

**Changing Media Consumption in a New Home:
Acculturation Patterns Among
Hong Kong Immigrants to Canada**

Wei-Na Lee

David K. Tse

Series No. MKTG 94.009

February 1, 1994

Changing Media Consumption in a New Home:
Acculturation Patterns Among Hong Kong Immigrants to Canada

Wei-Na Lee

David K. Tse

February 1, 1994

Please direct all correspondence to: Wei-Na Lee
Department of Advertising
The University of Texas
CMA 7.142
Austin, Texas 78712-1092
(512) 471-8149 Office
(512) 471-7018 Fax

Wei-Na Lee is Assistant Professor at the Department of Advertising, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712-1092. David K. Tse is Associate Professor at Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2. He is currently visiting Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. This project is partially supported by a grant from the Center for International Business Studies, University of British Columbia and a grant from the University Research Institute, The University of Texas at Austin.

Changing Media Consumption in a New Home:

Acculturation Patterns Among Hong Kong Immigrants to Canada

Abstract

This study investigates (1) how immigrant consumers change their media consumption when they move across cultural boundaries and (2) whether media exposure relates to consumers' acculturation of the new social norms. A total of 938 respondents from four sample groups including Hong Kong residents, long-time and new Hong Kong immigrants to Canada and English-speaking Caucasian Canadians responded to a predesigned questionnaire. It was found that while the immigrant groups did not increase their total media consumption, their consumption across different media types followed both assimilation and ethnic affirmation models. This acculturation process seemed to be affected by immigrants' original media consumption behavior and language ability. Media exposure was found to relate significantly to immigrants' acculturation of the new social norms after influences due to personal characteristics were removed.

Introduction

Recent events and social indicators suggest that our society is becoming increasingly multicultural. Fuelled by the current trend of international immigrants, 26% of the U.S. population will be composed of distinct ethnic minorities by the year 2000 (Hall 1990; Wersterman 1989). In many major cities, there may not be an ethnic group which represents more than half of the population. Social observers are confirming that the conventional notion of America as a "melting pot" may not be sufficient in describing our ethnically diverse society (Hirschman 1983). A multicultural society is becoming an acceptable norm.

To advertisers, a society's growing multiculturalism offers many challenges. Some of these challenges have been confirmed by previous studies. For example, studies have reported major differences in consumption behavior among various ethnic groups (e.g., Clair 1985; Edel 1986; Kahle 1983). Beyond this general conclusion, the literature has not matured to provide a solid base from which advertisers can derive useful implications. Theoretical propositions that could advance our thoughts are also underdeveloped (cf. Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon and Korzenny 1983; Miracle 1984).

As a beginning step to understand our multicultural society, the current study focuses on both new and long-time immigrant consumers. To advertisers, previous literature offers few insights on how to target, reach and influence these consumers. For example, it is known that new immigrants need to "learn" new consumption habits: where to shop, what brands to consider, and/or how to evaluate different products and services. Then, what media should advertisers use to reach them when immigrants are developing these consumer behaviors? Would immigrants eventually become assimilated to the host country? If they do, when should advertisers consider these immigrants as a part of the majority such that they require no separate media effort? On a macro level, would immigrants' media habits affect their adoption of their new home's norms and values? Answers to these questions will provide input to media segmentation and copy decisions.

The study reported in this paper adopted socio-anthropological models to investigate how immigrant consumers differ from the majority in their media consumption. A culturally distinct consumer group of

Hong Kong origin was investigated. The study surveyed the media habits and the acceptance of social norms and values among four groups of consumers representing a "continuum of acculturation." The consumers included were Hong Kong residents, new Hong Kong immigrants to Canada, long-time Hong Kong immigrants to Canada and English-speaking Caucasian Canadians. The study differs from previous studies in its attempt to (1) apply anthropological acculturation models to advertising, (2) trace respondents' media habits to their culture of origin, (3) compare new and long-time immigrant groups to infer the dynamics of their acculturation process, and (4) assess how media habits relate to immigrants' adoption of social norms.

Immigrant Consumers in North America

The importance of ethnic minority markets (composed of both new and long-time immigrants) can be seen from a variety of indicators. At the current pace, by the year 2000, African, Hispanic and Asian Americans will make up 26% of the U.S. population (Hall 1990) and represent a significant proportion of its domestic market (estimated at approximately \$650 billion of disposable income) (Wersterman 1989). In order to capitalize on the consumption potential of these segments, specialized shopping centers (Chain Store Age Executive 1988), banks (Clair 1985; Friedland 1989; Morgenson 1989), advertising agencies (Jaben 1988), market research scanner systems (Nielsen Marketing Research 1988), and advertising media (Guernica 1982; O'Guinn and Meyer 1974; Schultz 1985) have been established to target these ethnic populations.

Past research has shown that ethnic consumers tend to exhibit certain distinct characteristics. It has been suggested that Hispanic consumers tend to be brand loyal (Longo 1987; Soriano and Dauten 1985), read little but watch much television (Edel 1986), shop in small stores and hesitate to experiment with new products and brands (Soriano and Dauten 1985). African Americans are more willing to spend on brand names, indulgence items and items that encourage a sense of unity and enhance their image (Martin 1985). Asian American consumers are typically more brand loyal, willing to pay for quality products (Hulin-Salkin 1987), and tend to cluster in major metropolitan areas (Waldinger 1989). For example, Monterey Park, an

area in Los Angeles, is also known as "Little Taipei" because 40% of its population are from Asia with the majority of them from Taipei, Taiwan. Vancouver, Canada is nicknamed "Hongcouver" because of the dramatic increase of Hong Kong immigrants due to the uncertainties when China takes over the city in 1997. One third of the population of Richmond, Vancouver's neighboring town, is expected to trace its origin to Hong Kong. The uniqueness of these ethnic groups is not expected to vanish as newcomers "melt" into North American society; rather, our society's growing acceptance of a multicultural social mosaic may help ethnic minority groups retain their cultural characteristics.

The impact of minority groups in North America is expected to increase because of the Canadian and U.S. governments' current trend toward increasing the number of immigrants admitted. Between 1966 and 1970, an average of 374,000 international immigrants came to the U.S. each year. In contrast, between 1982 and 1986, the average annual inflow grew to 572,000 (Waldinger 1989). In Canada, where the population is 27 million (one tenth the population of the U.S.), the trend is very similar but the number of immigrants is even more pronounced: the annual inflow is projected at 250,000 for the next ten years.

The size and the dynamics of these minorities have redefined many aspects of our society (Slater 1986). Areas such as work environment, social programs, education systems (Waldinger 1989) and, last but not least, the advertising industry will be affected. Specifically, how these ethnic immigrant consumers use mass media and to what extent they are influenced by exposure to mass media are important to advertising media planning, creative executions and other strategic decisions.

Cross-Cultural Media Habits

An area that may provide useful insights into understanding immigrant consumers' media consumption is the research on cross-cultural media habits. Previous studies on cross-cultural media consumption reported some major differences among inhabitants of different countries (Douglas and Macquin 1977). For example, Green and Langeard (1975) found that media habits may affect consumer innovativeness. Compared to consumers in North America, Latin American consumers were found to

consume more radio and less print media, while Asian consumers tend to spend the highest proportion of their media time on television, and less on radio and newspapers (World Advertising Expenditures 1986). Douglas and Macquin (1977) suggest that the differences in lifestyles of consumers from different countries may lead to different effectiveness for different media. While such findings are interesting and provide some pragmatic insights to advertisers, the major difficulty with this line of research is in understanding why such differences exist (Miracle 1984). In particular, are such differences caused by variations in technology (e.g., lack of television stations), political philosophy (public policies on mass media, as in Boddewyn 1982), market systems, philosophies of the advertising communities, and/or cultural differences? A number of studies have attempted to provide frameworks that could integrate previous findings. By and large, no comprehensive framework has been established (Miracle 1984). This is not to say that future attempts will be futile; rather, the literature suggests that potential confounds in cross-cultural research must be reduced or eliminated so that a stronger theoretical framework can be established.

In the current study, potential confounds due to different environments are greatly reduced because the new immigrant consumers, long-time immigrant consumers and majority consumers are all in one country. Since they are living in the same society, influences due to technological availability, political and market environments and, to a certain extent, differences in advertising practice are greatly reduced. Accordingly, the differences in media habits can be attributed, with stronger validity, to true cultural differences. Yet, what theoretical orientation should one adopt when investigating such cross-cultural differences? Literature in acculturation provides some useful insights.

Acculturation Models

Culture, defined simply, is a way of life shared by a group of people (Swidler 1986). Previous literature suggests that culture contains three interrelated components. They include objects (symbols, stories, and rituals as in McCracken 1987 or the materialistic aspect of a culture as in Triandis 1972), actions (behavioral styles, habits and ways of expressions as in Berry 1980; Kahle 1983; Padilla 1980) and a

persistent way of ordering actions (preferences and worldviews by Hofstede 1980 and Rokeach 1973, or as the process of valuation as in Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv and Sanders 1990). Since culture is forever changing, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of any cultural phenomenon, one must understand the dynamics of cultural change along these three major dimensions. The current study investigates the latter two components of culture: media consumption (actions) and acceptance of majority norms (preferences, values). To date, among the many attempts to interpret cultural change, the study of acculturation has yielded fruitful insights into this process of human contact, action and reaction, and adjustment.

Acculturation and Acculturation Models

Acculturation is often defined as "the culture exchange that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems...it may be the consequences of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture; 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 (Social Science Research Council 1954, p. 974)." This definition has since been adopted in many cross-cultural studies and led to the development of the following three acculturation models: assimilation, overshoot, and ethnic affirmation.

The oldest and most traditional acculturation model is that of assimilation orientation. Assimilation, generally known as "the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the form of the ruling culture" (Lesser 1933, p. 9), forms the "melting pot" theme in many sociological acculturation studies (Hirschman 1983, p. 398). Individuals are assumed to quickly adopt the majority norms because they want to become part of the new culture (Wallendorf and Reilly 1983) and/or regard the new country as their permanent home (Berry 1986). An individual's new home country may offer better opportunities (e.g., Crew 1987) or more attractive lifestyle (e.g., Belk and Pollay 1985). The basic assumption here is that the acculturating individuals tend to follow a uni-directional (i.e., toward the norms of the majority), progressive learning mode, in becoming more and more like their counterparts in the host

country.

At times, immigrants' behavior may be more extreme than that of the majority in the host country, thus "overshooting" the dominant norm in that society (Triandis, Kashima, Shimada and Villareal 1986). Triandis and his associates suggest that the motivation for this reaction is the immigrant's desire to be accepted immediately by the host society. The greater the pressure felt by the immigrant, the higher the perceived value of adaptation (Stayman and Deshpande 1989), and the more likely overshooting will occur. Immigrants' desire to disassociate themselves from their original culture (Berry 1980) or their stereotypical perception of the new culture may also prompt individuals to follow this path. This phenomenon is likely to be observed in second generation immigrants because of the peer pressure to integrate and their motivation to disassociate themselves from their cultural heritage.

Immigrants may also choose to behave as they did in their home country. **Ethnic affirmation** (Triandis et al. 1986) occurs when immigrants choose to retain their original values and reject behaviors of the new environment. This phenomenon is likely to occur when the immigrants feel that they are not accepted or are ill-treated by the majority group in the society (e.g., Berry 1976). The immigrant group may also be motivated by their desire to preserve their own culture (e.g., Connor 1977). As suggested by Berry (1980), immigrants may follow this path because they believe strongly that they need to retain their cultural heritage. The more habitual their behaviors are, the more likely it is that they would be retained in a new country.

These three competing acculturation models may help predict how Hong Kong immigrants consume mass media in Canada. Table 1 highlights their different predictions. These models offer an overall notion of how immigrants may change their media use. In later sections, specific hypotheses derived from these models are discussed.

Place Table 1 about here

Most acculturation studies to date tend to focus on issues such as urbanization (Card 1990; Waldinger 1989), social programs (Greene 1985; Ramirez 1986), work-related activities (Kern-Foxworth 1989; Trachtgenbery 1986), social relations (Bartel 1989; Vasegh-Deneshvary, Jerzog and Schlottmann 1986) and psychological stress (e.g., Connor 1977; Oppen 1988). Very few studies have examined the issue of media consumption and acculturation (Lee 1989). In order to derive specific hypotheses, some discussion of the nature of media consumption is needed.

Media consumption differs from the behaviors which have been studied before because media consumption is strongly subject to individual choice. An individual is relatively free to choose among the available media to satisfy one's media needs in the new environment. For advertisers, there are three key questions concerning acculturation and media consumption: How much do new immigrant consumers use the different types of media? How does media use differ regarding ethnic and host media? And, how are immigrant consumers affected by media exposure? Answers to these questions will have significant impact on the creation and management of advertising strategies.

Media Use by Type

When immigrant consumers move to a new country, their total media consumption may increase or decrease. On the one hand, immigrants are said to be highly motivated to understand events of the new society in addition to those within their minority circle and news of events in their home countries. According to this "need to be informed" explanation, the immigrant consumers are likely to spend more time with media than the majority. On the other hand, time is a precious commodity. This is especially true of immigrants who are new to the environment and need time to learn how to "live" according to the norms of the new country. This "competing time" explanation implies that their needs for information from the mass media may have to compete with their other needs in adapting to the new environment. Depending on the results of such tradeoffs, immigrants may consume more or less media when compared to the majority.

What about consumption across different media types? Immigrants may display differences in the

relative importance they place on the various media. They may rely more on one mass medium than another because of what they have been accustomed to in their home country. For example, Hong Kong television programs are very popular not only in Hong Kong, but also in neighboring countries such as Singapore and Taiwan. In fact, both the Singaporean and Taiwanese governments have declared some Hong Kong television programs to be an unwanted influence promoting a materialistic lifestyle (Tse, Belk and Zhou 1989). Such a strong habitual preference toward TV may persist over a long period of time after individuals emigrate. Furthermore, such media preferences would not be subjected to conforming pressure from the society because these are private consumption choices. Accordingly, the ethnic affirmation model would be most logical. Hence, it is expected that Hong Kong immigrants in Canada would spend more time watching television than do Caucasian Canadians (Hypothesis 1).

Ethnic and Host Media Consumption

Nowadays, a variety of ethnic media closely target minority markets. As time goes by, would immigrants change their preference for ethnic media to host media? It has been documented that new immigrants of a different language origin are usually handicapped by their language ability at work and in social interactions (Taft 1977). Therefore, new immigrants may be more attracted to ethnic media when they first arrive in a new country. As they stay longer, their language ability would likely improve, and they would be less restricted to consuming only ethnic media.

New immigrants may be more inclined to use ethnic media due to their desire to understand the minority society in the host country and keep informed about events in their home country. Ethnic media are likely to provide such information in great detail. Such needs are also facilitated by recent technological developments such as "narrowcasting," that is, broadcasting of ethnic programming (Roberts 1990). Given time, the immigrants' affinity for the home country would be replaced slowly by their affinity toward the host country. This proposition is partly supported by previous research findings suggesting that the adoption of new values and norms is positively related to the length of stay in the new culture (Padilla 1980).

In conclusion, immigrants' improving language ability and their affinity for the host country appear to agree with the conditions prescribed by the assimilation model. Therefore, it is expected that long-time immigrant consumers would spend a higher proportion of their media consumption on host media than would new immigrants (Hypothesis 2).

Impact of Media Use on Adoption of Majority Norms

How are immigrants affected by their exposure to mass media? Acculturation may take place through immigrants' direct and indirect contact with acculturation agents. Agents such as family, peer groups, mass media, and workplace are important and will influence the process and outcome of acculturation. Among these agents, mass media are considered powerful and pervasive among immigrants (O'Guinn, Lee and Faber 1986). Learning from the mass media may help reduce the embarrassing situations one has to go through to "do things right." Studies on ethnic consumers found that Mexican Americans prefer mass media over many other agents as sources of information and advice (Lisansky 1981). Weinstock (1964) found media preferences were among the best indicators of acculturation for Hungarian immigrants. Garcia (1982) found ethnic preference of media entertainers important in identifying cultural orientation.

McLeod and Chaffee (1972, p. 50) remind us that "our complex communication systems enable us to overcome the time and space limitations and leave us with a greater dependence on mass media in shaping our ideas about how things are in the world." Although it may be difficult to prove, most of our perception and understanding of the world around us may come indirectly from the mass media. Consequently, an immigrant's perception of the world depends greatly on the amount of media message the immigrant is exposed to. It has been suggested that mass media portray for the audience a culturally defined social reality, especially for immigrants (e.g., Lee 1989). Fox and Philliber (1978), for instance, point out that a central tenet of the dominant American ideology is the belief that America is a land of unprecedented material abundance. As a result, many immigrants come to the U.S. in pursuit of this "American Dream."

Studies in acculturation have found certain salient personal characteristics affect an individual's

receptiveness to majority social norms. These significant characteristics include an individual's language ability, age, duration of stay in the country, education, income, and number of times the individual visits the home country (Ekstrand 1986). The challenge for advertising researchers, however, is not whether media exposure is related to acculturation. Rather, a more critical need is to examine the significance of media's impact in addition to immigrants' personal characteristics. To date, there has not been any study evaluating the additional contribution media exposure has on acculturation. In this study, it is hypothesized that media exposure (whether host and/or ethnic) would be significantly related to respondents' acculturation to majority's social norms when immigrants' personal characteristics are controlled (Hypothesis 3).

Research Design

A cross-cultural study of acculturation and media consumption was conducted. Hong Kong immigrants to Canada were selected as the focal group for the study. Acculturation is a dynamic process; thus, it is necessary to assess how immigrants change over time. Conventional acculturation studies tend to use one immigrant group in comparison with the majority group to examine the level of acculturation. This study included both new and long-time immigrant groups. By comparing these two groups, it is believed that the different forms of acculturation may be assessed with greater validity. The behavior of the long-time immigrant group may reflect the extent of acculturation while the behavior of the new immigrant group can be viewed as closer to the starting point of the acculturation process.

Four groups of respondents were included in the study. They were: English-speaking Caucasian Canadians (CDA, those who had lived in Canada for more than 10 years); long-time Hong Kong immigrants (LHK, those who emigrated to Canada more than seven years ago); new Hong Kong immigrants (NHK, those who emigrated to Canada less than seven years ago); and Hong Kong residents (HK, ethnic Chinese who had lived in Hong Kong for more than 10 years). The decision to sample two immigrant groups was made because of the change in Canadian immigration policy regarding Hong Kong seven years before the survey date (in the early 1970s, all foreign university students were allowed to stay in Canada permanently after

graduation). Hong Kong residents and Caucasian Canadians were included as the anchoring points for comparison purposes.

Surveys of Hong Kong residents were conducted in three local shopping malls that target middle income families (as a pan-cultural control for income effects). The surveys for long-time Hong Kong immigrants, new Hong Kong immigrants and Caucasian Canadians were conducted in three middle income shopping malls in Vancouver. Vancouver was chosen because it is the third largest city in Canada (50% of its population are Anglo-Caucasians and 20% are Chinese) and houses more than 30% of all immigrants from Hong Kong. The surveys were conducted in the summer of 1991 at approximately the same time in all locations.

The first part of the questionnaire was designed to determine how the respondents use different media (i.e., how much time per week they use newspapers, television, and radio). In Vancouver, at the time of the study, there were two Chinese TV stations (each has 10 hours per day of Chinese programs), one Chinese radio station (12 hours per day of Chinese programs), and five Chinese newspapers (each circulates more than 2,000 copies per day). Magazine reading was not included because there was no magazine targeting Hong Kong immigrants in Vancouver. Caucasian Canadian consumers were asked only about their consumption of the English language media. Hong Kong residents were asked about their consumption of the Chinese media in Hong Kong only. Hong Kong immigrants in Canada were asked about their consumption of both host (English) and ethnic (Chinese) media.

The second section of the questionnaire contained measures of the degree to which the immigrants adopted the new culture or retained the home culture. Questions were answered on a six-point scale ranging from "very unlikely" to "very likely." Respondents were asked how likely they were to celebrate the Chinese New Year, send children to learn mother language, and teach children their traditional values at home. Measures of participation in new cultural activities were also included. Respondents were asked how often they take part in community center activities (on a six-point scale, "never" to "always"), and how likely they

were to celebrate July 1st (i.e., Canada's National Day) (on a six-point scale, "very unlikely" to "very likely"). In addition, respondents were asked how they identify themselves ethnically (either as Canadian and/or Hong Kong Chinese) via a six-point scale ("strongly agree" to "strongly disagree").

At the end of the questionnaire, the respondent's socio-demographic characteristics such as sex, age, highest education level attained, ability to speak and write English and annual household income were surveyed. All the questions were developed based on a number of in-depth interviews with members from each group and previous studies in the literature. The questionnaire was first developed in English and then translated into Chinese. Back-translation was used to reduce possible translation errors and ensure equivalence of instruments.

While the Caucasian Canadian respondents filled out the English questionnaire (the interviewer was also Caucasian Canadian), the Hong Kong immigrants were allowed to choose to answer either the English or Chinese version (the interviewer was a Hong Kong immigrant). Hong Kong residents were asked by local Chinese research assistants to fill out the Chinese version of the questionnaire.

About 200 questionnaires were obtained from each group in Canada. In Hong Kong 300 respondents were surveyed because of a larger population base. The research assistants were instructed to sample respondents as randomly as possible in the shopping malls and to spread the surveys over different days of the week and different times of the day. The surveys were launched at the same time of the year in both Vancouver and Hong Kong. The research assistants would first approach the potential respondents, explain the objectives of the survey (purely for academic research, conducted by university professors) and how long it would take to participate in the study. They would then request help from prospective respondents to fill out the questionnaire by themselves. Less than 5% of the individuals approached refused to participate, and almost all (95%) of the denials were due to time constraints. Upon completion, each respondent was given a small gift worth \$1 for participation in the study.

Table 2 describes the characteristics of the 938 respondents. In terms of demographic

characteristics, the long-time immigrant group seems to have more female respondents and the highest education level. As expected, the two immigrant groups are better educated than the Hong Kong resident group (since only the more educated individuals can pass the Canadian immigration hurdle), and younger than the Caucasian Canadian group. The total household income also reflects the loss in income for the immigrants once they emigrate. This corresponds with previous findings that it usually takes immigrants three to five years to earn comparable salaries in a new environment.

Place Table 2 about here

Findings and Discussion

Checks on the Sample

The characteristics of the sample groups were then compared with those of the population from which they were sampled. The income level, education, and gender distribution of the Hong Kong sample corresponds closely with the statistics on the Hong Kong population (Hong Kong 1990). Since the lower age group (i.e., those less than 16 years old) was not sampled, the age distribution tends to skew more toward an older population. For the Caucasian Canadian sample, all demographic characteristics agree with the population characteristics except age since those less than 16 were not sampled. As for the two immigrant groups, comparisons with the general immigrant population is difficult as there are very few current published statistics against which to compare. Their characteristics appear to correspond with general assumptions. The immigrant groups, especially the long-time immigrants, have higher education levels than Hong Kong residents. The mean income level for new immigrants is lower, as many may have experienced drops in salaries when they emigrated to Canada.

Another important check concerns the use of two immigrant groups. The seven year cut-off point was used because of the change in Canadian immigration policy seven years ago. The sample characteristics

seem to suggest that the cut-off point is reasonable since the long-time immigrants have higher education levels. In addition, the two major indicators of acculturation, ethnic self-identification and percentage of English use at home, were also compared. The long-time immigrant group has significantly higher self-identification as Hong Kong Canadians (4.74 versus 4.38 on a 6-point scale, $p < .01$) and lower self-identification as Hong Kong Chinese (4.03 versus 4.43 on a 6-point scale, $p < .01$) than the new immigrant group. The long-time immigrants also used significantly more English at home (36% versus 23%, $p < .001$), and were more proficient at speaking (2.61 versus 2.32 on a 4-point scale, $p < .001$) and writing English (2.58 versus 2.29 on a 4-point scale, $p < .001$). These comparisons provide support for the decision to sample two immigrant groups as opposed to one.

Comparing Media Use Across Sample Groups

The first objective of the study was to understand how immigrant consumers use different types of media. Table 3 reports the ANOVA results on the comparison of media use across the four sample groups. To control for personal characteristics that may affect the acculturation process, respondents' socio-demographic characteristics (sex, income and age) were used as covariates in these ANOVAs. The average number of minutes per weekday spent using all media, the average number of minutes spent per weekday using each different type of media and the relative percentage of time spent using different media were used as the dependent variables. The sample group was used as the independent variable.

In terms of total media exposure (Table 3, row 1), the groups did not differ in the total number of minutes spent using all media ($F=0.41$, row 1, column 6). At first glance, the group means (row 1, columns 1 to 4) seem to indicate that new immigrants spent less time than the other three groups in using media. However, this difference was not significant after personal characteristics were controlled.

As for the use of different types of media, significant F-scores were noted in television and radio consumption (rows 2 and 3, column 6). Hypothesis 1, which stipulates that Hong Kong immigrants would spend more time watching television than would the Caucasian Canadians, was confirmed. In terms of the

average number of minutes spent watching television, Hong Kong residents spent the most minutes, followed by long-time immigrants and then new immigrants. The Caucasian Canadians watched the least television. This pattern is totally reversed for time spent listening to radio (row 3). Caucasian Canadians spent the most time listening to radio, followed by Hong Kong immigrants and Hong Kong residents.

In addition to absolute minutes spent on different types of media, a useful and related indicator is the percentage of time spent using each medium (see Table 3, rows 5 to 7). The resulting patterns for television and radio are identical to the previous set of analytical outcomes. Hong Kong residents spent the highest percentage of total media time on television followed by new immigrants, long-time immigrants and Caucasian Canadians. Again, the pattern is reversed for radio consumption. These findings seem to suggest that both the nature of the media and cultural habits tend to have significant effect on the immigrants' use of different media. Television usually contains the richest set of communication cues and is used most heavily by immigrants for information and entertainment. It appears that, for this particular group, the use of television follows the assimilation model (see Table 1). As for radio consumption, the desire to retain cultural habits is evident since those who had emigrated more than seven years ago did not differ from those in Hong Kong. This characteristic reflects the ethnic affirmation model of acculturation (see Table 1). Finally, since there is no significant difference between present and former Hong Kong residents and Caucasian Canadians in their use of newspapers, the immigrants obviously did not have the motivation nor the need to change their newspaper reading habits.

It is interesting to note that the immigrants' consumption of the different media (especially television versus radio) exhibits different acculturation models. Given the choice, acculturation may be medium dependent. This is not entirely unexpected. As mentioned before, the consumption of different media is an individual choice in private occasions where social pressure is not strong. While these social forces have been reported to affect individual choices (Stayman and Deshpande 1988), they are absent in this particular context. Whether these findings exhibit theoretical parsimony is not the most critical issue here since this is

the first empirical work in this context. Rather, these findings suggest that advertisers should not be limited to any one particular acculturation model (e.g., assimilation).

The second objective of the study was to compare ethnic versus host media use. As theorized in Hypothesis 2, it was expected that the longer the immigrants have been in a new country, the less likely they would be to use ethnic media. As shown in Table 3, the results from the study verify this proposition. New immigrants consumed significantly more minutes and a higher percentage of ethnic media (rows 9 and 10) than did long-time immigrants. This finding appears to be consistent with the assimilation model of acculturation. Some possible explanations for these findings could be that new immigrants tend to be more motivated than long-time immigrants to keep abreast of events in their home country and maintain familiar cultural elements amidst strange new surroundings. Also, their limited language ability may have contributed to this outcome. Nonetheless, it is important to realize that even after seven years in a new country, long-time Hong Kong immigrants seemed to spend a high percentage (41%) of their total media time on ethnic media.

Place Table 3 about here

Impact of Media Consumption on Acculturation

The third objective of the study was to assess whether the use of media affects the acculturation process. Would the degree of exposure to the host media and/or ethnic media affect the degree of acculturation? In order to answer this question, regression models using a set of dependent variables were employed in the subsequent analysis. To ensure that the results were not affected by the limits of both the dependent and independent variables' ranges, the two immigrant groups were pooled for the regression analysis. Since the Caucasian Canadian and Hong Kong resident samples were not relevant to this question, they were excluded from the analysis.

Respondents' socio-demographic characteristics (years in Canada, education level, age, number of

trips back to Hong Kong, income, and English usage) and their media consumption (all media types were pooled and classified under either host or ethnic media in order to remove media type effects) were used as independent variables. These two sets of variables were first checked and found to bear very weak correlations (less than 0.2) suggesting that bias due to multicollinearity was low. In order to test whether media exposure exerted influences in addition to those from socio-demographic characteristics, the latter variables were entered first in the regression model before both the ethnic and host media consumption variables. Table 4 reports the coefficients and the change in F-scores when the media consumption variables were entered.

Place Table 4 about here

Results in Table 4 confirm the additional influence of media exposure (Hypothesis 3). Of the five dependent variables, four show significant changes in F-score (Table 4, last column). These include "celebrate Canada's national day", "teach children Chinese values", "self-identification as a Hong Kong Chinese", and "self-identification as a Canadian." The insignificance of "teach children Chinese language" is related to the insignificance of the socio-demographic characteristics ($F=1.41, p \leq .20$). Alternatively, if the media variables were used by themselves alone, the regression model would be significant ($F=3.10, p \leq .05$). These findings verify that media exposure was significantly related to acculturation outcome.

A further look at the regression coefficients reveals that the signs of all the coefficients are consistent with what would be expected. For items that relate to adoption of the new culture ("celebrate Canada's national day" and "self-identification as a Canadian"), the signs for the coefficients are all positive for host media and all negative for ethnic media. The reverse is true for items that relate to preserving original culture ("teach children Chinese values", "self-identification as a Hong Kong Chinese"). These findings provide a consistent picture for the effect of both ethnic and host media exposure. It should be noted that the

coefficients are always significant for one but not the other.

Conclusions

As a first attempt to understand how immigrant consumers change their media habits in their process of becoming acculturated, findings from the study provide some implications to advertising managers and researchers. First, immigrant consumers seemed to follow the same media habits as when they were in their home country. But, whether they have become assimilated later on depends on the media type. This suggests that advertising managers need to design carefully their media strategy if they want to reach the new immigrant group. Cross-cultural media research could offer the needed input because it provides information on the media habits of consumers in different countries (i.e., the norms which new immigrants tend to follow).

The finding that the TV habits of immigrants who had been in Canada for at least seven years changed slowly (while radio consumption changed very little in the process of acculturation) is an important one. It disconfirms the conventional belief that immigrant consumers will behave like majority consumers after a few years. Accordingly, this finding suggests that our current "narrowcasting" and similar ethnic media strategies may be a permanent component in any future advertising plan in order to capture culturally diversified markets.

For advertising researchers, the implications of the slow acculturation process go even beyond media issues. For example, what would underlie the immigrants' resistance to change their media habits? It appears that their language ability is a likely factor. However, the slow assimilation (and ethnic affirmation) shown by the immigrants who stayed for at least seven years suggests the phenomenon demands more attention. For example, could the slow assimilation be caused by the difference in processing styles among the media types? Previous cross-cultural content analyses (e.g., Tse, Belk, and Zhou 1989) confirm that advertising strategies across cultures are different. Could differences in processing styles across media types imply differences in processing style of ads as well? Answers to these questions may provide further insights to media and copy strategies.

Findings from this study reveal that immigrant consumers did not increase their total media consumption time, although their need for more information in the new country is evident. They seemed to balance their media consumption with other pressing activities in their new home environment. More research effort is needed to understand how immigrant consumers fill their needs for information without increasing the overall time they spend on media. For example, would they rely more on key informants to filter and digest all available information? If so, who would their key informants be? What would their information network be? Alternatively, would they selectively attend to local media only for critical events (e.g., unrest, riots)? If this is true, the ways in which they evaluate these events, relate them to their lives and resolve these problems may provide the needed information for designing better advertising strategies.

This study also found that even after living in Canada for at least seven years, the long-time immigrants spent 41% of their media time on ethnic media. This percentage is extremely high. Advertisers need to understand why these long-time immigrant consumers stayed with their ethnic media. One possible explanation is that these consumers may use host and ethnic media complementarily for different purposes. In particular, they may use ethnic media for entertainment purposes (since humor and entertainment are culturally loaded and difficult to appreciate cross culturally) and use host media for news and local events. If this complementary use explanation is true, it will provide valuable input to advertisers on designing their messages (e.g., matching the ad content with the program content) and tailoring their media plans.

Findings from the study also confirm that exposure to mass media, in addition to consumers' personal characteristics, contributed to attitudinal and/or behavioral change. It appears that the acculturating individuals' adoption of the majority norms may be related to their length of residence in Canada, education level, age, number of trips back to Hong Kong, income, the use of English, and their exposure to mass media. Although many advertisers tend to segment ethnic markets based on personal characteristics and find this procedure to be quite useful, results from this study suggest that mass media usage may need to be included as an input variable in future segmentation efforts.

Limitations

This study is limited in several ways. First, being a pioneer attempt, the study focused on one ethnic group. Future research effort should be expanded to other ethnic groups. Second, while this study aims to address some basic media questions, research into message efforts, effectiveness of various appeals, and the way in which different ethnic groups evaluate advertisements will complement findings in the media consumption area. These topics represent a host of interesting and challenging issues. Third, the anthropological models adopted in this study may be useful in guiding future advertising research in multicultural contexts. A more in-depth understanding of cross-cultural psychological processes should also contribute to increasing knowledge in this area. Finally, while the study illustrates the significant relationship between media exposure and immigrant consumers' adoption of selected social norms, a richer set of dependent variables including consumption habits, product ownership, and political preferences may need to be incorporated to enrich our understanding.

Recent social events signal that the conventional cultural "melting pot" notion may have been sufficient in some instance. However, North American society today is far from being homogeneous. The growing trend toward multiculturalism needs to be recognized and understood so that better communication programs can be planned and implemented. This paper suggests that such attempts could be rewarding, and the many questions raised here should invite more effort in this research direction.

References

- Bartel, Ann P. (1989), "Where Do the New U.S. Immigrants Live?" Journal of Labor Economics, 7 (October), 371-391.
- Belk, Russell W. and Richard W. Pollay (1985), "Images of Ourselves: The Good Life in Twentieth Century Advertising," Journal of Consumer Research, 11 (March), 887-897.
- Berry, John W. (1976), Human Ecology and Cognitive Style: Comparative Studies in Cultural and Psychological Adaptation, New York: Sage/Halsted.
- _____ (1980), "Acculturation as Adaptation," in Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings, Amado M. Padilla, ed., Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 26.
- _____ (1986), "Multiculturalism and Psychology in Plural Societies," in Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants in a Cross-Cultural Perspective, Lars H. Ekstrand, ed., Berwyn, Sweden: Swets North America Inc., 35-51.
- Boddewyn, J. J. (1982), "Advertising Regulation in the 1980s: The Underlying Global Forces," Journal of Marketing, 46 (Winter), 27-35.
- Card, David (1990), "The Impact of the Mariel Boatlift on the Miami Labor Market," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 43 (January), 245-257.
- Chain Store Age Executive (1988), "Greenbriar Knows Its Neighbors: Atlanta Mall Pioneers Trend, Catering to Growing Ethnic Market," 64 (December), 59-60.
- Clair, Robert T. (1985), "A Comparative Analysis of Mature Hispanic-Owned Banks," Economic Review, 16 (March), 1-11.
- Connor, John W. (1977), Tradition and Change in Three Generations of Japanese Americans, Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
- Crew, Spencer R. (1987), "The Great Migration of Afro-Americans, 1915-40," Monthly Labor Review, 110 (March), 34-36.

- Douglas, Susan P. and Anne Macquin (1977), "The Use of Notions of Sociocultural Trends or Lifestyle Analysis in Media Selection," (Working Paper).
- Edel, Richard (1986), "Marketing to Hispanics: Outdoor Boards Are Growing in Stature," Advertising Age, 57 (October 6), 2-6.
- Ekstrand, Lars H. (1986), ed., Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants in a Cross-Cultural Perspective, Berwyn, Sweden: Swets North America Inc.
- Fox, William S. and William W. Philliber (1978), "Television Viewing and the Perception of Affluence," The Sociological Quarterly, 19 (June), 103-112.
- Friedland, Jonathan (1989), "Affluent Asian Communities Attract State's Top Leaders: Now the China Card," Far Eastern Economic Review, 143 (March 23), 80-81.
- Garcia, Paul (1982), "Ethnicity and Chicanos: Measurement of Ethnic Identification, Identity and Consciousness," Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 4 (March), 295-314.
- Green, Robert T. and Eric Langeard (1975), "A Cross-National Comparison of Consumer Habits and Innovator Characteristics," Journal of Marketing, 39 (July), 34-41.
- Greenberg, Bradley S., Michael Burgoon, Judee K. Burgoon, and Felipe Korzenny (1983), Mexican Americans and the Mass Media, Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Greene, Leonard M. (1985), "'Progress' U. S. Style," Journal of the Institute for Socioeconomic Studies, 10 (June), 26-35.
- Guernica, Antonio (1982), Reaching the Hispanic Market Effectively: The Media, the Market, the Methods, St. Louis, MO: McGraw Hill.
- Hall, Eleanor R. (1990), "Marketing to a Growing Minority Population," MarketFacts, 9 (1), 56-59.
- Hirschman, Charles (1983), "America's Melting Pot Reconsidered," in Annual Review of Sociology, vol. 9, Ralph H. Turner and James F. Short Jr., eds., 397-423.
- Hofstede, Geert H. (1980), Culture's Consequences, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

- _____, Bram Neuijen, Denis aval Ohayv and Geert Sanders (1990), "Measuring Organizational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study across Twenty Cases, Administrative Science Quarterly, 35 (June), 286-316.
- Hong Kong 1990, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Information Services.
- Hulin-Salkin, Belinder (1987), "Asian-Americans: The Next Hot Market," Incentive Marketing, 161 (3), 32-38.
- Jaben, Jan (1988), "Arturo Villar: Championing the Hispanic Audience," Folio: The Magazine for Magazine Management, 17 (November), 125-127.
- Kahle, Lynn R. (1983), ed., Social Values and Social Change: Adaptation to Life in America, New York: Praeger.
- Kelvin, P. (1970), The Bases of Social Behavior, London: Holt Reinhart.
- Kern-Foxworth, Marilyn (1989), "Minorities 2000-The Shape of Things to Come," Public Relations Journal, 45 (August), 14-18, 21-22.
- Kim, Uichol and John W. Berry (1986), "Predictors of Acculturative Stress: Korean Immigrants in Toronto, Canada," in Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants in a Cross-Cultural Perspective, Lars H. Ekstrand, ed., Berwyn, Sweden: Swets North America Inc., 159-170.
- Lee, Wei-Na (1989), "The Mass-Mediated Consumption Realities of Three Cultural Groups," in Advances in Consumer Research, vol. 16, Thomas K. Srull, ed., Provo, Utah: Association for Consumer Research, 771-778.
- Lesser, Alexander (1933), "The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game," in Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact, M. J. Herskovits, ed., New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 9.
- Lisansky, Judith (1981), "Interpersonal Relations Among Hispanics in the United States: A Content Analysis of the Social Science Literature," Technical Report, No 3.
- Longo, Tracey L. (1987), "New Immigrants, New Markets?" Managers Magazine, 62 (January), 12-13.

- McCracken, Grant (1987), Culture and Consumption, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- McLeod, Jack M. and Steven S. Chaffee (1972), "The Construction of Social Reality," in Social Influence Processes, J. T. Tedeschi, ed., Chicago, IL: Aldine Atherton, 50-99.
- Martin, Joel P. (1985), "Segmenting the Black Market," Marketing Communications, 10 (June), 17-19.
- Miracle, Gordon E. (1984), "An Assessment of Progress in Research on International Advertising," in Current Issues and Research in Advertising, vol. 2, James H. Leigh and Claude R. Martin, Jr., eds., 135-166.
- Morgenson, Gretchen (1989), "Mr. Wu Knows His Customer," Forbes, 143 (January 23), 49-52.
- Nielsen Marketing Research (1988), "Nielsen Introduces New Tracking Systems, Opens Training Centers," Marketing News, 22 (January 4), 33-34.
- O'Guinn, Thomas C., Wei-Na Lee and Ronald J. Faber (1986), "Acculturation: The Impact of Divergent Paths on Buyer Behavior," in Advances in Consumer Research, vol. 13, Richard J. Lutz ed., Provo, Utah: Association for Consumer Research, 579-583.
- _____ and Timothy P. Meyer (1984), "Segmenting the Hispanic Market: The Use of Spanish-Language Radio," Journal of Advertising Research, 23 (Dec/Jan), 9-16.
- Oppen, Marie (1988), "Structural Discrimination Against Foreigners and Work-Related Health Risks," Economic & Industrial Democracy, 9 (February), 43-64.
- Padilla, Amado M. (1980), Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- _____ (1980), "The Role of Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty in Acculturation," in Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings, Amado M. Padilla, ed., Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 47-84.
- Ramirez, Anthony (1986), "America's Super Minority," Fortune, 114 (November 24), 148-164.

- Roberts, Anne Marie (1990), "Satellite Broadcasting: Expansion in Audio," Satellite Communications, 14 (4), 16-17.
- Rokeach, Milton (1973), The Nature of Human Values, New York: Free Press.
- Schultz, Ellen (1985), "Asians in the States," Madison Avenue, 279 (October), 78-80.
- Slater, Courtenay (1986), "How Many Illegal Aliens?" Journal of the Institute for Socioeconomic Studies, 10 (Winter), 23-32.
- Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation (1954), "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," American Anthropologist, 56 (December), 973-1002.
- Soriano, Elisa and Dale Dauten (1985), "Hispanic 'Dollar Votes' Can Impact Market Shares," Marketing News, 19 (September 13), 45-46.
- Stayman, Douglas M. and Rohit Deshpande (1989), "Situational Ethnicity and Consumer Behavior," Journal of Consumer Research, 16 (December), 361-371.
- Swidler, Ann (1986), "Culture in Action : Symbols and Strategies," American Sociological Review, 51 (April), 273-286.
- Trachtenberg, Jeffrey A. (1986), "'My Daughter, She Will Speak Better'," Forbes, 138 (October 6), 68-71.
- Taft, Ronald (1977), "Coping with Unfamiliar Culture," in Studies in Cross-Cultural Psychology, vol. 1, Neil Warren, ed., London: Academic Press, 121-153.
- Triandis, Harry C. (1972), The Analysis of Subjective Culture, New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- _____, Yoshihisa Kashima, Emiko Shimda and Marcelo Villareal (1986), "Acculturation Indices as a Means of Confirming Cultural Differences," (Working Paper), Urbana-Champaign, IL: University of Illinois, Department of Psychology.
- Tse, David K., Russell W. Belk and Nan Zhou (1989), "Becoming a Consumer Society : A Longitudinal and Cross-cultural Content Analysis of Print Ads from People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan," Journal of Consumer Research, 16 (March), 457-472.

- Vasegh-Daneshvary, Nasser, Henry W. Jerzog Jr. and Alan Schlottmann (1986), "College Educated Immigrants in the American Labor Force: A Study of Locational Behavior," Southern Economic Journal, 52 (January), 818-831.
- Waldinger, Roger (1989), "Immigration and Urban Change," in Annual Review of Sociology, vol. 15, Ralph H. Turner and James F. Short Jr., eds., 211-232.
- Wallendorf, Melanie and Michael D. Reilly (1983), "Ethnic Migration, Assimilation, and Consumption," Journal of Consumer Research, 10 (December), 292-302.
- Weinstock, S. Alexander (1964), "Some Factors That Retard or Accelerate the Rate of Acculturation with Specific Reference to Hungarian Immigrants," Human Relations, 17 (November), 321-342.
- Wersterman, Marty (1989), "Death of the Frito Bandito," American Demographics, 11 (March), 28-32.
- World Advertising Expenditures (1986), 20th Edition, Mamaroneck, NY: Stach INRA Hooper Inc.

Table 1
Prediction of Different Acculturation Models

Models	Predictions
Assimilation	HK < NHK or LHK ≤ CDA HK > NHK or LHK ≥ CDA
Overshooting	HK < CDA < NHK or LHK HK > CDA > NHK or LHK
Ethnic Affirmation	NHK or LHK ≤ HK < CDA NHK or LHK ≥ HK > CDA

HK : Hong Kong residents

NHK : Hong Kong immigrants who emigrated less than seven years ago to Canada

LHK : Hong Kong immigrants who emigrated more than seven years ago to Canada

CDA : English-speaking Caucasian Canadian consumers who are born in Canada or had emigrated more than 10 years ago

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics of the Four Sample Groups

	English-speaking Caucasian Canadians	Long-time Immigrants	New Immigrants	Hong Kong Residents
Number of Respondents	198	215	213	312
Male respondents	49%	46%	51%	51%
Education level				
High Sch/below	44.7%	30.3%	48.9%	83.5%
College/Univ.	51.9	62.3	43.1	15.8
Post Graduate	3.4	8.4	8.0	0.7
Age Distribution				
Below 26	19.7%	29.3%	32.5%	43.6%
26 to 40	40.9	48.0	51.0	35.3
above 40	39.4	22.7	16.5	32.1
Percentage of Married	52%	47%	52%	45%
Mean Annual Family Income Category	\$35,000 to \$50,000	\$35,000 to \$50,000	\$25,000 to \$35,000	\$35,000 to \$50,000

Table 3

ANOVA of Media Usage Across Sample Groups
(Effects Due to Gender, Income & Age Removed)

Dependent Variables	Group Means				Student Newman Kuel's Test	F	Acculturation Model
	HK	NHK	LHK	CDA			
<u>Avg. Minutes Per Weekday</u>							
Total	415.26	384.17	411.22	392.89	n.s.	0.41	
Television	233.22	197.27	221.69	154.21	HK>CDA; LHK>CDA	5.81**	Assimilation
Radio	111.32	107.15	119.28	160.07	HK=NHK=LHK<CDA	4.71**	Affirmation
Newspapers	70.72	79.75	70.25	78.61	n.s.	0.50	No change needed
<u>% of Total Media Time</u>							
Television	56	51	54	39	LHK>NHK=LHK>CDA	13.06**	Assimilation
Radio	27	28	29	41	HK=NHK=LHK<CDA	12.91**	Affirmation
Newspapers	17	21	17	20	n.s.	0.80	No change needed
<u>Avg. Minutes Per Weekday</u>							
Host Media	NA	174.74	242.64	392.89	LHK<NHK<CDA	21.44**	Assimilation
Ethnic Media	NA	209.43	168.58	NA	LHK<NHK	3.58**	Assimilation
% of Ethnic Media	NA	55	41	NA	LHK<NHK		

* = significant at .05; ** = significant at .01 ; n.s. = not significant

NA = Not available for this sample group

HK = Hong Kong residents

LHK = Long-time Hong Kong immigrants to Canada

NHK = New Hong Kong immigrants to Canada

CDA = Anglo Caucasian Canadians

Table 4

**Regression Result of Socio-Demographic Characteristics
and Media Consumption on Acculturation**

Dependent Variables	Media Consumption		Change in F score
	Host Media	Ethnic Media	
Celebrate Canada's Day	positive	negative**	4.06**
Teach Children Chinese Value	negative*	positive	2.50**
Teach Children Chinese Language	negative*	positive	1.59
Self-Identification as			
a) Hong Kong Chinese	negative	negative*	4.37**
b) Canadian	positive	negative	2.32**

* = significant at .05; ** = significant at .01
N=342

Please forward your requests for working papers to the following address:

Executive Officer
Department of Marketing
School of Business and Management
Hong Kong University of Science & Technology
Clear Water Bay
Kowloon, Hong Kong

www: <http://www.bm.ust.hk/~mark/>
Enquiries: Tel (852) 2358 7700 Fax (852) 2358 2429