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The role of Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area

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San Jose State University

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**THE ROLE OF CHINESE-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS
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

Chun-Ying Chou

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APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF
JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS

Dr. Diana Stover

Dr. Zhou He

Dr. William Tillinghast

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

Serena H. Stanford

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF CHINESE-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

by Chun-Ying Chou

This research examined the role of Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area. An analytical framework was developed to integrate various theoretical approaches to studying media content and constraints on the Chinese press. The study method was a content analysis of 21,004 stories in four Chinese-language newspapers as well as in-depth personal interviews.

This study found that Chinese-language newspapers played an important dual role of maintaining cultural identity and assisting immigrants in adapting to their new environment. Among the content categories, news was dominant in the Chinese media. The four communication functions in order of importance were: surveillance, entertainment, correlation, and socialization. In terms of acculturation patterns, the order of strength to weakness were: separation, assimilation, and integration. The four inward roles in order of significance were: cultural identity, political socialization, bridging role, and unifying role. External economic constraints were found to affect editorial decisions, news content, and media operations. This study also revealed that Chinese-language newspapers have often been affected by overseas politics.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A number of studies have found that ethnic media play a vital role in socializing immigrants in the United States (Alvarez, 1991; Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; Eiselein, 1978; Kim, 1987; Marzolf, 1979; O'Guinn, Faber, & Meyer, 1986; Won-Doornink, 1988). Lam (1980) indicated that ethnic media, which provided information in their mother tongues, helped newcomers integrate into American society. Chinese-language newspapers are a good example of ethnic media that offer an easy source of information by which the older generation can remain in touch with their homelands and the younger generation can sustain contact with their roots.

Efforts to define the role of the ethnic press have not been wholly successful because the ethnic press has received relatively little study (Miller, 1987). After the initial stages in which the clergy's role was often crucial, ethnic media served an informational role, carrying news of the immigrants' homelands, of compatriots elsewhere in the United States, and of the local community. The ethnic press expressed an ethnic group's values, heritage, and changing sense of identity. In addition, it promoted ethnic group pride as well as economic and political power. Park (1922) suggested that in the various functions the ethnic press undertook on behalf of its group's welfare, it ultimately led its people toward participation in American society. Besides serving as a link to the motherland and reducing the isolation and disorientation of the

newcomers in a new environment, the ethnic press was also an important avenue of entertainment, cultural exposure, and relaxation for linguistic minorities.

Historically, Chinese began to come to the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1850s. Chinese-language newspapers started to serve Chinese readers during this period. The first Chinese-language weekly newspaper, Golden Hill News (Jun Shan Jit San Luk), was established in San Francisco on April 22, 1854 (Ma, 1989). In the following decades, more than half a dozen Chinese-language newspapers were born in San Francisco, but many disappeared after the first few issues because of the limited advertising market. Only a few survived for a longer period. Chinese-language newspapers had been spared by the McClellan Immigration Act of 1965, which resulted in nearly 20,000 Chinese a year entering the United States. These recent immigrants, many of whom who could not read English, were dropped into the laps of Chinese-language newspapers. According to the 1995 Asian American Encyclopedia, today more than 50 Chinese-language newspapers and magazines are published and circulated in North America. The Chinese-language press helps newcomers adjust to American society by providing necessary information about their new nation.

In the past, the Chinese-language press did not pay much attention to the local Chinese communities. Instead, the papers gave a large amount of space to coverage of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, the three major homelands of the Chinese immigrants in America (Chen, 1992, 1995; McCue, 1975). Today, the quality of a newspaper's content and presentation are important factors in the buying decisions of the readers. The

information needs of new immigrants today are more sophisticated, which has resulted in rivalry among the Chinese press, forcing them to provide more timely and in-depth news coverage of homeland societies, American society, and the local Chinese community. The growing competition leads to more capital-intensive investments in terms of new technologies, new facility, and professional staffing. Because of the expensive cost of news gathering and the limited revenue from advertising, the publication of Chinese-language newspapers is often not a profitable venture. A number of Chinese-language newspapers in the United States have become willing partners with organizations in overseas homelands, such as political parties or specific interest groups, to obtain visible and invisible benefits that could compensate for their losses (Lau, 1989).

Li (1994) wrote:

Chinese-language newspapers in North America could be divided into two main categories: those that were fully financed and published by Chinese communities or organizations, and those that partially or fully relied on foreign financial and editorial support. (p. 40)

Although many studies have reported on the important roles played by the ethnic media in aiding immigrants to become a part of the host society, research on how the ethnic media survive is still rare. Existing studies have found strong economic and political links to foreign homelands among the Chinese-language press because of a limited advertising market and keen competition (Chen, 1995; Johnston, 1978; Kelly, 1985; Lau, 1989; Li, 1994; McCue, 1975; Tom, 1988; Tseng, 1984; Wong, 1995).

Competition and market structure are considered the major factors that shape the content of the Chinese-language press in the United States.

In the literature review section for this study, topics concerning the role of ethnic media in the United States, Chinese immigration patterns, acculturation and media use, development of Chinese-language newspapers, and internal and external constraints were examined. This study adopted the four functions, which expanded Lasswell's (1948) and Wright's (1986) four major communication activities, and four inward roles, which integrated Gans' (1979) functions of journalists as well as McQuail's (1994) identification of social functions, to assess the role of Chinese press and how they are serving their Chinese readers. Four modes of acculturation patterns were investigated to observe the relationship between the adaptation process and the reading of Chinese-language newspapers. Three categories of societal functions were evaluated to determine how much emphasis was given to homeland society, host society, and both societies. This study also applied a media sociology perspective to look at external and internal influences on news reporting process and content.

The principal focus of this research was to examine the role of Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area. Four major and representative Chinese dailies--World Journal, Sing Tao Daily, China Press, and International Daily News--were selected for this study. Their purpose or utility as perceived by media workers and as reflected in their content were assessed. Previous researchers have focused mainly on media use and acculturation process among Chinese immigrants (Chen, 1995; Huang, 1993; Johnston, 1978; Kelly, 1985; Lau, 1989; Liu, 1994; McCue, 1975; Tom, 1988; Tseng, 1984; Wong, 1995). Few studies, however, have been done on both the variety of

pluralization on political issues and the market structure, which have increasingly become the significant factors for the survival of the ethnic media.

Content analysis was a primary method used in this study to examine four major Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area, which were partially or fully supported by Taiwan, Hong Kong, or China. All of these four newspapers have their headquarters in the United States. The sample period selected for this research was from October, 1995 through March, 1996. A total of 104 random issues were chosen and the total number of coded news items was 21,004. In addition, the researcher conducted a series of interviews with owners, managers, and journalists at these four Chinese-language newspapers to gain helpful insights in understanding their personal value judgments, professionalism, and operating policies that allowed them to carry out their roles.

The findings of this study sought to yield a better understanding on the role of Chinese-language newspapers in the United States and to provide information on the factors that influence the operation and survival of the ethnic media. It was hoped that the results of this study can help people learn more about Chinese ethnic media, understand their values and tradition, and appreciate their contributions to the American multicultural heritage.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The functions of mass communication have been described in different terms by different scholars. The pioneer communication scholar, Harold Lasswell (1948), wrote that the communication process in society performed three functions: (a) the surveillance of the environment, disclosing threats and opportunities affecting the value position of the community and of the component parts within it; (b) the correlation of different part of society in responding to the environment; and (c) the transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next. With a focus on the assimilation of people into society, the transmission function was considered to be socialization. Expanding on Lasswell's three functions, Charles Wright (1986) added a fourth dimension. Wright's fourth function, entertainment, emphasized that communication activities primarily served the function of entertaining members of the society. In addition to these functions, the mass media also performed an economic function in society. Wilson (1985), by adding a fifth function--economic service--emphasized the economic function as the central role of the media in modern society. In addition, Gans (1992), who examined the political, moral, and myth-making functions that journalists performed in society, argued that a handful of print media were intergovernmental organs of communication.

Although a number of studies have reported on the vital role played by the ethnic media in socializing immigrants, there was no appropriate acknowledgment in the

historical accounts of the role of the foreign-language press as a constituent form of cultural diversity (Hardt, 1989) in the United States. With millions of immigrants still seeking a place in American society, the ethnic press has regained its presence among American media after finding recognition and strength in catering to the demands of its new readers.

Today, in North America, more than 50 Chinese-language publications are published. In particular, San Francisco has more than 10 Chinese-language daily newspapers. Among these, World Journal has the largest circulation of any of the Chinese newspapers in the United States. A number of these Chinese-language papers owe their success to capital investments and support from overseas (Li, 1994). This study attempted to examine the role of Chinese-language newspapers in the Bay Area based on the functional theories of mass communication as well as acculturation and media sociology theories. A review of the existing literature on ethnic media could render useful insights to the study on Chinese-language newspapers.

Role of Ethnic Media in the United States

America is known as a nation of immigrants. The phenomenon of newspapers published in the United States for the benefit of particular immigrant groups appeared in the eighteenth century. In spite of the avowed significance and vitality associated with the ethnic media, few studies have been done in this area, just as it has been either completely ignored or severely neglected (Hardt, 1989). Miller (1987) wrote:

The immigrant or ethnic press has received relatively little study. Given its importance in the various communities, especially the non-English-speaking, and

the vitality and growth of ethnic studies over the last two decades, the scant attention paid to the press and the limited historiography is remarkable. (p. xi)

In the earlier parts of this century, studies of immigrants to the United States often focused on their assimilation, a process through which immigrants' old norms were more or less replaced so that they were functioning as members of the host society. At that time there was considerable social and scholarly interest in mass media that might help immigrants assimilate into American society.

A pioneer example of this potential power of ethnic media could be found in a study by Park (1922), who noted that the foreign-language press was helpful in the assimilation of ethnic immigrants. Wilson and Gutierrez (1985) noted that ethnic media in the 19th century were especially attuned to the news and information needs of their target audience; like the ethnic media today, they no doubt delivered both news and analysis that were unavailable in the mainstream press. O'Guinn, Faber, and Meyer (1986) also suggested that the media helped immigrants or ethnic group members to blend into the host society. Furthermore, Lam (1980) noted that ethnic media were essential because they provided information in the mother tongue for new arrivals and introduced them to many of the ongoing programs that were specially designed to meet their needs. A large number of studies found that the immigrant press was apt to help rather than prevent their people from integrating into the American society (Alvarez, 1991; Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; Eiselein, 1978; Kim, 1987; Marzolf, 1979; O'Guinn et al., 1986; Won-Doornink, 1988).

The ethnic press naturally tended to preserve nationalistic feelings; but beyond this, there was an intrinsic connection between the desire to preserve national identity and the written mother tongue. Also, in order to seek financial funding from homeland governments, the ethnic press often served as propaganda papers, mobilizing overseas support in America for a homeland government's position. In the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, patronage from political benefactors was nearly always necessary to sustain the new foreign-language press which had developed. For example, the longest-lasting German-language newspaper in the United States--the New York Staats-Seitung (Public News)--was known to have received, directly or indirectly, financial aid from the German government (Miller, 1987; Park, 1922).

In the context of cultural pluralism, the ethnic press was the best primary source for an understanding of the world of non-English-speaking groups in the United States, their expectations and concerns, and their backgrounds and evolution. Grabo (1919) indicated that the foreign-language press fostered rather than discouraged, not only an opportunity for recent immigrants to learn of their neighbors, but also as a means to foster genuine Americanization of the foreign-born and their acquaintance with the spirit and ideals of the Republic (Hardt, 1989).

The ethnic press served as a link to the overseas motherland and reduced the isolation and disorientation of minorities in a new environment. Also, Warshauer (1966) pointed out that the ethnic press was an important avenue of entertainment, cultural exposure, and relaxation for linguistic minorities.

With the new influx of immigrants arriving in the United States from Hispanic and Asian countries since the 1960s, ethnic media have played a dual role by aiding the immigrants' adjustment to American life and by maintaining unique ethnic network patterns. Within the United States, an increasing number of Spanish-language media became available to Hispanic groups, many more than to any other subculture. These media included the Spanish International Network (SIN) with 241 affiliates, full-time cable stations, more than 120 full-time Spanish-language radio stations, and a complement of print operations (Delener & Neelankavil, 1990). Also, several studies have been conducted on the communication patterns of Korean immigrants. Kim (1977) conducted a study on the media's role in the acculturation of Korean immigrants in the Chicago area. Kim suggested that heavier users of mass media appeared to be more likely to become part of American society. Of the six Korean-language newspapers serving New York's 150,000 Koreans, Korea Times was the oldest and the largest. The mission of this newspaper was to help newcomers blend into American society and to preserve the Korean group's language as well as their traditions (Kelly, 1985). Similarly, Lum (1991), who studied the media environment of New York's Chinatown, found that Chinese media offered an easy source by which older immigrants maintained a stabilizing continuity in their cultural and recreational life, and younger immigrants continued to have contact with their roots.

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

In 1990, Chinese were the largest of more than 20 Asian groups residing in the United States (Wong, 1995). Chinese Americans include those born in the United States, as well as those born in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, and in other countries. Chinese were the first Asian group to immigrate in significant numbers to the United States. Generally speaking, Chinese immigration can be divided into three periods (Fong, 1991; Lee, 1991; Lieberman & Waters, 1988; Roger, 1988; Wang, 1991; Wilson, 1985; Wong, 1995). The first significant period of Chinese migration began with the California gold rush of 1849 and ended with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. During this period, more than 225,000 Chinese immigrated to the United States. The poor economic and social conditions in China, such as overcrowding, droughts, and floods, as well as the lure of the gold rush in California, encouraged many Chinese to immigrate to America. Chinese immigrants during this period worked as miners and railroad builders. Most Chinese viewed themselves as sojourners who were seeking economic betterment and a life at an elevated socioeconomic position before eventually returning to China.

During the era of Exclusion--from 1882 to the 1920s--the Chinese population in the United States declined from 105,000 to 62,000 (Wong, 1995). At this time, Chinese occupation patterns shifted from urban labor to self-employment in urban service occupations that were not competitive with whites, such as laundries, restaurants, and grocery stores (Fong, 1991; Wang, 1991). Between the 1920s and the 1960s, the

Chinese-American population increased from 62,000 to 220,000 as a result of a natural increase in the population and the repeal of the quota law.

The McClellan Immigration Act of 1965, which created separate annual quotas of 20,000 each year for people from any country to immigrate to the United States, had a profound influence on Chinese immigration. This legislation not only ensured a dramatic increase in the Chinese immigrant population, but also allowed most of the new Chinese immigrants to come over as a family unit, typically husband and wife, and unmarried children (McCue, 1975; Wang, 1991). Wong (1995) indicated that a bipolar occupational structure in both high-paying professional and managerial occupations and low-paying service jobs existed in this period. The Chinese-American community was increasingly becoming two separate communities: one educated, relatively affluent, and acculturated to American society, and the other largely illiterate, indigent, and still retaining much of traditional Chinese culture.

Chinese immigrants have been resettling in the United States at an unprecedented rate during the past three decades. This was the direct result of the elimination of national origin quotas in 1965, which allowed a large number of Asians to enter the country. Since 1975, a large influx of refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea relocated to the United States (Lee, 1991; Wang, 1991; Wong, 1995). Furthermore, many of the top students in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong came to the United States to study. According to the 1988 report of the International Institute of Education, Taiwan and China ranked the first and second, respectively, in the number of students sent to study at

American colleges and universities. Centre Daily News, a Taiwan-affiliated newspaper, reported that there were about 75,810 Chinese students enrolled to study in the United States in 1995 (March 12, 1996). McCue (1975) estimated that only 2% of the students went back to their homelands. After the June 4, 1989 Tiananmen massacre, some 30,000 Mainland Chinese students studying in the United States were allowed to become permanent residents. Britain's scheduled return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 has also had an impact on Chinese immigration in the United States. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, 1,648,696 residents or 7% of the United States' population are Chinese. In the San Francisco Bay Area, Chinese account for 10.1% of San Francisco's population, 4.3% of San Jose's, 12.8% of Hillsborough's, 11.3% of Daly City's, and 8.4% of Millbrae's. In 1990, the Chinese population in the San Francisco Bay Area was about 318,354, which accounted for 19.3% of the total Chinese population in the United States (Gall & Gall, 1993). Research on the Chinese-language media has found that the patterns of Chinese immigration had an important impact on both the content and the use of Chinese ethnic media.

Acculturation of Chinese Immigrants and Media Use

To function comfortably in the context of norms that might differ greatly from those of their native countries, immigrants need to adapt to the host society. This process in acculturation brings about changes in identification, social skills, attitudes, values, and behavioral norms (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990). Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) defined acculturation as "cultural change that resulted from continuous, firsthand contact

between two distinct cultural groups.” Redfield (1936) identified three results of acculturation, including acceptance, adaptation, and reaction. In addition, Berry (1984) found four modes of acculturation to the host culture: (a) assimilation: which was defined as relinquishing cultural identity and conforming more with the host society; (b) integration: retaining cultural identity and moving to join with the dominant society; (c) segregation or separation: maintaining cultural identity and being isolated from the host society; and (d) marginalization: losing cultural and psychological contact with both traditional cultural and the host society. Assimilation and segregation were the two most commonly observed acculturation patterns in the immigrant adaptation processes (Lum, 1991).

Assimilation was not the only mode of acculturation (Kim & Gudykunst, 1987). Some researchers have discussed the importance of distinguishing acculturation and assimilation. As Lee (1975) noted, complete acculturation would lead to assimilation which results in the loss of cultural distinctiveness.

Communication is considered to be a crucial part of the acculturation process (Kim, 1979). McQuail (1983) noted that mass media have the potential to help immigrants attain self-sufficiency and learn to cope with the host country. A small body of research has been done to determine the extent of the media’s influence on acculturation of different ethnic groups, but the research findings revealed mixed results. DeFleur and Cho (1957) found that television programs acquainted immigrants with majority cultural patterns. Hart (1977), who studied the Filipino-American press in the

United States, found that ethnic newspapers met the needs of immigrants by providing news of both the United States and the Philippines. However, Won-Doornink's (1988) study of television usage by Korean immigrants revealed that those who watched more Korean-language television found it more difficult to adapt to American culture.

The early Chinese did not easily assimilate, integrate, or participate in American society. Racism kept the Chinese socially, economically, and politically apart. Lum (1991), who studied the media environment of New York's Chinatown, found that Chinese media informed immigrants about events that happened within and outside their communities and about available social services, but at the same time, the ethnic media insulated Chinese immigrants from American society at large. Similarly, Tsong (1984), who examined the relationship between Chinese-language newspaper reading behavior and the degree of assimilation of Chinese immigrants, found that there was an inverse relationship between the assimilation process and the reading of Chinese ethnic newspapers. Chen's (1992) study, however, noted that Chinese-language newspapers provided much more detailed and complete news and information than other types of Chinese ethnic media in aiding the process of assimilation.

The Development of Chinese-Language Newspapers in the United States

Historically, Chinese began coming to the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1850s. Chinese-language newspapers started to serve Chinese readers during this period. The first Chinese-language weekly newspaper, Golden Hill News (Jun Shan Jit San Luk), was established in San Francisco in 1854 (Ma, 1989; Wilson, 1985). The following year,

another Chinese-language weekly newspaper, Oriental (Tung-ngai San-luk), was published with both a Chinese section and an English section. In 1856, Ze Too Yune in Sacramento launched the first Chinese daily, Chinese Daily Evening News. Both of these newspapers, however, ceased publication in 1857 (Wilson & Ng, 1995). As the Chinese community grew, half a dozen Chinese-language newspapers were born in San Francisco during the 1870s and 1890s, but many disappeared after the first few issues. An exception was the Oriental (Wah Kee), which was published from 1875 until the early 1900s.

Nineteenth century Chinese newspapers generally had lithographed handwritten texts on four tabloid-sized pages. In the twentieth century, newspapers grew to six or eight large pages similar in size to mainstream newspapers. After World War II, the circulation of Chinese ethnic newspapers decreased as older immigrants either died or returned to Asia and the younger generation became less fluent in Chinese. Many newspapers had ceased publication by the 1960s. But the Chinese-language press was spared by the McClellan Immigration Act of 1965, which raised the upper limit of Chinese immigrants into the United States to 20,000 a year and resulted in a nearly-filled quota each year. The influx of Chinese immigrants relied heavily on the Chinese-language media to fulfill their financial, social, and emotional needs. McCue's (1975) study of Chinese-language dailies in New York City found that the vast majority of Chinese immigrants who came to New York City could not read English. At that time, there were seven Chinese-language dailies in New York, including China Post, China

Times, China Tribune, Chinese Journal, Sing Tao Daily, United Journal, and Youth Daily to aid Chinese immigrants' adjustment to American society by furnishing necessary information about their new nation. Since the 1970s, publishers abroad have also vied for a share of this growing market. In 1976, Taiwan's United Daily News group founded World Journal, with New York and San Francisco editions; immigrants Tao Chen and Chao-Chu Fu began publishing International Daily News in Los Angeles in 1981; and Centre Daily News (Zhong Bao) (1982-1989) from mainland China was published in New York and San Francisco.

In the San Francisco Bay Area today, more than seven major Chinese-language dailies are circulated, including Shijie Jih Bao (World Journal), Xingdao Jih Bao (Sing Tao Daily), Chi-Am, Gwo Ji Jih Bao (International Daily News), Ta Kung Bao, Qiao Bao (China Press), and Jin San Shih Bao (Chinese Times). In addition, five weekly and two monthly newsletters as well as a dozen Chinese-language magazines are published and circulated (Inter Trend Co., 1993; Asian American Encyclopedia, 1995). For the Chinese press, three major audience segments can be identified according to their origins: those from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China. Accordingly, the seven major Chinese-language dailies available in the San Francisco Bay Area can be classified as follows: two with Hong Kong affiliations, one with a Taiwan affiliation, one with a mainland China affiliation, and three others with no overseas affiliation but with headquarters in San Francisco or Los Angeles.

Chinese immigration patterns have had an impact on the development of Chinese-language newspapers. The older Chinese immigrants viewed themselves as sojourners and were highly ethnocentric rather than mixing in mainstream American society. During this period, the Chinese ethnic newspapers mirrored the attitudes of these temporary sojourners. The old-style newspapers that emphasized news from the homelands did not have much news about the immigrants' American communities. The early Chinese ethnic newspapers, however, could not continue to exist when faced with a steady flow of Chinese immigrants who were urbanized, well-educated, and affluent in English. Today, many nationally distributed dailies use the latest technology and have introduced a higher, more professional standard of journalism. They greatly increased the number of pages and published separate editions with local news tailored for Chinese communities in different locations. Some include a magazine section in the weekend editions and transmit daily via satellite from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China to provide timely and more complete news coverage. The content of these newspapers include world news pages; domestic editions and local news in the United States; economic, political, and social affairs from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China; human interest stories from all over the world; women's and children's columns; home sections; Chinatown news; Chinese food; traditional Chinese medicine; scenic spots and historical sites in both Taiwan and China; financial and "Legal Advice" columns; entertainment sections; literary columns; business sections; and advertisements. Lau (1989) noted:

In the past, Chinese readers have been satisfied as long as they received news from their homelands. The quality of the content and presentation, apparently,

were not important factors in their buying decisions. Now, however, Chinese readers' tastes are more sophisticated, and some newspapers have gone to color to attract readers. Competition has grown more timely and the coverage of domestic, local, and international news events extensive. . . . All this has meant a large financial commitment and more capital-intensive investment. (p. 86)

Competition and market structure are considered the major factors that shape the content of the Chinese-language press in the United States. Lau (1989), who conducted a market analysis of the Chinese-language newspapers in the United States, noted that political factors were as important as economic factors in analyzing the structure, content, and performance of Chinese-language newspapers in the United States.

Internal and External Constraints on General and Ethnic Media Content

There is much evidence that the media operate under conditions of considerable pressure and constraints. Shoemaker and Reese (1991) noted that media do not always mirror reality because the content of media is influenced by both internal and external factors. Tuchman (1978) described news as the construction of reality rather than the reality itself. McQuail (1992) pointed out that media vary in the degree of power or influence they can exercise when they try to meet conflicting demands. McDonald (1978) and Epstein (1978) stressed that media content is affected by the individual journalist's subjective process, the routines of the organization, the market, and the ideological forces that shape it.

There are three levels of constraints that influence the news reporting process and content: the individual level, such as journalists' professional values and judgments; the organizational level, such as organizational structure, policy, and routines of news

operation, as well as economic and technological constraints; and the societal level, such as political, economic, and social systems (Ettema, Whitney & Wackman, 1987; Gans, 1979; Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991).

Personal constraints. Gans (1979) observed that journalists had their own set of value judgments and preference statements that influenced news reports. Besides, the media organization owner's power to influence content can be significant. In his study of social control in the newsroom, Breed (1955) pointed out that top superiors or managers had the power to shape media content, a power that was maintained by organization-wide pressures of conformity. The owner had the ultimate power to set policy over what news was to be included or left out (DeFleur & Dennis, 1981; McQuail, 1994; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991; Sigal, 1973). Whitney (1982) argued that knowing the level of interrelationships between the individual and organizational level or institutional level could provide insight into the effects of internal influences on media content.

Economic constraints. The news media are business firms trying to turn a profit. McQuail (1992) noted that media are like other business firms which contain three key features: market structure, conduct, and performance. Like other businesses, the news media require a healthy economic foundation to serve various publics. Picard (1989) pointed out that media in the United States are, for the most part, capitalist ventures, operated by private parties for the purpose of generating profit. Media cannot be considered separately from economic forces; economic considerations constrain newswork, influence editorial decisions indirectly, and shape media content (Gans, 1979;

Gaunt, 1990; Picard, 1989; Sigal, 1973). For example, the economic fortune of newspapers is determined by two major publics, advertisers and readers. Thus, a newspaper's content determines not only the kind and amount of readership it can attract, but also the kind and amount of advertising it carries. Udell (1978) found that revenues from the sale of advertising lineage constitute about 65% of newspaper income. The remaining 35% comes primarily from subscriptions and sales. For the most part, the commercial mass media make money by delivering audiences to advertisers. Many readers will not buy a newspaper with a small amount of advertising content or advertising that does not meet their needs. Media organizations with high ratings or high circulations are likely to attract more advertising and to earn higher profits (Li, 1994).

Political and social constraints. In the real world, news media do not operate in isolation because media exist in a social environment. Thus, social institutions and the political and technological environments shape media content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). Several studies that examined the extent to which a newspaper slanted news reporting to conform to its editorial position found that American newspapers have shown an overwhelming tendency to endorse certain political candidates (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). Altschull (1984) also argued that the press was simply a political institution. Government intervention in the press takes the forms of tax imposition, regulations, and indirect subsidies in shaping media content (Gaunt, 1990; Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991).

An ethnic press colored by homeland politics is a rather common phenomenon.

As Lau (1989) noted:

Immigrant journalism is often colored by homeland politics. San Francisco's eight Chinese-language newspapers tend to side with either Taiwan or the People's Republic of China. The Haiti Observateur, a Brooklyn, NY-based weekly with a circulation of 45,000, was found to challenge Francois ('Papa Doc') Duvalier, the country's self-appointed President for Life. All but one of California's 24 Vietnamese papers excoriate Hanoi, while the Philippine News, with 73,000 readers, opposes Ferdinand Marcos. (p. 90)

Also, Chen (1995) indicated that the ethnic Chinese press had a vital role to play in helping motherland governments with political mobilization.

Economic and Political Constraints on Chinese-Language Media

Publishing a Chinese ethnic newspaper in the United States has never been a lucrative business. A Chinese-language newspaper cannot survive on subscription revenues alone. The shortage of revenues generated by subscriptions cannot be made up by anemic advertising. Many of the Chinese ethnic newspapers in the United States have become willing partners with overseas homelands to obtain visible and invisible benefits that could compensate for their losses. A number of researchers have found strong economic and political links to foreign homelands among the Chinese-language press (Chen, 1995; Johnston, 1978; Kelly, 1985; Lau, 1989; Li, 1994; McCue, 1975; Tom, 1988; Tseng, 1984; Wong, 1995).

The political rivalry between Taiwan and China has also played a significant role in the conduct and performance of the Chinese-language media. For instance, in a study of Chinese newspapers in San Francisco in 1978, Johnston noted that the four dailies in

Chinatown at that time were all conservative and friendly, in varying degrees, to the Taiwanese government or to China's government. In a market analysis of the Chinese-language newspapers, Lau (1989) indicated that People's Daily would continue to publish in the United States despite having a deficit. The same was true for some of the local newspapers in San Francisco that took a pro-Taiwan stand. For instance, the now defunct Young China, the smallest of San Francisco's Chinatown dailies in 1978 with a circulation of 6,000, failed when the Taiwan government withdrew its support for this newspaper. In addition, in a study of the coverage of the 1989 Chinese Democracy movement by three Chinese-language newspapers published in the United States, Li (1994) indicated that the political differences they inherited from their homelands were reflected in the coverage of the 1989 Chinese Democracy movement.

Chinese-language newspapers in the United States can gain stronger financial support if they maintain ties with their homeland governments (Chen, 1995; Kelly, 1985; McCue, 1975; Tseng, 1984). In particular, Chen (1995) noted that both the Taiwan and China governments used the ethnic Chinese-language newspapers in their efforts to lobby and pressure the United States government for political benefits. As a whole, the apparent contradiction was reflected in the news content of the newspapers. An analysis conducted by McCue (1975) found that the political rivalry was reflected in the story datelines. For example, pro-Taiwan papers still use a dateline based on the number of years since the establishment of the Republic of China by the followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Nationalist Party (KMT). Thus, using year 1996 as an

example, the dateline in World Journal (loyal to the Taiwanese government) indicated it was the 85th year of the Republic of China, while China Press (a pro-China newspaper) used a dateline based on the Gregorian calendar.

In addition, advertising content also affects product differentiation. A significant example was that advertisements for the China-affiliated China East Airlines never appeared in the Taiwan-linked newspaper, World Journal, before 1997. Similarly, the Taiwan-affiliated China Airlines did not advertise their marketing campaigns in the China-linked newspaper, China Press, until 1997. Chinese-language newspapers in the United States often represent the interests of political ideologies in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

An Analytical Framework

Figure 1 provides a framework that sets the stage for the focus of analysis and the discussion of this study. This framework also provides the foundation for forming research questions that center around functions, inward roles, external constraints, internal constraints, and newspaper's cultural products.

Chinese-language newspapers are the easy source and most available media for the Chinese population in the United States. This study surveyed four major Chinese dailies in the San Francisco Bay Area to examine the role of the Chinese-language press and to review how the media served their Chinese readers in terms of communication functions, acculturation process, inward roles, and media sociology theory. Although a number of studies have reported on the crucial role played by the ethnic media in

socializing immigrants into the United States and in preserving the cultural ties of the overseas motherland, efforts to determine the role of the ethnic media have not been wholly successful. This study expanded on the four functions of mass communication that were noted by Lasswell (1948) and Wright (1986). The specific functions of the Chinese-language newspapers are as follows: (1) Lasswell's and Wright's functions, including (a) surveillance: information/news, (b) correlation: information/news, (c) socialization: information/news, (d) pure entertainment, (e) surveillance entertainment, (f) socialization entertainment, and (g) correlation entertainment; (2) acculturation functions--four modes of acculturation, including separation, biculturation, assimilation, and marginalization; and (3) societal functions, including Chinese society, American society, and both societies.

This study also identified four inward roles to determine what purposes Chinese-language newspapers fulfill in their reporting content. The four inward roles of Chinese-language newspapers are as follows: (1) Political role: including (a) as advocates or patriotic crusades that either toed the partisan and political lines of motherland governments or helped political and economic reforms of overseas motherlands; (b) as political mobilizers that function by helping overseas motherland governments to lobby or to pressure the U.S. government for political support and diplomatic recognition; (2) cultural identity role: as a cultural umbilical cord that binds the ethnic Chinese to their motherlands by helping them to retain their Chinese culture; (3) bridging role: as a bridge

to mainstream United States; and (4) unifying role: to build a sense of community among Chinese in the United States.

In addition, this research examined external and internal factors that have an important impact on editorial decisions, reporting content, and media operations. External constraints are discussed in terms of four aspects: (1) Social/Cultural, (2) Economic, (3) Political, and (4) Technological. Internal Constraints are reviewed with respect to three different levels: (1) Personal, (2) Professional, and (3) Organizational.

Research Questions

A study of the role of ethnic Chinese-language newspapers should help people understand more about the ethnic media and its contribution. The research questions considered for this study are as follows:

1. What are the roles of Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area as (a) determined by the content analysis and (b) perceived by owners, chief editors, advertising executives, and reporters? Do the Chinese-language newspapers run content that will allow them to fulfill the above roles?
2. What are the differences in the roles among the four Chinese-language newspapers as (a) determined by the content analysis and (b) perceived by owners, chief editors, advertising executives, and reporters?

3. To what extent are the Chinese-language newspapers' functions--surveillance, correlation, socialization, and entertainment--served? Is there any disagreement between the functions as reflected by the content analysis and those asserted by the media staff ?

4. What are the influences that affect the editorial decisions, reporting content, and operation of each of the Chinese-language newspapers as expressed by the owners, chief editors, advertising executives, and reporters? (a) social/cultural influences, (b) economic environment including competition and market structure, (c) political constraints, (d) technological improvements, (e) personal values, (f) professional measures, and (g) organizational policies.

5. What are the problems or challenges anticipated by the owner and chief editors regarding the general operation of Chinese-language newspapers? (a) financial constraints, (b) competition from the increasing number of Chinese-language newspapers, (c) competition from mainstream English-language newspapers, (d) loss of readership, as newer generation immigrants are not readers of Chinese-language newspapers, (e) lack of personnel and community support, (f) managerial problems, and (g) polarization of politics.

6. What are the future opportunities and development trend for the Chinese press as expected by owners, chief editors, advertising executives, and reporters? Will Chinese-language newspapers continue to publish? If not, Why?

7. To what extent, if any, do the Chinese-language newspapers fulfill a political role? What is that political role? In addition, do the interviewees feel that

Chinese-language newspapers are gradually becoming more neutral and less political? If they feel that newspapers are becoming less political, can becoming politically neutral be considered a strategy for the media to expand their circulation and increase their advertising revenues?

Figure 1. An Analytical Framework for Chinese-Language Newspapers

Note. Arrows represent the direction of the influences.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This study examined the role of the Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area. The method of content analysis was used to compare a random sample of content from four major Chinese dailies during a six-month period from October, 1995 to March, 1996. In addition, a series of interviews were conducted with the management and the staff of the four newspapers to gain insider's perspectives and insights to help understand the role of Chinese-language newspapers in San Francisco Bay Area. To achieve a complete and balance view, this research also examined the correlation between the findings of content analysis and the perceptions of interviewees.

In-Depth Interviews

As a complement to the quantitative content analysis method, a series of interviews were conducted to investigate the perceptions of the management and the employees of the four Chinese dailies. Interviewees included the owner, editor-in-chief, senior reporter, and account executive from each of the four newspapers. The interviews were conducted during January of 1997 and all questions were open-ended. The researcher took notes and used a tape recorder when permission was granted during the interviews. The list of interviewees from the four newspapers is as follows:

1. Yu-Ru Chen, editor-in-chief at World Journal.
2. Lily Liu, city editor/senior reporter at World Journal.

3. Shih-Wei Lu, reporter at World Journal.
4. Brian Ho, account executive at World Journal.
5. Wellington Cheng, editor-in-chief at Sing Tao Daily.
6. Kai Ping Liu, city editor/senior reporter at Sing Tao Daily.
7. Ge Li, reporter at Sing Tao Daily.
8. Sam Chan, account executive at Sing Tao Daily.
9. Yining Xie, president at China Press.
10. Yueming He, manager of the news desk at China Press.
11. Elaine Shep, executive manager at International Daily News.
12. Hong-Tu Tseng, senior reporter/account executive at International Daily News.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a long established method in social science research. Berelson (1952) conceptualized the method of content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p.15). Content analysis is a useful procedure for showing trends in the treatment of issues over time or for comparing the treatment of a given type of content in various media. The frequency of specific words, phrases, or themes appeared in a given communication could be counted and statistical relationships between these data and other factors could then be studied. On account of these advantages, the method of

content analysis was used in this research to analyze the content of the four Chinese-language newspapers.

Sample. Four representative Chinese-language newspapers with large circulation in the San Francisco Bay Area were selected for the study: World Journal (Shijie Jih Bao) from Taiwan, Sing Tao Daily (Xingdao Jih Bao) from Hong Kong, China Press (Qiao Bao) from mainland China, and International Daily News (Gwo Ji Jih Bao) with headquarters in the United States. Appendix A lists the four Chinese-language newspapers used in this study according to their daily circulation along with the average number of pages per day and their retail price.

Selection of the four newspapers was determined from the data obtained from Mill (1987), Li (1994), Asian Pacific American Media Guide (1994), and the Asian American Encyclopedia (1995). In summary, the four selected Chinese dailies carry high circulations and are representative of Chinese-language newspapers that are available in the San Francisco Bay Area.

A systematic random sample was drawn from a six-month period from October, 1995 through March, 1996. Two constructed weeks were randomly selected from each three-month period. The sample included 28 issues of the two newspapers (World Journal and Sing Tao Daily) that had Sunday editions and 24 issues of the two newspapers (China Press and International Daily News) that did not publish on Sundays; a total of 104 issues were analyzed. The sampling method assured that each issue would have an equal and known chance of being selected. The news items coded for World

Journal were 6,209. The amount of content coded for Sing Tao Daily was 5,608. Also, there were 4,796 articles selected for China Press and 4,391 for International Daily News. The total number of news items analyzed for this research was 21,004.

Measurement. The unit of analysis was the individual news story, including news, features, editorials, entertainment, and advertisements that were related to the Taiwan presidential election. To ensure the reliability of the coding categories and definitions, it was necessary for the researcher to conduct a pilot study before doing the actual coding. Two individuals, the researcher and a second coder, completed the task of the coding; however, most of the data was coded by the researcher. To ensure that the coding would be reliable, the second coder was fully briefed on the research design, the definitions, and the questions for this study. When the coding was concluded, both Scott's Pi index and Holsti's formula were applied to determine the accuracy and intercoder reliability for the coding results of all data used in this study. A random sample of 10% of the content universe was selected to test the intercoder reliability.

Definitions of categories. All the news coverage in the sample were measured and coded according to the following categories:

1. Origins: Where the story originated. The subcategories for the origins were:
(a) Taiwan, (b) China, (c) Hong Kong, (d) San Francisco Bay Area, (e) California,
(f) United States, (g) Asia, and (h) other.

2. Region: Geographical regions of stories covered in the newspapers. The subcategories for the regions included Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, San Francisco Bay Area, California, United States, Asia, and other.

3. News sources: The source or authority from which the story was produced or supplied. This included 21 categories: (a) stories written by newspaper staffs, (b) stories from a newspaper's affiliated news group, (c) stories from AP, (d) stories from UPI, (e) stories from the New York Times, (f) stories from European News Agencies, (g) translated stories from the San Jose Mercury News (SJMN), (h) translated stories from the San Francisco Chronicle (SFC), (i) translated stories from the San Francisco Examiner (SFE), (j) translated stories from Washington Post; (k) translated stories from Los Angeles Times (LAT), (l) translated stories from U.S. News Agencies; (m) stories from Taiwan News Agency--Central News Agency, (n) stories from Taiwan's Independent Evening Post (Tsuli Wan Bao), (o) stories from Taiwan's China Times (Jong-Gwo Jih Bao), (p) stories from Taiwan's United Daily News; (q) stories from Hong Kong news agency--China News Agency, (r) stories from mainland China news agency--China News Service (China), (s) stories from mainland China news agency--Xinhua News Agency, (t) stories from mainland China's People's Daily, and (u) compiled/translated.

4. Placement. This category provided data on the page and location the news item was placed. The result, which was calculated to determine the percentage of items placed on each page, provided a measure of the importance of the coverage. Also, if the story

was on the front page, it was coded as follows: (a) lead story, (b) other story above the fold, (c) other story below the fold, and (e) inside page.

5. Six categories of content types were coded: (a) News--both hard and soft news were coded as news stories; (b) Feature stories--human interest stories, photographs related to what happened in the past week, popular sites, resorts, and profiles were coded in the feature stories category; (c) Entertainment content that was non-news content that has amusement value such as fiction, gossip columns, sports news, and comics. In addition, a news story related to entertainment was included in the entertainment category; (d) Knowledge-Information is informative content that does not fit into the news, feature stories, or entertainment categories, such as immigrant questions, information about real estate in both the United States and the overseas homelands, financial/stocks, new technology, and medical information; (e) Editorials/Commentary--all opinion-oriented items including commentary, editorial, and analysis were coded in the editorial category; and (f) Advertising on the Taiwanese presidential election. The advertisement category was included because at the peak of the Taiwanese presidential election, many Chinese in the United States put out page after page of announcement ads to support Taiwan's democratization process. Because the content of these advertisements was directly related to the political role of Chinese-language newspapers, these ads were characterized as a content type in this study.

To determine the functions and the inward roles of the Chinese-language newspapers, each newspaper was coded according to the following categories:

6. The functional categories were based on Lasswell's (1948) and Wright's (1986) four functions of mass communication. The categories on media's function were coded as following:

6A. Lasswell's and Wright's functions were operationally defined as follows:

- (a) Surveillance: collection and distribution of information concerning events in the homeland and in American society. Operationally, it included the following items: consumer information--the purpose of the news stories was to inform consumers about shopping or merchandising, such as real estate, calendars of music and art activities, insurance service, immigration law, and stock markets both in the United States and in the overseas homelands. News and information that were neutral depictions of events or news stories about what was going on around the globe were included in this category. Examples were news stories about American society, about worldwide economic development in Chinese home countries, and about politics;
- (b) Correlation: the 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 coordination of separate activities (McQuail, 1984);
- (c) Socialization: the process of becoming a part of society, transmission of cultural, social, religious, and political beliefs or helping immigrants adapt to social needs and unifying the society. Examples were news stories and photos that exclusively reported on economic or political achievements or current situations in American society, American political/economic celebrities, resorts, popular sites, products, ideas, and services;

(d) Pure entertainment: any non-news content that has amusement value such as fiction, gossip columns, and comics. In addition, a news story related to entertainment was under the entertainment category. Operationally, it referred to any news content that could fulfill pleasure-seeking needs. Examples were news stories and photos about Hollywood, Hong Kong, or Taiwanese celebrities, Billboard's top 10 singles, and movies with the highest box office sales both in the United States and in overseas homelands during a particular week; (e) Socialization entertainment, which referred to the transmission of traditional Chinese culture. Operationally, this described content about traditional Chinese literature, serial fiction written by overseas homeland novelists, and gossip columns with reader participation; (f) Surveillance entertainment, which referred to the collection and distribution of information with entertaining elements inside or outside the United States. Examples were comics strips meant to teach English, translations from European and American novelists, and sports news that happened within or outside the United States; and (g) Correlation entertainment, which meant any non-news content that provided guidance or advice.

6B. Acculturation was defined as the process of adaptation or resistance to American life or culture. Acculturation was coded as (a) separation, (b) biculturation/integration, (c) assimilation, (d) marginalization, and (e) not applicable.

Separation was defined as a process in which different cultures remain separate from one another. In this study, any news story that exclusively presented Chinese culture without mentioning American society is considered playing a role of separation.

Similarly, any story that aims at helping the second generation retain a Chinese identity was considered playing the same role. Examples included a supplement based on traditional Chinese folk art and language arts, news stories primarily from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China, and advertising promoting Chinese products and Chinese restaurants.

Biculturation/Integration was defined as a process in which people accommodated two different cultures. Operationally, it was defined as any story that promotes both Chinese and American cultures, promotes bicultural activities and intercultural exchanges. Examples included news stories about the United States and home countries, and advertisements selling long-distance calling plans and round-trip air tickets for visiting homelands.

Assimilation was defined as a process in which an individual had lost his subjective identity and was absorbed into the social structure of another group. In this study, it was defined as stories that dealt with American society to help Chinese fit into it and to promote American culture. Examples were news stories primarily about American celebrities and society, participation in mainstream politics by Chinese Americans, and advertising promoting American products, services, or ideas.

Marginalization was defined as losing cultural and psychological contact with both traditional Chinese culture and the host society. A fifth category, not applicable, was created to code content that could not fit the four other categories. Examples included international news, information, and entertainment news that was not related to Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China or the United States.

6C. Societal functions will be coded as: (a) Chinese society, subject matter of the stories devoted to Chinese politics, people, or places, including stories about homelands as well as the Chinese community in America; (b) American society, general news and information about America, including state and local politics, such as news about American policy on foreign countries; American product information, American immigration laws or health care laws of interest to foreigners; and (c) Both societies, stories related to the United States and Chinese countries, including, Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, and any Chinese community in other countries.

7. Inward roles: The purposes Chinese-language newspapers fulfill in their reporting content. The classifications of the inward roles were: (a) political role, (b) cultural identity role, (c) bridging role, and (d) unifying role.

Political role: Provided a categorical measure of whether a newspaper advocated or strove to mobilize support for the government's position. Operationally, it included the following items: (i) Advocate/Patriotic crusades: news providing support for established authority and norms for the overseas motherland countries or commenting on the meaning of events and information, such as editorials, analysis, and commentary to laud the motherland country or to condemn an opposing one. Examples included news stories, commentary, or analysis that exclusively reported on economic or political achievements in a particular country and further condemned an opposing one. In this study news stories and editorials that specially related to the "China reunification" issue including Taiwan's first presidential election, the Taiwan independence movement, China

reunification, and Hong Kong's 1997 issue were classified under this category. Also, photos and advertisements related to China's military exercises or to Taiwan's first presidential election were coded in the same manner; (ii) Political mobilizer: News or commentary by overseas motherland governments aimed at either lobbying or pressuring the U.S. government or developed countries to provide political support or to stay out of situations affecting China's sovereignty. Examples included denouncing U.S. intervention in China's sovereignty, criticizing when the military forces of the U.S. and European countries assist in defending democracy, and condemning countries that support Taiwan as an independent country.

Cultural identity role: News coverage about preserving Chinese identity and exclusively presenting Chinese culture without mentioning American society. Examples include helping American-born Chinese learn Chinese, supplements based on traditional Chinese novels and news stories primarily about Chinese culture, traditional ceremonies, or Chinese food in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China.

Bridging role: Helping Chinese immigrants become a part of mainstream American society, transmission of social, religious, and political beliefs, or assisting immigrants in adapting to social needs and unifying the society. Examples were news stories and photos primarily about American society, including present political and economic situations, celebrities, resorts, products, ideas, and services.

Unifying role: This was defined as building a sense of community among Chinese in the United States. Operationally, it included promoting a positive image of Chinese

Americans, encouraging political involvement in every aspect of the mainstream society, and fostering constructive attitudes toward racial discrimination. Examples included news stories and features about the success of Chinese Americans, Chinese-American celebrities, and politically ambitious Chinese immigrants who participate in the decision making of the larger society.

Reliability test. To ensure objectivity in the content analysis, a second coder was asked to assist in the coding process. The total number of news items analyzed for this study was 21,004. Ten percent (2,103) of the total sample of news articles was randomly selected from each newspaper in each sampling period to examine intercoder reliability. Both Scott's pi index and the Holsti's formula were used to measure the percentage of agreement among coders. The intercoder reliability coefficient for all stories coded was 88% using the Scott's pi formula and 90% using the Holsti's formula.

Scott's pi index is as follows:

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

Holsti's formula is stated below:

$$CR = \frac{2 (C_{1,2})}{C_1 + C_2}$$

$C_{1,2}$ = the number of category assignments both coders agree on.

$C_1 + C_2$ = the total of category assignments made by the first and second coder respectively.

Background of the Four Chinese-Language Daily Newspapers

Four major Chinese-language daily newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area were selected for this study. Each represents a different region according to their origins: World Journal (Shijie Jih Bao) from Taiwan, Sing Tao Daily (Xingdao Jih Bao) from Hong Kong, China Press (Qiao Bao) from mainland China, and International Daily News (Gwo Ji Jih Bao) with headquarters in Los Angeles. Both World Journal and Sing Tao Daily publish daily editions with a full-color Sunday magazine supplement. China Press and International Daily News publish daily except Sundays, official holidays, and the Chinese New Year.

World Journal. World Journal began publication in the San Francisco in February, 1976. The paper's owner is Tihwu Wang, who is also the publisher of the United Daily News and a powerful politician in Taiwan. World Journal, the most widely distributed and read Chinese-language daily, is one of the few profitable newspapers among the immigrant publications in the United States with a circulation of more than 1.2 million (Li, 1994; Chen, 1992; Ma, 1989). In the San Francisco Bay Area, its circulation went from 45,000 copies in 1993 (Inter Trend Co., 1993) to 50,000 copies in 1996 (World Journal Inc., 1996).

World Journal was the first Chinese ethnic newspaper in the United States to use photo-composition techniques and advanced transmission technology via satellite. World Journal increased its daily printing from 12 pages to 92 pages (Chen, 1992). The content of the World Journal includes news from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China, world news,

United States news, Bay Area news, worldwide economic news, literary supplements, children's and women's columns, a home section, an entertainment section, business services, and advertisements.

Sing Tao Daily. In 1964, Sally Aw Sian's Sing Tao Jih Bao of Hong Kong was publishing separate editions in San Francisco and New York City. At that time, the content of the newspaper was prepared in Hong Kong by the home office and airmailed to the United States where local news and advertisements were added to complete the edition.

Sing Tao Daily was the first Chinese-language newspaper to use smaller characters in its printing to get twice as much news content on a page. To strengthen its cultural services to the new immigrants in the local community, another major change in Sing Tao Daily's editorial direction was to increase more news coverage about the local Chinese community activities. Thus, many new immigrants turned to Sing Tao Daily for news information.

In 1978, Sing Tao Daily used satellites to transmit news stories to the United States to provide timely news coverage all over the world. Most of its readers were Cantonese from Hong Kong and mainland China. It has a circulation of up to 60,000 in the San Francisco Bay Area (personal communication, January 22, 1997).

China Press. In January, 1990, China Press was established as a successor to the defunct China Daily News (1940-1989), which was partly funded by Beijing and followed a pro-Chinese Communist Party (CCP) press policy. Closed down in 1989 as a

result of internal political strife after the June 4 incident, China Daily News (Huaqiao Jih Bao) was reorganized as China Press. Founded in New York, China Press relayed the most important political news from China and informed readers about what was happening in the mainland.

China Press became a national publication in June, 1992 when it started a San Francisco edition. Being partly funded by Beijing and following a pro-Chinese Communist Party press policy, China Press primarily serves a propagandist purpose to build an overseas base of political support. Although Yining Xie, the president of China Press, claimed that the paper is now owned by a nonpartisan proprietor with no financial support from Beijing, the daily paper supports the Beijing Government along rigid partisan and ideological lines (personal communication, February 26, 1996 & January 28, 1997).

China Press has a circulation of about 20,000 in the San Francisco Bay Area. In terms of employees, China Press has a total staff of about 170 for its New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles locations.

International Daily News. Taiwan immigrants Tao Chen and Chao-chu Fu began publishing International Daily News in 1981 (Asian American Encyclopedia, 1995). Its main headquarters is located in Los Angeles with other bureaus stationed in San Francisco, New York, Houston, Vancouver, Washington state, and Panama.

International Daily News is an independently-owned operation, receiving no funding from either the Taiwanese or the Chinese government. Thus, according to Elaine

Shep, an executive manager at International Daily News, it can honestly report all the facts and criticize the current affairs from an unbiased standpoint (personal communication, February 26, 1996). International Daily News has about 20,100 circulation in the San Francisco Bay Area. Its readers include Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Cantonese speaking immigrants (personal communication, January 20, 1997).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Since 1990, Chinese population has been the largest of the more than 20 Asian groups residing in the United States (Wong, 1995). With the new influx of Chinese immigrants entering the United States, the service of Chinese-language media has become more and more important. Chinese-language media have played a dual role by aiding the immigrants' adjustment to American life and by maintaining Chinese culture.

Chinese-language newspapers and television broadcasting are the two media most available for the Chinese population in the United States. According to a survey conducted by the Asian American Club, watching television (40%) and reading newspapers (37%) were the two major sources for the Chinese population to obtain daily information, whereas 60% of Americans in general obtained their news from watching television (World Journal, January 30, 1997).

Chinese-language newspapers often fulfill a unique and important role that the mainstream press either ignores or is incapable of providing because of language and cultural barriers. The primary purpose of this research was to examine the role of Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area. The four dailies in this study, World Journal, Sing Tao Daily, China Press, and International Daily News, shared the same audiences--Chinese and Chinese-Americans living in Northern California--and represented a high circulation and availability in the San Francisco Bay Area.

The method used in this study was a quantitative content analysis complemented by the qualitative personal interviews. In addition to expanding Lasswell's (1948) and Wright's (1986) four major communication activities--surveillance, correlation, socialization, and entertainment--to define the functions of ethnic Chinese-language newspapers, this study utilized four dimensions of inward roles--political socialization, cultural identity, bridging role, and unifying role--to determine what purposes Chinese-language newspapers fulfill in their reporting content. Four modes of acculturation patterns--separation, biculturation, assimilation, and marginalization--were investigated to assess the media's adaptation process. Three categories of societal functions—Chinese society, American society, and both societies--were also evaluated to determine the media's reporting emphasis. In addition, the study adopted media sociology theory to examine the factors that influence media content and operations of the Chinese press.

Role of Chinese-language Newspapers as Viewed by Media Staff

View of World Journal

Located behind the railroad tracks in Millbrae just south of Millbrae Avenue on Adrain Road, the San Francisco World Journal sells 50,000 copies in the Bay Area. Established in San Francisco in 1976, this daily paper target its readership to the west of the Mississippi River and in Western Canada. However, with the subsequent establishment of a branch office in Los Angeles, the San Francisco World Journal's

market was reduced to the four major metropolitan areas of San Francisco, Seattle, Honolulu, and Vancouver. As a sister newspaper of the United Daily News, one of the most popular and influential newspapers in Taiwan, World Journal provides its readers with the most up-to-date information about Greater China and the United States.

With the motto of “Wherever there are Chinese people, there is World Journal,” this daily paper has grown to become one of the most widely read Chinese-language newspapers in North America. For the past 20 years, World Journal has had the following objectives: (a) to export Chinese culture to America; (b) to serve its Chinese readers with their spiritual needs and to help them improve living conditions, create trade opportunities, and integrate with the society they live in; (c) to reinforce the confidence of overseas Chinese and to cement their support for a free and democratic China (World Journal Inc., 1992).

Yu-Ru Chen (1997), editor-in-chief of the San Francisco World Journal, emphasized that the first issue of World Journal rolled off the presses simultaneously in New York and San Francisco on February 12, 1976, with the primary purpose of binding Chinese to their motherlands and maintaining a strong cultural identity.

Today, World Journal, with its heavy local advertising, is one of the few profitable Chinese-language newspapers in the United States. As Chen noted: “Frankly, running Chinese-language newspapers in the United States is financially risky because of the limited advertising market from the Chinese businesses and tough competition among rival newspapers. Not until the late 1980s, did World Journal begin to make a profit.”

The lifting of martial law in Taiwan and the liberalization of Taiwan's political system has ushered in a period of liberalization of the press. As a result, the depoliticization has caused World Journal to be dissociated from the ruling Kuomintang (the KMT, or the Chinese Nationalist Party) and to improve its professional quality and commercial appeal, thereby expanding its circulation to embrace even larger numbers of Chinese, including-mainland Chinese immigrants and students. Now World Journal not only has the largest circulation among all Chinese-language newspapers in the United States, but it is also the most widely read Chinese-language newspaper in the United States. As Chen explained: "Today, we are here not only for the cultural umbilical cord that binds the ethnic Chinese in the United States to motherland societies, but more for an important role we have played--a source for unity for the Chinese community."

Lily Liu (1997), city editor and senior reporter at the San Francisco World Journal, said that in the past 20 years, the role of World Journal has changed as Chinese immigration patterns have altered. Liu added:

Serving as a homeland tie and maintaining a strong cultural identity in the 1980s, World Journal is now helping Chinese immigrants to fit into the host society. It also wants to help fight a feeling of alienation as well as to correct the stereotypes against ethnic minorities. In this sense, the primary role of World Journal is to serve the most up-to-date information on the political, commercial, and cultural developments in the motherland and to provide an opinion leadership role within the Chinese community.

View of Sing Tao Daily

Located on Littlefield Avenue in South San Francisco in a bright yellow building with a lively red sign, Sing Tao Daily's western edition proclaims a circulation of 60,000

copies on weekdays and nearly 70,000 on the weekend in nine Bay Area counties. In 1964, Sally Aw Sian's Sing Tao Daily from Hong Kong was airfreighted daily to San Francisco. During this period, Chinese-language newspapers, including Sing Tao Daily, emphasized news from the homelands and lacked news about the immigrants' American communities. The first overseas newsroom of Sing Tao Daily was established in 1976. The content of the newspaper was prepared in Hong Kong by the home office and flown to the United States where the local news and advertisements were added for reproduction. In 1978, Sing Tao Daily began using a satellite to transmit the editorial content to overseas offices for publishing. Sing Tao Daily was not only the first Chinese-language newspaper to make use of satellite-fed news, but it was also the first to use smaller characters than the old-style Chinese dailies and to focus on the importance of the new immigrants to the Chinese community.

Headquartered in Hong Kong, most readers of Sing Tao Daily are Cantonese-speaking Chinese. A survey conducted by Sing Tao Daily in 1992 showed that almost half (49%) of the subscribers of Sing Tao Daily were raised in Hong Kong, and that about one fourth (23%) of them were raised in Guangdong Province in mainland China. In other words, more than seven in ten (72%) subscribers of Sing Tao Daily were Cantonese-speaking immigrants. In a sense, the Hong Kong-based Sing Tao Daily is an extension of the Hong Kong press and is categorized as a Cantonese-language newspaper. However, Wellington Cheng (1997), editor-in-chief at Sing Tao Daily's western edition, disagreed with this contention: "Our paper is printed mostly in Mandarin-speaking

characters except for the entertainment news from Hong Kong and the supplement sections.” But Cheng said that Sing Tao Daily grew up in San Francisco’s Chinatown, and at least half the Cantonese-speaking residents there read Sing Tao Daily. Since its inauguration, Sing Tao Daily has always given its readers valuable insights into both American society and the homelands, including articles on politics, finance, property, culture, education, and social science. Cheng said he hoped that Sing Tao Daily could become not only the main source of news and information that Chinese immigrants rely on, but also the most widely read Chinese-language newspaper in the United States.

Sing Tao Daily carries national and international news with a focus on issues that relate to the Chinese community. The subjects of recent stories that Sing Tao Daily has carried are: Washington Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Gary Locke, now the first Chinese-American governor in the continental United States; the controversy in San Francisco’s Chinatown over sidewalk merchants hawking live animals; California’s Proposition 209; Chinese-American city council and school board members in the Bay Area; and the recent murder of a Chinese in Rohnert Park. Cheng said he believed that, as a means of mass communication within the Chinese community, Chinese-language newspapers have often played an exclusive and important role that the mainstream press ignored:

We would feel powerless and lost without Chinese-language newspapers as Chinese immigrants become a larger and more influential minority. Nothing is more vital to the well-being of a community than that each citizen is well informed. The top priority for Sing Tao Daily is to fulfill this responsibility and to give a focus to our lives and rights as well as to the homelands where we came from.

Today Sing Tao Daily has six publishing offices located in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. To strengthen its cultural services to the Chinese community, Sing Tao Daily now emphasizes the fact that the Chinese community is an active participant in public affairs in the United States. As Kai-ping Liu (1997), senior reporter/city editor of the Sing Tao Daily's western edition, noted: "Our aim is to integrate the Chinese community, to promote the social status of Chinese, and to correct the stereotypes of Chinese in the United States. And I suppose we succeed in this aim."

The main objective of Sing Tao Daily is to cement ties and consolidate cooperation between Chinese Americans and other Americans, thereby achieving economic prosperity for the Chinese community. Its local news, western edition, and economic edition, also help Chinese people make use of social resources in the Chinese community. Sing Tao Daily hopes to localize its pages and to become a part of the local community.

View of China Press

On January 5, 1990, China Press was reorganized in New York as a successor to the defunct China Daily News (Huaqiao Jih Bao) and Centre Daily (Zhong Bao), which were shut down in 1989 as the result of internal political strife after the Tiananmen massacre. With funding continuing to come from the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), China Press was designed to help overseas Chinese better understand the rapid social changes occurring in Mainland China.

China Press became a nationwide publication in June of 1992 when it started a San Francisco edition. With a circulation of about 20,000 in the San Francisco Bay Area and 100,000 in the entire United States, China Press has a total staff of about 170 employees for its New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles editions. Yining Xie (1997), the president of China Press, explained the initial mission of China Press (West coast edition): “The Beijing government was a target of public criticism after the June 4 incident, but we could not deny the contributions that China’s communist government has made for Chinese people in the past six years.” According to its charter, the daily paper aims to advocate the Chinese communist policy, reflect China’s development, promote the country’s reform and opening policies, correct the stereotype of the Beijing government after the June 4 incident, and win over the loyalty of overseas Chinese (China Press Inc., 1995). For example, in keeping with the press outlook and policy of the CCP, China Press has frequently given the toutiao (lead story) position to political issues, economic events, and China’s reunification policy. Most of the toutiao news, such as Premier Li Peng’s reiterating that Taiwan is China’s renegade province and that China’s policies and actions toward Taiwan are China’s internal affair (China Press, March 6, 1996), suggest that the paper is designed to help overseas Chinese better understand the party policies and ideologies as well as the rapid social changes happening in China.

Xie acknowledged that China Press has had a vital role to play in helping China’s government with political advocacy. Xie added that hostility has persisted over the

decades between the mainland government and the Taiwan government; therefore, the support from the ethnic Chinese communities in the United States is critical for China's communist government in its efforts to achieve a reunified China.

As Yueming He (1997), news desk manager of China Press, noted: "All news against the policy of reunified China would either be pulled out from China Press or covered in a negative point of view." In other words, China Press played down "bad news" that were unfavorable to the Beijing government and played up "good news" that were favorable to the Beijing government.

View of International Daily News

International Daily News started serving the overseas Chinese communities in 1981. Headquartered in Los Angeles, International Daily News is distributed in the San Francisco Bay Area every day except Sunday. International Daily News claims a circulation of 20,100 in the Northwest and about 96,600 copies total nationwide. According to its charter, the primary goal of International Daily News is to serve the Chinese communities with honest coverage. The Northwest Edition's manager, Elaine Shep, and its reporter, Hong-Tu Tseng, were interviewed by telephone. Elaine Shep (1997) said International Daily News is an independently owned company, receiving no funding from any partisan proprietor known to maneuver between Beijing and Taipei for financial support and political orientation. As a result, it can honestly report all the facts and criticize current affairs in an upright manner because of its relatively liberal press policy.

International Daily News has been seen as a paper leaning toward Taiwanese independence over the past 15 years. However, because of its financial losses, in the middle of 1996, International Daily News was purchased by a pro-CCP overseas Chinese businessman. There has been speculation that the change in the chief executive may affect the paper's political ideology, even though its policy toward Taiwanese independence has not been changed to date. Hong-Tu Tseng (1997), reporter at International Daily News, expressed the opinion that the ethnic Chinese newspaper in the United States is mainly a political instrument in that it either toes the line of the Taiwanese government or of the China government because the overseas Chinese have inherited a political bias that is a holdover from the earlier partisan animosity between the CCP and the Nationalist Party (KMT). As the political situation now stands, China and Taiwan are not united, and Hong Kong will be returned to China in 1997. In referring to the above fact, Chinese-language newspapers cannot help but use relatively strong political rhetoric in news reporting, as well as in writing about the pros and cons of communism and capitalism to help gain readership. Tseng added:

The mixed reaction to the issue of China reunification reveals a split in the Chinese-American community between those favoring Taiwan's independence movement and those opposing it. Overseas Chinese in the United States are already in different camps and it won't change in the near future. International Daily News will continue to serve as an information source and help readers gain factual, timely and comprehensive coverage.

Role of Chinese-Language Newspapers as Reflected by the Content Analysis

In this study, the method of quantitative content analysis was used to examine the role of Chinese-language newspapers as well as to make a comparison with the media workers' perceptions concerning the role of their papers. Four constructed weeks, which consisted of 104 issues containing 21,004 news items from the four newspapers from October, 1995 to March, 1996, were randomly selected for analysis.

Functions of Chinese-Language Newspapers

Chinese-language newspapers had an advantage in reaching specific target readers by offering specific information needs that were unavailable in the mainstream press. Chinese press, written in their mother tongues, had become an easy source for Chinese readers to learn about news, entertainment, and other information regarding homeland society, host society, and local Chinese community. In terms of the media's functions, this study used content category, communication functions, acculturation functions, and societal functions to compare the differences as well as similarities among the four daily papers and to determine which function was emphasized by ethnic Chinese daily newspapers. This section answers Research Question 3.

In this study, newspaper content was coded into six categories: news, feature stories, entertainment, knowledge-information, editorials/commentary, and ads/Taiwan presidential election. The results for each daily paper are shown in Figure 2, which is a graphical presentation of the content category of the four newspapers. These results provide a partial answer to the first and second research questions.

Figure 2. Distribution of Content Category in Chinese-Language Newspapers

Note. World Journal (n=6,209); Int'l (n=4,391); Sing Tao (n=5,608); China Press (n=4,796)

In the four newspapers, on the average, more than half of the 21,004 stories were devoted to news and more than one-fourth were allocated to entertainment. About 8% of the daily news hole was used for knowledge-information. From this findings, it showed that the Chinese-language newspapers stressed news coverage the most.

As exhibited in Figure 2, news occupied the largest portion of each Chinese-language newspaper's coverage and the share of its proportion in the four dailies was comparable. International Daily News used up to 60% of its daily news hole for news content, while the other three dailies devoted from 54% to 58% of their news holes

to news. Entertainment was the second largest category among the four daily papers, with the World Journal accounting for slightly more than 30% of its coverage. China Press about 26%, Sing Tao Daily more than 26%, and International Daily News about 17%. Knowledge-information represented the third largest category for Sing Tao Daily, China Press, and International Daily News; feature stories were the third largest category in the World Journal.

Advertising related to the first presidential election in Taiwan was also categorized as a content type. At the time when the crisis between Taiwan and China escalated, many overseas Chinese, either from Taiwan or who supported the pro-Taiwan democratic movement, such as University of California Berkeley Taiwanese Association and supporters for four Taiwanese presidential candidates, placed page after page of advertisements denouncing China's intimidating action and supporting Taiwan's democratization process. The amount of this advertising in the four Chinese-language newspapers was quite different. World Journal filled 14 full pages of display ads during the sampling period, which included 18 overt propaganda ads. International Daily News had four full-page advertisements. Such overt propaganda ads did not appear in Sing Tao Daily or China Press during the sampling period. The attention on Taiwan's presidential election, which resulted in a chilling of China-Taiwan relations, escalated into an international issue among the United States, Taiwan, and China. As Sam Chan (1997), account executive at Sing Tao Daily, said: "However, this tension seemed to have no direct relationship to Hong Kong. Sing Tao Daily, categorized as an extension of the

press in Hong Kong's society, seemed to lack such attraction to overt propaganda ads."

China Press, as a mouthpiece of the CCP, apparently did not publish messages of pro-Taiwan propaganda ads.

Communication Functions

In terms of communication functions, this study used four main categories to examine how Chinese-language newspapers served their readers and to identify what set of functions each newspaper fulfilled. Additional sub-categories were divided under the entertainment function. The categories of communication functions were as follows: surveillance; correlation; socialization; and entertainment: pure entertainment, socialization entertainment, surveillance entertainment, and correlation entertainment.

As shown in Table 1 and Figure 3, surveillance stood out as the primary function served by the Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area, representing an average of 60% of the content of the four newspapers. Among the four dailies, International Daily News devoted about 66% of everyday news coverage to the surveillance function, with the other newspapers devoting from 56% to 59% to surveillance. Among other communication functions, an average of 26% of news content was allocated to entertainment, which represented the second largest category. The third largest function was related to correlation, accounting for an average of 11% of the content of the newspapers.

As Table 1 and Table 2 show, entertainment was the second largest category among the four daily papers, with pure entertainment accounting for an average of 14%

of the total content of the four newspapers; socialization entertainment accounted for an average of 9% of the content and surveillance entertainment averaged 3% of the content.

Table 1

Percentage of Content Devoted to Communication Functions in Chinese-Language

Newspapers

Communication functions	Newspaper				Avg. % (N=21,004)
	World Journal (n=6,209)	Int'l Daily (n=4,391)	Sing Tao (n=5,608)	China Press (n=4,796)	
Surveillance	56%	66%	58%	59%	59%
Correlation	10	11	12	10	11
Socialization	3	6	4	5	4
Entertainment	31	17	26	26	26
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2

Sub-Category of Entertainment Function in Chinese-Language Newspapers

Entertainment	Newspaper				
	World Journal (n=1,919)	Int'l Daily (n=747)	Sing Tao (n=1,469)	China Press (n=1,257)	Avg. % (N=5,391)
Pure entertainment	16%	10%	16%	13%	14%
Socialization entertainment	12	4	7	12	9
Surveillance entertainment	4	3	3	2	3
Correlation entertainment	-	-	1	-	-
Total	31%	17%	26%	26%	26%

Table 2 and Figure 3 show that almost half of the entertainment content served a dual function. Only 14% of the total content in the four newspapers could be classified as pure entertainment. If the 9% of the entertainment content that was also categorized as socialization content were added to the socialization category, that category would jump from 4% to 13% of the total content in the four newspapers. Also, if the 3% of the entertainment content that also served a surveillance function were added to the

surveillance category, that category would increase from 59% to 62% of the total content in the four newspapers.

Figure 3. Distribution of Communication Functions in Chinese-Language Newspapers

Note. World Journal (n=6,209); Int'l (n=4,391); Sing Tao (n=5,608); China Press (n=4,796)

Acculturation Functions

In the process of acculturation patterns, the study found that, on the average, nearly 69% of the content in the four newspapers was associated with supporting the separation function, which helps to preserve traditional values and maintain cultural identity. Further evidence, which could be attributed to the function of separation, can be observed from the fact that the major newspapers published in the United States for a

Chinese readership are printed in Chinese characters rather than in English, except for the names of American cities, names of people, and a few classified ads. In addition, homeland news about Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China has generally occupied a prominent place on the first two pages of Chinese-language newspapers. In light of news placement and the news value criteria, this represents a low level of assimilation into American society.

As Figure 4 shows, about one fourth of the four newspapers' content was devoted to the assimilation function, which helps immigrants blend into society in the United States. Approximately 10% of the news coverage was related to the biculturation function, which helps immigrants maintain their cultural heritage and adapt to the new host society. This finding indicated that Chinese-language newspapers served a relatively weak biculturation function. It is interesting to note that only five out of 17,815 items coded in this study could be considered marginalization content, a function that leads to the loss of cultural and psychological contact with both traditional Chinese culture and the host society.

Based on the quantitative results, it appeared the primary role of Chinese-language newspapers was to serve as a cultural bond that ties ethnic Chinese in the United States to motherland societies. In order of importance, Chinese-language newspapers maintained a stronger separation role than an integration role.

Figure 4. Percentage of Content Devoted to Acculturation Functions in Chinese-Language Newspapers

Note. World Journal (n=5,409); Int'l (n=3,672); Sing Tao (n=4,639); China Press (n=4,095)

Societal Functions

As illustrated in Table 3, almost three-fifths (58%) of the total news coverage of the four newspapers were related to Chinese society. If coupled with the 8% of the content devoted to both societies, the study revealed an apparent pattern in which the four Chinese-language newspapers have consistently given substantial amount of space to the coverage of Chinese homelands and the Chinese-American communities. In contrast, news coverage of the United States consisted of only about 19% of the total content of the

four dailies. This reporting pattern, with great emphasis on Chinese society, was also a factor that separation function was evident in Chinese-language newspapers.

Table 3

Percentage of Content Devoted to Societal Functions in Chinese-Language Newspapers

	Societal Functions			
	Chinese (n=12,180)	American (n=4,026)	Both Societies (n=1,612)	Non-Chinese (n=3,186)
Total (N=21,004)				
Percent	58%	19%	8%	15%

By excluding the non-Chinese category, Table 4 provides a breakdown by region under the Chinese society and the American society. The modified outcome revealed that the four Chinese-language newspapers together devoted 68% of their news coverage to the Chinese homelands and Chinese society, including people and places in Taiwan (20%), Hong Kong (21%), and China (20%) as well as Chinese community in America (7%), as compared with the 23% of news stories that related to American society in general. This result was similar to findings in previous studies (Chen, 1995; Li, 1994; McCue, 1975). In view of both societies, only 9% of the content included news or information about both American and Chinese societies. The content of both societies could be considered serving the function of integration.

Table 4

Breakdown by Region under Chinese Society and American Society in
Chinese-Language Newspapers

Society (N=17,818)	Percent
Chinese: (n=12,180)	68%
- <i>Taiwan</i>	20%
- <i>Hong Kong</i>	21%
- <i>China</i>	20%
- <i>Chinese Community</i>	7%
American: (n=4,026)	23%
- <i>San Francisco (General)</i>	5%
- <i>California</i>	4%
- <i>U.S. National</i>	14%
Both Societies: (n=1,612)	9%

Table 5, which compared news items by origin and region, shows that Chinese-language papers maintained a close connection with their respective motherlands in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. For instance, the Taiwan-linked World Journal devoted 27% of its total space to the coverage of news and information related to Taiwan.

The proportion of Taiwan issues in World Journal was double that of the 13% in Sing Tao Daily and more than triple that of the 9% in China Press. In contrast, China Press, which placed a great emphasis on covering China, devoted 39% of its content to China, as compared with 18% for Sing Tao Daily and 19% for World Journal. The Hong Kong-based Sing Tao Daily devoted 24% of its content to Hong Kong, as compared with World Journal, which devoted 14% and China Press, which devoted 10%. The independently-owned International Daily News, with its focus on Taiwan, devoted 28% of its content to Taiwan, 19% to China, and 16% to Hong Kong.

Table 5

Comparison of News Items by Origin and Region Covered in Chinese-LanguageNewspapers

Origin/Region	Newspaper			
	World Journal	Int'l Daily	Sing Tao	China Press
Taiwan issues (n=2,899)	27%	28%	13%	9%
China issues (n=3,532)	19	19	18	39
Hong Kong issues (n=2,842)	14	16	24	10
Issues among Taiwan/China/U.S. (n=1,539)	7	6	5	5
Issues about Chinese community (n=821)	5	3	5	5
U.S. issues (n=4,373)	22	22	26	24
Asia/International affairs (n=1,238)	6	6	9	8
Total (N=17,244)	100%	100%	100%	100%

Four Inward Roles of Chinese-Language Newspapers

Chinese-language newspapers carry national and international news with a focus on issues that relate to Chinese society, American society, and the ethnic Chinese community in their daily news coverage. This study identified four inward roles to

determine what purposes Chinese-language newspapers fulfill in their reporting content. As shown in Table 6, cultural identity was the most important role, accounting for nearly 46% of the four dailies' coverage. This finding was consistent with the self-perceptions of interviewees. Most of the interviewees noted that the initial mission of their papers was to serve as a cultural umbilical cord that ties the ethnic Chinese in the United States to overseas motherlands.

The second largest dimension accounting for 26% of the newspapers' content was related to political role. This political dimension reflected the political goals of the motherland governments. To the extent that a motherland government or ruling party exerted control over a newspaper, China Press's content that involved political advocacy or political mobilization accounted for 34%. This finding seemed to reflect the self-perceptions of interviewees at China Press. The interviewees acknowledged that a key role of their newspapers was to help China's government with political advocacy. World Journal, with an affiliation to the Taiwan government, was second in propagating motherland political ideology and the ratio of its political content was close to 27%. International Daily News, which proclaimed that it was owned by an independent company, had the third highest percentage of its content connected with political messages among the four dailies. The Hong Kong-based Sing Tao Daily, with its relatively liberal press policy, was less influenced by the political goals of the British government, who is in the process of returning the colony of Hong Kong to mainland China. Under the sub-category of political role, Table 7 shows that 83% of the total

political role content was devoted to supporting the established authority and the norms of the overseas motherlands--advocates or patriotic crusades.

Many interviewees emphasized that a high priority for Chinese-language newspapers is to serve as a bridge between ethnic Chinese and the U.S. society and to keep the ethnic Chinese informed of events, situations, and trends in the United States. The quantitative result in Table 6 shows that the bridging role accounted for about 23% of the total news content. Apparently, the findings of the content analysis did not coincided with the media workers' perceptions. Kai-ping Liu (1997), city-editor at Sing Tao Daily, noted:

A large number of ethnic Chinese--because either their English is not good enough or they lack an intellectual habit of reading English newspapers--turn to Chinese-language newspapers for their information about the United States. It is necessary that the Chinese press cover the larger U.S. society as many new immigrants are highly dependent on Chinese-language newspapers to obtain information about the United States.

In addition, it is interesting to note that in spite of the fact that interviewees considered the unifying role to be important, it represented only 5% of the content of the four newspapers. This was another example that the results of the content analysis did not correspond with the media workers' self-perceptions. Journalists at Chinese-language newspapers felt that their newspapers play an important unifying role for the Chinese community because mainstream English media generally take little interest in covering ethnic Chinese news. Shih-wei Lu (1997), a reporter at the World Journal, noted:

“Chinese-language newspapers have changed from less well-known newspapers ignored by the mainstream society to recognized media favored by the mainstream major

marketers and politicians.” Kai-ping Liu, city editor at Sing Tao Daily, noted: “A number of the political candidates, including the current San Francisco mayor, Willie Brown, came to the city desk for endorsement during the election campaign.” Ge Li (1997), reporter at Sing Tao Daily, added that, by running page after page of Chinese community news highlighting a wide range of issues and events such as participation in the mainstream election by ethnic Chinese candidates and pressure group activities to champion minority rights, Chinese-language newspapers served as a remedy for the long-standing neglect by the American media. As a result, the Chinese community obtained much more attention than ever before from the mainstream society.

Table 6

Dimensions of Four Inward Roles in Chinese-Language Newspapers

Inward Roles	Newspaper				Avg. %
	World Journal	Int'l Daily	Sing Tao	China Press	
Political role (n=4,572)	27%	23%	17%	34%	26%
Cultural role (n=8,134)	32	21	29	18	46
Bridging role (n=4,143)	30	20	31	19	23
Unifying role (n=917)	38	10	25	28	5
Total (N=17,766)					100%

Note. The percentage excludes non-Chinese news content.

Table 7

Sub-Category of Political Role in Chinese-Language Newspapers

Total (N=4,572)	Political role	
	Advocate/ patriotic (n=3,785)	Political mobilizer (n=787)
Percent	83%	17%

Lead Stories (Toutiao) and News Sources

Toutiao news. An important part of the policy of the Chinese-language newspapers in the United States has been for the editors-in-chief to decide on a toutiao (lead story). The toutiao, the most important news story of the day, appears in the top position on the front page. Thus, a quantitative analysis of the lead stories provided an important insight into news judgment and the editorial policy of a particular newspaper. It was observed that the lead story on each paper was quite different. For example, on March 20, 1996, three days before the first Taiwan presidential election, World Journal devoted its lead story to the immigrant amendment approved by the U.S. House of Representatives to bar illegal immigration that closed schoolhouse doors to children who were unlawfully staying in the United States; the lead story in the other three daily papers was focusing on Taiwan's presidential election. As observed earlier, since the 1990s, World Journal has sharply reduced the amount of politically motivated news about Taiwan despite the fact that the amount of motherland-related toutiao news is fairly high. The depoliticization of World Journal has allowed it to become a major source of information about the United States and an important channel for filling the information gap neglected by the mainstream media. In contrast, the pro-Beijing China Press primarily serves a propagandistic purpose; on March 20, 1996, China Press gave its toutiao position to a story that the China government warned the United States to keep its warships out of the Taiwan Strait during the heat of Taiwan's presidential election. The

lead story of International Daily News also devoted to China government's pressure on the United States to stay out of Taiwan Strait. The Hong Kong-based Sing Tao Daily's lead story was devoted to an action by the U.S. House of Representatives, which voted overwhelmingly to defend Taiwan in the event of invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China.

Table 8

Lead Stories in Chinese-Language Newspapers

Total (N=111)	Motherlands (n=35)	U.S. (n=43)	Taiwan/China/U.S. (n=19)	International (n=14)
Percent	32%	39%	17%	12%

Table 8 summarizes the analysis of the four dailies' lead stories. Approximately 32% of the lead stories (toutiao) of the four daily papers were related to three major motherland news, including issues among Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. However, some prior studies during the 1980s reported that more than 50% of toutiao news in Chinese-language newspapers was focusing on the motherland--a clear indication of the motherland-oriented reporting policy of the Chinese-language newspapers in the United States (Chen, 1995; Lau, 1989). But this tendency has decreased since the 1990s as newspapers are becoming less politically dependent and more responding to the changing needs of the readers. Some interviewees indicated that one of the changes that they

expected to see was to bring more mainstream news to their Chinese reading public. In response to competition, some Chinese-language newspapers have assigned their toutiao news based on a professional perspective and newsworthiness rather than for propaganda purposes.

Table 8 also reveals an observable tendency that more of the prominent position of the Chinese-language newspapers was given to covering the United States issues, representing 39% of the four dailies' lead stories. This emphasis on the prominence of the United States news confirmed the changing editorial policies of Chinese press, as stated above, that Chinese-language newspapers were gradually becoming less colored by homeland political ideologies and more catered to the information needs of the readers.

News sources. Most of the content of Chinese-language newspapers is not staff produced. As Table 9 shows, World Journal relied on its parent news group overseas, the Taiwan-based United Daily News group, to generate 38% of its news, with the rest of its news coming from compilations/translations (28%) and other Chinese news groups (9%). The San Francisco edition of World Journal employed 32 editorial workers who only provided 8% of the content of the paper. The Hong Kong-based Sing Tao Daily generated 29% of its news content from its affiliated news group, 21% from Western news groups, and 15% from Chinese news groups. China Press relied heavily on compilations/translations (49%). In addition, 15% of its news was from Xinhua News Agency and 4% of its news was from China News Service, both of which were government news services that are part of China's propaganda system.

It is important to note that most of the Chinese-language newspapers in the United States did not maintain news bureaus in Taiwan, Hong Kong, or China; they provided news coverage from these three places by “cutting and pasting” news stories published in newspapers from the motherlands. A joke among the editors of Chinese-language newspapers is that if they did not have “scissors and glue,” they could not publish their newspapers (Lau, 1989). This unauthorized use of news stories was clearly reflected in the coding of the news sources in International Daily News, which had a low level of 2% of news stories written by its staff.

Table 9

Content by News Sources in Chinese-Language Newspapers

News sources	Newspaper			
	World Journal (n=6,209)	Int'l Daily (n=4,391)	Sing Tao (n=5,608)	China Press (n=4,796)
News Staff	8%	2%	8%	8%
Affiliated News Group	38	2	29	10
AP	8	9	12	5
UPI	-	-	-	-
New York Times	2	-	1	-
European News Agencies	2	-	4	2
San Jose Mercury News	-	-	-	-
San Francisco Chronicle	-	-	-	-
San Francisco Examiner	1	-	2	-
Washington Post	1	-	-	-
Los Angeles Times	1	-	-	-
Other U.S. News Group	2	1	2	-
Central News Agency (Taiwan)	2	-	2	-
Independent Evening News (Taiwan)	-	-	-	1
China Times (Taiwan)	-	-	9	3
United Daily News (Taiwan)	-	-	-	1
China News Agency (Hong Kong)	1	-	1	1
China News Service (China)	2	-	1	4
Xinhua News Agency (China)	4	-	2	15
China's People Daily (China)	-	-	-	1
Compiled/Translated	28	86	28	49
Total (N=21,004)	100%	100%	100%	100%

In addition, as Table 9 shows, there was evidence that certain newspapers had little interest in using direct competitors' news stories as the sources for their papers' content. For example, World Journal would rather use news from Taiwan's Central News Agency (2%) and China's Xinhua News Agency (4%) than use news from China Times (0%), a major competitor of United Daily News in Taiwan. In contrast, Sing Tao Daily devoted 9% of its news hole to stories about Taiwan that were taken from China Times. This could be a result of the intense competition among Chinese-language newspapers.

External and Internal Constraints on Chinese-Language Newspapers

Media do not always mirror reality because the content of the media are influenced by both internal and external factors (Ettema, Whitney, & Wackman, 1987; Shoemaker & Reese, 1994; Tuchman, 1978). This section on external and internal constraints provides an answer to the fourth and fifth research questions.

Competition among Chinese-Language Newspapers

Competition among Chinese-language newspapers appeared to benefit both the readers and the working journalists. For example, the now defunct China Times' American edition forced its rival, World Journal, to expand the number of pages and to change to a seven-day publication with a full Sunday magazine supplement. In addition, competition for experienced reporters had been so intense that the journalists profited

from an increase of 20% in salaries when China Times aggressively recruited professionals from other papers (Lau, 1989).

Among the four dailies, World Journal and Sing Tao Daily carry similar types of news content, supplements, and advertising that have a primary focus on Chinese business in the United States. In addition, both newspapers try to cater to the common and specific interests of specific group of readers to attract the largest readership base. However, editors at both newspapers did not feel that their newspapers had a strong competitor. World Journal's city editor, Liu (1997) saw her paper forging ahead and said she was confident about the future of World Journal. As Liu said: "World Journal has become the kingpin of Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area with the waves of new immigrants from Taiwan and mainland China where Mandarin is spoken. And the immigration boom has spurred the unprecedented growth of World Journal."

Sing Tao Daily's editor-in-chief, Wellington Cheng, who heads an editorial staff of about 30, noted that Sing Tao Daily struggled from 1983 to 1986 to get into the black, but since then Sing Tao Daily has turned into a profitable venture with the burgeoning of Cantonese (mainly from Hong Kong and South China) and Mandarin-speaking populations eager for news about the motherlands. According to a survey conducted by Sing Tao Daily in 1992, 76% of the 318,354 Chinese in the Bay Area are Cantonese (Cheng, 1997). Cheng (1997) said that Sing Tao Daily has attracted a number of

Mandarin readers in the past two years with the arrival of roughly 50,000 new Chinese immigrants every year.

Competition in Content

The content analysis showed that the four Chinese-language newspapers carry similar types of news, including news about Taiwan, Hong Kong, China as well as news about the United States, international affairs, the local Chinese community, business and investment opportunities, sports, and literary columns. World Journal and Sing Tao Daily published the largest number of pages per day, with an average of 60 pages on weekdays and more than 80 pages on Sundays, followed by China Press with 32-40 pages on weekdays and International Daily News with 30 pages per day. World Journal published four pages of Taiwan news and two pages of Hong Kong news, while Sing Tao Daily published two pages of Taiwan news and four pages of Hong Kong news. The advertisements section of the two papers were similar; advertisers included restaurants, real estate brokers, travel agencies, medical services, supermarkets, banks, and some American corporations such as long-distance carriers, life insurance companies, supermarkets, banks, casinos, investment companies, and liquor businesses. Currently, World Journal and Sing Tao Daily competed more favorably than China Press and International Daily News because of their strong advertisements and larger readership base. The advertising in both World Journal and Sing Tao Daily, in terms of cost efficiency, is considered more attractive than the other two papers, China Press and International Daily News.

As discussed earlier, intense competition among Chinese-language newspapers has resulted in improvements in the quality of printing, presentation, and content. Sing Tao Daily provides a good example. In order to attract Mandarin-speaking readers and to change its image as a Cantonese newspaper, Sing Tao Daily replaced its format of Cantonese-style characters to Mandarin-style characters, except for the entertainment news from Hong Kong. In addition, the paper started a fiction series by Taiwanese novelists in its literary columns. Wellington Cheng (1997), the editor-in-chief at Sing Tao Daily, mentioned that in late 1997, Sing Tao Daily will adopt new technology for editing and printing processes, and when the proposed new plant is in operation, everything will be printed by a full-color press in Sing Tao Daily's West Coast office in the San Francisco Bay Area. Sing Tao Daily will be the first Chinese-language newspaper in the United States with full-color pages. Clearly, these improvements are intended to lure readers away from World Journal.

World Journal puts an emphasis on the quality of its news coverage as a way of competing for readers. To encourage good reporting, World Journal established a reward system by assigning points for good reporting. World Journal's city editor Liu has taken charge of the reward system. As Liu (1997) said:

The highest number of points is 10 for an exclusive story or for an outstanding job of reporting; the second highest is 5 points, and so on. At the end of each quarter, all the points will be summed up, and the reporter who gets the highest number of points will receive a cash bonus of \$300. The second winner will get a \$200 bonus and the third will get a \$100 in cash. World Journal is the only Chinese-language newspaper in the San Francisco Bay Area that has established a reward system. However, the reward system that is intended to give an incentive for reporting accomplishment is quite common and popular in Taiwan's daily

newspapers. World Journal is following in the footsteps of its sister newspaper, United Daily News in Taiwan.

Competition in Subscription Rates and Retail Prices

Usually the four newspapers handle their own production and distribution. Unlike English-language newspapers, home delivery is not available for Chinese-language newspapers because the Chinese readers are scattered around the San Francisco Bay Area. Subscribers for the four newspapers receive their copies by second-class mail, normally a one-to-two-day delay. Retail outlets are either street vendors or bookstores. Chinese-language newspapers are not generally sold in newspaper racks on the street except for a few spots where there are large number of Chinese shoppers.

All interviewees said that, as is the case for mainstream American newspapers, advertising is their newspapers' major source of operating income. World Journal, which averages 60 pages daily, has a 70/30 advertising/editorial ratio and a circulation of about 50,000 in the San Francisco Bay Area. World Journal's editor-in-chief Chen (1997) noted that each additional subscriber may mean a net cost instead of a net gain because the cost of printing and postage is more than the revenue from subscriptions. Sing Tao Daily's editor-in-chief Cheng (1997) also noted that subscription and newsstand revenue do not cover the cost of printing, personnel, and newsprint. In addition, the 40% rise in the cost of newsprint in 1996 considerably affected the paper's operating earnings.

Competition for increasing readership is highly intense among Chinese-language newspapers because the paper with the largest readership can attract the most advertisers and charge the highest advertising rates. To increase readership, some of the

Chinese-language newspapers offer a lower retail price or offer a one-month subscription for free. International Daily News, for example, uses a lower newsstand price (25 cents a copy) to boost its sales. International Daily News' reporter Tseng (1997) said that its low price strategy is an incentive to attract readers since all four papers carry similar news content. He further noted: "Most readers at retail outlets choose International Daily News because of its lowest retail price among Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area unless they have a brand loyalty for some other paper."

Home delivery. In addition to the pricing competition, some newspapers are beginning limited home delivery service in some areas. Sing Tao Daily's editor-in-chief Cheng (1997) said that Sing Tao Daily's subscribers in San Francisco's Chinatown can receive the paper early in the morning by home delivery rather than by second-class mail. In fact, San Francisco's Chinatown area has traditionally been the most important base for Sing Tao Daily's distribution. Sing Tao Daily strongly protect this area, but World Journal is trying to invade the area by following Sing Tao Daily's lead. It can be seen that the competition among Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area is becoming fiercer and keener than ever.

Target audience. In each Chinese-language newspaper's geographical market, three major segments of readers can be identified according to their homelands: those from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. As a result, each newspaper has its own target audience. Hong Kong-based Sing Tao Daily focuses on Cantonese readers, while World Journal targets both Taiwanese and Mandarin-speaking Chinese. The Pro-CCP's China

Press aims at Mandarin-speaking Chinese and promotes China's reunification policy, while International Daily News is favored by those who favor Taiwan's Independence movement. In other words, Sing Tao Daily circulates mainly in San Francisco and San Mateo, while World Journal finds most of its readers in the Taiwanese communities of the South Bay and Contra Costa County.

Competition in Advertising

All four newspapers declined to provide detailed information about their revenues, noting only that roughly 70% of their income was from advertisements, the rest either from newsstand sales or subscriptions.

All interviewees agreed that the competition for advertising is more sophisticated and more intense than the competition for news coverage because the advertising market for Chinese-language newspapers is much more limited as compared with the American advertising market. The interviewees complained that their competitors did not "fix" their advertising rates, creating confusion in the cost of advertising. Indeed, the advertising rates of Chinese-language newspapers are quite flexible and negotiable. Although all four newspapers have standardized advertising rates, they do not always go by them.

Competition to solicit advertising is seen not only between newspapers but also among the staff who work for the same newspaper. Brian Ho (1997), account executive at World Journal, said there are 17 account executives at World Journal. Competition for

advertising is so keen that it is not uncommon to grab a co-worker's advertisers or to give 'kick-backs' to clients.

All Chinese-language newspapers offer one-half page free advertisement in attempts to attract potential advertisers. In addition, some Chinese-language newspapers provided different advertising discount programs. For example, Sing Tao Daily offered different discount packages. One of the packages, package A, provides a special discount price of \$1,320 rather than the regular price of \$1,980 with three options: to carry either a full, one-half, or one-fourth page advertisements. Sing Tao Daily also provides a combination advertising package for both the newspaper and San Francisco Chinese Radio, which is also owned by Sing Tao Daily. Sing Tao Daily's account executive, Sam Chan (1997), said that the advertisers could air their commercials on the air as well as have their ads in the newspaper. Chan maintained that advertising through both media is more efficient than using only one.

In addition to offering discount packages, China Press and International Daily News price their advertising rate lower than World Journal and Sing Tao Daily. Yining Xie (1997), the president of China Press, noted: "Since Chinese advertisers are small businesses, the money spent on media must be economical." The advertising price at China Press is about two-thirds of the price at World Journal and Sing Tao Daily. International Daily News provided even lower advertising rates than China Press. Hong-tu Tseng (1997), the reporter and account executive at International Daily News,

explained: “With less readership than other newspapers, the only way that International Daily News can compete is to lower the advertising rate to attract advertisers.”

As Sing Tao Daily’s account executive Chan (1997) indicated: “Advertising is the most important income for the newspaper’s existence.” As a result, the average earnings for account executives is far better than for reporters at Chinese-language newspapers. World Journal’s account executive, Brian Ho (1997), said that an average income of \$50,000 a year, including monthly salary, commission bonus, year-end bonus, and profit bonus, was quite common for account executives at Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area. This is nearly double the wages of reporters at the same Chinese-language newspapers.

Regardless of the vicious competitions, all interviewees are expecting to see a surge in advertising business by American advertisers. Chinese consumers, with a strong buying power and a burgeoning population, have begun to catch American marketers’ interests. All interviewees believed that American corporations, rather than the limited market of Chinese businesses, will eventually become the main source of revenue for Chinese-language newspapers. Many Chinese-language newspapers are trying to open their advertising pages to American corporations. A number of American companies now carrying advertising in Bay Area Chinese-language newspapers include long-distance carriers, banks, supermarkets, furniture stores, the California Lottery, Pacific Gas and Electric Company, department stores, and various liquor companies. All interviewees felt this new opportunity would stimulate the growth of the

Chinese-language newspaper market. However, there are some barriers to successfully opening a new market with American corporations. Conceivable problems are as follows:

First, there is the problem of a lack of a reliable survey on the Chinese market. World Journal's Ho (1997) said that it is difficult to attract American advertisers without a detailed and reliable survey on the current buying power of ethnic Chinese. Although there have been some readership surveys conducted by each Chinese-language newspaper, the results are not considered reliable. All these suggest that Chinese-language newspapers need a reliable market survey not only to attract American advertisers but also to understand the needs of their target readers.

Second, there is the problem the relatively small size of the existing ethnic Chinese market, as compared with the mainstream market. China Press' president Xie (1997) indicated that many major American corporations and agencies do not bother with the ethnic Chinese market because of its relatively small market opportunity. It represents only about 7% of the population in the San Francisco Bay Area. Xie said:

In spite of the fact that the ethnic Chinese are the fastest growing group, with a 102% increase in the past 10 years, once you segment that market by language, it is very difficult to develop mass marketing efforts.

Third, there is the problem of stereotyping that all Asian media are the same: World Journal's Ho (1997) pointed out that American advertisers tend to think that all Asians are homogeneous. For instance, Ho said that one of his American advertisers complained that the advertising rate of Chinese-language media is more expensive than

those of Vietnamese, Filipino, and Korean mass media. When American advertisers decide to carry ads in Chinese-language media, they tend to spread their advertising budgets among various Chinese-language media, such as newspapers, magazines, television, and radio stations. Sing Tao Daily's Chan (1997) recommended: "We need a teamwork effort to have all Chinese-language media to work together and get involved in the opening of a new market with American corporations."

As previously discussed, Chinese-language newspapers in the United States are mainly from either Taiwan, Hong Kong, or China and they differ in their political ideologies concerning their homelands. The differences in their political stands are reflected in the news coverage of each newspaper. It can be easily observed in how the same news events are reported from different points of view. However, this paradox in political ideologies is not reflected in the advertising content of Chinese-language newspapers. Competition for advertising has led Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area to be exempt from political ideologies originating in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. Since the late 1980s increasing competition among rival newspapers has raised operating costs both in adopting the advanced technology and in aggressively recruiting professional journalist. As a result, securing additional revenue by increasing advertising revenue appears to be the only recourse to maintain the operation of a large-scale daily. As Yining Xie (1997), China Press's president said: "Since each newspaper has different target readers from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China, the differences in political ideologies and news content are not mutually exclusive for the

Chinese-language newspapers' to solicit advertising, but rather they help newspapers to gain revenues."

One example is that, for the past 20 years, the Taiwan Kuomintang-affiliated China Airline only advertised in World Journal. During the 1990s, China Airlines began to appear in International Daily News, a pro-Taiwan independence newspaper. In addition to advertising in the newspapers with either a pro-Taiwan government or a politically neutral, China Airlines also began to advertise in the pro-Chinese communist party's newspaper, China Press. China Press's president Xie (1997) noted that the advertising of China Airline without the 'Republic of China' logo would appear in China Press in February, 1997. Being a pro-CCP newspaper, China Press advocates a China reunification policy. As a result, the official name 'Republic of China', representing Taiwan government, was not allowed to appear in China Press. As Xie indicated: "With more than four-year's negotiation and contact, the Taiwan-affiliated China Airline eventually understands that advertising can coordinate with different political ideologies." Similarly, advertisements for the CCP-affiliated China Eastern Airlines for the first time began to appear in World Journal's Chinese New Year's edition (World Journal, February 9, 1997). Sing Tao Daily's Chan (1997) is convinced that the need for advertising revenue will result in a decline in political ideologies being reflected in the newspapers.

Competition for Professional Staff

The information needs of new immigrants today are more sophisticated than those of earlier immigrants. The importance of content quality and presentation as well as timely and in-depth reporting are driving the need for professional journalists. Some newspapers has begun to search for more local reporters and technical staff, especially Chinese character typesetters. As Wellington Cheng (1997), Sing Tao Daily's editor-in-chief, said: "Maintaining recruitment of professionals is another winning formula among Chinese-language newspapers." Sing Tao Daily frequently carries employment classified ads searching for experienced journalists. As there is a high demand for professional search, experienced reporters can command a higher compensation and the average salary has increased 20% in recent years.

World Journal's city editor, Lily Liu (1997), said the reporters must be bilingual so that they will be able to interview and listen in English and then rush back to the city desk to translate the news into Chinese. Sing Tao Daily's city editor, Kai-Ping Liu (1997), also added that none of Sing Tao Daily's reporters were born in the United States because American-born Chinese generally cannot write Chinese characters very well.

Ming Bao, a major Hong Kong newspaper which started a New York edition in April, 1997, is expected to begin its Bay Area edition by the end of this year to serve the ethnic Chinese here. With another major player coming in the market, the demand for Chinese journalists will be seen to increase significantly in the near future. In this competitive market place, it is indisputable that big newspapers usually can attract and

retain staff by offering higher salaries, more fringe benefits, and better promotion prospects, something that small newspapers cannot afford to do.

Economic Constraints

Chinese-language newspapers generally operate under conditions of considerable pressure and constraints. Financial constraints has always been an important economic factor that influences the survival of the newspaper. Thus, a number of Chinese-language newspapers in the United States have become willing partners with organizations in overseas homelands in exchange for capital investment and financial support. For example, United Daily News maintains a group of editorial staff in Taipei, specifically serving the American World Journal edition. The support from the established parent newspaper provides a cost advantage to World Journal in gathering news. Similarly, Hong Kong-based Sing Tao Daily also uses home support to attain cost efficiency. Both China Press and International Daily do not have home editions outside the United States but subscribe to wire service, providing homeland and national news to compete with other national newspapers.

To reduce costs, Chinese-language newspapers rely heavily on satellite-fed news provided by affiliated news groups or Western news services. By sharing national and international news stories, Chinese-language newspapers can cut down substantially on expenses and provide more comprehensive news coverage. World Journal's editor-in-chief Chen (1997), who heads an editorial staff of about 32, noted that his staff

is relatively small when compared to the legions of working journalists in the United Daily News, a sister newspaper of World Journal that employs 212 reporters.

Another economic impact which shapes the content of the newspaper is news commercialization. Except for World Journal and Sing Tao Daily, which prohibit reporters from soliciting advertising to ensure objectivity in news reporting, most Chinese-language newspapers allow their reporters to earn extra income by soliciting advertising. In addition, all four dailies provided one-half page of commercial news for free. This kind of half-and-half commercial news, which was either supplied by advertisers or written by the newspaper staff, is called infommercial news. For instance, on February 19, 1996, news content in the Western edition both in China Press and International Daily News was hardly general news but information to promote businesses, such as law firms, clinics, real estate dealers, and travel companies. This news content provided information for the readers about different professional fields as well as marketing promotions.

Sociocultural Environment

Chinese immigration patterns have had an impact on the development of Chinese-language newspapers. In the past, Chinese readers were satisfied as long as they received news from their homelands. The quality of news coverage was not as important a factor in their buying decisions. For instance, during the 1970s, when Sing Tao Daily started its business, the old-style paper emphasized only news from Hong Kong and ran very little news about Chinese in America. It was not until 1976, when Sing Tao Daily

set up its overseas newsroom in Chinatown in San Francisco; Sing Tao Daily published separate editions with local news tailored to both the Chinese community and mainstream society. Kai-Ping Liu (1997), city editor at Sing Tao Daily noted: “Every year we have 30,000 legal immigrants from China--10,000 from Hong Kong (the quota will be canceled by the end of 1997) and 15,000 from Taiwan. And a large portion of them live in the San Francisco Bay Area. If they come here in their 20s or older, they will read Chinese-language newspapers their whole lives. If they are born here or come to the United States when they are young, they will only read English.” In view of the fact that the number of Hong Kong immigrants is expected to diminish dramatically after 1997, and that future Chinese immigrants will be coming largely from Taiwan and mainland China, Sing Tao Daily is trying to broaden its appeal to attract Mandarin-speaking readers. As noted earlier, it has cut down the use of Cantonese-style characters and increased the use of Mandarin-style characters. Sing Tao also has begun to hire more Mandarin-speaking reporters and to carry a series of Taiwanese novelists in its supplements section.

Ideological-Political Influences

Perhaps to avoid criticism, none of the interviewees directly affirmed that home government has control over news content. Although Yining Xie (1997), president of China Press, acknowledged that the newspaper has a vital role to play in helping China's government with political advocacy, he denied that Beijing can interfere with the news content of China Press.

Although interviewees indicated that their newspapers reserve the right to edit satellite-fed news from overseas, the newspaper's national origins do help account for the ideological-political influence on news content. For instance, Xie said that China Press is designed to advocate policies of the Chinese Communist Party, correct the stereotypes of the Chinese government following the events of June 4, 1989, and win over the loyalty of overseas Chinese. A review of the news content in China Press revealed that the newspaper exhibited a strong propagandistic purpose. Political ideology has an important impact on organizational policy and culture. The newspaper staff at China Press have a common understanding of the internal organizational constraints in which news unfavorable to the government of China is given little space; in contrast, it plays up good news that is favorable to China policies.

A number of Chinese-language newspapers in the United States have become willing partners with motherland governments for two reasons: First, certain working Chinese journalists in the United States have a partisan inclination and personal connections with either the Beijing or Taipei government. For instance, Yining Xie, president of China Press used to be a special correspondent for Xinhua News Agency, a Chinese propaganda organ. Over the years both Taiwan's Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party sent journalistic personnel to the United States to run agencies and newspapers for political purposes. Second, due to intense competition and limited market, running Chinese-language newspapers in the United States is a risky venture. Before 1989, World Journal had been operating at a deficit, though today it claims to be

one of the few profitable Chinese-language newspapers in the United States with heavy local advertising. Depending on the support coming from Taiwan's Kuomintang, World Journal will continue to publish in the United States regardless of whether it could make a profit. The same is true for China Press, which takes a pro-China stand and remains its business in the United States even at a considerable financial loss. As Sing Tao Daily's Liu (1997) noted: "China Press is colored by the Beijing government because of securing financial backing--\$150,000 per year--from its motherland government." Affiliation with a homeland government is an important recourse to maintain the operation of a large-scale newspaper in the United States.

The now defunct Taiwan-linked China Times is also a good example of motherland government intervention in the press. During the 1986 Los Angeles Olympics, China Times was accused of leaning toward a pro-CCP's stance because the newspaper openly congratulated Chinese gold medal athletes in a favorable tone. In the case of World Journal, the newspaper had been acting as a mechanism by the Taiwanese government to promote its political views. However, during the 1990s, World Journal has become alienated from the new Kuomintang leadership--Lee Teng-hui--and places greater emphasis on newsworthy coverage. Nonetheless, World Journal is still using the Kuomintang (KMT) dateline system, while the other three newspapers are based on the Gregorian calendar. Lily Liu (1997), city editor of World Journal, stressed that using the KMT dateline system does not mean that World Journal is an official newspaper or a government-owned newspaper although its interests do lie with Taiwan. However, Liu

admitted that the KMT dateline system presented some problems when their working journalists tried to interview officials from the mainland China.

Technological Influences

New technologies play an important part in enhancing the quality and improving the production process of Chinese-language newspapers. Competition and market demand were the main driving forces that compel the operator of Chinese-language newspapers to adopt new technologies and improvements. However, due to financial constraints, not every newspaper can afford the high cost of new technologies. To enhance the quality and timeliness in news coverage about the homelands, World Journal and Sing Tao Daily has made use of satellites to transmit news stories to the United States; whereas China Press and International Daily News are currently using facsimiles for news transmission. All interviewees agreed that advanced technologies can benefit the employees, the customers, and the operators. For instance, both World Journal and Sing Tao Daily have computerized their editing and printing processes. As a result, typesetters benefit from more efficient and effective typewriting, working journalists benefit from ease-of-use word-processing and timely news reporting, readers benefit from a better format and higher quality news content, and owners benefit from increased businesses and improved profits.

Committed to improvements, Sing Tao Daily is considering investing several millions of dollars in a new building by the end of 1997. Wellington Cheng (1997) noted that “Today, the readers’ tastes and preferences are more sophisticated and Sing Tao

Daily has to go all out to attract readers.” Meanwhile, Sing Tao Daily is looking for office space in San Francisco or South San Francisco area and it is considering to consolidate its newspaper and radio station operations in a new facility. If the game plan works out as expected, it will create an excellent opportunity for Sing Tao Daily to compete with World Journal, its closest competitor among Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Internal Influences

Due to connections with homeland governments, political ideologies often influence newspapers’ policies, which in turn affect organizational routines and culture. These internal organizational factors are found to have an important impact on the news reporting process and content. As previous mentioned, the working journalists at China Press were required to follow the newspaper’s policy in supporting the pro-CCP’s position in news reporting. It can be observed that China Press tended to tone up those news that was in favor of Beijing government and tone down those news that was against China public policies. In terms of staffing, at the time of the survey, news reporters at China Press were all from mainland China; whereas, news reporters at other newspapers consisted of employees from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China.

To ensure neutrality in news reporting, a number of Chinese-language newspapers have the policy that separate the responsibility of news reporters from advertising staff. However, occasionally, when faced with conflicting interests, the power of one seemed to be taken over by the other. For example, World Journal and Sing Tao Daily do not allow

their news reporters to be involved in advertising sales. However, Sing Tao Daily's reporter Ge Li pointed out in one incident that their advertising department interfered with the news coverage of the Chinese supermarket strike last year for fear that the reporting of the strike would affect advertising income because the owner of the supermarket was a major advertising sponsor. Facing this dilemma, the news about the Chinese supermarket strike was pulled from the newspaper.

Owners of Chinese-language newspapers are found to have the influential power in deciding news content. For instance, during the 1980s, the Kuomintang-oriented reporting policy extended to the realm of news coverage and editorial writing in World Journal because the owner of World Journal, T.W. Wang, served on the elite central committee of the Kuomintang. However, the lifting of martial law in Taiwan has ushered in a period of liberalization of the press. During the 1990s, the weight of the Kuomintang-oriented news in World Journal has been reduced because the owner's policy was directed to diversity in news coverage.

The news staffs at World Journal and Sing Tao Daily generally have a briefing every night to exchange information and to get assignments for the next day. The city editor assigns each reporter to cover a particular happening and keep a record of the assignment on a desk calendar to avoid confusion. World Journal currently has 12 reporters from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. In spite of political differences, reporters at Chinese-language newspapers see themselves as community leaders. They appear not only to take their social responsibilities seriously and inform their readers about news

events in the community, their homeland societies, and American society, but also to try to generate attitudes among their readers that will foster community cohesion. World Journal's reporter Shih-wei Lu (1997) expressed her enthusiasm about the political involvement of the Chinese community and said she believed that, through news coverage about Chinese participation in mainstream political activities, the Chinese community can enhance its social and economic status in the American society.

The Future of Chinese-Language Newspapers

Different interviewees see the future of Chinese-language newspapers quite differently. Pessimists felt that there are some major obstacles to overcome. Among those, they anticipated that the growing number of new players entering the already saturated market will result in vicious competitions among Chinese-language newspapers; some expected that the smaller players will be likely to suffer from shortage of personnel and financial support. In addition, the dispersion of Chinese population in the United States and the polarization of political ideologies toward China's reunification and Taiwan's independence movement are also the overhanging problems that will affect the operation of the newspaper. The concern, they expressed, is that those Chinese-language newspapers without deep pockets will inevitably be forced to close doors.

However, optimists emphasized that the new wave of Chinese immigrants, especially from Taiwan, and China, will increase the market demand for

Chinese-language newspapers. The optimists considered the growing number of the new players is a natural phenomenon because of the burgeoning of Chinese population. In addition, they expected to see more and more Chinese and American businesses joining the market in Chinese-language newspapers because of the strong economic power of new immigrants and the steady recovery of the American economy.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusion and Discussion

This study examined the role of Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area. Chinese-language newspapers have an advantage in reaching specific target readers by filling specific information needs that are not met in the mainstream press. By providing publication in mother tongues, the Chinese press has become an easy source for Chinese readers to learn about news, entertainment, and other information regarding homeland societies, American society, and the local Chinese community. The Chinese press also aims to assist Chinese immigrants to combat a feeling of alienation, to avoid loneliness, and to preserve homeland ties. In addition, it promotes ethnic group pride as well as ethnic economic and political power.

This study found that Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area played an important dual role of maintaining cultural identity and assisting immigrants in adapting to their new environment. With strong emotional ties to the homelands, the Chinese press naturally tended to preserve Chinese cultural values and heritage. The content analysis of 21,004 stories in World Journal, Sing Tao Daily, China Press, and International Daily News showed that their primary role was to serve as a cultural bond that ties ethnic Chinese in the United States to motherland societies. But beyond that, other evidence indicated the important role of Chinese-language newspapers

was to help immigrants understand the new land and adapt to the host society. In the interviews, many working journalists on the four dailies said that they felt their newspapers were taking on an important role of helping Chinese immigrants integrate into American society. Although the results of the content analysis did not coincide with this perception of the media workers, host society adaptation was one important role that the Chinese ethnic media attempted to fulfill.

Among the six categories of newspaper content, the study found that Chinese-language newspapers stressed news the most. On the average, more than half of each paper's coverage was devoted to news and the share of its proportion in the four dailies was comparable, ranging from 54% to 60%. The next highest category was related to entertainment, averaging 26% of the four newspapers' content and running from a low of 17% to a high of 31%. Entertainment content was considered an important source in helping their readers to fight the feeling of loneliness and to reduce disorientation in a new environment. The relatively high makeup of entertainment content supported the view of Warshauer (1966), who pointed out that the ethnic press was an important avenue of entertainment, cultural exposure, and relaxation for linguistic minorities.

In terms of communication functions, surveillance stood out as the primary function served by Chinese-language newspapers, representing an average of 60% of the coverage in the four selected dailies in the San Francisco Bay Area. Entertainment was the second highest function among the four daily papers, accounting for an average of

26% of the content of the newspapers. Under the entertainment function category, the order of content distribution was pure entertainment, socialization entertainment, and surveillance entertainment. Correlation, averaging 11%, was the third largest category among the communication functions.

In terms of acculturation patterns, this study found that an average of nearly two-thirds of the content in the four newspapers was associated with supporting the separation function. Based on the results of the content analysis, the order of importance was: (a) Separation: Helping the first and second generations to retain their cultural identity, to combat homesickness, and to keep overseas Chinese aware of what was happening back in their homelands, primarily Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong; (b) Assimilation: Helping ethnic Chinese adapt to American culture, values, and manners; and (c) Biculturation: Keeping Chinese readers informed about local and national events in their new society as well as fostering community cohesion, and promoting a positive image of Chinese Americans and encouraging political involvement in the mainstream society. These results agreed with the observation of Lum (1991), who found that assimilation and segregation were the two most commonly observed acculturation patterns in the immigrant adaptation processes.

Financial constraints could be a factor that contributed to the strong finding of the separation function. Because of financial considerations, Chinese-language newspapers relied heavily on satellite-fed news or compiled/translated news imported from homelands and less on their own staff to produce news stories. As a result of this

practice, a great amount of the newspapers' content, especially news and entertainment categories, was merely a reproduction of content in homeland newspapers. The high reproduction of motherland news was a major factor leading to the separation function in the four Chinese-language newspapers.

An interesting acculturation finding is that only 5 of the 17,815 items coded in this study could be considered marginalization, a function that leads to the loss of cultural and psychological contact with both traditional culture and the host society. One possible explanation with respect to the absence of the marginalization function might be that Chinese-language newspapers, by their very nature, help Chinese immigrants to maintain contact with their old and new societies.

By examining the societal functions, this research revealed that the four Chinese-language newspapers together devoted about 68% of their news coverage to the Chinese homelands and the local Chinese community, including people, places and events in Taiwan (20%), Hong Kong (21%), China (20%), and Chinese community (7%). About 23% of the four newspapers' content was devoted to American society. This result was similar to the findings in previous studies (Chen, 1992, 1995; McCue, 1975), which reported that the Chinese press gave a large amount of space to coverage of the three major homelands.

In view of the quantitative results on the acculturation process and the societal functions, the primary role of Chinese-language newspapers, written in their mother tongues, was to maintain homeland ties and cultural identity. However, by providing

stories concerning the United States and the Chinese community here, the Chinese press also aimed to help new immigrants adapt to their host society and to provide information on Chinese who participated in the political, social, and business life of their adopted country. These results are in keeping with previous studies that found that the immigrant press was apt to help rather than prevent their people from integrating into the American society (Alvarez, 1991; Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; Eiselein, 1978; Kim, 1987; Marzolf, 1979; O'Guinn et al., 1986; Won-Doornink, 1988).

Chinese-language newspapers in the United States generally carried on the representation of national identities from their homelands with Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China in their coverage. By comparing origin and region of stories covered in the newspapers, the study found that the American editions of these Chinese dailies carried a relatively high coverage of their respective homeland news. World Journal from Taiwan had three times more coverage on Taiwan issues (27%) than the China-linked China Press (9%). In contrast, China Press devoted 39% of its content to China issues, as compared with 18% for Sing Tao Daily and 19% for World Journal. Sing Tao Daily from Hong Kong focused on Hong Kong news (24%), as compared with World Journal (14%) and China Press (10%).

Based on the analysis of the four inward roles of Chinese-language newspapers, this study found that the cultural identity role was the most important role, accounting for nearly 46% of the four dailies' content. The indication of a strong cultural identity role tended to correspond with the strong separation function in the acculturation process.

The second largest dimension, averaging 26%, was related to political role. This political dimension reflected the political influence of the motherland governments. To the extent that the motherland government exerted control over the media, China Press' propaganda coverage accounted for 34% among the political content of the four dailies. World Journal, with an affiliation to the Taiwan government, was second in propagating motherland political ideology; the ratio of its political content was about 27%. International Daily News, though owned by an independent company, had the third highest percentage of its content (23%) connected with political messages among the four dailies. The Hong Kong-based Sing Tao Daily, with its relatively liberal press policy, was less influenced by the political party (17%). Under the sub-category of political role, it was found that 83% of the total propagandistic news was related to advocates or patriotic crusades. Although many interviewees considered the bridging role and the unifying role to be important, their quantitative ratio only accounted for 23% and 5%, respectively. As noted earlier, financial constraints could be a factor limiting the ability of the newspapers to carry out the important priorities that they intended to accomplish.

Since the passage of the McClellan Immigration Act of 1965, the number of Chinese immigrants has grown steadily over the years. Chinese immigration patterns have shaped the structure of the local Chinese community and also have had an important impact on both the content and the use of Chinese ethnic media. Three groups of Chinese--pioneer Chinese immigrants, American-born Chinese, and new immigrants--constitute the Chinese communities. However, only the first and the third

groups are considered the target readers of the Chinese-language newspapers as the second-generation Chinese are generally more proficient in reading English. The background of new arrivals is quite different from the background of the ones in the past. Chinese-language newspapers now have to provide a variety of content to meet diversified readership interests. The older Chinese-language newspapers, which were more concerned about the future of China and which lacked community news, can not continue to exist. New Chinese immigrants, who are urbanized and better-educated, are demanding new and different things from the Chinese-language press. As a result, Chinese-language newspapers have expanded the scope of local news coverage and upgraded the quality and format of the content to attract more readers.

Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area have been competing for the same readers, Chinese and Chinese Americans, but they perceive the role of Chinese-language newspapers quite differently. As a part of the United News Group in Taiwan, World Journal's main purpose, when its first issue rolled off the press, was to bind overseas Chinese to their motherlands and to maintain a strong cultural identity. Today, World Journal has proved itself to serve as a source for unity for the Chinese community in the United States. Headquartered in Hong Kong, Sing Tao Daily aimed to localize its pages. By providing extensive coverage about nonpartisan registration of Chinese-American voters and by educating new citizens about civic responsibilities, Sing Tao Daily attempted to move the community from a Confucianist, privatist culture to a more civic-minded and aware culture. Meanwhile, Sing Tao Daily

introduced the first American edition of a Chinese electronic daily newspaper--Sing Tao Electronic Daily. With its home page at <http://www.singtaosf.com>, Sing Tao Daily aimed to offer Chinese readers a comprehensive and quick information service as well as to expand the functions of Chinese-language newspapers through technological innovations. With funding from the Chinese Communist Party, China Press was committed to help overseas Chinese to better understand the rapid social changes happening in China. It also aimed to maintain Chinese culture, reflect China's development, and promote the country's reform. Thus, the accurate and extensive coverage of China was a priority for the American edition of China Press. As a Pro-Taiwan independence newspaper, International Daily News intended to serve as an information source and help readers gain factual, timely and comprehensive coverage.

Intense competition among the Chinese press has driven each newspaper to improve the quality of printing, presentation, and content. With Ming Bao, one of the most popular newspapers in Hong Kong, expected to enter the Bay Area market in late 1997, the existing Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area such as Sing Tao Daily and World Journal, are gearing up to fight the oncoming competitor.

Sing Tao Daily has put in place a plan to upgrade its edition and printing technology and World Journal has been working on improving the quality of its news coverage.

Increasing competition among rival newspapers has also increased operating costs both in adopting advanced technology and in aggressively recruiting professional staff.

Competition for gaining readership was also intensified among Chinese-language newspapers. By offering a lower retail price or starting home delivery service, some Chinese-language newspapers expected to increase circulation as a way to attract more advertising and to earn a higher profit. The sale of advertising is the major revenue source for Chinese-language newspapers, representing about 70% of their total income. Udell (1978), Picard (1989), and McQuail (1992) found that media were like any business firms trying to turn a profit. Also, this study found that, like their mainstream counterparts, Chinese-language newspapers made money by delivering audiences to advertisers. The need for attracting advertising revenue has resulted in a decline in political ideologies being reflected in the Chinese-language newspapers. For example, advertising for China Airlines from Taiwan began appearing in China Press in early 1997 and advertising for China Eastern Airlines from China also appeared in World Journal in the same year. In addition, Chinese-language newspapers are trying to open their advertising pages to American corporations since they are hoping that American companies will eventually become their main sources of revenue. This development would certainly stimulate the growth of the Chinese-language newspaper market.

External economic constraints were found to have a major impact on editorial decisions, reporting content, and media operations. Chinese-language newspapers generally operate under conditions of considerable pressure and constraints. Because of the expense of news gathering and the limited revenue from advertising, the publication of Chinese-language newspapers is often not a profitable venture. Thus, a number of

Chinese-language newspapers in the United States have become willing partners with organizations in overseas homelands in exchange for capital investment and financial support. This reliance on overseas financial funding confirmed the findings of existing studies that found strong economic and political links to foreign homelands among the Chinese press (Chen, 1995; Johnston, 1978; Kelly, 1985; Lau, 1989; Li, 1994; McCue, 1975; Tom, 1988; Tseng, 1984; Wong, 1995). In addition, to reduce costs, Chinese-language newspapers rely heavily on satellite-fed news provided by affiliated news groups or Western news services. By sharing national and international news stories, Chinese-language newspapers can cut down substantially on expenses and provide more comprehensive news coverage.

Chinese-language newspapers have often been affected by overseas politics. Historically, the Chinese press has been an instrument easily used by home governments for propaganda and political advocacy. As mentioned above, some of these newspapers receive financial support and even direct administrative control from overseas and, as a result, they often represent the interests of specific political groups. The differences in political ideologies they inherited from their homelands were reflected in the newspapers' content. In particular, advertising related to the first presidential election in Taiwan illustrated that the political rivalry between Taiwan and China played a significant role in the conduct and performance of the Chinese-language media. Lau (1989) noted that ethnic press colored by homeland politics is a rather common phenomenon and that Chinese-language newspapers tend to side with either Taiwan or the People's Republic of

China. Also, Chen (1995) indicated that the ethnic Chinese press has a vital role to play in helping motherland governments with political mobilization.

In view of the future market, all interviewees expected that new waves of immigrants from Taiwan and mainland China, rather than the American-born second-generation Chinese, would be their hope for their future readership. However, all interviewees viewed the future prospect of Chinese-language newspapers quite differently. Pessimists felt that the market structure was too small to accommodate more than a dozen Chinese-language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area. They expressed their concerns that some Chinese-language newspapers without deep pockets would be shut down sooner or later. However, optimists considered the new wave of Chinese immigrants, especially from Taiwan and China, to be the driving force for the future prosperity of Chinese-language newspapers.

Limitations of the Study

This study employed the quantitative method of content analysis and the qualitative analysis of personal interviews. Although this combination has some advantages, it suffers from several weaknesses:

1. The data collected in this study to examine the external and internal constraints on Chinese-language newspapers was conducted only by interviewing media workers. One direction for future research would be to collect additional data on these constraints through participant observation at the newspapers.

2. Because of time pressure and market competition, interviewees might not have provided thorough explanations to the interview questions. Some weaknesses and financial problems might have been kept confidential by the interviewees.

3. All data were collected from four Chinese-language newspapers during a six-month period from October, 1995 to March, 1996. The collection of 21,004 news items from 28 issues from each of the target newspapers was more than sufficient for the quantitative content analysis conducted for this study. However, in a future study, the collection of data can be performed for a range of different time periods, such as 1978-87 as the first period and 1988-1997 as the second period. Collection of data for a longer time period would provide a fuller description of coverage patterns and changes among Chinese-language newspapers in the United States during the past 20 years.

Contribution to the Literature

Although a number of studies have reported on the important roles played by the ethnic media, little research has been conducted on the role of Chinese-language newspapers. This research provides an analytical framework that integrates various theoretical approaches to acculturation and media use. It also utilizes different levels of analysis to investigate the external and internal factors that influence the operations of Chinese-language newspapers.

In addition, this research used both content analysis and personal interviews to examine quantitative and qualitative variables. The combination of these two methods provided additional insights that were often far more revealing than just looking at each

data set alone. Where applicable, the study related the commonalties and differences between the results of media content and the perceptions of media workers.

By sifting through the data, the researcher noted four important developments that will add to the scholarly understanding of the ethnic Chinese media:

1. The role of Chinese-language newspapers appears to be shifting away from solely maintaining cultural identity to helping Chinese immigrants adapt to American society. The change in the media's traditional role is a result of the convergence of social, political, and economic forces. Today, in addition to motherland coverage, the media content includes extensive news about American society as well as the local community.

2. Chinese-language newspapers appear to be moving toward a market orientation and a customer focus. An important transformation can be observed in the supply/demand side of the newspaper market. During the early days, the Chinese press generally presented their newspapers' opinion and determined the final products. Today, however, with shifting market conditions, the readers are taking a more active role in influencing the content of Chinese-language newspapers. The Chinese press has begun to appeal to their customers' needs and has become more market-oriented in an effort to survive in a very competitive market.

3. In response to the market competition and the demand of the new immigrants, the Chinese press has been working hard on improving the quality of printing,

presentation, and media content. The adoption of new technologies and the recruitment of professional staff have resulted in these improvements.

4. The Chinese press is becoming more politically independent. Although Chinese media do reflect the political ideology of their publishers, they are becoming less politically dependent and more responsive to the economic environment. For example, they are beginning to accept advertising from businesses run by rival political parties.

This thesis contributes to the literature by filling a gap in the research on the ethnic media and providing a better understanding on the role of the Chinese-language press. With an emphasis on Chinese-language newspapers, this thesis serves as a companion study to the research conducted by Li (1994). Li examined the role of Chinese-language broadcasting media. The results of this study can help people learn more about the ethnic Chinese media, understand their values and tradition, and appreciate their contributions to the American multicultural heritage.

Directions for Future Research

As the number of Chinese immigrants continues to grow in the San Francisco Bay Area, Chinese-language newspapers have become more and more important in their role of serving the information and entertainment needs of newcomers. The growth of the newspaper market is also promoting the expansion of other Chinese-language media. For instance, Ming Bao, a major Hong Kong newspaper, which started a New York edition in April of 1997, will be entering the San Francisco Bay Area in late 1997. Sing Tao Daily diversified from print media into broadcasting media in early 1997. Also, Sing Tao

Daily, by introducing the first American edition of a Chinese electronic daily newspaper, aimed to further expand the functions of Chinese-language newspapers through technological innovation.

The World Wide Web takes on the role of enriching the Chinese-language press and extending the function of print media to truly capture and motivate the knowledge creation process. As a result, additional topics concerning both the technology and market analysis can be further explored: Will the Chinese immigration boom spur the Chinese-language media's expansion and growth? How will on-line electronic newspapers further expand the functions of Chinese-language newspapers? Will the Chinese-language newspaper wars extend to the World Wide Web? Will the content of the Hong Kong media change as a result of the return of Hong Kong to China on July 1, 1997.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Circulation, Retail Price, and Page Per Day of Chinese-Language Newspapers

Newspaper	S.F. Circulation	U.S. Circulation	Retail Price	Page Per Day
World Journal (Taiwan)	50,000	350,000	\$.50 cents per copy	Monday to Saturday: 56-60 pages Sunday with supplement: 80-90 pages
Sing Tao Daily (Hong Kong)	60,000	300,000	\$.50 cents per copy	Monday to Saturday: 56-60 pages Sunday with supplement: 80-90 pages
China Press (China)	20,000	100,000	\$.40 cents per copy	Published only from Monday to Saturday: 32-40 pages
International Daily News (U.S.)	20,100	96,600	\$.25 cents per copy	Published only from Monday to Saturday: 30 pages

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

1-4. NEWSPAPER (_ _ _)

1. World Journal
2. Sing Tao Daily

3. China Press
4. International Daily News

5-8. DATE (_ _ _)

9. ORIGIN (_)

1. Taiwan
2. China
3. Hong Kong
4. San Francisco Bay Area
5. California

6. United States
7. Asia
8. Other
9. Not Applicable

10. REGION COVERED (_)

01. Taiwan
02. China
03. Hong Kong
04. San Francisco Bay Area-General
05. S.F.B.A.-Chinese Community
06. U.S.A.
07. Asia
08. Taiwan/China
09. Taiwan/Hong Kong
10. Taiwan/Bay Area
11. Taiwan/U.S.A.
12. Taiwan/ China/U.S.A.
13. Taiwan/Asia

14. China/Hong Kong
15. China/Bay Area
16. China/U.S.A.
17. China/Asia
18. Hong Kong/Bay Area
19. Hong Kong/U.S.A.
20. Hong Kong/China/England
21. Hong Kong/Asia
22. Bay Area/Asia
23. U.S.A./Asia
24. U.S.A./Others
25. Not Applicable

11. NEWS SOURCES (_)

01. Newspaper Staff
02. Newspaper's Affiliated News groups
03. AP
04. UPI
05. New York Times
06. European News Agencies
07. Translated From SJMN
08. Translated From SFC
09. Translated From SFE
10. Translated From Washington Post
11. Translated From L.A. Times

12. Translated From U.S. News Agencies
13. Taiwan Central News Agency
14. Taiwan Independence Evening Post
15. Taiwan China Times
16. Taiwan United Daily News
17. China News Agency (Hong Kong)
18. China News Service (China)
19. Xinhua News Agency (China)
20. China People's Daily
21. Sources of Information Not Provided
(Compiled or Translated)

(appendix continues)

Appendix B (continued)

12. PLACEMENT ()

1. Lead Story	3. Other Story Below the Fold
2. Other Story Above the Fold	4. Inside Page

13. CONTENT TYPES ()

1. News	4. Knowledge-Information
2. Feature Stories	5. Editorials/Commentary
3. Entertainment	6. Advertising/Taiwan Presidential Election

14. LASSWELL'S AND WRIGHT'S FUNCTIONS ()

1. Surveillance: Information/News	5. Socialization Entertainment
2. Correlation: Information/News	6. Surveillance Entertainment
3. Socialization: Information/News	7. Correlation Entertainment
4. Pure Entertainment	

15. ACCULTURATION FUNCTIONS ()

1. Separation	4. Marginalization
2. Biculturation/Integration	5. Non-Chinese Content
3. Assimilation	

16. SOCIETY FUNCTIONS ()

1. Chinese	3. Both
2. American	4. Non-Chinese Content

17. ROLE 1 ()

1. Political Role	4. Unifying Role
2. Cultural Identity Role	5. Non-Chinese Content
3. Bridging Role	

18. ROLE 2 ()

1. Advocate/Patriotic Crusades	2. Political Mobilizer

Appendix C**Coding Form**

	Paper	Date	Origin	Region Covered	News Source	Placement	Content Type	L&W Func	Society Func	Accul Func	Role 1	Role 2
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												
11												
12												
13												
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23												
24												
25												
26												
27												
28												
29												
30												
31												
32												
33												
34												
35												

Coded By: _____

Appendix D

Interview Schedule

Newspaper	Interview Date	Interviewees	Position
World Journal	January 30, 1997	Yu-Ru Chen	Editor-In-Chief
World Journal	January 24, 1997	Lily Liu	City Editor
World Journal	January 24, 1997	Shih-Wei Lu	Reporter
World Journal	January 21, 1997	Brian Ho	Account Executive
Sing Tao Daily	January 22, 1997	Wellington Cheng	Editor-In-Chief
Sing Tao Daily	January 22, 1997	Kai-Ping Liu	City Editor
Sing Tao Daily	January 22, 1997	Ge Li	Reporter
Sing Tao Daily	January 23, 1997	Sam Chan	Account Executive
China Press	January 29, 1997	Yining Xie	President
China Press	January 29, 1997	Yueming He	Manager, News Desk
Int'l Daily News	January 20, 1997	Elaine Shep	Executive Manager
Int'l Daily News	January 20, 1997	Hong-Tu Tseng	Reporter/Account Executive

Appendix E-1

Selected Advertising Rate List of Chinese-Language Newspapers

Classified Ads:

Newspaper	Size	Time	Price
World Journal	1 x 1	3 days	\$ 30
		30 days	\$ 140
	1 x 2	3 days	\$ 60
		30 days	\$ 280
	2 x 2	3 days	\$ 80
		30 days	\$ 360
	2 x 3	3 days	\$ 120
		30 days	\$ 540
Sing Tao Daily	1 x 1	3 days	\$ 27
		30 days	\$ 135
	2 x 2	3 days	\$ 78
		30 days	\$ 351

Appendix E-2

Business Ads:

Paper Name	Type	Size	Time/Price	Special Package
World Journal	Front Page	2 x 2 (A-1)	\$ 75 (Wkday)	<u>Monthly Special: 4 times per month</u> \$ 950 (Wkday) \$ 1,045 (Wkend) \$ 2,851 \$ 3,136 \$ 372 \$ 409 \$ 743 \$ 817 \$ 2,229 \$ 2,452
		2 x 12 (A-1)	\$ 75 (Wkend)	
			\$ 264	
			\$ 290	
		6 x 12 (A-1)	\$ 792	
			\$ 871	
		1 x 12/2 x 6	\$ 103	
			\$ 114	
World Journal	Inside Page	2 x 12/6 x 4	\$ 206	<u>Monthly Special: 4 times per month</u> \$ 110 (Wkday) \$ 121 (Wkend) \$ 165 \$ 182 \$ 415 \$ 456 \$ 1,244 \$ 1,369 \$ 1,659 \$ 1,825 \$ 2,074 \$ 2,281 \$ 4,147 \$ 4,562
			\$ 227	
		6 x 12	\$ 619	
			\$ 681	
		2 x 3	\$ 30 (Wkday)	
			\$ 33 (Wkend)	
		3 x 3	\$ 46	
			\$ 50	
Sing Tao Daily	Front Page	4 x 6/2 x 12	\$ 115	<u>Monthly Special</u> 4 times per month--10% off 8 times per month--20% off 13 times per month--30% off
			\$ 127	
		6 x 12	\$ 346	
			\$ 380	
		8 x 12	\$ 460	
			\$ 507	
		10 x 12/Half	\$ 576	
			\$ 634	
Sing Tao Daily	Front Page	20 x 2/Full	\$ 1,152	
			\$ 1,267	
		Upper Half	\$ 100	
		2.25 x 2		
		Lower Half	\$ 14	
		1 x 1	\$ 100	
		2.25 x 2	\$ 2,500	
		11 x 10	\$ 3,500	
Sing Tao Daily	Inside Page	Full Page		
		1 x 1	\$ 11	
		Half Page	\$ 1,200	
Sing Tao Daily	Back Page	Full Page	\$ 2,400	
		1 x 1	\$ 9	
		Half Page	\$ 1,020	
Sing Tao Daily	Back Page	Full Page	\$ 2,040	

(appendix continues)

Appendix E-2 (continued)

Paper Name	Type	Size	Time/Price	Special Package
China Press	Front Page	16 x 34.5	\$ 1,600	
China Press	Inside Page black/white	¼ page ½ page Full page	\$ 500 \$ 900 \$ 1,650	
China Press	Inside Page color	¼ page ½ page Full page	\$ 800 \$ 1,600 \$ 3,000	
Int'l Daily News	Front Page	2 x 2 4 x 12 6 x 12 8 x 12	\$ 65 \$ 400 \$ 600 \$ 800	
Int'l Daily News	Inside Page	1 x 12/2 x 6 2 x 12/4 x 6 3 x 12 6 x 12 8 x 12 10 x 12 20 x 12/Full	\$ 66 (color) \$ 38 (b&w) \$ 131 \$ 77 \$ 197 \$ 115 \$ 393 \$ 230 \$ 524 \$ 307 \$ 665 \$ 384 \$ 131 \$ 768	

Appendix F-1

Facts About Chinese-Language Newspapers

World Journal: (Based on World Journal survey in 1995)

1. National Circulation Breakdown: copies/day

Total Nationwide	349,300
East America	125,800
Southwestern America	100,000
Northwestern America	73,500

2. Readership Analysis

Household Annual Income

\$19,000-\$24,000	35.6%
\$24,001-\$48,000	39.7%
\$48,001 and above	24.7%

Sex

Male	51.7%
Female	48.3%

Age

Under 20	2.3%
20-24	3.9%
25-34	31.9%
35-44	32.3%
45-54	13.2%
55-64	8.2%
65 or more	--

Education

Ph. D.	5.6%
Master	20.3%
Bachelor or equivalent	55.0%
High School	18.0%
Elementary School	1.1%

Industry

Professionals	29.4%
Students	10.2%
Business	9.1%
Civil Service	8.2%
Education	8.1%
Engineering, Architecture	6.5%
Banking, Insurance	4.5%

Appendix F-2

Sing Tao Daily: (Based on Sing Tao survey in 1992)

1. National Circulation Breakdown: copies/day

Total Nationwide	131,000
San Francisco Bay Area	60,000 (weekday)
	70,000 (weekend)

2. Readership Analysis

Household Annual Income	
Average income	\$35,100
Sex	
Male	60.0%
Female	36.0%
Age	
Under 18	2.0%
18-45	69.0%
46-64	19.0%
65 and above	10.0%
Education	
Master and above	28.0%
College	38.0%
High School	34.0%
Chinese Language	
Mandarin (including Taiwanese speaking)	28.0%
Cantonese speaking	72.0%

Appendix F-3

China Press: (Based on China Press survey in 1995)

1. <u>National Circulation Breakdown</u> : copies/day	
Total Nationwide	100,000
San Francisco Bay Area	30,000
2. <u>Readership Analysis</u>	
Household Annual Income	
\$19,000-\$24,000	40.3%
\$24,001-\$48,000	38.0%
\$48,001 and above	21.7%
Age	
Under 20	2.0%
21-34	21.8%
35-54	47.7%
55 and above	28.5%
Education	
Master and above	37.6%
College	36.0%
High School	26.4%
Industry	
Government Service	7.8%
Education	7.7%
Engineering	6.2%
Banking Insurance	4.1%
Real Estate	3.0%
Professionals	16.7%
Business	12.2%
Restaurant	16.0%

Appendix F-4

International Daily News: (Based on IDN survey in 1995)

1. National Circulation Breakdown: copies/day

Total Nationwide	96,600
Southwest Area	46,200
Northwest Area	20,100
Central Area	11,100
Eastern Area	19,200

2. Readership Analysis

Household Annual Income

\$19,000-\$24,000	37.0%
\$25,000-\$45,000	49.0%
\$46,000 and above	14.0%

Sex

Male	64.0%
Female	36.0%

Education

Master and above	15.0%
College	60.0%
High School	25.0%

Chinese Language

Mandarin (including Taiwanese speaking)	55.0%
Cantonese speaking	29.0%
Southeast Asian speaking	18.0%