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Information-seeking patterns among Pakistani immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area

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INFORMATION-SEEKING PATTERNS AMONG PAKISTANI IMMIGRANTS IN
THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

A “Plan A” Thesis Proposal Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirement for the Degree of
Master of Sciences

By
Huma Aman Ali

May 2006

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A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William Tillinghast", written above a horizontal line.

Professor William Tillinghast

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Richard Craig", written above a horizontal line.

Professor Richard Craig

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William Briggs", written above a horizontal line.

Professor William Briggs

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

INFORMATION --SEEKING BEHAVIOR OF PAKISTANI IMMIGRANTS IN THE BAY AREA

By Huma Aman Ali

This study draws attention to the information-seeking patterns of Pakistani immigrants in the Bay Area. The study is qualitative and utilizes in-depth interviews, questionnaires, and observations during the interviews to track the Pakistani immigrants' media use.

The results suggest that English proficiency, country of origin, degree of "tech savvy," and education level are the four most important determinants of information-seeking behavior and media usage in the Pakistani immigrants in the Bay Area. The results also suggest that Pakistani immigrants rely heavily on different media sources and the usage of different mediums both within the U.S. as well as outside it for fulfilling their information needs . However, with the evolution of technology in the last ten years, the Internet has become the strongest medium for getting information about Pakistan as well as events in the U.S., along with significant usage of TV for entertainment, relaxation, and news purposes.

The study also found that technology did not play a significant role in the clustering patterns of this immigrant group.

Dedicated to

My father and mother, Mohammad Azmatullah and Nusrat Saleem,

and my dear husband, Syed Aman Ali.

For their unwavering support and dedication to my finishing this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to all the people who contributed to this thesis. To Professor Dennis Dunleavy, my primary advisor, who provided support and advice during the early stages of this project, and to Professors William Tillinghast, Richard Craig, and William Briggs for their assistance during its later stages. They offered valuable insights on the subject under study and gave me some helpful comments. I would like to thank my editor, Jack Ellis, who was instrumental in helping me put the thesis together. I would also like to thank all the participants for letting me interview them. Without their support and patience this thesis would not have been possible. Finally, I thank my family for their patience and support throughout the thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the U.S., a country of immigrants, new groups historically have found it difficult to meet their information needs (Pang, 1986; Wagner, 2003) . Issues of information seeking and maintaining social, political, and religious identities through alternative media sources have been examined from many different perspectives in recent years (Pang, 1986; Ramirez, 1997; Adams & Goldbard, 2002). Using existing theories of information seeking, uses and gratifications, as well as acculturation theory, this project explored how one immigrant group, Pakistanis in the Bay Area, seek to meet information needs through alternative media sources. In other words, this study asked how Pakistanis living in the United States find out about social, cultural, and political events relating to their home country by using both American news sources and those outside U.S. mainstream media. These sources included radio, Pakistani newspapers, satellite television, and the Internet. The newer sources seemed to cater to the small population, who are largely bilingual, most being proficient in both English and Urdu. This research consisted of a qualitative pilot study based on interviews, a methodological approach that has been widely used in the field of information studies (Pang, 1986; Warne, 1993; Lee, 2000).

Pakistani Immigrants in the U.S.

Pakistan is located in the western part of the Indian sub-continent. The national language is Urdu, English is the official language, and there are over five other principal

languages. Pakistan is predominantly a Muslim nation. Despite its diversity, the general culture of the Pakistani community is strongly rooted in the family and extended family. The role of each family member is well defined by cultural heritage. Elders are respected and often live with and are looked after by their children.

Pakistani immigration to the United States has a particular historical context. Asian migration has a long history beginning with a first wave of immigrants who arrived between the 1890s and the 1920s. These immigrants were primarily unskilled farm laborers who settled chiefly in Hawaii and the West (Pang, 1986). A second wave of immigrants arrived in 1965:

From 1870 to 1939, thousand of South Asians, mostly Sikhs from rural India, immigrated to North America in search of work or political asylum. After some returned to India to lead a rebellion against the British, the U.S. government barred South Asian immigration. This ban lasted until 1946. A second wave of Indian and South Asian immigrants arrived after 1965, when immigration laws were revised. The law gave preference to highly trained professionals. Urban, educated, and English speaking, these immigrants faced few barriers in accessing the health care system, although they encountered discrimination. Since the 1980's, immigration patterns have shifted to bring political refugees from Afghanistan and Bangladesh and from the Hindu-Sikh conflict in India. In addition, the numbers of undocumented aliens continue to grow. Many new immigrants face not only cultural but also severe linguistic and economic barriers. (SenGupta, 2004)

More recently, within the past few decades, Pakistani immigrants have largely come from modern, urban environments and have tended to be well educated. For example, it has been noted in the popular press that members of the Pakistani community are "highly educated, well-paid, high-tech workers and engineers, many of whom came to the Bay Area in the early days of the IT boom" (Michels, 2002). Although many of the Pakistanis in the Bay Area are affluent and highly skilled, the community is not socio-

economically homogeneous, and it includes middle- and lower-middle class groups (Rammah, 2002).

Pakistani Immigrants in the Bay Area

Asians form a significant proportion of the Bay Area population, representing (if East Asians and Pacific Islanders are included) some 23 percent of the total (India News, 2002). According to an Online News Hour report from 2002, there were approximately 50,000 first- and second-generation Pakistanis residing in the Bay Area (Michels, 2002). In the view of Michels and others, California Pakistanis feel the need to retain their religious, cultural, and political identities as they adjust to life in America.

Recognizing the information needs of Bay Area Pakistanis, engineer and business owner Pashbih Sayyed founded an American-based bilingual newspaper, Pakistan Today. According to Sayyed, “their language problems and unfamiliarity with American society, together with their need for specifically Pakistani news has created a demand for bilingual [Urdu and English] media” (Wagner, 2003). Sayyed saw Pakistan Today as a bridge connecting the Pakistani community with the larger American society. Visionaries like Sayyed identified a gap in the information needs of Pakistanis that was not being fulfilled by the mainstream media. Therefore, interviewing people like Sayyed in order to understand the needs of Pakistanis was important. The researcher also based the research on the assumption that most people in the Pakistani community in the Bay Area are highly educated, and are part of an “information rich” community.

Theoretical Framework

Budd (2001) defined information seeking as “the action of individuals who consciously search for, or ask about, content that may be relevant to the individuals’ needs” (p. 256). The theory of information seeking builds upon models such as acculturation theory, assimilation theory, and uses and gratification theory. An additional model is found in the research on processes of information seeking by Choo, Detlor, and Turnbull (2000), which focused on situational demands and cognitive needs. At the cognitive level, the present project aimed to examine how Pakistani immigrants situated in a U.S. context construct and maintain their cultural, social, and political identities.

In elaborating his information-seeking theory, Budd (2001) employed Bakhtin’s dialogic model of communication, which saw dialogue, as a means of seeking to meet information needs, the idea that communication was a form of rhetorical persuasion. Bakhtin was concerned with linguistics and meaning making: language orients people according to context; from an ideological perspective, the dialogic nature of language causes tension.

This study, therefore, was first predicated on the assumption that Pakistanis seek out alternative media sources because they feel mainstream media do not fulfill their needs. In seeking alternative media sources, Pakistani immigrants engage in dialogic communication with the mainstream media.

Dervin’s (1983, 1992) work proposed the notion of the “sense-making” metaphor. She proposed a model of eight “gaps,” where a gap was defined as a perception of what is “missing.” The working hypothesis underlying the present study tentatively

conceptualized the use of alternative media sources by Pakistanis as “sense-making,” where Pakistani immigrants perceive a “gap,” or something missing, in the mainstream media. The theoretical explorations by Dervin, Choo et al. (2000), and Budd (2001) formed the general framework of information seeking for this project and were used in order to analyze the information-seeking practices of the research subjects.

Uses and Gratifications Theory

Uses and gratifications theory arose in the 1940s from a functionalist paradigm in the social sciences. It represented the use of media in terms of the gratification of the social and psychological needs of the individual (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974). Different intuitive needs were associated with individual personalities, stages of maturation, backgrounds, and social roles. Uses and gratifications theory has been concerned with the reasons why people use media, and it is sometimes referred to as reception theory (or reception analysis). It focuses on what people see in the media and on the meanings which people produce when they interpret media “texts” (Hobson, 1982; Ang, 1991). Uses and gratifications theorists maintain that people’s needs influence how they use and respond to a particular medium.

However, media sources also play a role in creating, constituting, or generating needs that they also serve to fulfill. McQuail (1983, 1984) noted that the common goals of media usage are as follows: 1) Information, that is, finding out about relevant events and conditions in the immediate surroundings of society and the world, seeking advice on practical matters or opinions and decision choices, satisfying curiosity and general

interest, learning, self education, and gaining a sense of security through knowledge; 2) personal identity, or finding reinforcement for personal values, finding models of behavior, identifying with valued others (in the media), and gaining insight into oneself; 3) integration and social interaction: gaining insight into the circumstances of others, social empathy, identifying with others and gaining a sense of belonging, finding a basis for conversation and social interaction, having a substitute for real-life companionship, helping to carry out social roles, and enabling one to connect with family, friends, and society; and 4) entertainment: escaping, or being diverted, from problems, relaxing, getting intrinsic cultural or aesthetic enjoyment, filling time, emotional release, and sexual arousal.

Basically, uses and gratifications theory was applied to the information-seeking behavior of Pakistani immigrants at the intuitive level. That is, the theory enabled an analysis of the way in which mainstream media attempt to both create and fulfill the needs of their audience. Conversely, the theory allowed an analysis of how and why Pakistanis in the Bay Area seek out alternative media sources. This study aimed to examine the failure of the mainstream media to fulfill or adequately address the needs of their Pakistani immigrant audience, and treated this failure as a theoretical “gap.”

Acculturation Theory and Assimilation Theory

Acculturation is a process that occurs as the result of first-hand contact between autonomous groups, leading to changes in the original cultures of either or both of the

cultures. In essence, acculturation is a way to describe the adaptation process of diverse individuals to the dominant culture (Garcia-Vazquez, 1995).

At the same time, to assimilate an individual or group not only involves that entity's assumption of the cultural traits of the host society, but also entails permission for it to participate fully in social, economic, and political arenas. More specifically, assimilation is considered to entail the conformity of immigrant or ethnic minority groups to the dominant group (Appleton, 1983). Padilla (1980), in describing the issue of language with regard to acculturative change, noted that:

language, like generation level, has been one of the most frequently examined variables by investigators interested in acculturative change. The assumption has generally been that there is a positive relationship between familiarity of the language of the host culture and acculturation. (p. 49)

Padilla's observation, in the case of the Pakistani community, must be qualified by the particular colonial history of South Asia. In Pakistan, English is regularly taught at schools and English proficiency is often a marker of high social status.

Collective Identity

The questions of identity faced by Pakistani immigrants were a subject of interest in this research project. According to Mohammad (1999), group identity is always relational, and is publicly affirmed through rituals that construct shared experiences. In the common usage of the term "identity," three distinct meanings exist. Some theorists use the term to refer essentially to the culture of a people. Others use it to refer to common identification with a collectivity or social category, as in social identity theory

(Tajfel, 1982), or in contemporary work on social movements, thus creating a common culture among participants (Snow & Oliver, 1995). Finally, some theorist's use the term with reference to the parts of a self composed of the meanings that persons attach to the multiple roles they typically play in highly differentiated contemporary societies (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Research Question: How do the Pakistanis in the Bay Area seek to meet their information needs through alternative media sources?

This study set out to investigate how Pakistanis living in the United States find out about social, cultural, and political events relating to their home country by not only using local American news sources but also alternative sources outside the U.S. mainstream media. The purpose of the project was to examine how and why, and to what extent, Pakistanis need to seek information from different sources.

One aim of mainstream media is to communicate with and “persuade” a non-specific, generalized mass audience, for example the American people. One supposition offered was that for Pakistani immigrants, the mainstream media do not “persuade” or satisfy information needs.

Dervin's (1983, 1992) sense-making theory deals with a perception of what is missing in the mainstream media. That is, experiencing a need for what is missing, Pakistani immigrants perceive that information gathered from alternative sources outside the mainstream may reinforce their social, cultural, religious, and political identity. Uses and gratifications theory may then be used to discuss how media fulfill the needs of

immigrants, how media create these needs, and how people interpret these needs through the media. This project treated information-seeking practices among Pakistani immigrants in the Bay Area in terms of filling the gaps perceived in what was provided by mainstream media.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This literature review further deals with the theoretical basis for the research project, and focuses on three components: information seeking theory, uses and gratifications theory, and acculturation theory.

Information Seeking

Choo et al. (2000), in their study on information seeking on the World Wide Web, presented a general model of information seeking broken down into three processes: information needs, information seeking, and information use. The model dealt with the ways in which situational demands, affective responses, and cognitive needs interact within each process:

Information needs arise when people perceive gaps in their state of knowledge and ability to make sense of experience. Information seeking is the process in which they then purposely search for information by identifying, selecting and interacting with sources. Information use occurs when people process information that changes their state of knowledge or capacity to make sense. (pp. 21–22)

They noted that the way people used the web was conditioned or limited by the functions built into the specific browser clients. This observation clarified their conception of the data collection project as “multimodal,” where the “interpretive” use of media content and the “interactive” relationship with the media type consulted both constitute ways of acquiring knowledge, or information-seeking behaviors. This research project aimed to

identify the needs being met, or gaps sought to be filled, through the information seeking strategies employed by Pakistani immigrants in the Bay Area.

Budd (2001) defined information seeking as “the action of individuals who consciously search for, or ask about, content that may be relevant to the individual’s needs” (p. 256). He referred to Jurgen Habermas claim that understanding arises from the conjoined interpretations of language and experience, writing that within the information search process “the user interprets information to construct new understandings and knowledge that add valuable information for addressing problems and making judgments” (p. 257). In Habermas’s view,

The telos of reaching understanding inherent in the structures of language compels the communicative actors to alter their perspective; this shift in perspective finds expression in the necessity of going from objectivating attitude of the success –oriented actor, who seeks to effect something in the world, to the performative attitude of a speaker, who seeks to reach understanding with a second person about something. (Budd, p. 257)

The key to understanding, according to Habermas (Budd, 2001), is the ability of an individual to engage in genuine dialogue, to interpret what another person says, and to respond in ways that can be interpreted by that other person. Habermas and Budd provide valuable help in conceptualizing the process by which people recognize the need for information and seek to meet that need. Nonetheless, there are a number of questions regarding how people can be informed and how people seek knowledge.

Dervin (1983, 1992) employed what she referred to as a “sense-making” metaphor to describe how humans perceive information needs as cognitive gaps. She defined cognitive gaps as situations in which people are unable to make sense of their

experiences. She saw this perception of a gap as located within spatially and temporally situated experiences and identifies eight situational gap categories, articulated through the metaphor of roads: decision stop (involving two or more roads ahead), barrier stop (where the road ahead is blocked by someone or something), spin-out stop (where the person sees the self as having no road), washout stop (where the person sees the self as on a road that suddenly disappears), problematic stop (on a road not of one's own choosing), perceptual embeddedness (judging how foggy the road ahead is), situational embeddedness (judging how many intersections are on the road), and social embeddedness (judging how many people are also traveling).

Devin's (1983, 1992) research suggested that important indicators of information-seeking behaviors are found in the ways people perceive their cognitive gaps and the ways in which they expect information to bridge that gap. In the present study the primary goal was to determine how Pakistanis in the Bay Area who consult alternative media sources perceive their "cognitive gaps."

Uses and gratifications theory is an audience-centered perspective which assumes that individuals take initiatives and are goal-directed in their mass communication behavior, and that alternative sources might be chosen to gratify needs or motives (Rubin & Windahl, 1986). Katz et al. (1974) defined the basic tenets of the uses and gratifications approach as a concern with:

- 1) the social and psychological origins of 2) needs, which generate 3) expectations of 4) the mass media or other sources, which lead to 5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities) resulting in 6) need gratifications and 7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones. (p. 20).

Katz et al. (1974) argued that audience needs have social and psychological origins that generate certain expectations about mass media, leading to differential patterns of media exposure, which in turn result in both the gratification of needs and in other, unanticipated consequences. This set of ideas assumes an active audience making motivated choices. However, McQuail (1983, 1984) suggested that the dominant stance of recent researchers in this tradition now regards personal social circumstances and psychological dispositions together, as they influence both general habits of media use and also beliefs and expectations about the benefits of media. The personal and psychological aspects, in turn, are seen as shaping specific acts of media choice and consumption as well as assessments of the value of the experience (with consequences for further media use) in addition, according to McQuail, to applications of benefits acquired in other areas of experience and social activity.

Uses and gratifications theory evolved out of the failure of effects research to adequately look at the receivers of messages. Kline, Miller, and Morrison (1974) noted that effects research assumed the audience was a “passive mass that was acted upon by the media” (p. 113). They insisted that whilst effects cannot be completely ignored, the needs of the audience must be considered. Katz et al. (1974) reported that audience gratifications derived in whole or in part from: 1) media content, 2) exposure to the media *per se*, and 3) the social context, in which media consumption was not necessarily motivated by deliberate processes but could be “rather haphazard, an outcome of chance and external circumstances” (p. 168). They argued that it would be difficult to find and then index the gratifications the audience derived from media consumption.

However, Rubin (1983) found in his study of television motives that there were two television user types. The first type used the medium for time consumption and entertainment, while the second used it for non-escapist information seeking. He developed a typology that categorized television uses as relaxation, companionship, habit, passing time, entertainment, social interaction, information, arousal, and escape.

Uses and gratifications theory has also been criticized as “vulgar gratificationism,” as individualistic and psychologistic, tending to ignore the social-cultural context. As a theoretical stance it foregrounds individual psychological and personality factors while backgrounding sociological interpretations. However, in the present study the researcher employed uses and gratifications theory in addition to an examination of the social and cultural context of Pakistani immigrants.

Information Seeking and Demographic Variables

Parker (1966) found that demographic variables correlated with media use. Sex, age, education, occupation, income, and residence are all variables that influence information behavior. Parker’s (1966) research indicated that the use of media to satisfy specific information needs is more frequent among people of higher socio-economic status, particularly those with higher educational levels. For example, people with different occupations use TV differently, but unemployed adults watch more TV than those who work. People with higher income generally watch less TV than those with lower income. Newspaper reading increases with occupational demands. TV is more likely to be the major source of public affairs information for people with little education,

for females, non-whites, and farm and blue-collar workers (Parker). Wade and Schramm (1969) also found that interaction between education and mass media use helps explain how much and what kind of current knowledge an individual has, to some extent where he or she seeks it.

Education level, as we have seen in the theories of Parker (1966) and Wade and Schramm (1969), is a powerful predictor of mass media use. Wade and Schramm noted that the social roles associated with sex and age were less predictive of the use of media sources, and occupation and income appear to be important only when a person has had less than high school education. But the more education a person has, they argued, the more likely he or she is to use print as the major source of news and information acquisition, although today this information would almost certainly have to include Internet use. The choice of print as the major source of information, according to Wade and Schramm, is likely to bring with it more knowledge and deeper knowledge (p. 206).

In addition to demographic variables, the individual character of each medium is itself a variable that contributes to the choice of media. The nature of the information desired also affects media use. As Wade and Schramm (1969) have shown, printed media are more likely to serve as sources of long-term science and health knowledge, and the broadcast media as sources of political facts useful in election campaigns. As shown by both Parker (1969) and Wade and Schramm, educational level is a powerful predictor of media use.

In a study on information-seeking behavior among Chinese in the Bay Area, Pang (1986) referred to the culture shock faced by the Chinese immigrants from mainland

China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. She included homesickness, eagerness to know what is happening in their homeland, anxiety about the future of China, and language and cultural adjustment problems as factors inhibiting their ability to feel at home in America and making it harder for them to be satisfied with the American media. Such problems led to the establishment and local support of ethnic Chinese media. At the same time, Chinese immigrants had to cope with an unfamiliar American society and to compete in the work force, thus making it impossible for them to isolate themselves from the American media (p. 3). These problems further affected information-seeking behaviors. Pang's results showed that the country of origin, English proficiency, and education levels were the three most predictable determinants of information-seeking and media-use behavior of the Chinese in the Bay Area. Pang cited Lee's 1985 study on mass media and political socialization of foreign immigrants as indicating that language was the strongest determinant of both ethnic and English-language media use.

Acculturation Theory

In describing the issue of language with regard to acculturative change, Padilla (1980) noted, "language, like generation level, has been one of the most frequently examined variables by investigators interested in acculturative change. The assumption has generally been that there is a positive relationship between familiarity with the language of the host culture and acculturation" (p. 49). Padilla's observation must be qualified, in the case of the Pakistani community, by the particular colonial history of

South Asia. In Pakistan, English is regularly taught at schools, and, as already noted; English proficiency is often a marker of high social status.

Padilla (1980) described the established ideas concerning language use in theories of acculturation. He noted that following contact, or immigration, a language shift would be more likely to occur in a non-dominant group. He notes that the acquisition of the language of the dominant culture will eventually supersede the group's own language, leading to assimilation (p. 17). Methodologically, Padilla observed, in an initial acculturation questionnaire,

preference for language usage is measured in such a way that preference for one language is assumed to be negatively correlated with preference for the other language. However, the method of item construction for most of the bicultural involvement questionnaire does not make any assumption about the relationship of preference and usage between both languages. (p. 145)

Similarly, in the interviews conducted with Pakistanis for the purposes of this study, no relation of negative correlation was made with regard to English-language preference where the interviewee was fully bilingual.

Although acculturation and language acquisition in the host country are often described in terms of a loss of ethnic identity, Gong (2003) observed that English-language proficiency among immigrants in the U.S. might serve to reinforce the sense of ethnic identity. Gong (2003) examined acculturation among Filipinos immigrants in the U.S. with respect to alcohol dependence and psychological distress. Her findings suggest that the developmental context of immigration and the time spent in the United States have strong implications for ethnic identity. She noted that Filipinos who immigrate to

the U.S. at young ages, or who have been in the U.S. for a long time, might become less involved with their community and ethnic identity in the long run.

However, with regards to language abilities, Gong (2003) observed that strong English proficiency enhanced the sense of ethnic identity. She found that Filipinos who were very proficient in English were also likely to be highly proficient in the Filipino language. Her results are significant for research on information seeking by Pakistani immigrants in the Bay Area because they establish the possibility that “immigrants who have significantly mastered both languages [in the case of Pakistanis, English and Urdu] are more aware of their home culture and their host culture” (p. 203). This observation on acculturation also ties into the question of religiosity. Gong speculated that higher language proficiency provides immigrants with cultural tools that assist their transactions and communications in various situations, and that English-language proficiency is a significant indicator of religious behavior among Filipinos-Americans (p. 203).

Berry (2001) adopted a parallel approach to understanding acculturation strategies, using the concept of “cultural identity.” This notion refers to a complex set of beliefs and attitudes that people have about themselves in relation to their culture group membership; usually these come to the fore when people are in contact with another culture, rather than when they live entirely within a single culture. In his article Berry asked a series of questions: How do people decide to migrate? How do they settle? How do they think of themselves? What kinds of experiences do they have following migration? These questions were especially relevant in providing a socio-cultural context for Pakistani immigrants against which to determine their information-seeking needs.

For Berry (2001), acculturation theorists generally do not see ethnic prejudice and discrimination as possible factors in the problem of the social exclusion of immigrants, specifically in the exclusion of immigrant qualifications in the area of professional employment (p. 629). In a sense, this article brings us full circle, drawing our attention to the fundamental importance of those social contextual factors that set the stage for psychological factors to play their role. Berry emphasized the use of “both contextual and psychological variables, examined in both immigrant and receiving society populations” (p. 629). Through the use of these two variables, Berry maintained, researchers “will be able to link behavior to the broader setting in which it develops and occurs” (p. 629). Drawing from Berry, this master’s project sought to link information-seeking behavior among Pakistani immigrants to broader issues of cultural, religious, and political identities.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This research was a pilot study of information seeking behavior among Pakistani-born residents in the San Francisco Bay Area, California. The study focused on the scope of Pakistani immigrants' information-seeking behavior, their demographic characteristics, length of residency, language competency, desire for acculturation in the United States.

Study Design

Since it was impossible to obtain a list of names for Pakistani immigrants in the Bay Area, this study was done by purposive sampling rather than random sampling (Pang, 1986). First, the researcher made a list of all the places, where the Pakistani immigrants gather in the Bay Area, preferably in the San Jose area. Then contact was made with the participants through personal contacts, also by visiting different venues like the local mosques, Pakistani businesses, and local schools to obtain responses from within the Pakistani community. Once contact had been established between the researcher and elements of the Pakistani community, 20 Pakistani immigrants showed some initial interest in the study. When the researcher explained the goal of the study, seven respondents withdrew, since they did not feel comfortable giving out personal information, leaving only 13 respondents willing to participate in the project.

The group mainly consisted of highly educated, professional immigrants from Pakistan. The researcher through personal networks knew some participants; others were

introduced through local Pakistani associations, local mosques and schools. The researcher about the purpose of the study and the procedures informed all participants before the study was conducted.

The research was conducted by using a questionnaire and the in-depth interviewing method. The goal of the interview was to explore the respondents' points of view, feelings, and perspectives, the method by which in-depth interviews best yield information (Guion, 2001). A different time was arranged with each individual participant, and the researcher conducted a one-hour, face-to-face interview with each one. All interviews were taped. Participants in the study were also asked to respond to a questionnaire ascertaining demographic information, attitudes, beliefs, and socialization with respect to informational needs. This questionnaire was immediately collected after the interview once each respondent finished. The findings in this research are based on the qualitative data so obtained.

Data Collection

The study was conducted during the period June 12 to August 10, 2005. Data were collected and analyzed from the questionnaires completed in association with the interviews of the thirteen participants, as well as from the in-depth interviews themselves. The researcher visited the participants in their homes, offices, local schools, or mosques, by arrangement and first explained the purpose of the study, then requested them to complete the demographic questionnaire. Sensing that there was some discomfort or

unease at the very outset of the process, to make the respondents comfortable, the researcher had light conversations with the participants about their media habits.

In addition to demographic characteristics, the subjects responded to questions pursuing 1) the underlying reasons why they had migrated and their long term commitment to reside in the United States, 2) the extent of their attachment to their cultural values, 3) their degree of receptiveness to the host society's dominant cultural values, 4) their English language proficiency, and 5) their need for information seeking within U.S. media as well as outside mainstream media. All questionnaires were identified by number to keep them confidential, so that personal information could not be inadvertently revealed.

In-Depth Interviews

The interviews were conducted for the purposes of the study to answer the research question: How do the Pakistanis in the Bay Area seek to meet their information needs through alternative media sources? The in-depth interview method was used by the researcher to determine the individuals' perceptions and opinions, facts and forecasts, and individuals' reactions to initial findings and potential solutions, as noted by Crabtree and Miller (1992).

Prior to the interview certain steps had to be taken by the researcher to ensure that all the proper procedures were followed for the in-depth interviewing process. First, the researcher had to define a format and a process (Crabtree & Miller 1992) for conducting the interview this included a definition of the information required. Detailed questions

were prepared for the in-depth interviews in advance by the researcher to ensure that all the issues were covered. This information had to be incorporated in the overall research and framework. The information supplied by the participants during the interview had to clearly relate to specific questions that the research attempted to answer (Crabtree & Miller, 1992). Respondents were prepared for the interview process ahead of time, a time and a location was confirmed where both would meet. A quiet venue was chosen free from all external influences. Assurance of confidentiality and anonymity was given and an indication by the researcher of the likely amount of time the interview would take. Prior permission was also requested from the respondents for taping their interviews and during the interview the researcher additionally took some brief notes.

The interview process was deliberate, paced, and focused on the respondent. After a brief introduction, the general purpose of the research was confirmed, the role of the interview, time needed to conduct and complete the interview and the information was treated with confidentiality was also confirmed. During the initial process the researcher noticed there was certain uneasiness and discomfort by the participants in answering some of the questions. The questionnaire was requested to be filled first before the interview was started to help create ease between the two parties.

The interview consisted of nine construct questions to determine whether the participants were generally informed about current events in the U.S. or in Pakistan, what channels they were frequently using to get such information, and whether, and how, technology had changed their information gathering habits.

The taping of the interviews at first seemed to make some participants slightly uncomfortable about revealing information, but later they became more relaxed and open about their information gathering practices. Some key questions were repeated in different ways throughout the interviews, if and when the researcher noticed that the first time round the respondents had appeared to be reticent in their responses. The researcher's main goal was to let the respondents do most of the talking, since the interview was exploratory in nature. Once each interview was over, the researcher thanked the participant and assured him or her of keeping the information anonymous and confidential.

Data Analysis

A total of 13 Pakistani immigrants were interviewed June 12 to August 10, 2005. All the data from the two instruments, questionnaire and taped in-depth interview, were collected and analyzed, and conclusions were drawn from the results. See Chapter Four.

Limitations of the Study

The study was based on a purposive sample; therefore, the results cannot be generalized (Ping, 1998).

Another limitation is that a series of interviews could not be conducted with the same participant more than once. In essence, in-depth interviews involve not only asking questions, but the systematic recording and documenting of responses coupled with intense probing for deeper meaning and understanding of the responses (Guion, 2001).

Thus, in-depth interviewing may often ideally require repeated interview sessions with the respondents under study (Guion, 2001). However, it was almost impossible for the researcher to arrange more than one meeting with each respondent.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Part A: Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

The participants in this study were first-generation Pakistani immigrants of the Bay Area 21 years and older, residing within a 50-mile radius of San Jose (Questions A3, A4). The findings are based on the qualitative data, on comments made by the respondents, as well as on in-depth interviews with the 13 subjects who agreed to discuss the issues with the author. Out of 20 qualified individuals who were requested to participate only 13 agreed, yielding a 65% return rate. The low response rate may perhaps be attributed to the fact that some felt reluctant to provide information to a “stranger” about their private lives and were suspicious of anyone who might attempt to gather information about them.

The respondent pool consisted of eight men and five women (Question A2), ranging in age from 21 to 40 years, with a median age of 30.5 years (Question A1), and 12 of the 13 were married, with one female respondent remaining single (Question A7).

Pakistanis in the Bay Area tend to be relatively highly educated. All of the respondents had a college education. Of the 13 subjects, five had 4-year college degrees, seven had masters’ degrees, and one had a doctorate (Questions A5 and A6).

Apart from the one female student, the other four female respondents were housewives; the eight men were currently employed in the computer industry (Question A15). In terms of occupational status, the men were highly skilled professionals working

in the computer industry in San Jose, with incomes ranging from \$50,000 to over \$100,000 (Question A16).

As for the origin, length of residency, and resident status: All 13 of the respondents were originally from Pakistan. One female was born in Pakistan but raised in the U.S. The remainder had resided in the U.S. for periods ranging from 5 to 20 years; three of them were U.S. citizens and nine were permanent residents in the state of California (Questions A8, A9, and A10).

One crucial tool for the first-generation Pakistanis in the Bay Area was their use of both the English language and their native language (Urdu) to communicate with other populations as well as with other Pakistanis. In general, Pakistanis have tended to be fluent in English even before coming to the U.S. (Question A11). Regarding their computer usage and access to the Internet, all of the respondents had computers in their house with access to the Internet and all used various kinds of media — the Internet, television, magazines, cell phones, radio, newspapers, etc. — as well as personal interaction to gain information and for entertainment and relaxation at home (Questions A12, A13, A14).

Part B: Media and Connectivity

The majority of the respondents (12 out of 13) used American media to get information about current events and public affairs in the U.S. One respondent said that she did not consume any American media, therefore was not aware of current events in the U.S. (Question B1). Nine used Pakistani media to get information about current

events in Pakistan. The remaining four said they did not consume any Pakistani news media and therefore had very little knowledge of Pakistan events (Question B2). Of the 13 subjects, 10 preferred to use American media more often to get information about public affairs; of those 10, four also frequently used Pakistani news sources as well. Of the remaining three, two made use of Pakistani media alone and one said she did not consume Pakistani or American news media at all (Question B3).

In addition to the question of information consumption, it was important to see what media the respondents used for relaxation and entertainment purposes. Twelve of the 13 respondents used some forms of both traditional media and new technology to relax (Question B4). The most commonly used medium for entertainment about Pakistan and US by the Pakistani immigrants was the Internet. Almost all of the respondents (12 of the 13) preferred to use this medium; of these 12, four said they used other media sources as well as the Internet: two respondents both spent time watching TV and used the Internet, one used family and friends as a source of entertainment together with the Internet, and one said that she used both the radio and the Internet. Only one respondent said she depended solely on family and friends for entertainment (Question B5). Thus it can be concluded that almost all of the subjects were comfortable with, and had the ability to use, the latest technology as a primary source of entertainment as well as for information.

The Kinds of Media Immigrants Actively Sought

The study revealed that 12 of the 13 respondents consumed American mass media for various purposes such as for entertainment, to understand American culture and society, to keep informed about current affairs, and to find out news about Pakistan; only one respondent said she did not consume any American media at all (Question B7). A majority of the respondents (8 out of 13) stated that the reason for using American media was to keep informed about current events happening in the US. Of the remaining five, two said that they used American media either for entertainment or for understanding American culture and society. Only three respondents did not care about being informed about American current affairs and gave other reasons (Question B8).

Time Spent by Immigrants Actively Seeking American Media Sources

One quantitative aspect of the research was the time spent by Pakistani immigrants on actively making use of American media. Out of the 13 respondents, nearly half (six) said they spent 20–35 minutes per day reading American newspapers, two spent between 1–3 hours per day on newspapers, one spent three minutes per day, and 4 did not spend any time on newspapers. Thus a total of nine made at least some use of American newspapers for information (Question B 9). As for American magazines, one respondent spent 10 hours per week on American magazines, one spent 4–5 hours per week on them, four spent 1–2 hours per week, two spent half an hour per week, one spent 10 minutes per week, and four spent no time at all on American magazines (Question B10). Out of the 13 respondents, 11 said they watched on average between 30 minutes and two hours of

American television daily. Only 2 respondents said they did not watch American TV daily (Question B11).

Time Spent by Immigrants Actively Using Pakistani Media Sources

Another quantitative aspect of the research was the time spent by the respondents on actively making use of Pakistani media. A majority (9 of the 13) at various points in time used Pakistani media; the rest did not (Question B12). Most of the respondents (10 out of 13) did not answer the question asking for the most important reason for not using Pakistani media (for 9 of them it was not applicable); the other three said they did not use Pakistani media because they were not readily available where they lived or because of lack of ties with Pakistan, since they had no immediate family still living there, or because they were simply not interested in using these media (Question B13). On the other hand, 8 out of 13 said the most important reason for using Pakistani media was to remain connected with current Pakistani affairs; one said he used it for entertainment purposes, and four (to whom it was not applicable) did not respond to the question (Question B14).

Most immigrants (8 out of 13) spent 15–30 minutes per day on Pakistani newspapers; one spent 10 minutes per day and the remaining four did not spend any time reading Pakistani newspapers (Question B15). The majority of the respondents (8 out of 13) did not spend any time watching Pakistani TV programs. One said she spent 10 hours per week and another spent 1–2 hours per week. Three said they spent about 15 minutes per week watching Pakistani TV programs (Question B16). Most (10 out of 13) did not

spend any time on Pakistani magazines. Two spent about 2–3 hours per day and one about 5 minutes per day on this medium (Question B17).

Part C: Connectivity and Location

When asked about their preferences as to the kinds of information they sought out in their leisure time, a majority of the subjects (8 out of 13) stated that they were generally interested in local as well as foreign news. They enjoyed topics like travel (5), entertainment (5), parenting (5), sports (2), automobiles (2), religion (2), and community-related topics (1) (Question C1). For most the Internet and the telephone were their primary means of acquiring information about current events and news, and about family and friends (Question C2). Of the 13, 11 respondents preferred the newer technologies over the traditional, when asked about technology preferences: for example, the Internet, email, video-text messaging, voice over IP, cell phones, as against the more traditional technologies to gain information: newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and satellite. The remaining two said they used both traditional as well as new technology to gain information (Question C3).

In the study, 12 of the 13 immigrants not only used Pakistani sources but other sources as well to gain information; one respondent said she did not use any media sources to get her information about Pakistan (Question C4). To find out news about Pakistan, the immigrants predominantly used newspapers like Jhang, DAWN, The Herald, cable channels like ARY, GEO, and PTV. The other sources used were Yahoo online news, the *Wall Street Journal*, and cable networks (FOX, NBC, CNN, CNBC,

etc.) (Question C5). One respondent said that he only used American media to gain information and one said that she did not use any source to gather information.

Of all the respondents 11 went not only to Pakistani and American sources but to others as well. According to the subjects, the Internet had proved to be a vital resource for gaining information. These respondents said they used the Internet frequently as a source of information because it was a readily available, reliable, and inexpensive medium. It had helped them not only to stay in touch with their immediate environment but also to stay connected with events in Pakistan. Of the remaining two respondents, one used only American sources of information, but he, too, used the Internet to access the information; the other respondent did not use any of the above sources for information (Question C6).

Technology and Community: Social and Psychological Aspects

An important subject considered significant in this study was an examination of the extent and importance of maintaining ethnic and cultural identity. Even with the recent technological advances and easier connectivity, great stress was placed by the majority of the respondents (10 out of 13) on the importance of living close by other Pakistani families; only three respondents held the opposite opinion on the matter (Question C7). These latter three respondents claimed that they did not really feel the need to live near other Pakistanis; mainly because of their hectic work schedules they did not have time to meet up with others (Question C8). The reasons given by the majority (10 out of 13) as to why they would like to stay close to their community were mainly to do with retaining their cultural, emotional, as well as religious identity. They wanted to

stay connected to their community especially for the sake of their children. Most of them felt culturally isolated in the U.S. community and wanted to be surrounded by their own people to help maintain social and cultural values and identities. In this regard they displayed similar tendencies towards clustering in groups in a foreign country as had been observed in previous immigrant studies, such as those of Chinese and Latino communities (Pang, 1986; Ramirez, 1997; Ping, 1998).

Additional reasons given by the three respondents who said that they did not feel the need to live near other Pakistani families were that they wanted to experience other cultures; that due to irregular work schedules they did not have time to socialize; and that they found other Pakistani families surrounding them not intellectually diverse (Question C9).

Technological Advances and Clustering Patterns

Finally, it was noted that these immigrants felt that the availability of new technology had been a major factor in providing easy connectivity with people both in Pakistan and in the Bay Area (Questions C10 and C12). Most of the respondents kept in touch with people in Pakistan and the Bay Area through e-mail, online chat programs, and instant text messaging via the Internet, as well as by telephone and personal contact (Questions C11 and C13). The success of the Internet-based technologies among these immigrants was due to its speed and its inexpensive way means of keeping in touch. However, one respondent said that new technology was not a great factor for keeping in

touch with people back home, because she did not have any family in Pakistan. She also stated that she did not use new technology, and did not give any reasons why.

Pertaining to issues of uncertainty and cultural isolation, the 10 immigrants noted above who felt it important to live close to other members of the Pakistani community, believed that their feelings were undoubtedly shared by other Pakistani families for the same reasons, that is, in order to maintain their cultural and religious identity and for psychological and emotional support in a new land. The three other respondents said that even though they did not themselves feel the need to live physically close to other Pakistani families, they were aware that other Pakistani people felt differently (Question C14).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Summary

This study offers an analysis of how Pakistanis immigrants in the Bay Area acculturate and seek information in the United States. Participants in the study were first-generation Pakistani immigrants, 18 years and older, and residing in the Bay Area. Of the 20 qualified individuals who were asked to give an in-depth interview, 13 agreed. The study was qualitative in nature. Some further questions were added before the interviews took place to expand the scope of the inquiry.

The first research question was that Pakistani immigrants, proficient in English, highly educated, and “tech savvy,” are comparatively “information rich” among immigrant groups. This was investigated by the interview method. The variables studied were English language competency, level of education, mass media availability, access to the media, interaction with the media, and interpersonal communication.

The second research question was that the proliferation of available means of information seeking and, especially, communication has resulted in changes in the residential patterns of Bay Area Pakistani immigrants, specifically in reducing the tendency found among previous immigrant groups to cluster, or live near each other, for psychological and emotional reasons and for mutual assistance.

Due to the small size of the sample, to the lack of previous research on this immigrant population, to the much higher than average levels of education and income,

and to the non-representative nature of the sample, the researcher was limited to making only tentative generalizations about Pakistani immigrants. However five tentative conclusions will be made from the results of this study section.

Conclusions

English proficiency, country of origin, technical knowledge, and educational level were found to be the four most important determinants of information-seeking behavior and media usage in the Pakistani immigrants in the Bay Area. The Pakistanis in the Bay Area use different channels to gain access to various types of information. For entertainment, international news and domestic news, English language television is the most popular medium used by the Pakistani immigrants. Donohew and Palmgreen (1971) noted that the satisfaction obtained from media attention varies with social and psychological variables. The need to be part of the American mainstream (Kung, 1961; Carlson, 1975) and the countervailing need to retain and preserve ethnic identity (Wang & Kincaid, 1982) have been suggested, as the two most important needs of an immigrant.

It was found that most of the Pakistani respondents used English media, not primarily to become better acculturated, but to relax and for entertainment purposes, or because the English language media provided them with a quicker and more readily available source of information than the Pakistani media.

Research question 1 was supported by the study, but due to the small size and unrepresentative nature of the sample, the researcher could only suggest some interesting findings from this research about the Pakistanis immigrants in the United States.

In regards to the range of media exploited and the degree to which these Pakistanis were connected with other members in their community, both in the Bay Area and back in Pakistan, it was noted that nearly all of these respondents had access to the computers and the Internet. Based on the findings, five observations could be drawn: First, these immigrants made constant use of new and traditional technology as well as interpersonal communication for entertainment, relaxation, and news-gathering purposes. Pakistanis seek in their leisure time both local and foreign news. They are interested in a wide variety of topics that they can access through different modes of technology. Second, the majority of the respondents regularly used American media sources as well as Pakistani media sources for their news information. It was noted that a number of the participants preferred using the Internet over other sources as a tool for gaining information because the Internet is a fast, inexpensive and reliable medium. It helps them not only to stay in touch with their immediate environment but also to stay connected with events back in Pakistan.

Third, the study revealed that the majority of the participants actively consumed American mass media for purposes of entertainment, to understand American culture, to keep informed about current events, and to find out news about Pakistan. A few, on the other hand, were not interested in being informed about American current events at all. Fourth, these immigrants actively used American and Pakistani newspapers and American and Pakistani TV more than American and Pakistani magazines to get their information. Finally, the time spent by these immigrants on consumption of American news media was greater than that spent on Pakistani media sources. A similar pattern of

consumption of American media sources more than the native language media sources of the immigrants can also be seen in the results of Ping's (1998) and Pang's (1986) research studies.

The Effects of Technological Advances on Clustering

The second research question was not supported. Therefore five conclusions have been drawn based on the research findings that are of a non-representative nature. As suggested by the results, in reality, even though technology has facilitated communication and connectivity between different members of the bilingual Pakistani community both in the Bay Area and back in Pakistan, most of these immigrants still prefer by and large to live close to each other, to cluster in groups. Their tendency to cluster and their desire to stay connected to their community, mainly to overcome uncertainty and cultural isolation in the new country, is consistent with the findings of previous studies by Pang (1986) and Ping (1998) on Chinese immigrants, and by Ramirez (1997) on Latino immigrants. The results of the present study suggest that Pakistani immigrants seek information and continue to remain living close to their community for psychological and emotional reasons, to maintain their social, religious and ethnic identity and for the sake of their children, to help them keep in touch with their roots, just like other immigrant populations.

Two male respondents said that they did not want to live near the Pakistani community. The reasons they gave were that their very rigorous work schedules did not allow time for socializing, that they wanted to experience different cultures in the new country, and that at times they no longer found Pakistani people to be mentally

compatible with them. Even though it might appear to make sense that with better communication possible at a distance people would not feel the same need to cluster, yet they still do. Some reasons 11 out of the 13 respondents (including both men and women) gave were that they felt comfortable being around other Pakistanis in a new country, that it provided a good support system, that they derived mental and emotional satisfaction from it, and that they felt they could more easily communicate with other Pakistanis and could relate better to them. They could more comfortably visit their houses and experience more enjoyment with other Pakistanis due to the common culture. All of the women respondents felt it was important to live near other Pakistani families, even though some added that never really had the time to interact their Pakistani neighbors due to their hectic routines.

However, the interview responses did suggest some useful factors in the investigation of clustering. For example, it may also be suggested, although this did not arise directly in the interviews, that immigrants' desire to have their children grow up close by to children with a similar heritage may be a reason that tends to override any propensity to disperse that technological advances might promote. Most of this community prefers to send their children to schools, public, private, and Islamic, where there is a greater Pakistani element. Further possible factors, such as fear of discrimination at school, have not been studied.

Second, since none of the women were salary earners or businesspersons, and four of the five were stay-at-home mothers, they too might want to live near other Pakistanis. Similarly, even if some of the men did not feel the need to have others around

like themselves, because they were not home most of the time anyway, they may still have preferred their wives and children to live near other members of their community.

The unmarried female student respondent, significantly, felt less strongly about this matter than the married women did, because she was raised in the U.S. and did not feel as culturally isolated. Another reason she gave was the fact that since she was not married and did not have children she did not feel the need to live physically close to others with children. However, she did like to keep in touch with a few Pakistanis through email and the telephone. In reality the most interesting aspect of this study was that the researcher thought the ready availability of high tech communications may have reduced the need for clustering, whereas it turned out that although these subjects were almost all heavy consumers of high tech modes of long distance communication and information seeking, there were social and cultural reasons for clustering that outweighed any tendency to disperse.

Implications for the Literature

The results of this study exhibit both similarities with and differences from the findings of other researchers. The most obvious similarity with those of Pang (1986), Ramirez (1997), and Ping (1998) is that all immigrant groups engage in information seeking to overcome cultural isolation and the uncertainty of living in a new environment and to maintain their cultural/social and ethnic identity.

Those three studies indicated that the more educated and proficient in the English language the immigrant population is, the more English media usage occurs. The longer

these immigrants stay in the US the more American English media they consume compared with media in their own languages. Even though most of the immigrants have stayed in the U.S. for a considerable length of time, they still want to maintain their original cultural identity by living close to their communities and having strong ties with people in their homeland. By and large, Chinese and the Latino immigrants use word of mouth and interpersonal communication for getting their information. In Pang's (1986) study, now 20 years old, more usage of the traditional technologies was observed, compared to the later studies of Ramirez (1997) and Ping (1998), when newer, cheaper technologies were proliferating. Yet, even though all the different communities by the latter times had increased access to these new technologies, the Latinos still preferred to use the traditional ways of information gathering, by contrast with Chinese students (Ping) and the Pakistanis immigrants of the present study.

A major difference between the Chinese and Latino populations and the Bay Area Pakistani immigrant population is that the majority of Pakistani immigrants are highly educated, were already proficient in English on arrival, and tend to be very familiar with new technologies, compared to their Chinese and Latinos counterparts, as investigated in the studies previously referenced. Most have well paying jobs that provide them with easy access to new technology, such as the Internet, and they use this new technology for communication both overseas and local. By comparison Latino immigrants on average have rather less access to new technologies and their usage of it is limited due to the lack of high income levels and to more limited proficiency in English. In Pang's (1986) research since the new technologies now in common use were not available, the Chinese

immigrants mostly relied on more traditional means as well as word of mouth to communicate. Even with the emergence of the newer technologies in the 1990s the Chinese students in Ping's (1998) research still preferred word of mouth and interpersonal communication to stay in touch with their communities.

Practical Implications and Limitations of the Research

The practical implications of this study are limited by its lack of generalizability. Its most serious limitations were the very small number of respondents and the fact that the researcher selected them. The sample was in no demonstrable way representative. The study can therefore only be regarded as exploratory, at best indicating what possible lines of research someone conducting a proper study with randomly selected and more numerous subjects might pursue.

Another limitation is that the respondents were drawn from Bay Area residents only. Given the area's cost of living and the nature of its economy, it is very likely that levels of education, income, and technical knowledge in any immigrant group, especially among more recent arrivals, are considerably above the national figures for those same groups.

Recommendations for Further Study

This exploratory study raises a number of interesting questions, which may be worthy of investigation. Most obviously, of course, there is the possibility of posing the same questions as considered here but in a more quantitative way, or at least, if

qualitatively, with a wider range of more randomly selected respondents. It would be intrinsically interesting and perhaps useful to know whether a well-educated, “tech-savvy” immigrant group exhibited different patterns of information seeking and entertainment from those of more traditional immigrant groups. And it would have relevance for the integration of new arrivals to have a clear understanding of the strength of immigrants’ need to cluster regardless of the sophistication of their means of communicating and information seeking at a distance.

Other questions that have been raised during the course of this study are:

- 1) What use do Pakistani immigrant housewives make of the various technologies to keep in touch with their traditional roots in Pakistan?
- 2) What kinds of information do these housewives look for when they are at home?
- 3) The psychological and emotional aspects of living in communities in new countries can be studied. That is, how do people get along with each other, and how do they adapt to their new environment? What are their relationships with each other like?
- 4) Differences in the ways in which different Pakistani demographics acculturate in a new society may be studied: for example, comparisons between working professionals and housewives.
- 5) Questions about children and issues of discrimination can be studied: for example, do these immigrants feel that they in the work place or their children at school are being discriminated against ?

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APPENDIX

SURVEY AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The questionnaire was designed not only to test the researcher's hypothesis, but also to give a complete picture about the information seeking behavior of the Pakistani immigrants in the Bay Area. The questionnaire was divided into two parts, the first was the Background information about the Pakistanis in the Bay Area, and their media use. The first part of the questionnaire was concerned with the participant's demographic information, gender, age, education, profession, length of residency, language use and status. The second part was with respect to Media use respect to American TV, Newspapers, Radio and Magazine use.

I. Demographic and Sociological Information

1. Name
2. Sex: Male Female
3. Age
4. What is your profession?
(high tech/ business management/ sales/education)
5. How many years have you been in the United States?
6. How old were you when you came to this country?
7. How many years did you expect to stay?
8. What language do you primarily use at home?
(Urdu, English, others)
9. If your family is not here, what language do you use in the place that you live?
(Urdu, English, others)

10. What language do you use with your friends?
(Urdu, English, others)
11. What language do you primarily use at work?
(Urdu, English, others)
12. Have you has an American education since you have come to the United States?

(Yes/ No)
13. If yes, what was it?

(High School/BA/MA/MSc/Phd/technical).
14. How well do you speak English?

(Well/Very well/Excellent/ Not Well)
15. How many years have you studied English in your native country?
16. What is your current status in America?

(Citizen/ Green card holder/ J visa/ Student Visa / any other specify).

II. Media Usage with respect to American TV, Newspapers, Radio and Magazine Use

17. About how many hours of mainstream TV media do you consume?

News/ Entertainment/ Sports/ Politics

(1–2hrs/ 2–4hrs/4–6hrs/6–8hrs).
18. About how many hours of American publications do you consume?

Newspapers/Magazines

News/Entertainment/Sports/Politics

(1–2hrs/ 2–4hrs/4–6hrs/6–8hrs).
19. Of the following American publications and media, which are the ones, you

read or seek?

(NewYork Times/ Mercury News/ Times/ Economist/ Fox/CNN/ABC/ The Internet / Phone).

In-depth Interview Questions

The in-depth interview was the final interview with all the participants, which lasted for one hour. Nine basic construct questions were asked, where the participants were given certain guidelines, and the questions were repeated.

III. Construct Questions

1. What alternative media sources do you consume outside the mainstream media?
2. Do you seek information about Pakistan outside mainstream media?
3. If Yes? What kind of issues do you seek information about?
4. What are the different kinds of Pakistani media in the Bay Area?
5. How many hours of this media do you consume?
(1–2hrs/ 2–4hrs/4–6hrs/6–8hrs).
6. Do you feel satisfied with the information you get from alternative media sources?
7. Why do you find the need to find this information?
8. What is your impression of Pakistani media?
9. What is your impression of the American media?

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From: Pam Stacks, *Pam Stacks*
Interim AVP, Graduate Studies & Research

Date: April 8, 2005

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

“Information-seeking Patterns of Pakistani Immigrants in the Bay Area.”

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to all data that may be collected from the subjects. The approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Pam Stacks, Ph.D. immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma, and release of potentially damaging personal information. This approval for the human subjects portion of your project is in effect for one year, and data collection beyond April 8, 2006 requires an extension request.

Please also be advised that all subjects need to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate, or withdrawal will not affect any services that the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (408) 924-2480.

Cc: William Tillinghast, Dennis Dunleavy, Richard Craig

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