

**THE EFFECTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS ON MEDIA USAGE:
AN EXAMINATION OF IMMIGRANTS' MEDIA USE PATTERNS, MOTIVES
AND ACCULTURATION IN THE UNITED STATES**

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ABSTRACT

Earlier studies have provided evidence for the importance of mass media in the acculturation process of immigrants. The current study intends to further investigate acculturation by exploring the influential factors in immigrants' mass communication activities.

A survey has been conducted among 208 participants from diverse ethnic backgrounds in the Baton Rouge area. Having examined the mass media and Internet consumption of the respondents, this study finds that psychological factors, not demographic backgrounds, are the primary influential variables in predicting immigrants' media use patterns.

According to this study, respondents' stronger adaptive personality and acculturation motivation would lead to more consumption of host mass media and English Internet and, thus, promote immigrants' acculturation.

On the whole, this study casts light on the importance of psychological factors in immigrants' acculturation process from the aspect of mass communication.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

During recent decades, the United States has experienced a rapid growth of immigrants. In March 2002, the estimated foreign-born population in the United States was 32.5 million, representing 11.4% of the total U.S. population. Compared with the 1990 census figures, this number was an increase of 13.5 million, equaling a 47% growth (Schmidley, 2002). This robust growth of immigrants has continued into the current decade with the speed of 1.5 million immigrants per year (Passel et al., 2004). Meanwhile, the demographic constitution of the immigrant population has also evolved greatly primarily as the result of continuing large-scale immigration from Asia and Latin America (Camarota, 2002). In 2002, 52% of the immigrant population originated from Latin America (including Caribbean and South America) and 25% from Asia. Only 14% of the foreign-born population came from Europe, a significant decrease from the 62% recorded in 1970 (Schmidley, 2002).

As newcomers to American society, first-generation immigrants face the necessary process of acculturation which is important not only to immigrants themselves but also to the host society. This process has been extensively examined by many social science disciplines such as sociology, psychology, and anthropology. From a mass communication perspective, a small number of scholars have explored the role of media use in the acculturation process, and they agree that media use is one of the key factors that influence this process (Hwang & He, 1999; Kim, 1977, 1979, 1988, 1995, 2001; Won, 1977; Zhou & Cai, 2002).

As uses and gratifications theory suggests, immigrants do not passively wait to be

indoctrinated by mass media. Instead, they play an active part in the mass communication process by choosing to consume the U.S. mainstream media or the ethnic-language media in diverse ways according to their various motives. Previous empirical research has revealed obviously varied mass media preferences of members of different ethnic diasporas (Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; Lee & Tse, 1994; Louie, 2003), but researchers did not go one step further to explore what factors had caused such variance in their media preferences. As well, few studies have been conducted to explore the possible differences in media use patterns and motives that may exist among members of the same ethnic group. The relationship between immigrants' media usage and other key influential factors in acculturation, such as age, education, length of residence, acculturation motivation, and adaptive personality, has been scarcely examined.

To make up the void in this field, the current study aims to look at how demographic and psychological factors affect the media use patterns and motives of first generation immigrants in a southern state. In other words, this study tries to shed more light on how and why immigrants use mass media in various ways from uses and gratifications approach. While most relevant studies only look at either host media use or ethnic media use of a single ethnic immigrant group (Lam, 1980; Lee & Stamm, 1990), the current study intends to get a fuller picture of immigrants' media usage by examining both host media and ethnic media use of immigrants from diverse national origins. Furthermore, how immigrants utilize the Internet as a relatively new media will also be investigated in this study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Uses and Gratifications Theory

As one of the most useful theories for investigating people's media use patterns and motives (Lin, 1999), uses and gratification theory has three basic assumptions: First, it assumes a proactive audience who seeks the media to satisfy its needs. Second, it assumes that individuals select what media content they want to consume. Finally, it assumes that different media compete to satisfy an individual's needs (Katz & Kahn, 1978). This theory has been widely applied to various situations involving mediated communications (Lin, 1999; Ruggiero, 2000).

Compared with the traditional media effects approach which usually examines mass communication from the perspective of the communicator, uses and gratifications approach has brought a different perspective to mass communication study by attaching importance to individual factors of the audience which have an influence on mass communication process. According to this theory, media use of audience is motivated by rational-awareness of the individual's own needs and an expectation that their needs will be satisfied by particular types of media content. Different individuals would display different types and amounts of activity in different communication settings and at different times in the communication process (Blumler & Katz, 1974; Ruggiero, 2000; Severin & Tankard, 1997).

Another important tenet of uses and gratifications theory is that people use the same media for different purposes. It has been supported by a wide range of empirical mass communication. For example, Greenberg and Dominick (1969) first examined

television-watching reasons among lower-income white and black teenagers and middle-income whites, and discovered that motivations differed strikingly among social class groupings.

Though early uses and gratifications researchers rarely looked at correlations between observed gratifications and the psychological origins of the satisfied needs, a number of uses and gratifications studies have emphasized the psychological factors which influence media uses since the late 1970s (Ruggiero, 2000). For example, Finn and Gorr (1988) found that several psychological conditions such as loneliness and shyness were positively related to the television viewing motive of “social compensation” which included companionship, habitual viewing, and escaping. According to Lin (1996), the primary strength of uses and gratifications theory is its ability to permit researchers to investigate “mediated communication situations via a single or multiple sets of psychological needs, psychological motives, communication channels, communication content, and psychological gratifications within a particular or cross-cultural context” (p. 574).

Uses and gratifications scholars suggested that certain basic needs interact with personal characteristics and the social environment of the individual to produce perceived problems and perceived solutions (Rosengren, 1974). Since the 1970s, uses and gratifications scholars have purposely examined audience motivations and developed additional typologies of the uses people made of the media to gratify social and psychological needs (Katz et al., 1973; Ruggiero, 2000).

Based on previous studies, McQuail (1987) developed a typology which

contained four categories of media use motives: (1) Information -- finding out about relevant events and conditions in immediate surroundings, society and the world, seeking advice on practical matters or opinion and decision choices, satisfying curiosity and general interest, learning, self-education, gaining a sense of security through knowledge; (2) Personal identity -- finding reinforcement for personal values, finding models of behavior, identifying with valued other (in the media), gaining insight into one's self; (3) Integration and social interaction -- gaining insight into 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, enabling one to connect with family, friends and society. (4) Entertainment -- escaping, or being diverted, from problems, relaxing, getting intrinsic cultural or aesthetic enjoyment, filling time, emotional release, and sexual arousal.

During recent decades, as new technologies present people with more and more media choices, motivations and satisfactions become even more crucial components of audience analysis (Ruggiero, 2000). Actually, audiences' motivations and decisions to use a certain type of mediated communication tool had been investigated through uses and gratifications theory whenever a new technology entered the stage of mass communication (Elliott & Rosenberg, 1987). Since the 1990s, mass communication scholars have applied uses and gratifications theory to a wide range of video media technologies such as cable television (Donohew, Palmgreen, & Rayburn, 1987; Jacobs, 1995; LaRose & Atkin, 1991; Stafford & Stafford, 1996), VCR (Lin, 1993),

CD-ROM (Perse & Dunn, 1998), and cellular phones (Leung & Wei, 2000).

The emergence and popularity of the Internet has brought both a challenge and an opportunity for uses and gratifications researchers. Most (December, 1996; Ruggiero, 2000) agree that traditional models of uses and gratifications theories may still provide a useful framework for studying the Internet and traditional typologies of mass media consumption could translate appropriately to the Internet.

Immigrants' Media Usage

High Preference for Ethnic Media

Empirical studies have reported that immigrants exhibited different media use patterns from those of non-immigrant majority, among which the most obvious one is the high preference of first generation immigrants for their ethnic language media over the U.S. media. Hurh and Kim (1984) interviewed 622 Korean immigrants in Los Angeles and found 78 percent of them subscribed to Korean ethnic newspapers regularly whereas only 22 percent subscribed to American newspapers. Nearly half of the respondents did not read American newspapers at all.

The preference of the first generation immigrants for ethnic mass media may remain at a relatively high level for a long time. Lee and Tse (1994) studied the media consumption patterns of Hong Kong Chinese immigrants who had been in Canada for at least seven years and found that their TV habits changed slowly. Even after living in Canada for at least seven years, the long-time immigrants still spent 41% of their media time on ethnic media.

On the other side, Kim (1978, 2001) stated that she had documented a significant

decrease over time in the use of ethnic media by Koreans in the United States while their exposure of American media increased. Subervi-Velez (1984) also found that Latinos gradually used more Anglo media and less Hispanic media.

Different Media Preferences among Immigrant Groups

Media use patterns of immigrants vary among diverse ethnic groups. Delener and Neelankavil (1990) compared the media usage of Asian and Hispanic immigrants, reporting clear-cut and unique media preferences of the two subculture groups. The most important media in reaching Hispanics were television and radio. By comparison, Asians on the whole preferred newspapers and specific television shows, especially feature movies and variety shows.

Based on data from the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study of Harvard University, Louie (2003) suggested that immigrant teens in the United States with various ethnic origins displayed various media preferences. Latino youth had a strong preference for the Spanish language television, radio, and Internet. Chinese youth watched TV, listened to the radio, and communicated on the Internet primarily in English, but watched videotapes and read magazines in Chinese half the time or more. Different from the above two groups, Haitian youth immigrants consumed almost all the media primarily in English. However, the researcher did not examine what causes had led to such variance in media use patterns among different immigrant groups.

Factors that Impact Immigrants' Media Use Patterns

In traditional immigrant research, English proficiency was found to be a key

variable affecting immigrants' media use. Fluency in English was considered to be the most important determinant of post-war immigrants' exposure to the Canadian mass media (Richmond, 1967). Similarly, Hurh and Kim (1984) reported the lack of English ability was the primary reason for Korean immigrants' high reliance on ethnic newspaper. Accordingly, Kim (1988, 2001) concluded, the greater the development of host communication competence, the greater the participation in host mass communication.

Education level, often tightly correlating with English skills, and age were also found to be key variables determining immigrant's media usage. Delener and Neelankavil (1990) also revealed Asian immigrants could be divided into two sub-segments according to their media preferences: the educated and younger Asians preferred more upscale media such as the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *Business Week*, whereas older Asians tended to read more ethnic newspapers.

Another essential factor that traditional research emphasized was the access to media. According to Kim (2001), local availability of mass media would also be expected to increase mass media usage. Delener and Neelankavil (1990) also suggested that the higher preferences of Hispanics over Asians for television and radio could partly derive from the greater availability of Spanish-language TV networks and radio stations than Asian broadcast media outlets.

However, deficiency in English skills and limited access to host mass media are not enough to explain immigrants' high preference to ethnic media. According to Goldlust and Richmond (1974), immigrants in Canada with the same educational

level and length of residence had obviously different extents of using ethnic media. Furthermore, a number of studies reported that many English-proficient and assimilated immigrants still turned to ethnic media for information and entertainment (Hwang & He, 1999; Zhou & Kim, 2001).

According to the assumptions of uses and gratifications theory, personal needs and other psychological factors should be taken into consideration when examining media use patterns while admitting external circumstances as important determinants of one's mass media exposure (McGuire, 1974).

In the case of immigrants' media use, immigrants could choose among a wide array of media from the host society, the local ethnic communities, and the origin countries. Their psychological factors could play a considerable part in determining why some immigrants use more ethnic media than others.

Immigrants' Media Use Motives

Not many studies have explored immigrants' media use motives from uses and gratifications approach. A few earlier researchers have investigated the television consumption of ethnic minority children in the United States, reporting that these children watched television to acquire information about behavioral norms and social expectations (Palmer et al., 1993; Zohoori, 1988). Hwang and He's qualitative study (1999) investigated the media use of Chinese immigrants in Silicon Valley. According to this study, the 39 immigrant subjects, mostly professionals or students with at least college degree, had obviously different motives of using ethnic media and host media. While using host media primarily for learning language, acquiring financial and legal

information, and acquaintance with the host culture and customs, they used Chinese-language media largely for information and entertainment. Few other studies have systematically examined immigrants' motives both for ethnic media and host media use.

Immigrants' Internet Use & Motives

As Viswanath and Arora (2000) pointed out, ethnic community groups are now served not only by print and electronic media, but also by new communication technologies such as the Web where a wide array of information sources is available from cyberspace. The Internet provided cultural minority groups access to news, ideas, and values of their native culture even when they physically lived in another country as immigrants or sojourners (Melkote & Liu, 2000). How immigrants and sojourners use the Internet and why they use it in that way has been explored in recent studies.

Ye (2005) studied the Internet use of Eastern Asian students in the United States and found that they generally used more English-language Internet than native-language Internet. Information seeking, social utility, and relaxation/entertainment were three main motivations for their Internet use. Additionally, Ye found that older students were more likely to use the Internet as a source of information whereas social utility was a more obvious motive among younger ones.

Melkote and Liu (2000) suggested that Chinese language Internet created a new cultural cyber-environment where Chinese immigrants and sojourners interacted with a wide range of fellow participants, from new arrivals to relatively long-term resident

Chinese-Americans. Newcomers depended on it to ease their cultural shock and to seek valuable tips for life in a strange country; by contrast, longer-time immigrants used it to obtain up-date information about China and thus strengthen their ties with their native country.

Acculturation & Media Use

Acculturation

Acculturation was often defined as “the culture exchange that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems.” (Social Science Research Council 1954, p. 974) It may be the consequences of direct cultural transmission or derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture. At the same time, it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following the acceptance of alien traits or patterns, or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life.

Although usually posed at the societal level, acculturation was expected to be realized through changes in individual perception, attitude, and behavior. For example, Marden and Meyer (1968) defined acculturation as “the change in individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture (p.36).” Kim (1979) also emphasized it to be a natural process of adaptation of an individual who had been socialized in one culture and moved to another culture.

According to Vijver and Phalet (2004), acculturation models provided by past literature could be classified into two categories: unidimensional and bidimensional. The most influential unidimensional model, according to them, was proposed by

Gordon in 1964 and assumed that acculturation was a process of change in the direction of the mainstream culture although immigrants might differ in the acculturation speed. Unidimensional models for acculturation were consistent with the traditional view of taking acculturation as a one-way, linear process and had been dominant for a long time (Kim, 1988; Hwang & He, 1999; Jeffres, 2000).

In recent decades, as a result of dramatic changes not only in the size and flow of ethnics across border but also in communication technologies and the social climate (Hwang & He, 1999; Jeffres, 2000), unidimensional models had come under critical scrutiny. Some scholars argued that most unidimensional acculturation models were largely based on the experience of traditional European immigrants and sometimes had negative connotation (Hwang & He, 1999; McLeod, 1986). Based on his study of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Cubans in Chicago, Subervi-Velez (1984) noted that the linear perspective of acculturation had never been an accurate framework describing American Latinos.

Lately, most scholars preferred bidimensional acculturation models which took a cultural pluralism perspective. The basic assumption was that people could shuttle between different cultural systems and simultaneously operate in two or more cultures (Hwang & He, 1999; Won, 1977; Vijver & Phalet, 2004).

The most popular bidimensional model for acculturation, as Vijver and Phalet (2004) pointed out, was the one proposed by Berry and Sam (Berry & Sam, 1997). According to this model, immigrants were supposed to deal with two basic questions: First, do they want to establish good relationships with the host culture? Second, do

they want to maintain good relationship with their native culture? With different answers to these two questions, immigrants' adaptation to the host society in generally could fall into four categories: (1) assimilation; (2) integration; (3) rejection; and (4) marginality. Among the four categories, assimilation was thought to be the most idealistic because it was characterized by the maximum possible convergence of strangers' internal conditions to those of the natives (Berry & Sam, 1997; Hwang & He, 1999; Vijver & Phalet, 2004).

According to Kim (2001), assimilation had been used by many to emphasize the change process whereby immigrants become "absorbed" into the native population through convergence in cultural values and personal traits as well as economic and occupational "mainstreaming." For most people, complete assimilation is a lifetime goal, and individuals vary in the level of overall adaptation achieved. The adaptation of immigrants, Kim (2001) argued, was properly thought of as falling at some point on a continuum ranging from minimal acculturation to maximum acculturation. At the same time, individuals varied in the level of overall adaptation achieved.

Media Consumption & Acculturation

The relationship between immigrants' media use and their acculturation has long been an emphasis of immigration studies. Acculturation may take place through immigrants' direct and indirect contact with acculturation agents such as family, peer groups, companions, and others. Among these agents, mass media are considered to be powerful and pervasive among immigrants (Lee & Tse, 1994). As an earlier leading scholar in the field, Gordon (1964) noted the mass media's "overwhelming

acculturation powers” over immigrants’ children. Kim (1977, 1979, 1988, 1995, 2001) also highlighted the significance of participation in mass communication and included mass communication as one of the key variables in her cross-cultural adaptation model.

Communication was so important in the acculturation process that scholars sometimes took an individual’s communication patterns, on both individual and mass levels, as indicators of his/her acculturation level to the host society (Kim, 2001; Shoemaker et al., 1985; Weinstock, 1964).

Ethnic Media Consumption & Acculturation

Throughout America’s immigration history, ethnic media have dually served as a forum to maintain ethnic identity and as a way to help immigrants transition to their new society (Subervi-Velez, 1986; Viswanath & Arora, 2000; Ziegler, 1983). Thus, the use of ethnic media seems to push the acculturation process in two opposite directions (Hwang & He, 1999). On the one hand, it contributes assimilation into the host society by providing a lot of information about the host society. On the other hand, it enhances resistance to acculturation by helping immigrants maintain and strengthen their ethnic and cultural ties to the sending country.

Most scholars agreed that heavy consumption of ethnic media would be a barrier of immigrants’ acculturation. The early scholars like Park (1929) argued that the media, together with the church and ethnic organizations, worked to preserve racial language and thus kept the immigrants apart from American life. Similarly, Goldlust and Richmond (1974) reported that immigrants living in Canada who relied on ethnic

media were more weakly acculturated than those immigrants with the same educational level and length of residence. Zmud (1992) found a strong negative relationship between assimilation level and ethnic mass media consumption of adult Hispanics in three major cities. According to Jeffres and Hur (1980), ethnic media exist for the unassimilated ethnic whose life still centers around ethnic enclaves. Kim (1977, 1979, 1988, 1995, 2001) also emphasized that the reliance on ethnic media was likely to slow the process of adaptation by sustaining ethnicity and traditional ties.

A large number of immigrant studies have confirmed the role of ethnic media in maintaining immigrants' ethnic and cultural identification. Jeffres and Hur's (1980) study of mostly white ethnic groups living in the Cleveland area indicated a positive relationship between greater ethnic media use and higher ethnic identification. Jeffres (2000) concluded that ethnic media remained a potential influence and were likely to continue in that role as ethnics in subsequent generations periodically reclaim and assert their identity in a multicultural society that places a value on distinctions within the bounds of a common host culture. Viswanath and Arora (2000) also suggested that the ethnic news medium was one of the most important and vital institutions, along with religious and cultural organizations, that sustained the ethnicity of immigrants. It was even more important when it came to ever-increasing groups of immigrants who were seeking information on issues that interest and affect them.

At the same time, scholars have suggested that ethnic media use would facilitate acculturation in the initial phases by softening the stress of crossing cultures and increasing host communication competence (Kim, 2001). Walker (1999) probed the

media use of first-year Haitian immigrants in Miami and found that ethnic media use was positively associated with adaptation of these immigrants only when the immigrants also used other American media sources.

Host Media Consumption & Acculturation

Different from ethnic media consumption, the consumption of host media was believed to be a positive factor in promoting acculturation by most scholars. Lam's study of Chinese immigrants in Toronto (1980) suggested that the adaptive function of host mass communication was likely to be significant particularly during the initial phase of the adaptation process. During this phase, strangers had yet to develop sufficient host communication competence and often found their direct interpersonal encounters with local people to be stressful. Then they resorted to mass communication as an alternative, because it was less personal and less direct, virtually pressure-free, and an effective way of learning the host language and learning about the host environment (Kim, 2001).

Kim (1988, 2001) put emphasis on the cultural-educational function of host media. In her view, mass communication experiences help strangers broaden their perspective on the host culture beyond their immediate interpersonal environment by providing information about the society at large. By participating in the host mass communication process, immigrants could learn about the broader range of host cultural elements.

Kim's points have been supported by a wide range of empirical studies. Hwang and He (1999) found that Chinese immigrants who used more English-language

media were generally better acculturated than those who exclusively used Chinese language media. Other scholars like Reece and Palmgreen (1996), Stilling (1997), and Chaffee, Nass, and Yang (1989) have also found that the use of host mass media play a positive role in immigrants' acculturation.

Due to the close relationship between host media consumption and acculturation, host media use has even been taken as a reasonable indicator of acculturation level. Early studies, such as Spindler and Goldschmidt' study of Menomini Indians (1952) and DeFleur and Cho' study of Japanese-born immigrant women (1957), took moviegoing as one of the key indicators of acculturation orientations.

Immigrants' Internet Use & Acculturation

Internet could effectively help immigrants fasten their ethnic ties. Thompson (2000) found that Asian-originating females from the late teens to 30 years of age in the UK used the Internet as their vehicle for creating and maintaining a virtual community of their own ethnic peer group, even though they might never meet many other members in a face-to-face situation.

As one of the only few studies which have explored the relationship between Internet use of immigrants and their acculturation, Melkote and Liu's study (2000) noted that Chinese ethnic Internet helped Chinese students and scholars sustain Chinese values but yet impaired acculturation to American values relating to health, physical appearance, sexual matters, religion, and relationship between parents and children. Therefore, they argued, high-tech medium like the Internet could be a means of preserving traditional ethnic values. However, their study only looked at the use of

Chinese language Internet, without taking English Internet use into consideration.

Since the Internet has crossed the boundary between mass and interpersonal communication, it could satisfy multiple motives of immigrants and its role in acculturation waits more investigation. Has it positively promoted acculturation by widening the gate into the host society? Or impeded it by fastening immigrants' ties with ethnic cultures and changing the social climate that produces pressures to acculturation? More research needs to be done to answer these questions.

Psychological Factors That May Influence Immigrants' Media Usage

While a large body of relevant research has shown that mass communication is inseparable from the acculturation process, numerous immigrant studies and intercultural communication studies have looked at individual psychological factors which influence acculturation. As important influential variables in the acculturation process of immigrants, psychological factors and mass media usage may correlate significantly. However, the relationship between them has been scarcely investigated in empirical mass communication research.

According to past literature, acculturation motivation and adaptive personality are two of the most eminent psychological factors affecting acculturation. The current study will concentrate on looking at how these two factors affect immigrant's media use patterns and motives.

Acculturation Motivation

Whatever the reason may be, different immigrants do show different levels of acculturation motivation (Kim, 1977). There is a good chance that varied motivation

levels of immigrants or sojourners would contribute to the difference in their number of communication episodes, their frequency, duration and intensity. This assumption was consistent with the results of a few studies.

Kunjara et al. (1988) also found that acculturation motivation of Thailand students all over the United States significantly correlated with their use of host mass media. In other words, the greater the student's acculturation motivation, the more the student consumed host mass media.

Reece and Palmgreen's study (1996) about the media use of Asian Indian graduates in an American University disclosed that the "need for acculturation" or "adaptation motivation" was significantly correlated with viewing of the U.S. national news coverage. Based on this study, they (2000) further claimed that the strength of a sojourner's motivation to acquire host-country information is an important mediating variable between the need for acculturation and media usage.

However, these studies did not look at the influence of acculturation motivation on how these international students consumed ethnic media or their motives for using various types of mass media.

Adaptive Personality

As a leading immigrant scholar, Kim (2001) combined personality traits that were found to have impacts on acculturation by previous studies into an adaptive personality measured by the characteristics of openness, strength, and positivity. In her view, openness was a dimension of personality that enabled strangers to seek to acquire new knowledge, to participate in the communication processes of the new

environment, and to expand the range of their aesthetic sensibilities and the repertoires of habitual behaviors. Strength was a type of inner resource that enabled strangers to face intercultural challenges, in other words, an internal capacity to absorb “shocks” from the environment and to bounce back without being damaged by them. As for positivity, Kim argued, it was an affirmative and optimistic outlook of mind which enabled strangers to better endure many stressful encounters because of their tendency to believe that things will turn out as they should. These three attributes were the mutually reinforcing hallmarks and pillars of adaptive personality. When armed with these internal resources, according to Kim’s theorems, strangers were more likely to take risks willingly under challenging situations in the host environment and tended to use more host media and less ethnic media.

Although Kim’s structural model for cross-cultural adaption (2001) has included adaptive personality as an important factor influencing strangers’ communication activities, few empirical studies have explored the relationship between adaptive personality and media usage of immigrants in the United States.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

Based on the reviewed literature, the following research questions and hypotheses were proposed:

H1a: The older an immigrant is, the less U.S. mass media and English-language Internet he/she will use.

H1b: The older an immigrant is, the more ethnic mass media and ethnic language Internet he/she will use.

H2a: The longer an immigrant stays in the United States, the more U.S. mass media and English-language Internet he/she will use.

H2b: The longer an immigrant stays in the United States, the less ethnic mass media and ethnic language Internet he/she will use.

H3a: The greater the education of an immigrant, the more U.S. mass media and ethnic language Internet he/she will use.

H3b: The greater the education of an immigrant, the less ethnic mass media and ethnic language Internet he/she will use.

H4a: Immigrants with a stronger adaptive personality use more U.S. mass media and English language Internet than others with a weaker adaptive personality.

H4b: Immigrants with a stronger adaptive personality use less ethnic mass media and ethnic language Internet than others with a weaker adaptive personality.

H5a: Immigrants with a stronger acculturation motivation use more U.S. mass media and English language Internet than others.

H5b: Immigrants with a stronger acculturation motivation use less ethnic mass media and ethnic language Internet than others.

RQ1: Do immigrants from different countries have different media preferences?

RQ2: Do immigrants use host mass media and ethnic mass media for different motives?

RQ3: Do immigrants visit websites in English and websites in their ethnic languages for different motives?

RQ4: Do demographic variables have significant influence on immigrants' media

use motives?

RQ5: Do psychological factors have significant influence on immigrants' media

use motives?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

To further examine the relationship between media usage and psychological characteristics of immigrants in this southern capital city, the current study employed the survey method as the main data collection instrument since survey is a method usually used to collect a large amount of data in realistic setting with reasonable cost (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). Survey is also the most common tool for measuring attitudes or characteristics of a large population (Babbie, 2001; Berger, 2000). In addition, answers to survey questions could be represented in numerical form and subjected to various kinds of analyses (Berger, 2000). If the sampling was appropriate, the results usually could be generalized to the whole population (Berger, 2000; Wimmer & Dominick, 2003).

Measures

The questionnaire included 27 questions and needed 15-20 minutes to finish (see Appendix). It was divided into five sections as follows:

Demographics. This section of the questionnaire included items measuring the participants' gender, age, original country, education, length of residence in the United States, and why they wanted to stay in the United States.

Amount of time spent on host and ethnic media. The numbers of hours the individual spent on using each type of mass media both in English and in their native language per week. Participants were asked to estimate the average hours they spent in a typical week separately on English newspapers, magazines, TV, radio, and Internet and their counterparts in their native language. If they had no access to a

certain type of media, they were asked to clarify it by stating “no access”.

Motives. To examine immigrants’ motives for using various mass media, participants were requested to list their reasons for using host mass media, ethnic mass media, host-language Internet, and ethnic-language Internet, respectively.

The reasons for media use are a) obtaining news, b) remaining connected to home country, c) self-education (language, expertise knowledge, social norms), d) finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior, e) having a substitute for real-life companionship, f) finding a basis for conversation and social interaction, g) entertainment and diversion, and h) killing time, which were derived from McQuail’s typology of common reasons for media uses (1987).

Adaptive personality Adaptive personality (Kim, 1995, 2001) was measured by letting participants evaluate their own characteristic of openness (I am interested in knowing about new ideas and communicating with strangers.), strength (I am capable of reacting to stressful situations calmly.), and positivity (I am positive.) with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Adaptation motivation This variable was measured by letting participants self-assess on several statements with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very weak) to 5 (very strong). These statements were developed from the previous studies (Kunjara et al., 1988; Hwang & He, 1999).

- a) I am interested in making American friends.
- b) I want to learn about American customs.
- c) I would like to participate in American politics.

d) I hope to be part of American mainstream.

Pretest

The researcher conducted a pretest among 50 international students in Louisiana State University in November 2006. Its results showed demographic and psychological variables significantly correlated with these students' media use patterns and motives to some extent.

Sampling

A cross-sectional survey was conducted with a volunteer sample in the current study since there was no reliable and systematic immigrants list from which a random sample could be drawn.

The data collection process started in late March and ended in late May. Three data-collection approaches were used in this study:

(1) Snowball method. The researcher distributed hard copy questionnaires through interpersonal network. More than 10 immigrant friends of the researcher helped to distribute the questionnaire to their family, friends and acquaintances. More than 50 questionnaires were returned.

(2) Convenience sample. The researcher also went to social occasions which immigrants attended such as English classes and Bible study classes offered by a local church. After getting the permission of sponsors, the researchers distributed the questionnaires during the activities. More than 50 questionnaires were returned.

(3) On-line survey. The researcher sent an email which included a brief introduction of this survey and an online questionnaire to the immigrants and

sojourners living in Baton Rouge, through mail lists provided by two local churches and the International Students Associations of Louisiana State University. Those who replied and filled in the questionnaires were taken into the sample. The response rate was about 10%. Nearly 100 on-line questionnaires were returned.

In all, 208 filled-in questionnaires (both on-line and hard copy) were returned.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Basic Demographic Information

Of the 208 respondents (105 males and 103 females), 78 were Asians, 58 were Latinos, 44 were Europeans, 17 were Africans, and the other 11 were from Middle Eastern nations. Their ages ranged from 17 to 70, and the average age was 32.74 ($SD = 10.32$).

The average length of respondents' stay in the United States was 7.5 years ($SD = 8.254$). Ranged from 44 years to 1 year, the length of the respondents' residence significantly correlated with their age ($r = .768, p < .001$).

The most common degree that the respondents held was a master's (82 respondents, equaling to 39.4% of the total), and the next was a bachelor's (54 respondents, 26% of the total), and then doctorate (40 respondents, 19.2% of the total). Only 32 of them had not been to college.

Meanwhile, educational level was found to significantly correlate with age ($r = .405, p < .001$) and length of residence ($r = .301, p < .001$). That is to say, the respondents who were older or lived longer in the United States tended to be more educated than others.

Media Use Patterns

The main aspect of immigrants' media consumption measured in this study was the time they spent per week on each type of media, including newspaper, magazine, radio, television, and the Internet both in English and in their ethnic languages. If a

respondent reported “no access” to a certain type of media, it was taken as “system missing.”

Table 1a: Average Hours Respondents Spent on Mass Media per Week

Unit: hours per week	U.S.	Ethnic
Newspaper	2.39	2.17
Magazine	1.61	.60
Radio	3.16	1.97
Television	8.56	2.63
Total	15.72	7.37

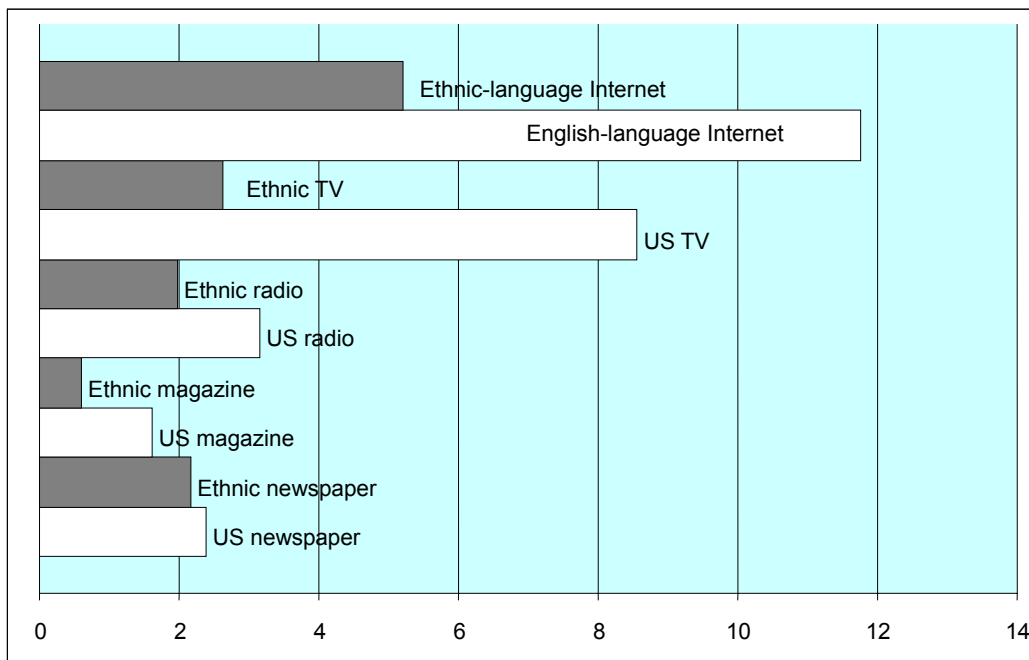
As shown in Table 1a and Table 1b, if comparing by type of media the respondents used, it was obvious that the heaviest consumed media was the Internet, with an average of 11.77 hours per week in English language and 5.20 hours in their ethnic language. The second heaviest used media was television with an average of 8.56 hours and 2.63 hours per week in English and in ethnic language, respectively. With an average of 3.16 hours per week, English-language radio was a little more used than English-language newspaper on which the respondents averagely spent 2.39 hours per week. But on the part of ethnic-language media, radio was less used than newspaper. The average respondent spent 1.97 hours on the former and 2.17 hours on the latter. Perhaps this was due to the access of ethnic-language radio being scantier than that of ethnic newspaper in Baton Rouge. The less used media on the list was magazine, 1.61 hours in English and 0.60 hour in ethnic language.

Table 1b: Average Hours Respondents Spent on Internet per Week

Unit: hours per week	English Language	Ethnic Language
Internet	11.77	5.20

Generally speaking, the average time the respondents spent on English-language media was longer than their counterparts in ethnic languages. The average time respondents spent on U.S. mass media was a little more than twice the average they spent on ethnic mass media. The average time the respondents spent on consuming U.S. magazines and English-language Internet was more than double the time they spent on ethnic-language magazines and Internet. The respondents' average U.S. television consumption time was more than triple their ethnic television consumption time. Only in the category of newspaper, the average amounts that respondents reported in using per week were close to each other.

Chart 1: Average Hours Respondents Spent on Media per Week



In White: English-language Media
 In Black: Ethnic-language Media

Table 2: Chi-square of Media Use Time

	English Language			Ethnic Language		
	χ^2	df	<i>p</i>	χ^2	df	<i>p</i>
Newspaper	340.758	13	.000	473.462	11	.000
Magazine	557.860	13	.000	690.589	6	.000
Radio	225.391	12	.000	1495.423	13	.000
Television	169.369	22	.000	1324.452	14	.000
Internet	216.301	26	.000	325.437	17	.000

On the whole, as clearly illustrated by Chart 1, the three heaviest used media were English-language Internet, U.S. television, and ethnic-language Internet on which the average respondent spent 11.77, 8.56, and 5.20 hours per week, respectively. And the least consumed three media were ethnic magazine, ethnic magazine, and ethnic radio which respectively cost the average respondent 0.60, 1.61, and 1.97 hours per week.

Media Use Motives

Respondents were asked to estimate the extent to which their motives were satisfied by using U.S. mass media, ethnic mass media, English-language Internet, and ethnic-language Internet. These motives were measured on a 5-point Likert scale and the average scales were shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Immigrants' Motives for Using Different Media

	US MASS MEDIA	ETHNIC MASS MEDIA	ENGLISH INTERNET	ETHNIC INTERNET
1. Obtaining news	4.16	4.35	4.12	4.20
2. Remaining connected To home country	2.77	4.20	2.72	4.03
3. Self-education	3.83	3.27	3.93	3.29
4. Finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior	2.68	2.85	2.76	2.73
5. Having a substitute for real-life companionship	2.20	2.29	2.18	2.22
6. Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction	2.76	2.77	2.82	2.71
7. Entertainment and diversion	4.05	3.65	3.58	3.49
8. Killing time	3.09	2.95	2.98	2.92

Note: Unit is hour per week.

According to the above table, the motive of “obtaining news” was ranked first in all four categories of media. Obviously, getting news, in other words, surveillance of the host society and home country, remained the primary reason for respondents to use media, including traditional media and Internet.

“Entertainment and diversion” and “self-education” ranked second and third in the motives for using U.S. mass media and English Internet, respectively. For the respondents, having some fun and learning new things about the host society were apparently important reasons for U.S. media consumption.

In contrast, the second highest motive for using ethnic mass media and ethnic language Internet was “remaining connected to home country,” which occupied the

fifth position for using U.S. mass media and the seventh for using English-language Internet. This result made sense since ethnic media served as the basic source of information from the immigrants' native country.

“Entertainment and diversion” and “self-education” took the third and fourth place among the motives for using ethnic mass media and ethnic-language Internet. This demonstrated having fun and learning was also important reasons for respondents to use ethnic media.

Interestingly, besides the same first ranked motive “obtaining news,” all the four media categories also shared the same last ranked motive “having a substitute for real-life companionship.” It seemed to be the least important reason for the respondents. In other words, most respondents did not view media as their substitute companionship.

Examining the Hypotheses

The following section provides answers to the listed research hypotheses.

H1a: The older an immigrant is, the less U.S. mass media and English-language Internet he/she will use.

H1b: The older an immigrant is, the more ethnic mass media and ethnic-language Internet he/she will use.

If not controlling for other variables, age was found to significantly correlate with the respondent' use of U.S. newspaper ($r = .221, p = .001$), magazine ($r = .182, p < .01$), television ($r = -.151, p < .05$), and English-language Internet ($r = -.171, p < .01$). After controlling for both educational level and length of residence, age still

significantly correlated with three of the four variables, but with slightly different strength (see Table 4). As illustrated in the table, the correlations between age and U.S. mass media use were all weakened after controlling for educational level and length of residence; by contrast, the correlation between age and English-language Internet became stronger.

In conclusion, H1a appeared to be partially supported. As the hypothesis predicted, the older an immigrant was, the less U.S. television and English-language Internet he/she would use; however, contrary to what the hypothesis predicted, this immigrant would use more U.S. newspaper and magazine.

**Table 4: Pearson Correlation
Between Age and English Media Use Time**

Control variables: degree & residence

	U.S. NEWSPAPER	U.S. MAGAZINE	U.S. RADIO	U.S. TV	ENGLISH INTERNET
Before Control	.221**	.182**	.134	-.151*	-.171*
After Control	.187**	.154*	.074	-.134	-.186**

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

On the other side, H1b failed to be supported by any significant correlation between age and ethnic media use whether educational level and length of residence were controlled or not. There seemed to be no significant variance in ethnic media use among different age groups.

H2a: The longer an immigrant stays in the United States, the more U.S. mass media and English-language Internet he/she will use.

H2b: The longer an immigrant stays in the United States, the less ethnic mass media and ethnic-language Internet he/she will use.

In general, H2 was not supported. The only significant correlation found here was between the length of residence and the consumption of U.S. newspaper ($r = .148$, $p < .05$). But if age was controlled, the significant correlation between the two variables disappeared. Both H2a and H2b were rejected.

This is to say, respondents who stayed longer in the United States did not use more English-language media or less ethnic-language media than others. The respondents' media use patterns were constant and did not change due to the length of stay. In other words, the respondents did not obviously change their media consumption patterns over time.

H3a: The greater the education of an immigrant, the more U.S. mass media and ethnic-language Internet he/she will use.

H3b: The greater the education of an immigrant, the less ethnic mass media and ethnic-language Internet he/she will use.

H3 also failed to be supported. There was no significant correlation, either positive or negative, between the respondents' educational level and their media consumption patterns (see Table 5). In other words, an immigrant did not consume more English-language media or less ethnic-language media than others because he/she was better educated.

**Table 5: p-values between Educational Levels
And Media Use**

	English Language	Ethnic Language
Newspaper	.004	.022
Magazine	-.012	.041
Radio	.019	-.020
Television	-.064	.033
Internet	.035	.052

H4a: Immigrants with a stronger adaptive personality use more U.S. mass media and English-language Internet than others with a weaker adaptive personality.

H4b: Immigrants with a stronger adaptive personality use less ethnic mass media and ethnic-language Internet than others with a weaker adaptive personality.

To test this hypothesis, a new index of “adaptive personality” was set up on the basis of the items of “openness,” “stress,” and “positivity” (Cronbach’s Alpha = .612). This new index was found to significantly correlate with English-language Internet use ($r = .209$, $p < .01$) (see Table 6). This positive correlation suggested that the stronger adaptive personality an immigrant had, the more English-language Internet he/she consumed. H4a was partially supported.

Meanwhile, H4b failed to be supported. There was not any significant correlation between “adaptive personality” and the respondents’ ethnic media use. That is to say, adaptive personality had no significant influence on the respondents’ ethnic-language media use.

Table 6: Pearson Correlation between English Media Use Time And Psychological Factors

	U.S. NEWSPAPER	U.S. MAGAZINE	U.S. RADIO	U.S. TV	ENGLISH INTERNET
Adaptive Personality	.078	-.002	.108	-.010	.209**
Acculturation Motivation	.266**	.227**	.137	.095	.128

**p< .01

H5a: Immigrants with a stronger acculturation motivation use more U.S. mass media and English-language Internet than others.

H5b: Immigrants with a stronger acculturation motivation use less ethnic mass media and ethnic-language Internet than others.

To test this hypothesis, a new index of “acculturation motivation” was built upon respondents’ reaction to four statements “I am interested in making American friends,” “I want to learn about American customs,” “I would like to participate in American politics,” and “I hope to be part of American mainstream” (Cronbach’s Alpha = .650). The new index significantly correlated with the use of U.S. newspaper ($r = .266, p < .001$) and magazine ($r = .227, p = .001$) (see Table 6). This result suggested that the respondent with the stronger acculturation motivation tended to read more U.S. newspaper and magazine than others. H5a was partially supported.

On the other side, H5b did not get support by any significant correlation between “acculturation motivation” and ethnic media use.

Answering the Research Questions

The following section provides answers to the listed research questions.

RQ1: Do immigrants from different countries have significantly different media preferences?

A one-way ANOVA test was used to analyze whether there were significant difference among the media use time of four ethnic groups. The analysis revealed a significant difference in their ethnic television consumption time, $F(4, 203) = 3.497$, $p < .01$. And then a Bonferroni post hoc test was used. The significant variance existed between Latinos and Europeans ($MSE = 2.712$, $p < .05$). This suggested Latino respondents significantly watched more ethnic television than European respondents.

RQ2: Do immigrants use host mass media and ethnic mass media for different motives?

A paired sample t-test reported significant difference in the extent to which the respondents used host and ethnic mass media for a couple of motives (see Table 7a). These motives were “remaining connected to home country,” $t(187) = -11.697$, $p = .000$; “self-education (language, expertise knowledge, social norms),” $t(182) = 5.766$, $p = .000$; “entertainment and diversion,” $t(187) = 4.882$, $p = .000$; and “killing time,” $t(187) = 2.027$, $p < .05$.

**Table 7a: Paired-sample t-test:
Differences in Respondents' Motives
For U.S. Mass Media and Ethnic Mass Media Usage**

	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Pair1: Obtaining news	-1.727	.086
Pair 2: Remaining connected To home country	-11.697	.000
Pair 3: Self-education	5.766	.000
Pair 4: Finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior	-1.939	.054
Pair 5: Having a substitute for real-life companionship	-1.613	.108
Pair 6: Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction	-.123	.902
Pair 7: Entertainment and diversion	4.882	.000
Pair 8: Killing time	2.027	.044

According to the above result, U.S. mass media satisfied immigrants better in terms of self-education, entertainment and diversion, and killing time significantly better than their ethnic counterpart. However, ethnic mass media did much better in connecting immigrants to home country.

RQ3: Do immigrants visit websites in English and websites in their ethnic language for different motives?

Similarly to the above RQ, a paired sample t-test reported two motives on which respondents reported significantly different levels of satisfaction when visiting English-language websites and ethnic-language websites (see Table 7b). The first motive was “remaining connected to home country,” $t(179) = -9.615, p = .000$; the

other was “self-education (language, expertise knowledge, social norms),” $t(178) = 6.035, p = .000$. The above RQ demonstrated that ethnic-language Internet played a much better role in connecting immigrants to home country, yet it was not as good as English-language Internet in serving immigrants in the aspect of self-education.

**Table 7b: Paired-sample t-test:
Differences in Respondents’ Motives
For English Internet and Ethnic Language Internet**

	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Pair 1: Obtaining news	-.333	.740
Pair 2: Remaining connected To home country	-9.615	.000
Pair 3: Self-education	6.035	.000
Pair 4: Finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior	.247	.805
Pair 5: Having a substitute for real-life companionship	-.742	.459
Pair 6: Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction	1.585	.115
Pair 7: Entertainment and diversion	1.631	.105
Pair 8: Killing time	.996	.321

RQ4: Do demographic variables have significant influence on immigrants’ media use motives?

This research question sought to find whether demographic variables including gender, age, origin of country, length of residence, and educational level significantly impacted immigrants’ media use motives.

Gender, age, and length of residence were found not to significantly correlate to any media use motives. A t-test reported that gender did not significantly correlate with any of the motives for media use; after controlling for residence, age did not significantly correlate with any of the motives for media use; as well, residence did not significantly correlate with any of the motives for media use after age was controlled.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the media use motives among four ethnic groups. The analysis reported significant variance among the media use motives of the four groups. The extent to which they used U.S. mass media for significantly varied on “remaining connected to home country” ($F(4, 202) = 2.998, p < .05$) and “self-education” ($F(4, 201) = 3.416, p = .01$). According to a Bonferroni post hoc test, as for the motive “remaining connected to home country,” the significant variance lied between Asians and Europeans ($MSE = .767, p < .05$), and Latinos and Europeans ($MSE = .836, p < .05$); as for “self-education,” the significant variance was between Europeans and Asians ($MSE = .650, p < .05$), and Europeans and Africans ($MSE = .855, p < .05$). This result suggested Asian and Latino respondents were more likely to use U.S. mass media than European respondents to maintain the connection to home countries. Meanwhile, European respondents had a stronger tendency than Asians to use U.S. mass media for self-education.

By contrast, the respondents only reported significantly different extent of “having a substitute for real-life companionship” ($F(4, 182) = 3.360, p < .05$) for ethnic mass media use. The post hoc found the variance existing between Asians and

Europeans ($MSE = .830, p < .01$). Asian respondents were more prone to use ethnic mass media to get a substitute companionship than European respondents.

As well, the motives of the four groups for using English-language Internet varied on “remaining connected to home country ” ($F(4, 196) = 3.886, p < .01$) and “self-education” ($F(4, 196) = 2.547, p < .05$). According to the Bonferroni post hoc test, as for the motive “remaining connected to home country,” the significant variance existed among Europeans and the other three ethnic groups: with Asians ($MSE = -.873, p < .05$), with Latinos ($MSE = -.884, p < .05$), and with Africans ($MSE = -1.212, p < .05$). Compared with the other three ethnic groups, European respondents were least likely to use English-language Internet to stay connected with their motherland. As for “self-education,” the post hoc did not disclose any significant variance among the four ethnic groups.

The extent to which the respondents used ethnic language Internet for significantly varied on the following categories motive: “obtaining news,” $F(4, 177) = 3.761, p < .01$; “remaining connected to home country,” $F(4, 176) = 2.780, p < .05$; “self-education,” $F(4, 177) = 2.660, p < .05$; and “having a substitute for real-life companionship,” $F(4, 175) = 3.461, p < .01$. What the Bonferroni post hoc test found was the following: “obtaining news,” the variance was between Europeans and Africans ($MSE = 1.326, p < .01$), “self-education,” the variance was between Europeans and Asians ($MSE = .756, p < .05$), and “having a substitute for real-life companionship,” the variance was between Europeans and Asians ($MSE = -.760, p < .05$), and Europeans and Latinos ($MSE = -.826, p = .01$). In other words, European

respondents were much more likely to use ethnic-language Internet to obtain news than African respondents. They were also more prone to use it for self-education than Asians. On the other side, they were less likely to use ethnic-language Internet to get substitute companionship than Asian and Latino respondents.

Educational level was found to significantly correlate with quite a few media use motives through a Spearman's rho analysis. It correlated with U.S. mass media use motives "finding a basis for conversation and social interaction" ($r = -.158, p < .05$), "entertainment and diversion" ($r = -.268, p < .001$), and "killing time" ($r = -.189, p < .01$). Meanwhile, it significantly correlated with the following motives for using English-language Internet: "remaining connected to home country" ($r = -.161, p < .05$), "self-education" ($r = -.224, p = .001$), "finding a basis for conversation and social interaction" ($r = -.249, p < .001$), "entertainment and diversion" ($r = -.334, p < .001$), "killing time" ($r = -.274, p < .001$). By contrast, this variable significantly correlated with only one single motive for ethnic-language Internet use and that was "self-education" ($r = -.159, p < .05$). Meanwhile, it had no significant correlation with any motive for ethnic mass media use.

Given all these correlations were negative, we can conclude that the more educated an immigrant was, the less he/she was likely to use U.S. mass media and English-language Internet to find a basis for communication, to have entertainment and diversion, and to kill time. Meanwhile, he or she was less likely to use Internet, both in English and in ethnic language, to self-educate.

RQ5: Do psychological factors have significant influence on immigrants' media

use motives?

This research question intended to explore whether psychological constitution significantly impacted immigrants’ media use motives, in other words, whether immigrants with different adaptive personality and acculturation motivation would exhibit different levels of motives relating to consumption of each type of media in both English and ethnic language. A Pearson correlation analysis was used here.

Table 8a: Pearson Correlation between U.S. Mass Media Use Motives And Psychological Factors

	Adaptive Personality	Acculturation Motivation
1 Obtaining news	.239**	.363**
2. Remaining connected To home country	.114	.056
3. Self-education	.174*	.218**
4. Finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior	-.031	.247**
5. Having a substitute for real-life companionship	-.149*	.028
6. Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction	.111	.178*
7. Entertainment and diversion	.202**	.133
8. Killing time	-.064	.047

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

As Table 8a illustrated, the respondents’ adaptive personality was significantly correlated with motives for using U.S. mass media of “obtaining news” ($r = .239, p = .001$), “self-education” ($r = .174, p < .05$), “having a substitute for real-life companionship” ($r = -.149, p < .05$), and “entertainment and diversion” ($r = .202, p$

< .01). It did not significantly correlate with any ethnic mass media use motive. And it significantly correlated with English-language Internet motives “obtaining news” ($r = .201, p < .01$), “self-education” ($r = .163, p < .05$), and “entertainment and diversion” ($r = .200, p < .01$). It had no significant correlation with any motive for using ethnic-language Internet.

The above results suggested that an immigrant with the stronger adaptive personality tended to use U.S. mass media and English-language Internet more for news, self-education, and entertainment. Meanwhile, he/she would use them less for attaining substitute companionship.

Table 8b: Pearson Correlation between English Internet Use Motives And Psychological Factors

	Adaptive Personality	Acculturation Motivation
1 Obtaining news	.239**	.363**
2. Remaining connected To home country	.114	.056
3. Self-education	.174*	.218**
4. Finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior	-.031	.247**
5. Having a substitute for real-life companionship	-.149*	.028
6. Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction	.111	.178*
7. Entertainment and diversion	.202**	.133
8. Killing time	-.064	.047

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

As shown in Table 8b, the respondents' acculturation motivation significantly correlated with U.S. mass media use motives "obtaining news" ($r = .363, p = .000$), "self-education" ($r = .218, p < .01$), "finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior" ($r = .247, p = .000$), and "finding a basis for conversation and social interaction" ($r = .178, p < .05$). It also significantly correlated with English Internet motives "obtaining news" ($r = .157, p < .05$), "self-education" ($r = .208, p < .01$), "finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior" ($r = .202, p < .01$), and "finding a basis for conversation and social interaction" ($r = .146, p < .05$). Just as the last index, it did not significantly correlate with any motive for ethnic-language mass media or Internet use.

The above correlations suggested that the higher level of acculturation motivation an immigrant had, the more he/she used U.S. mass media and English for collecting news, self-educating, reinforcing personal values, and finding communication basis.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

Media Use Patterns

Among the demographic factors measured in this study, only age was found to correlate significantly with immigrants' media consumption patterns. Statistical results showed that there existed media preferences among age groups of the respondents. The older the respondent was, the more U.S. newspaper and magazine and the less English-language Internet he/she consumed. In other words, media preference among age groups in this study was found in the selection between print media and electronic media but not as the selection between U.S. media and ethnic media as previous studies suggested (Delener & Neelankavil, 1990). On one side, since the older respondents tended to be more educated than the younger ones, the media preference here may be a consequence of various educational and language levels among different age groups. This was consistent with the Delener and Neelankavil study. On the other side, as the media preference still existed after the educational level and length of residence were controlled, this result could also be explained as different age groups' preference for various media types which had been found by mass communication researchers in non-immigrant populations.

In contrast with previous studies (Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; Lee & Tse, 1994; Louie, 2003), this study did not suggest that various ethnic immigrant groups had different media preference due to different cultural habits. The significant differences among access levels to various ethnic mass media, (for instance, as the Delener and

Neelankavil study mentioned, the discernible gap between the access levels to ethnic television and radio between Asians and Latinos,) seemed to have gradually vanished. This could be a consequence of the recent advancement in communication technologies. Thanks to new communication technologies, especially satellite television and the Internet, immigrants now had more access to ethnic mass media than one or two decades ago.

Education level did not significantly correlate with immigrants' media use patterns in this study, which was also inconsistent with what the Delener and Neelankavil study reported. The relatively high educational level of the respondents in this study might be a reasonable explanation for this result. Among the 208 respondents, only 32 of them had not been to college. The other 175 all held bachelor's, master's, or doctor degrees. It could be safely postulated that this study finding was attributed to the respondents' educational levels, which were all too high to lead to significantly different media use patterns.

Another result inconsistent with previous studies was the lack of significant correlation between length of residence and media use. The respondents with longer length of residence in the United States did not report more English-language media consumption and less ethnic-language media consumption than others. This result was contradictory to results of earlier research (Kim, 1978, 2001; Subervi-Velez, 1984) which noted that immigrants would gradually use more U.S. media as they lived in the United States longer. To some extent, it suggested that immigrants' media use patterns remained unchangeable for a long time. This was consistent with the Lee

and Tse study (1994) which found immigrants' media use habits would last long.

However, the high preference for ethnic media that the Lee and Tse study reported did not receive support from this study. The surveyed respondents reported a much higher consumption of U.S. media than of ethnic media. The lack of access to ethnic mass media could not be the explanation here since the respondents also reported much higher consumption of English-language Internet than ethnic-language Internet to which the respondents had the equal access. Considering the average high education level of the respondents, it could be postulated that the high preference of ethnic media does not obviously exist among the highly educated immigrant population who are comfortable with English-language media. Given the average length of residence was 7.5 years, we could also speculate that the preference for ethnic media would be weak among immigrants with a long residence time.

Compared to demographic variables, psychological factors appeared to be more influential on respondents' media consumption patterns. The respondents with the stronger adaptive personality tended to use more English-language Internet than those with a weaker one. Therefore, this study provided empirical evidence to support Kim's theorem that adaptive personality is an important factor influencing immigrants' mass communication activities. At the same time, stronger acculturation motivation led to higher amounts of U.S. newspaper and magazine consumption.

None of the demographic or psychological factors examined in this study was found to have an impact on respondents' ethnic media use. This might be explained to some extent by the fact that a number of respondents had no access to ethnic mass

media. In other words, access could have evident and direct influence on ethnic mass media consumption so that the effects of demographic and psychological variables were overshadowed.

Media Use Motives

This study suggested that the respondents used English-language media and ethnic-language media for different reasons. They used ethnic mass media significantly more than U.S. mass media to remain connected to their mother countries. At the same time, U.S. mass media satisfied their needs of self-education, entertainment, diversion, and passing time significantly better than ethnic mass media. These results might be caused by the differences in content of U.S. mass media and ethnic mass media. U.S. mass media provided more information about the host society, which immigrants needed when they settled into the new society. On the other hand, ethnic mass media could offer rich information about home countries. Meanwhile, U.S. mass media was more accessible than their ethnic counterparts. Immigrants could easily consume them and, thus, were more likely to use them to get entertainment and to kill time. However, this result was inconsistent with Hwang and He's study (1999) which reported that immigrants used host media for learning while using ethnic media for entertainment.

As for the Internet, English-language Internet served immigrants significantly better in the aspect of self-education than its counterpart in ethnic languages. However, the latter did better in satisfying immigrants' need to be connected with their home countries. Since the respondents' access levels to English-language

Internet and ethnic-language Internet were basically the same, content difference should be the main reason why the respondents' motives for using them varied.

From the uses and gratifications perspective, the respondents intently chose to use more ethnic mass media and ethnic language Internet than U.S. mass media and English Internet to remain connected to home country. This partly explained why ethnic media had a more important role in maintaining ethnic identity than host media. On the other side, the respondents appeared to rely more on host media to obtain information about the new society than ethnic media.

Ethnic background was the most influential factor on the respondents' media use motives while it had only limited impact on their media use patterns. Compared with other ethnic groups, Europeans exhibited a stronger will to use ethnic media, including traditional mass media and Internet, to stay connected with their motherland. Meanwhile, they used less English-language Internet to satisfy this motive. This may suggest they had more awareness of importance of cultural identity and thus tried to maintain it through ethnic media. Meanwhile, compared with Latinos and Asians, Europeans were less likely to rely on media as a substitute companionship. The reason might be that they were more likely to get real friends in real life than respondents from other ethnic backgrounds. Instead of having a direct impact on media use patterns, cultural differences among ethnic groups seemed to play a role in affecting the respondents' media use motives.

Another influential demographic variable on media use motives was educational level which also did not directly affect the respondents' media use patterns. The more

educated a respondent was, the less likely he/she was to use U.S. mass media and English Internet to find a basis for communication with others, entertainment, or kill time. As well, he/she tended to use Internet less for self-education. Such results might be explained by the possibility that better-educated respondents mastered higher language skills, expertise knowledge, and cultural norms of host society, and thus had less need to educate themselves by media. Meanwhile, they had more ways other than using media to have fun.

Both adaptive personality and acculturation motivation were found to have impacts on immigrants' media use motives. Those who had the stronger adaptive personality, in other words, those who were more open, strong, and positive, appeared to be more comfortable with U.S. mass media and English-language Internet than others. They not only reported more intention to obtain news and refresh knowledge by U.S. mass media and English-language Internet, but also were more likely to use U.S. mass media to get companionship and entertain themselves.

Meanwhile, those who had the stronger acculturation motivation exposed the more obvious intention to use U.S. mass media to obtain news, learn English and social norms, find behavior model and conversation basis. All these motives served for better acculturation into the host society.

Neither adaptive personality nor acculturation motivation had a significant influence on respondents' motives for using ethnic-language media, including mass media and Internet. By contrast, both variables significantly affected respondents' motives for using U.S. mass media use and English-language Internet. This result was

understandable since the two psychological variables measured in this study were both related to the adaption into a new society on which host media were thought to be more influential than ethnic-language media.

Conclusion

This study enriches the uses and gratifications theory by testing uses and gratifications theory with a multi-ethnic population. It suggests cultural background would lead to different reasons for using media. Meanwhile, the educational level also contributes to various media use motives.

As the uses and gratifications theory suggests, psychological conditions closely correlate to mass media consumption motives. This study also provides evidence supporting this notion. According to the findings, the individuals with the stronger adaptive personality and acculturation motivation exhibit a stronger intention to obtain information about the new society through media usage than others. In other words, the different levels of motives for using U.S. mass media and English-language Internet exposed by immigrants derive from their various psychological factors.

Overall, this study illustrates the important role of psychological factors in the mass communication activities of immigrants. It suggests that psychological variables, not demographic backgrounds, are the primary factors which influence immigrants' media use patterns. In other words, psychological factors have more evident impact than demographic factors on immigrants' media use patterns.

Thus, this study casts light on the importance of psychological factors in

acculturation. The stronger adaptive personality and acculturation motivation an immigrant has, the more he or she will use host mass media which will contribute to acculturation. Demographic variables like gender, ethnic background, educational level, and length of residence have little significant influence on an individual immigrant's mass media use time. That is to say, no matter which educational level or which ethnic background, an immigrant tends to use more U.S. mass media and English-language Internet than others if he/she is more open, strong, positive, and has a more robust will to acculturate into the host society. Since host media use has been found to be beneficial for acculturation by a large number of previous studies, it is reasonable to postulate that an immigrant with the stronger adaptive personality and acculturation motivation will be more acculturated than others under the same demographic conditions.

From the mass communication perspective, this study suggests a possible negative circle in acculturation. The weaker adaptive personality and acculturation motivation an immigrant possesses, the less U.S. mass media and English-language Internet he/she will use. Given the same conditions, this immigrant will be less acculturated than others.

Limitation and Future Research

There are a few limitations in this research. First of all, due to the lack of trustworthy immigrant list to draw a random sample from, this study used a non-probability sample which limited the reliability and generalizability to some extent.

Next, since access to ethnic mass media is deficient to a large percentage of respondents, it may be questionable to generalize the findings of this research to immigrant populations living in other areas where they are exposed to ethnic mass media more sufficiently.

This may help to explain why this study did not provide any prediction about ethnic media use. Neither did it find significant impacts that psychological factors had on ethnic media use patterns and motives. To further explore immigrants' ethnic media use, future researchers could choose an area where immigrants were exposed to ethnic mass media more sufficiently. And more psychological variables relating to acculturation should be measured to find whether they have influence on immigrants' ethnic media use.

Another major drawback about this research is that the reliabilities among items used to measure "adaptive personality" and "acculturation motivation" are not satisfying (Cronbach's Alpha < .70) although they were high in pretest (Cronbach's Alpha > .80). Perhaps this is due to only four items measured for each. To avoid this situation, more items should be measured in future research to get more reliability and stronger indexes.

Probably as a consequence of the data collection method, respondents in this study are mostly those who had received higher education. Therefore, the generalizability of this research to lower-educated immigrant population is disputable. If future studies could include more lower-educated immigrants, the generalizability will be improved.

The main aspect of media use patterns examined in this study is the time respondents are exposed to each type of media. Future studies could scrutinize other aspects about media use patterns, for example, when and under what circumstance an individual immigrant use a certain media, or which newspaper/television program he/she prefers. More investigation into media use patterns will contribute to further understanding of the role of media use in acculturation.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Part A: Demographic Information

1. Your Gender: Female ____ Male ____
2. Your Age: _____
3. What's your original country? _____
4. How long have you been in the U.S.? _____
5. What's your highest degree? _____

Part B: Media Use.

In this part, please estimate the average time you spend on using these media in a typical **week**. If you don't use them, please enter "0".

The U.S. media

6. Do you have access to U.S. newspapers? Yes ____ No ____
If yes, how many hours do you spend on reading U.S. newspapers per week? _____
7. Do you have access to U.S. magazines? Yes ____ No ____
If yes, how many hours do you spend on reading U.S. magazines per week? _____
8. Do you have access to U.S. radio? Yes ____ No ____
If yes, how many hours do you spend on listening to the U.S. radio per week? _____
9. Do you have access to U.S. television? Yes ____ No ____
If yes, how many hours do you spend on watching the U.S. TV per week? _____

The ethnic media (media in your native language)

10. Do you have access to newspapers of your native language? Yes ____ No ____
If yes, how many hours do you spend on reading them per week? _____
11. Do you have access to magazines of your native language? Yes ____ No ____
If yes, how many hours do you spend on reading them per week? _____

5) Having a substitute for real-life companionship

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

6) Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

7) Entertainment/ diversion

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

8) Killing time

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

17. You use the mass media of your own language for:

(If you don't have access to any mass media of your own language, leave this part blank)

1) Obtaining news

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

2) Remaining connected to home country

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

3) Self-education (language, expertise knowledge, social norms)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

4) Finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

5) Having a substitute for real-life companionship

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

6) Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

7) Entertainment/ diversion

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

8) Killing time

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

18. You surf websites of English language for:

1) Obtaining news

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

2) Remaining connected to home country

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

3) Self-education (language, expertise knowledge, social norms)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

4) Finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

5) Having a substitute for real-life companionship

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

6) Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

7) Entertainment/ diversion

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

8) Killing time

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

19. You surf websites of your own language for:

1) Obtaining news

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

2) Remaining connected to home country

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

3) Self-education (language, expertise knowledge, social norms)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

4) Finding reinforcement for personal values or models of behavior

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

5) Having a substitute for real-life companionship

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

6) Finding a basis for conversation and social interaction

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

7) Entertainment/ diversion

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

8) Killing time

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

Part D: Personality and others:

In this part, we would like to know a little more about you. Please rank the following statements:

20. I am interested in knowing about new ideas.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

21. I feel comfortable with communicating with strangers.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

22. I am capable of reacting to stressful situations calmly.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

23. I am positive.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

24. I am interested in making friends with Americans.

1	2	3	4	5
Very	Weak	Neutral	Strong	Very
Weak				Strong

25. I want to learn about American customs, norms, and culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Very	Weak	Neutral	Strong	Very
Weak				Strong

26. I would like to participate in American politics.

1	2	3	4	5
Very	Weak	Neutral	Strong	Very
Weak				Strong

27. I hope to be part of American mainstream.

1	2	3	4	5
Very	Weak	Neutral	Strong	Very
Weak				Strong

That's all. Thank you very much for your participation and patience!

VITA

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