosts of interviewing programs chose their discussion topics, such as those at KPST, KTSF, and CSTVR. Managers of the three radio companies (ASCRS, Sino-Radio, and CSTVR) determined the formats of their radio programming. News anchors and reporters at KTSF, HSTV, and KPST had the right to edit the news transmitted from China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong. Radio news anchors also decided what news they wanted to report on the air.

The study found that station owners had the most influence in deciding the content of Chinese programming. For example, HSTV broadcast only programs from China, because the owner, Tim Chung, wanted to promote his homeland. David Li, founder of KPST, who was famous as a journalist on Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), one of the three network television station in Taiwan, insisted on

producing news commentary programs on his station. Leo Chen, an ex-teacher and president of KCNS, produced "Inside China" to promote his educational viewpoint. Brent Scheiner, station manager and director of sales of KCNS, has been in the broadcasting business 18 years. He brought many local American advertisers into the Chinese market. Furthermore, in 1991, Jim Paymar, a famous co-anchor of KRON (Channel 4), was hired as a general manager of KCNS. He personally influenced local newspapers and TV guide personnel to change their policies to publish KCNS's television programming schedule. KTSF's owner, Lillian Lincoln Howell, designed a multilingual format to serve the audience missed by major media companies. Tim Wei, owner of ASCRS, who also owned an investment company in real estate, financing, loan, and land investment, promoted his other business with programs, such as "Investment Speeches."

This decision-making power of owners, managers, producers, and journalists existed, according to the interviewees, because of the lack of manpower. However, economic constraints limited the ability of broadcasting personnel to influence content. For example, media workers only could choose the programming that was cheaply obtained.

Chinese Audience in the San Francisco Bay Area

The immigration patterns have influenced the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media. Chinese immigrants

have been in California more than one century. The media use of new immigrants is different from the old ones. This section addresses the Chinese audience and the programming market as viewed by Chinese-language broadcasting media workers to answer the second question: How do owners, managers, and employees of Chinese-language broadcasting media view their audience. The methods used were interviews and documentary analysis.

The first Chinese viewers cured their homesickness and loneliness by watching television programming from their motherland. Leo Chen, who provided the first Chinese-language television programming in the San Francisco Bay Area for teaching Chinese language to his linguistics students, described his first Chinese audience. Chen bought videotapes from Taiwan and airtime on Channel 20 (called KENO at that time) in 1974. Unexpectedly, this program attracted some elderly Chinese immigrants, too. They contacted Chen to say that they did not believe they still had a chance to watch Chinese-language programs from the homelands in their lives. Chen reminisced that "they were moved to tears." However, according to the interviewees, new Chinese immigrants use Chinese-language media for information-seeking more than entertainment. The following sections discuss the Chinese market environment and the

relationships between Chinese-language broadcasting media and their audience.

The Chinese Market

Interviewees all agreed that the Asian market had potential because the Asian audience, especially Chinese people, were more educated and had higher disposable incomes, higher household incomes, and larger families. KCNS and KTSF targeted the Asian market and their Chinese programming was the largest part of their Asian programming. Table 1 shows the numbers of hours of Asian-language programming broadcast by KCNS and KTSF.

Research conducted by KPST in 1987 found that the average purchasing power of Chinese led other minority groups and that their income was even better than that of the Caucasian group. Another survey on purchasing habits of the Chinese audience conducted in 1987 by Selection Research, Inc. and KTSF (Channel 26) showed that 75% of the respondents liked American television advertising with subtitles in Chinese and that 72% liked American television advertisements with voiceovers or dubs. Ninety-two percent of the respondents said that they had shopped at Safeway or Lucky's in the past 10 days, as compared with 21% at local Chinese markets. Forty-six percent said they ate at fast-food restaurants. These significant numbers encouraged Chinese-language media workers to develop an American

advertising market. Brent Scheiner, station manager and director of sales of KCNS, noted that "if the audience finds that all commercials are coming in foreign languages, they would not be prone to buy the products. It works the same for the Chinese community." Some corporations were very successful. For instance, Table 2 shows research conducted by Selection Research Inc./Gallup in 1993 in the Chinese community in the San Francisco Bay Area:

Table 1

Hours Per Week of Asian Television Programming on KTSF (Channel 26) and KCNS (Channel 38)

Asian-Language	KTSF	KCNS
Chinese	28.0	86.0
Japanese	18.0	0.0
Korean	8.0	0.0
Tagalog	7.0	10.0
Vietnamese	3.0	5.0
Total Hours	64.0	101.0

Note. The Chinese programs on KTSF (Channel 26) was estimated at twenty-eight hours, including CTC's six hours of Chinese programming.

Table 2

A Growth Comparison on the Chinese-Language Broadcasting Clients

Companies	1986	1993
Bank of America Growth Comparison	24%	33%
McDonald's Top of Mind Awareness	51	66
Toyota Ownership	18	28

Note. The data is from Time Advertising Company.

All of the interviewees were optimistic about the Chinese market. However, they considered the market to be saturated. In this market, Ida Choy stated, "we take great pains to carry on our work under difficult circumstances. However, the existing Chinese-language media all have found ways to fit the environment." Scheiner suggested:

The Chinese audience does not demonstrate loyalty to watch the same Chinese-language television channel all the time. Thus, as advertisers buy more stations, they will benefit. The most important thing for the Chinese-language broadcasting media to do was, instead of fighting among themselves for these advertisers, to work together to create this market. . . . Spanish-language programming has established its ability to attract viewers and advertising by corporations. Asian television market is where Hispanic TV was 10 or 15 years ago. Although it has long way to go, Chinese-language programming will be the next to succeed in the marketplace.

Viewership, Listenership, and Rating Services

Current rating services, including Nielsen and Arbitron, do not place meters or diaries in homes where the primary language is not English. However, according to research provided by Time Advertising Company, about 70% of the members of all Asian households speak their native tongue at home, regardless of whether they are bilingual. Because there is no market data on the Chinese broadcast market that is available from an independent objective source, this study, as an alternative, discusses data provided by the Chinese-language broadcasters.

KTSF (Channel 26) and KPST (Channel 66) were the only Chinese-language stations that had conducted ratings research. KTSF and KPST provided the researcher with reports on their ratings surveys. It must be noted here, however, that the ratings data provided by the two stations are somewhat contradictory and present each of the stations in the best light. In June 1993, Selection Research, Inc. conducted a ratings study for KTSF. The main result was that: "Cantonese Evening News" at KTSF received the highest rating and audience share. Selected results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

*Chinese Programming Ratings for the 8-8:30 p.m. Monday
Through Friday Time Slot*

		Adults 18 and older	
Station	Program	Household Rating	Share
KTSF	Cantonese Evening News	20	51%
KPST	Cantonese/Mandarin News	8	19
KCNS	Worldwide News	1	2
The Jade	Hot Gossip	1	4
Other	vrious	10	24

Note. The data is from KTSF (Channel 26).

Respondents from 230 households were also asked: "How many of the five nights do you watch the late news program on KTSF, Channel 26?" The results are shown on Table 4.

Other survey results also showed that KTSF received the highest ratings for its nighttime programming (see Appendix D). These significant rating numbers helped KTSF increase its advertising income.

Table 4

Number of Nights Survey Respondents Watched KTSF (Channel 26) Per Week

Number	Percent
1	11%
2	15
3	13
4	6
All five nights	41
Don't Know	14

Note. The data is from KTSF (Channel 26). The mean number of nights watched was 3.6.

Interestingly, a survey conducted by KPST in 1992 was substantially different from the research conducted by its competition, KTSF.

The KPST (Channel 66) survey showed that 67% of the respondents chose KPST as the Chinese TV station that they watched most, as compared with the 13% who chose KTSF (Channel 26). Furthermore, Michael Sherman, station manager of KTSF, stressed that more than 65% of the Bay Area Chinese population speak Cantonese; on the contrary, the survey conducted by KPST showed that 79% speak Mandarin and 62% could speak only Mandarin (see Appendix E).

Brent Scheiner, station manager of KCNS, contended that there are weaknesses with the existing Chinese audience ratings surveys:

There are some stations that will hire companies to do what they call ratings research. I do not think it will be a big enough sample yet for demographic information. It doesn't make any sense to buy something that isn't valid. One of the stations in the market hired a well-known research firm whose sample could not be projected to the Asian community. When they did their survey, they phoned people and asked where they got most of their news. The answer was based on memory, which was faulty, rather than asking them what they were watching at the moment, which is more accurate. I judge what people are watching by what we sell from our commercials. That tells you people are watching. That's almost more important than the ratings. . . . Nielsen is attempting to change the situation. They have two bilingual installers. Census figures show that Asian population is 13% of the TV viewing market. The reality is probably 18%.

Scheiner added that "hopefully, by next year, Nielsen will be able to get some good quality research to help build a stable minority media market and let people have a better understanding of our Chinese audience."

The Target Audience

Although every station has its target audience, there is one thing in common: None of the stations considered second-generation Chinese as its main audience. Only a few programs carried on KCNS (Channel 38) had voiceovers in English aimed at attracting American-born Chinese.

KTSF (Channel 26), Chinese Television Company (CTC), Sino Television and Radio (SINO), the Jade Channel(JADE), and Chinese Star TV and Radio (CSTVR) all focused on

Cantonese speakers. Michael Sherman, station manager of KTSF, explained:

More than 30% of San Francisco's population is Chinese; it is estimated that there are 300,000 Chinese-speaking people. Around 65% Chinese speak Cantonese in the Bay Area. In our survey, 30% of the respondents said that they speak only Cantonese at home. And, continued immigration is expected with the instability of some foreign nations and the reversion of Hong Kong and Macao to Mainland China in the late 1990s. Only in Santa Clara County is Mandarin predominant. Therefore, we emphasize the quality and the quantity of Cantonese programming, especially Cantonese news.

CTC's target audience is Cantonese drama fans. The target audience of JADE is older immigrants. Alex Ouyoung, program traffic coordinator of JADE, said he thought that some young people became JADE's cable subscribers because they have elderly family members at home. In regard to programming directed from Hong Kong, Ouyoung noted that "our programs can completely satisfy the Hong Kong people's needs and tastes. Therefore, people from Hong Kong or the old immigrants like our programs very much." According to the Viacom subscriber list, JADE currently has 25,500 household basic subscribers and 5,224 premium subscribers from Chinese households.

According to Cindy Yeh, producer of SINO-Radio, its listeners were 35% from Guangdong Province and 65% from Hong Kong. Sino-Radio's target audience is young factory workers and housewives age 20 to 40. Charles Chan, general manager of SINO-Radio, noted that the new Chinese immigrants are not

old people and the audience is changing: "More and more Hong Kong young people come here for their new careers. They are not familiar with American culture and the English language. They live in Chinatown and work in Chinatown. Radio becomes their best friend." However, CSTVR provides information radio programming more than its other types of programming and targets Cantonese speakers 30 and older.

Even though JADE, CTC, and KTSF target on Cantonese speakers. Alex Ouyoung of JADE, Agnes Wong of CTC, and Jie Chen of KTSF all indicated that they felt immigration patterns are going to change to more Mandarin speakers. Ouyoung is convinced that the Cantonese program market will be profitable for only the next 10 to 20 years and that the Mandarin program market has the potential to grow larger and more profitable.

KPST (Channel 66), HSTV (Channel 66), and All star Chinese Radio Station (ASCRS) target Mandarin-speaking Chinese.

KPST focuses on new Chinese immigrants. The latest research conducted by KPST and HSTV in 1992 found that new immigrants are Mandarin speakers and that they prefer to watch news. The research also found that more respondents emigrated from China and Taiwan (80%) than Hong Kong and other places (20%). The majority of the respondents consider Chinese programs very important to them and wanted

more than six hours of Chinese programs on particular channels (see Appendix E).

Because of the programs broadcast in Mandarin, ASCRS target audience was much different from those of the other two radio companies. As a result of weak transmission, the audience of ASCRS was confined to the Southern Bay Area, particularly Silicon Valley. Most of the Chinese residents there are highly educated new immigrants who are using English-language media, instead of Chinese-language media. Zhou Liu of ASCRS noted that the primary audience of this station was becoming older people although ASCRS still wanted to develop the market of young adults. An informal survey conducted by ASCRS at a Chinese Christmas party in 1992 found that 89% of the people reported that they did not have time to listen to the radio; if they did, they would like to listen to news, current event commentaries, and English-language instruction programs.

Feedback from the Chinese Audience

According to the interviewees, the Chinese audience was satisfied with the types of programs provided by the various programming sources. Interviewees all thought that the best way to attract an audience was to provide good quality programming. HSTV's audience suggested which dramas they want to watch, KTSF's viewers asked to extend the Mandarin news, and ASCRS's listeners wanted to order the textbook for

the English-language lessons. Certainly, some audience members asked for specific information.

Generally speaking, Chinese-language broadcasting media workers seldom get feedback from their audience. Ida Choy concluded that maybe Chinese people were conservative and did not like to present their opinions on media programming. The Chinese audience dealt with social issues with indifference. On the contrary, Choy found that Chinese audiences actively asked for things that directly affected their personal interests, such as investment information and immigration issues. Because of language barriers, Chinese-language media companies have become very important sources of information for the Chinese immigrants.

Chinese-Language Programming

Ethnic media play an important role to unify their specific audience. They function to retain their own native culture and assist immigrants to adapt a new society. As a result of different Chinese immigration patterns, Chinese-language broadcasting media provide different Chinese language programming from various sources. To examine functions of Chinese-language broadcasting media, three kinds of programming categories were examined: news, information, and entertainment. The results can determine what function is emphasized by the particular station-company.

The results of the content analysis of program logs for each station-company are shown in Tables 5 to 10. They provide a partial answer to the third research question: What kind and how many programs do Chinese-language broadcasting media provide?

Table 5

Hours Per Week of Each Programming Type on Chinese Radio Media

Company	News	Information-Knowledge	Entertainment	Total
SINO-R	8.25	12.75	115.50	136.50
CSTVR-R	1.25	3.25	0.50	5.00
ASCRS	46.00	20.50	101.50	168.00
Total	55.50	36.60	217.50	309.50

Note. SINO-R = Radio programming of Sino Broadcasting Corporation (FM SCA); CSTVR-R = Radio programming of Chinese Star TV and Radio on KUSF (FM 90.3); ASCRS = All Star Chinese Radio Station (FM SCA).

Radio stations-companies provide more entertainment programs than other types of programs (see Table 5 and Figure 1). However, hosts of entertainment programs, such as disk jockeys, usually served as quick sources of information and aided social interaction. For instance, they receive frequent requests for information or for

Figure 1. Comparison of Hours Per Week of Programming
Types of Chinese-Language Broadcasting Media.

consolation. Annie Lau, disk jockey at SINO-Radio, said that television and radio have different ways of attracting their audiences. For radio, the best way of building listenership is to have live programming. Besides playing music, Sino-radio's disk jockeys also use conference calls to answer the listeners' questions and to offer them the information they want. Therefore, some entertainment programs also serve the function of providing information and consultation.

Although CSTVR provided less radio programming than the other two radio stations, 65% of CSTVR's programs served an information function. As for ASCRS, in spite of its around-the-clock programming, ASCRS had an all music format from midnight to 7 a.m..

Table 6 shows how many hours of each type of Chinese-language television programs were available to the Chinese audience weekly. Entertainment programs comprised 69% of all kinds of the programs on Chinese-language television. News at 24% was the second largest category and information-knowledge came in third. More than 50% of JADE, CTC, KCNS, HSTV, and SINO-TV programs fell into the entertainment category. KTSF was the only station that devoted more than 50% of its programming to news. KPST also emphasized the news, which at 46%, was the largest part of its programming. In contrast, CSTVR produced only one information program

weekly. Further, CTC, SINO-TV, and CSTVR did not devote any airtime to news.

Table 6

Hours Per Week of Each Programming Type on Chinese Television Media

Company	News	Information/Knowledge	Entertainment	Total
CTC	0.00	1.51	4.49	6.00
KTSF	15.17	1.50	5.33	22.00
JADE	10.56	6.80	66.64	84.00
KCNS	18.25	3.50	64.25	86.00
KPST	6.92	3.18	5.00	15.00
HSTV	1.50	0.00	4.50	6.00
SINO-TV	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00
CSTVR-TV	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.50
Total	52.40	16.89	153.21	222.50

Note. CTC = Chinese Television Company on Channel 26; KTSF = Channel 26; JADE = The Jade Channel on cable TV Channel 23; KCNS = Channel 38; KPST = Channel 66; HSTV = Hua Sheng Broadcasting Corporation on Channel 66; SINO-TV = television programming of Sinocast Broadcasting Corporation on Cable TV Channel 47; CSTVR-TV = television programming of Chinese Star TV and Radio on cable TV Channel 53.

Cantonese is spoken by immigrants from Hong Kong and southern China and Mandarin is used by most immigrants from other China's provinces and Taiwan. Table 7 and Table 8

signify the target audience that each of the Chinese-language radio and television stations are reaching.

Table 7

Hours Per Week of Language Used on Chinese Radio Media

Company	Mandarin	Cantonese	Total
SINO-R	0.00	136.50	136.50
CSTVR-R	0.00	5.00	5.00
ASCRS	168.00	0.00	168.00
Total	168.00	141.50	309.50

The total time of Chinese-language broadcasting media programming for a one-week period was 532 hours. The hours of Mandarin (264.84 hours) and Cantonese (267.16 hours) programming were almost the same (see Tables 6 and 7). Two radio stations used only Cantonese and one used only Mandarin. Fifty-four percent of Chinese-language radio programming was in Mandarin and 45% was in Cantonese. As for television programming, Cantonese programs were 57%, as compared with 44% for Mandarin.

Table 8

Hours Per Week of Language Used on Chinese Television Media

Company	Mandarin	Cantonese	Total
CTC	1.17	4.83	6.00
KTSF	9.50	12.50	22.00
JADE	0.00	84.00	84.00
KCNS	73.25	12.75	86.00
KPST	12.92	2.08	15.00
HSTV	0.00	6.00	6.00
SINO-TV	0.00	3.00	3.00
CSTVR-TV	0.00	0.50	0.50
Total	96.84	125.66	222.50

The language used in advertising could not be determined by the content of the programming logs. Table 8 does not show an hour of English-language programming provided by KCNS (Channel 38) for which the target audience is the second or third-generation Chinese Americans. Figure 2 provides a comparison of hours of Cantonese and Mandarin used by Chinese-language broadcasting media.

Figure 2. Comparison of Hours Per Week of Cantonese and Mandarin Used by Chinese-Language Broadcasting Media.

Table 9

Hours Per Week of Programming Origin on Chinese Radio Media

Company	Taiwan	China	H.K.	Local	Other	Total
SINO-R	0.00	10.50	18.70	101.80	5.50	136.50
CSTVR-R	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00
ASCRS	89.70	10.50	0.00	0.00	67.80	168.00
Total	89.70	21.00	18.60	106.80	73.30	309.50

SINO-Radio's "other" programs shown on Table 9 were produced in Singapore. Because of being edited and interpreted by radio news anchors, radio news programs were considered local programming although the news sources were from wire services or local newspapers. SINO-Radio provided its 15 minutes of local, national, and international news every three hours. The successful community information programs on SINO-Radio were "Consumer Action" and "Immigration Needs."

ASCRS has not produced any local programs since June of 1993. ASCRS's "other" programs were produced by its headquarters in New York, Chinese News and Music Radio Network (CNMRN), to substitute for its local programs (see Table 9). CNMRN was the only radio station that provided satellite news from Taipei, Taiwan, and Beijing of China. They also broadcast news every hour. During the time when

ASCRS offered community information programs, the most popular programs were "Social Welfare of the Elderly" and "Let's speak English." However, the economic factor forced it to discontinue the service. ASCRS was able to produce only 18 hours of local programs a week, as compared with the 150 hours of national programs provided by CNMRN before June of 1993.

Regardless of their use of Cantonese or Mandarin, SINO-Radio and ASCRS had similar entertainment programming formats. They both provided traditional opera, Chinese history, as well as popular songs in Cantonese and Mandarin, respectively.

CSTVR-Radio contributed all local programs. The only entertainment program was "Audience Request Music." All the radio media's information programming included financial and weather reports, as well as cultural, educational, informative, and spiritual programs.

To satisfy the varied Chinese audience, SINO-Radio, ASCRS, CTC, KTSF, KCNS, and KPST used at least two or more supplementary program sources (see Table 9 and Table 10). It was found that Chinese-language radio media provided more local programs than did Chinese-language television.

Table 10

Hours Per Week of Programming Origin on Chinese Television Media

Company	Taiwan	China	H.K.	Local	Other	Total
CTC	0.50	0.60	4.60	0.30	0.00	6.00
KTSF	7.50	1.00	3.50	10.00	0.00	22.00
JADE	0.00	0.00	83.00	1.00	0.00	84.00
KCNS	29.80	41.80	4.00	0.00	10.40	86.00
KPST	8.40	1.00	0.00	5.60	0.00	15.00
HSTV	0.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.00
SINO-TV	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	3.00
CSTVR-TV	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.50
Total	46.20	50.40	95.10	17.40	13.40	222.5

In Table 10, under the "other" category, KCNS got its news programs directly from KRON's (Channel 4) "Evening News" with voiceovers in Cantonese for three hours a week. Its Mandarin news was bought from the Chinese Communication Company in Los Angeles for 7.4 hours a week. SINO-TV's "other" programs were all drama series from Singapore.

All of the Chinese-language television relied on Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, or other places to supply their entertainment programs. Only KTSF and KPST provided their

own local news. In this log analysis, news edited or translated by local Chinese-language television stations, such as KTSF and KPST, was considered to be a local program although the news might be from a wire service or other American television station footage. Chinese television local programs were mainly information programming. The format of the information programs was very similar. They invited celebrities, such as musicians, artists, investment advisors, attorneys, or social workers, to discuss a particular topic. Only CSTVR-TV had a "phone in" portion where viewers could call in to ask the guests questions.

JADE, SINO-TV, and CSTVR-TV aired on the cable television system only. JADE divided its cable programming into two segments: basic cable and premium cable programs. The former programmed from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m.; and the latter programmed from 6 p.m. to 2 a.m. Premium subscribers had to pay 10 dollars more than the basic subscribers. Thus, during the daytime, the JADE Channel provided drama series that were about 10 years old; at nighttime, they broadcast up-to-date programming. With the small scale of CTC's television business, it did not produce any local programs, except paid programming. Its main entertainment programs were purchased from TVB in Hong Kong (HK-TV). Other information programs were mainly from Taiwan and China.

KTSF, KCNS, KPST, JADE, and HSTV broadcast news directly from the native countries. Channel 26 (KTSF), Channel 38 (KCNS), and Channel 66 (KPST, HSTV) provided news from three sources--Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong. HSTV had news only from Beijing of China; JADE had news only from HK-TVB of Hong Kong. Although the three stations had the same sources of Taiwan and China news, KTSF and KPST used their own news teams to cover local Cantonese news.

The Role of Chinese-Language Broadcasting as Viewed by Media Workers

Lasswell (1948) and Wright's (1986) four communication functions (surveillance, correlation, socialization, and entertainment) were used to determine the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media. Further, acculturation roles were also used to determine whether the Chinese-language broadcasting media assist the Chinese audience to separate, integrate, or assimilate to American society. Interviews with owners, management personnel, and employees provided information on these functions and roles of Chinese media within the Chinese community and in society as a whole. This section addresses the fourth research question: What is the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media in the San Francisco Bay Area as viewed by the media owners, managers, and employees?

Views of Sino Broadcasting Corporation

Sino Broadcasting Corporation's radio programming was launched on February 15, 1977 in San Francisco's Chinatown. In two years, it expanded its operations to include cable television. Sino Television and Radio (SINO) reached Chinese Americans who were more comfortable with their native Cantonese language and who thus relied on the Chinese media for news, information, and entertainment. SINO also served those who had a desire to understand and to learn about Chinese culture. Charles Chan, general manager and owner of Sino-Radio, discussed the purpose of establishing the station:

Frankly, the primary purpose of building a commercial station is to make money. However, we have been here for 17 years. Now, we are here [in Chinatown] not only for economic purpose but more for the role we have played--service. My father wants to keep this station for the "prestige."

SINO provided the first Chinese-language radio programming in San Francisco's Chinatown. Chan said that "we grew up with Chinatown. The old Chinese immigrants know us very well. If the business stopped, they would be very disappointed." He also said he felt that his station played a role in ensuring that the Chinese community was an active participant in public affairs because of the access to information it provided. In this sense, SINO provided an opinion leadership role within the Chinese community. Apart from providing regular programming, Chan noted that it

actively participated in fund raising for community groups, such as Chinese Newcomers Service Center, (a Chinatown based service agency), Self-Help for the Elderly, On-Lok Senior Services, and the Chinese Youth Center. Its television programming function was entertainment. With the emphasis on entertainment programming on JADE Channel, SINO has reduced its television programs to three hours on weekends on cable television. Chan concluded that SINO served the Chinese community by providing an instant link to its immediate world as well as to the Chinese immigrants' roots. Its programs appealed strongly to Chinese people who shared common cultural ties and a keen interest in Chinese ways of life. Media messages in the mother tongue elicit strong emotional attachments.

For the past 17 years, SINO has played a role in encouraging Chinese people to communicate with other Chinese and has served as a source of unity for the community. In light of these findings, SINO-TV and Radio wanted to maintain a strong cultural identity, among Chinese as well as help Chinese immigrants in Chinatown become familiar with American society.

Views of Chinese Star Television and Radio

Chinese Star Television and Radio (CSTVR) was founded in 1984 by a famous Hong Kong television program host, Chang Chew Woo. Its Chinese-language television programs were

founded in 1983 by Ida Choy when she worked at Channel 25. In 1989, this company became a non-profit organization dependent upon subsidies from sponsors. Its Chinese-language radio programming was aired on KUSF (FM 90.3), a multicultural non-commercial station. KUSF was founded by University of San Francisco, various foundations, and individual donations. Most of the employees were volunteers.

CSTVR was organized under the non-profit Public Benefit Corporation Law for charitable purposes. Thus, according to Choy, executive director and producer of CSTVR, the specific purposes for which this corporation was organized were "to acquire, produce and distribute non-commercial, informational, educational, and cultural Chinese-language television and radio programs for the benefit of Chinese-American communities developing and maintaining an independent communication channel as an alternative to commercial channels." CSTVR provided public affairs and educational programs for the Bay Area Chinese community; they also produced interviews and discussions featuring local social organization representatives, health and medical experts, and leaders from various fields of interest. CSTVR has taken part in different community events, such as sponsoring Chinese cultural concerts and television, radio telethon, producing documentary videotapes

for the Chinatown Cooking School. CSTVR served a service function role within the Chinese community. It played an important role in providing commentary on both American and Chinese social issues.

Choy said that, generally speaking, Chinese-language programs always promote positive Chinese traditions. More than that, Choy added, "we stress the importance of accommodation into American society by understanding its culture; thus, we can get the benefits." Elderly Chinese immigrants are rarely interested in outside American society. Choy noted that "The more they [Chinese immigrants] do this way, the more they get alone." Consequently, CSTVR emphasized the information function more than entertainment.

CSTVR wanted its audience to avoid isolation. It sought to keep its audience abreast of not only local, but also national news and suggested solutions to social problems. Its programming emphasized adjusting to American way of life.

Views of All Star Chinese Radio Station

All Star Chinese Radio Station (ASCRS) was founded in June of 1992 by the president of All Star Investments, Tim Wei. This station was one of the branches of Chinese News and Music Radio Network (CNMRN) founded in February 1988 in New York. CNMRN was the only station broadcasting 24-hour

programming in Mandarin in North America. Programs provided by CNMRN were disseminated by satellite transmission to the areas with the highest populations of Chinese in the United States including, New York, Seattle, Los Angeles, the Southern Bay Area, and Dallas.

ASCRS was in charge of local programs and businesses in the Southern Bay Area. Lily Liu, station manager of ASCRS, believed that ASCRS's local programs emphasized the information function to help its audience integrate into American society. National programs provided by CNMRN featured entertainment, news, and information programs in an effort to promote Chinese culture. Although ASCRS has stopped its service in the Bay Area, listeners still can receive radio programming transmitted from CNMRN. ASCRS was very proud of its news programs. It was the only radio station that carried Taipei and Beijing news live by satellite transmission. Liu noted that "ASCRS news programs helped all Chinese immigrants catch the latest and the most important information from their homelands. To make the audience adapt to this new environment, we had local, national, and international news each hour." Its weekly news commentary programs helped the audience understand the important issues in the homeland, especially in Taiwan. Although ASCRS stopped the service, both of the individuals

interviewed at ASCRS thought that it was necessary to have Mandarin radio programming in the Bay Area.

ASCRS wanted to inform and to support its audience. It made use of its air time to voluntarily broadcast information about local activities of Chinese social service organizations. ASCRS primarily functioned both to integrate into and to separate from American society.

Views of the Jade Channel

The Jade Channel (JADE) started its business in Los Angeles in 1984 and in San Francisco in January of 1992.

Alex Ouyoung, program traffic coordinator, said that:

We provide 12 hours of programs on a daily basis and over 80% of them are entertainment programs. We are cable television, unlike other conventional broadcasters; therefore, we do not play a role of social responsibility. Like HBO or Showtime, the Jade Channel functions simply to entertain its audience.

Although JADE emphasized the entertainment function, it also produced a community program supported by the Chinese Resources Center (CRC) once a month. This audience-participation program provided a forum to discuss Chinese community issues, such as the security of the Chinese community and discrimination problems. Ouyoung explained that the main purpose of this program was to attract a more educated audience and to build JADE's prestige. However, with the Chinese population patterns in San Francisco, most of the participants were the elderly. Sometimes it was difficult for the guests and audiences members to

communicate. This was most notable when the guest spoke only English or Mandarin, as the majority of the audience spoke primarily Cantonese. Moreover, the elderly were not used to presenting their opinions during the discussion. Ouyoung stressed that "we will keep producing this program."

Nevertheless, the significant purpose of this program was to help immigrants adjust to new society and to advocate strength through unity to solve the problems present in the Chinese community.

In spite of the focus on the entertainment function, Ouyoung mentioned the time that a Chinese-American viewer called him to state that he watched the programs to learn Cantonese. More or less, JADE personnel felt that JADE helped the second-generation Chinese learn about their native language and culture.

Views of KTSF (Channel 26)

KTSF was founded on September 4, 1976 by heiress Lillian Lincoln Howell. According to Sherman, station manager of KTSF, "she [Howell] is a publicity-shy former teacher who is committed to programming for people missed by the mainstream."

KTSF aired the first Chinese programs in 1976 conducted by Leo Chen, current president of KCNS (Channel 38). KTSF ran programs in 14 languages, including Armenian, Cantonese, Cambodian, English, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese,

Korean, Laotian, Mandarin, Persian, Tagalog, and Vietnamese. Its prime time schedule was more than 90% foreign-language programs. Chinese programs occupied most of the Asian programming schedule (see Table 1).

KTSF has covered the Chinese New Year's Parade in both Cantonese and Mandarin every year. Most notably, this coverage included pre-produced features about the change and history of Chinatown in both San Francisco and Los Angeles. It also provided features about New Year's celebrations in other Asian communities throughout the United States. Sherman noted that "definitely, the Chinese New Year's parade is very meaningful. That is deep-rooted in the Chinese community." Sherman noted that this special seasonal program is a way to transmit the Chinese heritage from the older generation to the younger and to retain Chinese old-world culture, at least among some of the first generation. This program highlighted a centuries-old tradition. "The Chinese New Year's Parade of 1988" captured the Joey Award--the first time the San Jose Film Commission honored a Chinese-language feature.

KTSF's "Chinese News at Nine" also received the Joey Award in 1989, honoring its special achievement in the foreign language category. At that time, it was the first live local Chinese newscast in the United States. It helped

Cantonese speakers in the Bay Area to keep well informed and to receive information on the host country.

Beginning in 1991, KTSF provided programming to support the Radiothon of Chinese Newcomers Service Center (CNSC). This radiothon was the biggest fundraiser for CNSC. KTSF covered activities conducted by Consumer Action to assist Chinese immigrants to adapt to the social ways of living in America. Its community program, "Chinese Journal," also helped Chinese people make use of social sources in the Chinese community.

Further, KTSF assisted immigrants in the Bay Area in learning important occurrences in their homelands. According to documentation contributed by KTSF during the Tiananmen Square Incident--because the information given from China Central Television (CCTV) was misleading--the overseas media had to broadcast what was really happening and encouraged Chinese viewers to call their friends and relatives in China and to tell them the truth. Mei-Lin Sze, KTSF news co-anchor, explained:

We got people calling up in tears, they were so upset. And they wouldn't hang up. They just wanted to talk to someone and express their feelings. They hoped we understood, and we did. For them, we aren't just a television station; we are part of the community.

Views of Chinese Television Company

Chinese Television Company (CTC) began airing in 1976. It chartered air time on KTSF from 9:30 p.m. to 11 p.m. Monday through Thursday. CTC's pamphlet stated that its primary goal was to serve the Bay Area's Chinese community. Because CTC personnel turned down the researcher's request for an interview, only short telephone interviews with the secretary, Agnes Wong, and the station manager, Jenny Hwang, were conducted. Wong said she thought that CTC could satisfy only the entertainment function although its audience has requested more news commentary programs.

Its programming was designed for entertainment and information programming. Both its entertainment programs and information programs were produced in the native countries. Its information programming helped immigrants separate from, more than adjust to American society.

Views of KCNS (Channel 38)

KCNS signed on the air in 1986. Founder and president of KCNS, Leo Chen, mentioned that in the beginning, with a tight budget, it was not able to produce any programs. Therefore, he negotiated with many directors of cultural centers for Asian countries in the San Francisco Bay Area to use their documentary videotapes to promote their respective cultures. Chen noted that "we want to be an Asian-languages

channel and to maintain the cultural identities." This was the original idea of KCNS.

This Asian-languages-only channel provided programming in Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese. Because of its limited budget, KCNS could not afford to produce local newscasts. However, "Worldwide News" edited by the Chinese Communication Channel in Los Angeles broadcast its daily news on KCNS. The news was a mixture of national, Los Angeles local news, and foreign Chinese news via satellite, instead of the Bay Area local Chinese news.

KCNS was the only station that produced regular programs for Chinese-born Americans. "Inside China" was a news magazine program in both English and Mandarin featuring current news and sports from China, films about Chinese cultural events, historical notes, Mandarin language lessons, and travel information. "China Report" produced by China Central Television (CCTV) in Beijing for second-generation Chinese, as well as English speakers, presented the lifestyles and happenings in today's China. Significantly, KCNS was the only station to provide a Chinese famous historical drama series, such as "Journey to the West," with English subtitles. Chen said:

I have devoted myself to Chinese-language television programming for more than 20 years. I am a pioneer of Chinese-language television in the Bay Area. On one hand, I was successful; on the other hand, I failed. At first, I only produced programs for first-generation Chinese immigrants but for the second or third

generations. My three sons have never watched my programs. Therefore, the first thing that I want to do is to produce programs that introduce my country to our generation as well as English speakers.

Moreover, some particular information programs in Mandarin or Cantonese targeted first-generation Chinese immigrants. KCNS also provided programs produced by Mainland China, such as "Let's go to China," "Window of Guangdong," "Chinese Sports," and "Changing China" to highlight the customs, scenery, and culture of the motherland--China. Instead of assimilation, KCNS completely maintained a Chinese cultural identity. KCNS contended it was the voice for first-generation immigrants as well as a bridge to the second and third-generations because it provided special interest Chinese programming in Chinese language as well as in English. Chen stated: "We are from America to China, bridging East and West."

KCNS teamed up with KRON (Channel 4) to serve the Chinese community by broadcasting baseball games in both Cantonese and Mandarin on KCNS. Chen said that Chinese, especially Taiwanese, are very interested in baseball and that, for the first time in the United States, baseball fans were able to hear announcers call a game in Chinese. However, after the first attempt in November of 1993, KCNS found it was not effective. They figured that the Chinese audience could not get used to watching American style

baseball games. It was hard to persuade Chinese immigrants to blend into American society completely.

KCNS was very proud of itself for providing 86 hours of Chinese television programming--the most air time in the Bay Area (see Table 6). Instead of assimilation or integration, KCNS contributed a stronger separation role that served to retain Chinese culture identity and to bridge the old and new Chinese societies.

Views of Pan Pacific Television, KPST (Channel 66)

KPST (Channel 66) first went on the air in November 1985. This station was the only station in the Bay Area owned by Chinese immigrants. Sammy Yang, program manager, explained the purpose of establishing this station. In the early 1970s, founder of KPST, David Li, accidentally found that the old Chinese immigrants retained a strong sense of pride in their cultural identity. Even after their emigration, they passed this pride on to their children. Moreover, most Chinese immigrants in the Chinese community could not adjust to a new land. Li, a well known journalist in Taiwan, wanted to establish a Chinese-language television station to serve the Chinese community in the Bay Area. Besides retaining Chinese culture, KPST aimed to assist Chinese immigrants to fit into American society and to combat a feeling of alienation.

However, because of financial problems mentioned previously, KPST could not produce community programs as often as it would have liked. Regardless, Yang of KPST stressed its information function:

News and entertainment programs were very important to Chinese immigrants. The former is for information; the latter is for relaxing. To satisfy our service function, I would like to say information is more important than entertainment in the minority community.

Tiffany Yeh, producer of KPST, noted that KPST has put a lot of emphasis on news programs. It was the first station to air the news directly from Taiwan in 1988. It produced two news commentaries programs locally: "Face to Face" and "Current Event Commentary." Yang stressed that these two programs did not bring in revenue because KPST does not allow the programs to be interrupted by television commercials. Yang noted that "high quality and neutral news commentary programs are our primary goals."

KPST was very satisfied with its news and information program formats. In the past, KPST broadcast special events taking place in the homelands. In 1988, it had a special report on the death of Chiang Ching-kuo, ex-president of the Republic of China and the son of Chiang Kai-shek. KPST got the news footage directly from Taiwan Television Company (TTC) by satellite transmission. KPST edited this special report for a week, including Chiang Ching-Kuo's biographical sketch and his achievements. Significantly, this was also

the first time Chinese immigrants could watch updated news events from the native country.

In 1989, KPST covered a Taiwan democratic movement-- "520 March Incident," conducted by the Taiwan Democratic Progressive Party. In the same year, during the Tiananmen Square Incident, KPST covered the event for 15 minutes every night from May 27 to June 21. KPST additionally signed a contract with Worldwide Television News (WTN) on June 1 of 1989. WTN became KPST's main international news source. After the consecutive reports, it designed a 30-minute regular international news called "KPST International News." It covered not only the local news but also the national and international news.

In 1990, the first delegation from Taiwan since 1949 entered Mainland China to participate in the Asian Games held in Shanghai. It was very significant to Chinese people everywhere. To cover this historical event, KPST cooperated with Hua Sheng Television (HSTV) to air the games for 17 days.

KPST and HSTV cooperated with one another to further a local charity event in 1991 to assist people suffering from the damage caused by flooding along the Yangtze River in China. The charity show aired on KPST. Yang noted that "since it is a minority station, it is very important to act as a bridge to unite the immigrants and people in the

homelands." It functioned to inform Chinese immigrants about important occurrences in their native lands,

Beginning in 1988, it provided special seasonal programs that originated in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China, for such events as Chinese New Year, Mother's Day, the Dragon Festival, and the Moon Festival.

Even when KPST faced economic crisis, it insisted upon three policies. The first was that it inserted only 12 minutes of television commercials during a one-hour program, despite the fact that this regulation had been canceled in 1984 by the FCC. The second was that it invariably kept prime time--from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m.--seven days a week for Chinese programs and has never sold that period of time. The third was that they broadcast drama series from Monday to Saturday consistently. Yeh believed that these policies pleased the audience and served KPST's mission; however, other stations thought the policies must have reduced its advertising dollars.

Views of Hua Sheng Broadcasting Corporation

Hua Sheng Broadcasting Corporation (HSTV) was established in 1982 by Tim Chung from China, a successful businessman in the Bay Area. He owned five big shopping centers, five senior centers, 14 apartments, and 11 office buildings (Feng, 1992). HSTV's program director, Zhi-Fang Hu, noted that the owner studied in Japan when he was very

young. Hu indicated that Chung's purpose in establishing this company was to use Chinese programming to help Chinese immigrants avoid loneliness and to preserve Chinese cultural ties to the Chinese homelands. Chung wanted Chinese immigrants to recognize changes and the developments in China. HSTV also produced videotapes to introduce and promote the owner's business. HSTV had bought airtime on KTSF for nine years; it transferred to KPST (Channel 66) on April 15, 1991. HSTV aired its programming on KPST from 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

Until 1988, HSTV was the only television company until 1988 to provide programs from China. It syndicated with Shanghai Television Station and China Central Television Station (CCTV) to provide HSTV Chinese programs, such as news, drama series, and variety shows.

Before 1991, "Weekday News" produced by CCTV was sent by airmail. On Saturday night, HSTV produced a half-hour community program. It interviewed celebrities and specialists in the Bay Area to introduce Chinese history or to discuss community affairs. Since 1991, HSTV has received news from CCTV by satellite every day. According to Sung, engineer and cameraman at HSTV, instead of the local production program, it provided Saturday news for two reasons: the first was to save the production fee for the community program and the second was that KPST wanted HSTV

to supply news from Mainland China every day. News from the native country was a more meaningful way to satisfy its service function.

Without producing any community programs, HSTV wanted to retain a Chinese cultural identity in the homeland. Furthermore, Chung hoped that HSTV could help Chinese and American people mutually understand their cultures.

Future Goals of Chinese-Language Broadcasting Media

All the interviewees believed that they would be still broadcasting in the year 2,000, except for All Star Chinese Radio Station, which had already shut down the business before the interviews were conducted. However, most of the interviewees thought that they were not going to make money in the near future because what they earned would go back into the stations. They used out-of-date equipment and kept personnel to an absolute minimum to reduce expenditures. Therefore, they noted that, if they had more revenue, they would like to hire more people, to replace their equipment, and to produce more local and community programming.

For the future, all the interviewees hoped that they could have more self-produced programs and could completely reflect the life of Chinese immigrants. There were three future goals that most media workers wanted to attain:

1. To extend Chinese programming air time and to produce more local programming. As mentioned previously,

with low commercial rates, it was impossible to produce high quality programming locally. Significantly, for television programming, the more local community programs (especially local news) that a company produced, the more they might have increased viewership. This phenomenon was also reflected by the interviewees. As to CSTVR-TV, although it produced 100% local programs, only a one-half hour program was provided weekly. It probably was difficult for audience to remember to watch it.

Therefore, KPST, HSTV, CSTVR, and KCNS expected to extend their Chinese programming. KPST's future goals were to provide 4 to 6 hours of Chinese-language programming a day and to produce more local programs for the community. For example, in 1990 HSTV and KPST cooperated to broadcast "China Flood Charity Show." In the future, HSTV still hoped to extend its airtime to two hours to contribute more programming. The president of KCNS, Leo Chen, hoped that Chinese-language broadcasting could produce more educational and cultural programs such as news commentary programs or old Chinese movies for new immigrants.

2. To serve American-born Chinese. Chinese programming is broadcast in Chinese. Its audience excludes Chinese-Americans who do not speak Chinese. Another idea of KPST was to air its Chinese programming simultaneously in both Chinese and English by Multichannel Television Sound System

(MTS). It would like to reach not only the elderly and newcomers, but also American-born Chinese (ABC) to promote Chinese culture. Providing Chinese culture television programming in English is also a present and future goal of KCNS.

3. To have a news team. Of the 19 interviewees, more than half felt that Channel 26 (KTSF) makes money mainly because of its strong local Cantonese news. In contrast, more than half of the interviewees thought KCNS was not so successful because it did not produce any local programs, especially news. It was found that the most successful program in the Bay Area was KTSF's local Cantonese news. On February 6, 1989, KTSF started the nation's first live, half-hour, local daily Cantonese newscast, "Chinese News at Nine." It provided local, national, and international news. KTSF sold all of the advertising spots for the launch of its news. Thus, beginning October 1, 1993, KTSF extended Cantonese news to a full hour. Aside from using news footage from NBC and KRON, it had its own news team to cover the news in Chinese communities.

These Chinese news reporters knew what stories to cover in Chinese communities and the most effective way of doing it. However, only KTSF and KPST had their own Cantonese news teams. There were not any Chinese news teams to cover

Mandarin news locally. Thus, KCNS and JADE said that they expected to create a news team in the near future.

**Chinese-Language Broadcasting Media Role
as Reflected by Coded Content**

The results of interviews with the Chinese-language broadcasting media workers reflect only perceptions of the media role. To get objective information, a content analysis of Chinese-language broadcasting media was conducted. A content analysis of programming was conducted in October and November of 1993. Two three-week periods were randomly selected for television and radio content analysis, respectively. In the programming content analysis, the research used four communication functions: surveillance, correlation, socialization, and entertainment to determine the role of the Chinese-broadcasting media. Furthermore, separation, integration, and assimilation were also used to examine the acculturation role.

The study yielded a reliability coefficient of 93% of using Holsti formula and 91% using Scott's *pi* formula. The total amount of content analyzed for this research was 126 hours (453,949 seconds). Radio programming was studied for 60 hours (214,517 seconds). The total time coded for television programming was 66 hours (239,432 seconds). The total number of analyzed stories was 2,552. There were 1,230 radio programming stories studied and 1,322 television

programming stories examined. Tables 11 to 19 are the results of the length and the percentage of total coding for each category. Tables 11 and 12 show the length and the percentage of total coding time on each Chinese-language broadcasting media.

Radio station-company disk jockeys sometimes played music in both Mandarin and Cantonese. To determine the appropriate coding, the language used more than 50% of the time in one sample program was used. The English-language usage is shown on Table 13; it was used only in commercials and accounted for 3% of the analysis time. Table 13 shows that the amount of programming in Cantonese and Mandarin was almost identical. During the coding process, it was found only KCNS (Channel 38) used standard American advertising without subtitles. No English-language commercials were aired on the three radio media.

Table 11

Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Analysis Time on Chinese Radio Media

Company	Seconds	Percentage	Percentage Rank
SINO-R	81,353	38%	2
CSTVR-R	15,234	7	3
ASCRS	117,930	55	1

Table 12

Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Analysis Time on Chinese Television Media

Company	Seconds	Percentage	Percentage Rank
CTC	10,140	4%	6
KTSF	26,037	11	3
JADE	81,477	34	2
KCNS	85,188	36	1
KPST	18,979	8	4
HSTV	10,411	4	5
SINO	5,400	2	7
CSTVR	1,800	1	8

Table 13

Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Total Analysis Time of Language Used on Chinese-Language Broadcasting Media

Language	Seconds	Percentage	Percentage Rank
Mandarin	219,419	48%	2
Cantonese	220,621	49	1
English	13,909	3	3

Table 14

Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Total Analysis Time on Chinese Programming Function

Function	Seconds	Percentage	No. of Stories
Socialization	63,191	14%	171
Surveillance	120,689	27	2,093
Correlation	46,984	10	136
Entertainment	223,085	49	152

Table 14 shows that the Chinese-language broadcasting media stressed their entertainment function most. These media did not play a strong role in interpreting American culture to Chinese immigrants as the media workers felt they did. Generally speaking, the interviewees wanted to help the audience understand their new society better. However, the content analysis showed that the correlation function was the smallest part of the four functions. Surveillance played the second most important role of the Chinese-language broadcasting media. They were good at information dissemination. Furthermore, none of the interviewees mentioned that they wanted to feature the entertainment function, except the Jade Channel.

Table 15

Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Total Analysis Time on Chinese Programming Acculturation Type

Acculturation	Seconds	Percentage	No. of Stories
Separation	340,800	75%	1,357
Assimilation	14,906	3	127
Integration	85,656	19	900
Not Applicable	12,587	3	168

As for Table 15, it was found that the separation function was especially strong. Similarly, most of the interviewees noted that their programming played an important role in preserving Chinese culture. The transmission of heritage and maintaining of Chinese group identity were the central functions of these broadcasting media. They also actively discouraged playing an assimilation role. Furthermore, Chinese-language broadcasting media workers felt themselves important in assisting the immigrants in adjusting to their new land. Only 19% of the programs were coded with integration function. Apparently, the programs provided did not meet the media workers' self-perceptions.

Table 16

*Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Total Analysis Time on
Chinese Programming Type*

Type	Seconds	Percentage	No. of Stories
News	91,906	20%	1,113
Information	70,839	16	60
Entertainment	217,820	48	159
Advertising	56,084	12	1,146
Propaganda News	8,456	2	67
Propaganda Information	7,164	2	5
Propaganda Entertainment	1,620	0	1
Propaganda Advertising	60	0	1

Definitely, Chinese-language broadcasting media included a certain amount of entertainment matter--almost 50% of the total programs (see Table 16). News was second in importance to the Chinese-language broadcasting media. It is important to note that Table 16 shows that only 4% of the total analysis time was occupied by propaganda. Most of the propaganda programming was found on HSTV, which provided programs that originated mainly in China. In addition, according to Table 16, advertising was shown on Chinese-

language broadcasting media an average of eight seconds per minute.

Table 17

Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Total Analysis Time on Chinese Programming Origin

Origin	Seconds	Percentage	No. of Stories
Taiwan	107,228	24%	481
China	49,413	11	173
Hong Kong	121,265	27	181
Local	121,190	27	905
U.S.A.	48,778	11	730
Other	6,075	1	82

In content analysis, if Chinese-language news was from American televisions' news footage, it was coded as originating from the "U.S.A." or "other" places. Therefore, all of the American originating programs coded in this research were either news provided by the American media or American national advertising. Table 17 shows that 11% of the programming was produced by American media.

Table 17 also shows that the local programs accounted for only one fourth of the total programs. Programming imported from the native countries (Taiwan, China, and Hong

Kong) (62%), played an important role in the Chinese-language broadcasting media sources (see Table 17). Programming coded as "American" or "Both" (both Chinese and American society) social functions was only 17% of the total analysis length (see Table 18). Moreover, the programs covered the homelands' region (Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China) for a total of 56% (see Table 19). These numbers shown on Tables 17, 18, and 19 indicate that the high number of programs about the home countries did not help the audience to assimilate or integrate into American society.

Table 18

Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Total Analysis Time on Chinese Programming Social Function

Social Function	Seconds	Percentage	No. of Stories
Chinese	367,472	81%	1,574
American	46,548	10	635
Both	32,067	7	218
Other	7,862	2	125

Table 19

*Seconds Viewed and Percentage of Total Analysis Time on
Chinese Programming Region Covered*

Region	Seconds	Percentage	No. of Stories
Taiwan	92,940	20%	395
China	67,953	15	177
Hong Kong	91,958	20	132
Bay Area	68,487	15	804
U.S.A.	60,126	13	612
Asia	1,756	0	5
Taiwan/China	6,239	1	82
Taiwan/Hong Kong	165	0	2
Taiwan/Bay Area	0	0	0
Taiwan/U.S.A.	1,400	0	9
Taiwan/Asia	80	0	1
China/Hong Kong	6,162	1	46
China/Bay Area	0	0	0
China/U.S.A.	1,250	0	21
China/Asia	120	0	1
Hong Kong/Bay Area	0	0	0
Hong Kong/U.S.A.	1,800	0	1
Hong Kong/Asia	0	0	0
Bay Area/Asia	0	0	0
U.S.A./Asia	1,073	0	14

127

U.S.A./Other	3,977	1	51
Other	10,693	2	137
Not Applicable	3,776	8	62

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusion and Discussion

The Chinese-language broadcasting media in the San Francisco Bay Area has slowed down the process of assimilation for Chinese immigrants. The content analysis of the programming showed that, instead of adapting to American society's customs and manners, Chinese-language broadcasting media played a strong role in retaining Chinese cultural identities. However, the interviewees generally considered that, aside from the separation function, their Chinese programming was concerned with the integration function, so that immigrants could fit into an American way of life. The role of Chinese-language broadcasting media, as determined by the content analysis, did not completely demonstrate what the interviewees aimed to achieve.

Individual values, attitudes, and beliefs obviously influenced the programming content in Chinese-language broadcasting media. Generally speaking, the scale of the minority media was much smaller than the mainstream media. Manpower was also limited in Chinese-language media. The structure of the minority media organizations were not very carefully designed. Management personnel had more power over their messages and they worked under fewer constraints,

such as those at Sino- Television and Radio, KCNS, KTSF, CTC, HSTV, and Chinese Star Television and Radio. Further, it was difficult for Chinese employees to communicate with American media owners and top managers about the content of the Chinese-language programming, such as at KTSF and KCNS. This finding confirmed the media individual constraint studies of various scholars. Baily and Lichty (1972), Ettema et al. (1987), and Shoemaker and Reese (1991) found that positions and organizational structure affected the power of the individuals. Also, this study suggested that a weak organizational structure and less human resources gave management personnel more authority. It was also found that minority media were more easily influenced by the American environment than their larger counterparts. For example, Chinese-language broadcasting media needed to devote more time and effort to enter the American advertising market. Furthermore, Chinese-language broadcasting media had fewer chances to attract the attention of other mainstream media, such as listing in TV guides and in various newspapers.

It was found that some Chinese-language broadcasting media were politically polarized, such as KPST, HSTV, KCNS, and All Star Chinese Radio Station. Probably, to avoid the political involvement of the broadcasting media, governments of the native countries commissioned other social organizations to provide particular programs. It was

apparent that homeland governments offered programs and services, such as providing free satellite news, instead of monetary support. The news was never edited by the homelands but by the local news editors. Findings of both interviews and content analysis, which were unexpected, showed that there were very few Chinese propaganda programs provided in the Bay Area. Thus, this study contradicted the findings of Eiselein (1978), Lau (1989), McLuhan (1964), and Park (1922), who found that the content of minority media emphasized the political function.

External economic constraints were found to be the most important influences on the Chinese-language broadcasting media content. The Chinese-language broadcasting media provided programs that were easy to obtain in an effort to reduce their costs, while they struggled to survive. Thus, the leading factor of determining the content of Chinese-language broadcasting programs was the programming sources. Sources even decided what role a Chinese-language medium played. The reason that 90% of the television programs that were imported from home countries was that the native countries were able to supply a plentiful and inexpensive source of programming. Besides, entertainment programs were considered to be easily accessible and pleased both the audience and clients. Therefore, this category was the most significant in the Chinese-language broadcasting media.

The majority of the news programming was either received from the native countries or relied on news sources from American stations. Many Chinese were well informed and were not in the dark. But it could not be assumed that the news provided by Chinese-language broadcasting media would cover the points of view of all members of the Chinese audience. The most significant problem appeared to be their limited resources. Although these media personnel worked diligently, they could not be "everywhere" with their small budgets to acquire various sources.

Content of local information programming also was controlled by economic factors. The media sold air time to local companies, such as law firms, insurance companies, car dealers, investment companies, and loan agencies. The majority of these programs were so-called "informative commercial programming," which meant the program producer or the host was also its sponsor. This kind of program served to promote the sponsor's business. The interviewees thought that the sponsored programs also provided valuable information to help the immigrants solve their economic or social problems.

The Chinese-language broadcasting media competed with one another intensively for advertising dollars. Apparently, the advertising market for Chinese-language broadcasting media was still in its infancy. Local small

Chinese businesses did not trust advertising. The only way to entice them to put advertisements in the Chinese-language media was with low advertising charges. The interviewees complained that "other" stations/companies cut advertising prices to attract customers, and stated their objections. Clearly, the advertising rates in the Chinese media were very "flexible." It is apparent that Chinese-language broadcasting media need to gain support from more American advertisers. However, limitations still exist: (a) American advertisers thought that the San Francisco Bay Area Chinese market was too small compared to the American market, and (b) Nielsen and Arbitron did not provide rating services for the minority media. Although there were two rating service studies conducted by KTSF and KPST, the results were contradictory and probably not entirely reliable. These different survey results suggested that Chinese-language broadcasting media need a reliable audience survey not only to attract advertisers but also to understand their audience needs.

Besides advertising dollars, competition for good programming also existed among Chinese-language broadcasting media, especially television programming. The free homeland news and the establishment of IAVC (International Audio-Video Company) helped Chinese-language broadcasting media reduce their costs. However, the assistance also created a

vicious competition. Chinese-language broadcasting media lost their priority in broadcasting homeland programming. In part, they also lost their appeal to advertisers, especially Chinese advertisers.

To make up for their shortcomings, little by little, Chinese-language broadcasting media workers successfully persuaded their potential advertisers with "advertising is information" for the Chinese immigrants. American advertising sometimes played an integration and information role for the Chinese immigrants. For example, many of the customer services in American society are taken for granted. However, in Chinese countries, these services either do not exist or are not available. When American products are advertised in the Chinese-language broadcasting media, Chinese audiences are informed about new services and products for their new life. "Advertising is information" in the minority market was supported by the work of a few researchers, such as Marzolf (1979), Pang (1986), and Time advertising Agency (1992). Moreover, research also showed there was an emphasis on Chinese positive buying power and the growing population. Chinese-language broadcasting media employers believed that more and more American advertising would eventually be shown on their media. For instance, in 1987, no American companies used voiceovers or Chinese subtitles on Chinese-language broadcasting media for their

Chinese audience (Millard, 1987). Nonetheless, the result of the Chinese broadcasting content analysis found that almost all corporate advertising was done with voiceovers or subtitles in Chinese. The Chinese-language broadcasting media is making an effort to open a new market with American corporations. Currently, American companies, such as international telephone companies, banks, supermarkets, the California Lottery, and various airlines were joining local ethnic media markets. The modification would lead to mutual interests for both the advertisers and the Chinese audience. Certainly, this would also stimulate the growth of the Chinese-language broadcasting media market. Therefore, the interviewees were confident in this market. But, there were no any American advertisers on Chinese radio programs.

As result of the limited budget and the competition of the spectrum space, minority radio programming could survive on only limited air space. Under these difficult circumstances, it seemed that Chinese-language radio companies were trying to build their own listenership. With great effort, they survived financially to change their formats to retain their audiences. Chinese-language radio programming was more localized; for instance, it provided more local news, public service announcements, and advertisements for local merchants. These functions also confirmed the research of Fornatale and Joshua (1980),

Mendesohn (1964), and Rubin (1983). These researchers found that the radio format could allow for vicarious participation in events and aid social interaction. The main reasons for Sino-Radio's surviving for 17 years were their localized audience in Chinatown and most important, its radio format.

Interestingly, it was also found that the later a Chinese-language broadcasting company was established, the newer the immigrants it wanted to reach. The media, like KPST, HSTV, and ASCRS, which focused on new Mandarin-speaking immigrants, aired Mandarin programming. Some of the media reached new Mandarin speaking Chinese immigrants; others targeted older Cantonese speaking immigrants with different programming format. Seemingly, they had their own Chinese-language media markets. It was found that Chinese broadcasting media in the Bay Area also verified the study of Ettema and Whitney (1987): In the more competitive market, media might find it more profitable to serve specialized market segments with unique products.

However, it is almost impossible to provide programming for the entire Chinese-American population, especially American-born Chinese as a result of the economic constraints as mentioned previously. Surveys showed that only 13% of the current Bay Area Chinese population was born in the United States. These American-born Chinese prefer to

use English-language media. This study indicated that, because of economic considerations, American-born Chinese would not be their target audience in the near future.

Entertainment programs were considered to be the most popular programs in the Chinese community. Frequently, all available entertainment programs were imported from Chinese countries. The media workers feel that the programs could present and reflect significant events or periods in Chinese history and culture, which could help immigrants retain their Chinese identities that separated them from American society. They also kept their audiences from feeling lonely.

Chinese community local news provides a variety of local, national and international coverage with a particular focus on Asian issues. According to the rating numbers and interviews, the researcher found the Chinese-language broadcasting media, which produced its own local community news were successful and profitable, such as KTSF and KPST. Chinese audiences seemed to appreciate a focus on community news. This finding reaffirmed the importance of Chinese-language local news for Chinese immigrants. Clearly, the day-to-day news of ethnic communities was too often overlooked. The major TV channels covered drug raids and racial incidents in minority groups. A growing number of minority-language media are filling a special need to

provide news in minority languages that the major media ignored.

KTSF and KPST, even with their limited budgets and resources, were trying to bring a different kind of news to the Bay Area's 300,000 Chinese-speaking people. They gave much better coverage of issues pertaining to immigration, Chinese community organization activities and educational rights. Another reason for the quality of their coverage was simply that they, more than the mainstream media, realized the importance of covering their own particular community. At the same time, these two stations devoted time to immigration issues and their impact on Chinese people was thought to play an integration role to help the immigrants fit into American society. The Chinese population had many first-generation immigrants who identify with their native culture. It is necessary to have something in the Chinese-language media to keep this population united with other Chinese in the homelands. For instance, during the Tiananmen Square incident, the Chinese community news provided by KTSF and KPST kept Chinese in the Bay Area informed about what was happening in China.

Programming provided by the Chinese-language broadcasting media could be divided into two categories. One was programming originating from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. The other was programming produced locally. The

former was more prominent than the latter and mainly featured entertainment and news, which contributed Chinese cultural information; thus, Chinese immigrants could keep in touch with their homelands. The latter was found mainly on information programming, which dealt with the living conditions of Chinese Americans.

It was found that all the Chinese-language broadcasting media promoted a strong cultural identity, instead of promoting assimilation into American society. Generally speaking, they served to bridge the old and the new cultures and helped to preserve Chinese cultural ties to the motherland. They also revealed and interpreted the political, social, and economic ways of living in the United States through their local programming. Although many Chinese-language broadcasting media workers were satisfied with helping Chinese adjust and have a better understanding American society, it was found from the programming content, their programming played a separation role much more than an integration role. The main reason was that all Chinese-language broadcasting media were handicapped in their local productions because of the lack of adequate financial resources. It was apparent from the research that the types of Chinese-language broadcasting programs were available because of economic considerations rather than audience needs. This assumption confirmed the findings of Alvarez

(1992) and Eiselein (1987), who found economic problems were the central issue of most minority media personnel, including owners, producers, and programmers.

Contributions to the Literature

Studies on the role of ethnic broadcasting media have not been researched as often as the ethnic press. In fact, few studies on the role of minority broadcasting media were found in the literature search; there were no reported studies on the role of the Chinese-language broadcasting media. Therefore, this study contributes answers to sociological questions about the functions of ethnic broadcasting media, especially, the Chinese-language broadcasting media in the San Francisco Bay Area. It also makes a contribution in its analysis of the reviews of media workers, as compared with program content. Consequently, this research enriches the literature on the actual role of the Chinese-language broadcasting media in the Bay Area. This study's contributions to the literature are as follows:

1. It was found that economic constraints controlled the Chinese-language broadcasting media more than others. Moreover, Chinese-language broadcasting media needed to adapt to the American environment, such as FCC regulations, the advertising climate, and various Chinese immigration patterns.

2. Although more and more American corporate advertisers joined the Chinese-language broadcasting media market, currently, the income sources of Chinese-language broadcasting media are mainly from small Chinese business advertisers. As result of the intensive competition, the media reduced advertisement rates to attract their potential customers who did not trust Chinese-language media advertising. It led to a worsened competitive climate and the media does not have the revenue to upgrade the quality of broadcasting programming.

3. Competition for good programming is not as much of a problem as in the past because every station-production company can get some free news from the motherland and can buy new programs from media organizations, such as IAVC and HK-TVB. However, it meant that advertisers were not willing to pay high advertising fee with no exclusive Chinese programming in the market.

4. Because of financial considerations, the Chinese-language broadcasting media used programs which were easy to obtain. Therefore, it was found that Chinese broadcasting programming was mainly controlled by programming sources.

5. None of the Chinese-language broadcasting media claimed that they were making money by providing Chinese programs, except KTSF. The leading reason for KTSF's success was its strong Cantonese news programs. It implies

that Chinese audiences cared about the circumstances in their communities and they need to be informed.

6. The Chinese-language broadcasting media did not provide sufficient information on the demography of their audience. However, a demographic framework of the audience can be found in the following information: Cantonese speakers in the Bay Area are mainly from Hong Kong and Guangdong Province in China and Mandarin speakers are from Taiwan and the rest of China. The target audience of the particular company could be determined from the percentage of the language--either Mandarin or Cantonese. Furthermore, Chinese immigrants came from various places, mainly including Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong. Their target audience could also be determined from the programming sources of each station-company (see Tables 9 and 10).

7. Chinese radio was still the weakest medium in the Chinese market because of their technological limitations. They needed to compete with Chinese-language television and newspapers but not other Chinese-language radio companies.

8. News and entertainment programs are the most popular programming in the Chinese market. Moreover, the market for Chinese news was more stable than that for entertainment programs. Therefore, the future goal of the interviewees was to create their own teams to cover the stories in the Chinese community.

9. Based on the interviews, it was found that most of the interviewees feel that their Chinese-language programming helped their audiences fit into their new society more than other functions by offering useful information.

10. From the content analysis, it was determined that most of interviewees overemphasized their function of assisting people to integrate into American society. However, only the function role of Chinese Star Television and Radio's programs, which was coded, coincided with the role that the owner and the producer wanted to play--the role of integration. Furthermore, Jade Channel personnel thought it functioned to entertain its audience with Hong Kong programming. This was confirmed by the content analysis.

11. From the content analysis, it was found that no entertainment programs were produced locally; all originated abroad. This type of programming was thought to play a separation role to help immigrants fight a sense of alienation.

12. To conclude, the role of the Chinese-language broadcasting media in order of importance are:

(a) separation: maintaining the Chinese cultural identity, curing homesickness, and being a bridge between old and new Chinese cultures via native entertainment, information

programs, and seasonal special programs. Another separation function was to assist the audience in understanding important affairs in Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong through the news from the motherland; (b) integration: keeping the audience informed about the local and national events in their new society--and helping them to fit into the society. Another integration role was to give suggestions to solve economic and social problems via local informative programming, and; (c) assimilation: enabling the Chinese audience to adopt American values, customs, and behaviors.

Directions for Future Research

This study was conducted by interviewing Chinese-language broadcasting media workers and by analyzing programming content. Additional research should be conducted to determine audience views of the role of Chinese-language media. Thus, the whole picture of the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media as reflected by the media workers, content, and the audience would strengthen the understanding of its role in the acculturation process.

Five research questions are derived from this research:

1. Will English-language broadcasting media compete for a share in the Chinese market in the near future?
2. How does the Chinese local information programming assist Chinese immigrants to fit into American society?

3. The majority of the Chinese-language news and information programs originated in the Pacific Rim nations in Asia. How does this kind of programming affect Asian groups who live in the Bay Area?

4. Is it true that Chinese Television Company (CTC) and Hua Sheng Television (HSTV) do not have conflicts with their corporate stations, KTSF and KPST, respectively? If the answer is yes, is it possible that all the Chinese-broadcasting media will someday be consolidated into one or two larger Chinese-language media and avoid the intense competition that is now occurring?

5. With more and more American advertising dollars going to the Chinese media market, will this situation help to stimulate this market to change the way small Chinese businesses view the usefulness of advertising?

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Appendix A

Interviewing Schedule

	Channel	Interviewing Date	Interviewees	Position
SINO	FM-SCA/ Cable 47	Sept. 14, 93	Charles Chan	General Manager
SINO	FM-SCA/ Cable 47	Sept. 16, 93	Cindy Yeh	D.J./Program Producer
SINO	FM-SCA/ Cable 47	Sept. 18, 93	Annie Lau	D.J./Book-Keeper
CSTVR	KUSF 90.3/ Cable 53	Sept. 24, 93	Ida Y. Choy	Executive Director/ Producer
ASCRS	FM-SCA	Oct. 5, 93	Lily Liu	Station Manager
ASCRS	FM-SCA	Oct. 5, 93	Zhou Liu	D.J./Salesman
CTC	Ch. 26	Sept. 30, 93	Agnes Wong	Secretary
CTC	Ch. 26	Sept. 30, 93	Jenny Hwang	Station Manager
KTSF	Ch. 26	Sept. 29, 93	Michael Sherman	Station Manager
KTSF	Ch. 26	Sept. 29, 93	Jie Chen	News Anchor/ Reporter
JADE	Cable 23	Sept. 13, 93	Alex Ouyoung	Program Traffic Coordinator
KCNS	Ch. 38	Nov. 1, 93	Leo Chen	President
KCNS	Ch. 38	Sept. 22, 93	Brent Scheiner	Station Manager/ Director of Sales
KCNS	Ch. 38	Sept. 26, 93	Charlie Young	Salesman
KPST	Ch. 66	Oct. 11, 93	Sammy Yang	Program Manager
KPST	Ch. 66	Sept. 15, 93	Lun Wong	Regional Sales Manager
KPST	Ch. 66	Sept. 30, 93	Tiffany Yeh	Program Producer
HSTV	Ch. 66	Sept. 22, 93	Zhi-Fang Hu	Program Director
HSTV	Ch. 66	Sept. 22, 93	Sung	Engineer/Cameraman

Note. CSTVR = Chinese Star Television Radio; ASCRS = All Star Chinese Radio Station.

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

- 1-4. DAYS (_ _ _ _)
- 5-8. HOURL (_ _ _ _)
- 9-10. STATION (_ _)
1. SINO (Radio)
 2. Chinese Star (Radio)
 3. All Star Chinese Radio
 4. Chinese TV Co.
 5. KTSF
 6. The Jade Channel
11. ORIGIN (_)
1. Taiwan
 2. China
 3. H.K.
12. TYPES OF PROGRAMS (_)
1. News
 2. Information-Knowledge
 3. Entertainment
 4. Advertising
13. FUNCTIONS: WHICH SOCIETY (_)
1. Chinese
 2. American
14. FUNCTIONS: CATEGORY (_)
1. Socialization
 2. Surveillance
15. TYPES OF ACCULTURATION (_)
1. Separation
 2. Assimilation
- 16-19. LENGTH OF PROGRAMS IN SECONDS (_ _ _ _)
- 20-21. REGION COVERED (_ _)
1. Taiwan
 2. China
 3. Hong Kong
 4. Bay Area
 5. U.S.A.
 6. Asia
 7. Taiwan/China
 8. Taiwan/Hong Kong
 9. Taiwan/Bay Area
 10. Taiwan/U.S.A.
 7. KCNS
 8. Pan Pacific TV
 9. Hua Sheng
 10. SINO (TV)
 11. Chinese Star (TV)
 4. Local
 5. U.S.A.
 6. Other
 5. Propaganda News
 6. Propaganda Information
 7. Propaganda Entertainment
 8. Propaganda Advertising
 3. Both
 4. Other
 3. Correlation
 4. Entertainment
 3. Integration
 4. Not Applicable
 11. Taiwan/Asia
 12. China/Hong Kong
 13. China/Bay Area
 14. China/U.S.A.
 15. China/Asia
 16. Hong Kong/Bay Area
 17. Hong Kong/U.S.A.
 18. Hong Kong/Asia
 19. Bay Area/Asia
 20. U.S.A./Asia
 21. U.S.A./Other
 22. Other
 23. Not Applicable

Appendix C

Rate Cards of Chinese-Language Broadcasting Media

Length(sec) Company		60"	45"	30"	20"	15"	10"	Special Package
SINO-TV & Radio (Rate per spot)	1-7x/Week 8-15x/Week 16-30x/Week 31-60x/Week 61-90x/Week 91x + /Week	\$180 160 140 120 100 80		\$100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30	\$80 70 60 50 40 30			
ASCRS (Rate per spot)	2x/Week 4x/Week 6x/Week 8x/Week			49 36 29 26		\$25 19 17 16		
CTC (Rate per spot)				120	80			<u>Month Special</u> 12 x 30 sec for \$1,200 12 x 20 sec for \$800
JADE (Rate per spot)	<u>Prime time</u> Fixed Rotational <u>Fringe time</u> Fixed Rotational			50 45 40 35	45 40 35 30	40 35 30 25	\$35 30 25 20	<u>Weekly Package</u> 15 x 30 sec or \$550
KPST (66) (Rate per spot)	<u>News</u> 1x/Week 3x/Week <u>Others</u> 1x/Week 2x/Week 3x/Week 5x/Week 7x/Week	200 170 200 170 150 130 120	175 150 175 150 130 115 105	125 110 125 110 95 85 75	100 85 100 85 75 65 60 50	75 65 75 65 55 50		
HSTV (Rate/spot)		140	120	85	65	50	40	

Note. Three stations are not included in this table because: (1) insufficient information on CSTVR because of its non-profit organization; (2) KCNS's rate card was not available; and (3) KTSF's rate card, which is on the following page was too detailed to be summarized here.

Lincoln Broadcasting Co.
A California Ltd. Partnership
100 Valley Drive
Brisbane, CA 94005
415-468-2626

Rate Card TELEVISION SAN FRANCISCO

:30 SECOND RATES

Monday thru Friday:

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
6:00 a.m. - 7:30 a.m.	\$ 125	\$ 100	\$ 85
7:30 a.m. - 8:00 a.m.	70	50	20
8:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.	35	25	15
12:00 p.m. - 1:00 p.m.	60	40	20
1:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	40	30	20
5:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	75	50	35
6:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	150	125	100
6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	175	150	125
8:00 p.m. - 8:30 p.m.	300	250	200
8:30 p.m. - 11:00 p.m.	175	150	125
11:00 p.m. - 11:30 p.m.	200	150	125
11:30 p.m. - 12:30 a.m.	50	40	30

* * *

Saturday/Sunday:

		<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
7:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.	Sat/Sun	\$ 35	\$ 25	\$ 15
9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Saturday	75	50	25
10:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.	Sat/Sun	125	100	75
1:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Sat/Sun	40	30	20
2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Sat/Sun	125	88	50
5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Sat/Sun	150	125	85
7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	Sat/Sun	250	225	200
10:00 p.m. - 12:00 a.m.	Saturday	225	200	175
10:00 p.m. - 12:00 a.m.	Sunday	125	100	75
12:00 a.m. - 2:00 a.m.	Sat/Sun	50	35	20

Marketron Coding System used for pre-emptability of spots.

Appendix D

KTSF (Channel 26) Viewer Survey Result

Source: KTSF (Channel 26)

** Viewership for 8:00 - 8:30 p.m.,
Monday through Friday (June 21-25, 1993)

TABLE 3
Viewership for 8:00-8:30 p.m. Monday-Friday
June 21-25, 1993

Channel	Date					Total (M-F)	Rating	Share
	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.			
Channel 26	17	32	24	20	18	111	20	51%
Channel 66	14	8	6	6	7	41	8	19
Channel 38	1	-	2	1	1	5	1	2
Jade Channel	1	1	4	2	-	8	1	4
Other Channels	11	6	8	15	13	53	10	24
Total using TV	44	47	44	44	39	218		
Not using TV	16	12	16	18	20	82		
Total contacts	60	59	60	62	59	300		
No response	75	37	43	50	39	244		
Total households	135	96	103	112	98	544		

- No answer

** Viewership for 8:30 - 9:00 p.m.,
Monday through Friday (June 21-25, 1993)

Table 4
Viewership for 8:30-9:00 p.m. Monday-Friday
June 21-25, 1993

Channel	Date					Total (M-F)	Rating	Share
	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.			
Channel 26	6	5	3	6	4	24	11	32%
Channel 66	2	3	2	2	5	14	6	19
Channel 38	-	-	1	4	2	7	3	9
Jade Channel	-	2	5	-	-	7	3	9
Other Channels	4	4	5	5	4	22	10	30
Total using TV	12	14	16	17	15	74		
Not using TV	7	7	5	6	6	31		
Total contacts	19	21	21	23	21	105		
No response	13	20	21	30	27	111		
Total households	32	41	42	53	48	216		

- No answer

** Viewership for 9:00 - 11:00 p.m.,
Friday, June 25, 1993

Table 5
Viewership for 9:00-11:00 p.m., Friday
June 25, 1993

Channel	Number	Rating	Share
Channel 26	37	22	49%
Channel 66	15	9	20
Channel 38	-	-	-
Jade Channel	4	2	5
Other Channels	19	12	25
Total using TV	75		
Not using TV	25		
Total contacts	100		
No response	70		
Total Households	170		

Those respondents who reported having watched the late Chinese news program were asked the following:

"How many of the five nights do you watch the late news program on KTSF, Channel 26?"

TABLE 7

Number of Nights Watched Per Week
(n = 230)

Number	Percent
1	11 %
2	15
3	13
4	6
All five Nights	41
Don't	14
Mean	3.6

Of those respondents who have watched the late news program on KTSF, two of five (41 %) indicated that they watched this program all five nights. An average of three to four nights watching per week was found.

Appendix E

KPST (Channel 66) Viewer Survey Result

Source: KPST (Channel 66)

Pan Pacific Television, Inc., owner and operator of Channel 66 in the San Francisco Bay Area, conducted a survey of its Chinese language program viewers in celebration of its sixth anniversary of broadcasting on November 25, 1992. The questionnaires of the survey were published in all four major daily Chinese language newspapers in the Bay Area from October 20, 1992 through November 21, 1992 for a combined total of more than 300 times. 9,906 responses were received during the period of which 8,591 are effective samples.

1. Occupation of respondents:

student	1,208	14.06%
government / education	311	3.62%
commercial	2,287	26.62%
service	1,269	14.77%
free lense	602	7.01%
mass communications	42	0.49%
housewife	1,331	15.45%
other	1,426	16.60%
did not answer	115	1.34%

2. Sex:

male	4,285	49.88%
female	4,059	47.25%
did not answer	247	2.87%

3. Age:

under 15	70	0.81%
15 - 25	699	8.14%
25 - 45	5,231	60.89%
45 - 60	1,507	17.54%
over 60	1,061	12.35%
did not answer	23	0.27%

4. Chinese Dialects Spoken:

can speak Mandarin	6,759	78.68%
Mandarin only	5,339	62.15%
can speak Cantonese	3,033	35.29%
Cantonese only	1,617	18.82%
Mandarin & Cantonese	1,415	16.47%

5. Annual Income:

under \$10,000	1,609	18.72%
\$10,000 - \$25,000	2,121	24.69%
\$25,000 - \$50,000	3,135	36.49%
\$50,000 - \$75,000	729	8.49%
over \$75,000	209	2.37%
did not answer	793	9.24%

6. Home:

Rented	3,664	42.65%
Owned	4,546	52.92%
did not answer	381	4.43%

7. How many hours do you spend watching Chinese TV programs every day ?

under 1 hour	1,210	14.08%
1 - 2 hours	3,126	36.39%
2 - 3 hours	2,763	32.16%
3 - 4 hours	923	10.74%
more than 4 hours	366	4.26%
did not answer	203	2.37%

8. Which Chinese TV station do you watch most ?

multiple choice			single choice		
Ch. 26	2,263	26.34%	Ch. 26	1,109	12.91%
Ch. 38	865	10.07%	Ch. 38	202	2.35%
Ch. 66	7,053	82.10%	Ch. 66	5,770	67.16%

9. How many hours do you spend watching Ch. 66 ?

less than 1 hour	1,517	17.66%
1 - 2 hours	3,479	40.50%
2 - 3 hours	2,181	25.39%
3 hours	852	9.92%
don't watch Ch. 66 at all	61	0.71%
can't receive signal	412	4.80%
didn't answer	89	1.03%

10. What categories of Ch. 66's programs do you like most ?

news	5,709	66.45%
drama series	5,323	61.96%
variety shows	1,977	23.01%
educational / informational	693	8.07%

11. Which dialect do you wish the programs to be in ?

Mandarin	6,415	74.67%
Cantonese	1,943	22.62%
did not answer	233	2.71%

12. What is your preference in dialect ?

Mandarin only (can't understand Cantonese)	2,735	31.84%
Mandarin first (don't object to Cantonese)	3,568	41.53%
Cantonese first (don't object to Mandarin)	2,075	24.15%

13. How important is Chinese TV program to you ?

very important	4,053	47.18%
somewhat important	3,828	44.56%
doesn't matter	582	6.77%
not important	97	1.13%
did not answer	31	0.36%

14. Are you a cable subscriber ?

yes	2,390	27.82%
no	6,201	72.18%

If you are, do you have A / B switch ?

yes	629	26.32%
no	886	37.07%
don't know	875	36.61%

15. Does your TV set have multi channel audio system (MTS) ?

yes	3,003	34.96%
no	4,808	55.97%
did not answer	780	9.07%

16. Is three hours of Chinese programming enough ?

enough	3,776	43.95%
not enough	4,451	51.81%
doesn't matter	68	0.79%
did not answer	296	3.45%

if not enough, how much ?

4 hours	900	20.22%
5 hours	1,271	28.55%
6 hours	841	18.89%
more than 6 hours	1,352	30.38%

17. Where are you from ?

Taiwan	3,900	45.40%
Hongkong	1,197	13.93%
Mainland China	2,937	34.19%
other	557	6.48%

18. How often do you travel to Asia ?

twice a year	510	5.94%
once / a year	1,893	22.03%
once / 2 years	2,039	23.73%
once / 3 years	1,844	21.46%
once / 5 years	1,234	14.36%
once / 10 years	585	6.81%
did not answer	486	5.66%

Which airline do you usually take ?

(average passenger times per year)

China Airlines	2,261	35.32%
Air China	627	9.79%
United	2,010	31.40%
Northwest	342	5.34%
Singapore	1,162	18.15%

(total accumulated passenger times)

China Airlines	3,237	31.12%
Air China	1,219	11.72%
United	2,949	28.35%
Northwest	691	6.64%
Singapore	2,305	22.16%

19. How often do you call your country of origin by telephone every month ?

less than once	2,408	28.87%
once	1,560	18.16%
twice	1,438	16.74%
3 times	984	11.45%
5 times	1,217	14.17%
8 times	154	1.79%
more than 10 times	549	6.39%
did not answer	281	3.27%

Who Is your long distance carrier ?

AT & T	4,403	51.25%
MCI	3,541	41.22%
Sprint	230	2.68%
other	59	0.69%
did not answer	358	4.17%

20. What Is the make of your automobile(s) ?

American	28.14%		
	Ford	1,134	11.79%
	GM	742	7.72%
	Chrysler	513	5.33%
	other	317	3.30%
Japanese	57.62%		
	Toyota	2,696	28.03%
	Honda	1,242	12.91%
	Nissan	773	8.04%
	Mazda	508	5.28%
	other	323	3.36%
European	14.24%		
	Volvo	506	5.26%
	MBZ	347	3.61%
	BMW	278	2.89%
	VW	144	1.50%
	Saab	33	0.34%
	Audi	28	0.29%
	other	33	0.34%

21. How many times do you eat in a restaurant per week ?

less than once	2,249	26.18%
once	4,369	50.86%
4 times	1,393	16.21%
7 times	150	1.75%
more than 8 times	175	2.04%
did not answer	255	2.97%

What Is your favorite flavor ? (accumulative)

Canton	14,180	35.28%
Hunan	6,783	16.88%
Shanghai	6,687	16.64%
Peking	6,012	14.96%
Taiwan	3,651	9.08%
Chochou	1,896	4.72%
other	982	2.44%

22. Where do you shop for groceries ? (accumulative)

Chinese grocery stores	19,775	45.11%
Safeway	11,204	25.56%
Lucky	9,052	20.65%
Pak 'N Save	1,367	3.12%
Fry's	473	1.08%
Petrini's	415	0.95%
QFI	263	0.60%
other	1,291	2.94%

23. Where do you shop for household sundries ? (accumulative)

Price Club	12,309	28.73%
Long's Drugs	8,435	19.68%
Walgreen's	7,599	17.73%
Payless	5,906	13.78%
Cosco	3,721	8.68%
Thrifty	2,476	5.78%
other	2,405	5.61%

24. What is your favorite department store ? (accumulative)

Macy's	10,135	23.81%
Emporium	6,887	16.18%
K Mart	6,390	15.01%
Mervyn's	5,113	12.01%
J.C. Penny	3,423	8.04%
Sears	3,410	8.01%
Nordstrom	3,303	7.76%
Montgomery Ward	2,549	5.99%
Neiman Marcus	209	0.49%
Saks 5th Ave.	163	0.38%
other	985	2.31%