

Chinese Language Media in the United States: Immigration and Assimilation in American Life

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The upsurge of Chinese language media—publications, radio, television, and the Internet—mirrors the linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic diversity of the Chinese immigrant community, its vibrant ethnic enclave economy, and its multi-faceted life in the United States. This article explores the causes and consequences of the ethnic media and its impact on the process of adaptation among Chinese immigrants. The data on which our study is based entail a content analysis of a selection of newspapers, television and radio programs, and websites, supplemented by telephone or face-to-face interviews. We attempt to answer a fundamental question: Does the ethnic media inhibit or promote the assimilation of immigrants into American society? We find that the Chinese language media not only connects immigrants to their host society, but also serves as a road map for the first generation to incorporate into American society by promoting the mobility goals of home ownership, entrepreneurship, and educational achievement.

KEY WORDS: Chinese media; ethnic media; enclave economy; immigration; assimilation.

Chinese Americans are the oldest ethnic group of Asian ancestry in the United States, and have endured a long history of migration and settlement that dates back to the late 1840s and includes some sixty years of legal exclusion. With the lifting of legal barriers to Chinese immigration after World War II and the enactment of the 1965 immigration legislation, the Chinese American community has increased more than tenfold: from 237,292 in 1960 to 1,645,472 in 1990, and to about 2.8 million (including some 450,000 mixed-race persons) in 2000. Much of this tremendous growth is accounted for by immigration. According to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 792,529 immigrants were admitted to the United States from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan as

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permanent residents between 1961 and 1990; and 672,588 more were admitted between 1991 and 1998 (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 2000). The U.S. Census also attests to the big part played by immigration. As of 2000, foreign-born Chinese accounted for nearly half of the ethnic Chinese population in the United States. Even though the foreign-born proportion dropped from 67 percent in 1990 to 47 percent in 2000, the absolute number of foreign-born Chinese in 2000 (about 1.4 million) was still much larger than that in 1990 (1.1 million).

Parallel to high rates of immigration and population growth, the past three decades have witnessed the renewal of old ethnic enclaves and institutions and the establishment of new ones. Chinese language media is one such ethnic institution that has matured and achieved an influential status in the immigrant community. At present, the ethnic media is composed of publications, television, radio, and the Internet, with publications predominating. The largest and most influential newspapers include the New York based *Chinese Daily News* (formerly *The World Journal*), the U.S. edition of the Hong Kong based *Sing Tao Daily*, and the New York based *China Press*. These "big three" dailies command a disproportionate share of the ethnic consumer market in major U.S. cities with a national circulation between 120,000 to nearly 300,000. However, they must compete with more than a handful of other nationally circulated daily newspapers or weekly magazines, as well as with numerous local community papers, in the same cities. Meanwhile, Chinese language television, radio, and the online media have also been growing rapidly, especially since the early 1990s, with a strong presence in the very cities where the ethnic press has established its strongholds (Kang & Lee Advertising 1998).

The upsurge of Chinese language media mirrors the linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic diversity of the Chinese immigrant community, its vibrant ethnic enclave economy, and its multifaceted life in the United States. This article explores the causes and consequences of the ethnic media and its impacts in the process of adaptation among Chinese immigrants. The data on which our study is based entail a content analysis of a selection of newspapers, television and radio programs, and websites, supplemented by telephone or face-to-face interviews with a convenience sample of ethnic newspaper reporters, television and radio program producers, readers, viewers and listeners in New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C between the fall of 2000 and spring of 2001. We attempt to answer a fundamental question: Does the ethnic media inhibit or promote the assimilation of immigrants into American society? In the pages that follow, we first look at the driving forces behind the development of the ethnic media. We then provide a descriptive analysis of the ethnic media and explore what it offers to the immigrant community and what challenges it faces in a competitive environment. Finally, we examine how the ethnic media as a social institution influences the process of adjustment and assimilation of Chinese immigrants to American life. We argue

that Chinese language media not only connects immigrants to their host society, but also serves as a roadmap for the first generation to incorporate into American society by promoting the mobility goals of homeownership, entrepreneurship, and educational achievement.

CONTEMPORARY CHINESE IMMIGRATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF CHINESE LANGUAGE MEDIA

Chinese language media has appeared on the American scene as early as Chinatown but has achieved the status of an influential ethnic institution only recently. In much of the pre-World War II era, the Chinese immigrant community was essentially an isolated bachelors' society consisting of a small merchant class and a vast working class of sojourners whose lives were oriented toward an eventual return to China. The Chinese Exclusion Act that took effect from 1882 to 1943 reinforced that sojourning orientation while legally excluding the Chinese from participating in mainstream American economy and social life. Chinese language media did not take the form of a significant ethnic institution because of the extremely low levels of literacy and Chinese language proficiency among many old-timers, the limited scale of ethnic economies, and the face-to-face patterns of interaction among co-ethnic members in segregated enclaves. However, irregular and back issues of newspapers and magazines, which were published in China and concentrated almost entirely on China or China related events and issues, did circulate in a small circle of the Chinatown elite. There were also irregular publications of community newsletters, but circulation was small and confined to Chinatown. Not until the late 1970s did Chinese language media start to take root on American soil. It has burst into full bloom since the 1990s. Changes in the immigrant population and ethnic enclave economies perpetuate media development.

Demographic Impacts on Chinese Language Media

The pre-World War II Chinese population in the United States was relatively small, made up mostly of male, illiterate, and unskilled sojourners from rural villages in Guangdong Province of China and highly concentrated in inner-city Chinatowns in the historic gateway cities of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York. The relaxation of U.S. immigration legislation in 1965, which abolished the national quotas system and gave preferences to family unification and skilled labor migration, has brought tremendous changes to the Chinese immigrant community. The ethnic population has not only increased many times in absolute numbers, but also become culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically

diverse. Post-1965 immigrants differ from the old-timers in several remarkable respects. They are, first of all, extraordinarily diverse in their place of origin. More than half of the new immigrants have arrived in America from various regions in Mainland China, about a 25 percent from Taiwan, 13 percent from Hong Kong, and the rest from the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia and the Americas.

Chinese immigrants of different origins do not necessarily speak the same language or dialect, even though they share a single unified Chinese written language (in traditional or simplified version). Most immigrants from the traditional sending regions of Mainland China and those from Hong Kong and some parts of Southeast Asia speak Cantonese—the Yue dialect—that is not easily understood by Mandarin speakers. Those from other regions in China and Taiwan tend to be fluent in Mandarin (the official language of the Mainland and Taiwan), even when they speak a variety of dialects at home, such as the Min, Hakka, Shanghaiese, and so forth (Stowe 1995). Today, while Cantonese continues to be the dominant dialect spoken in Chinatowns, Mandarin has become more and more commonly heard. Despite various dialects spoken, the majority of new immigrants are proficient in written Chinese.

Post-1965 Chinese immigrants have also been extremely diverse in socioeconomic backgrounds. They have been disproportionately drawn from the urban, highly educated, and professional segments of the populations in respective sending regions. The 1990 Census showed that 42% of the foreign-born Chinese at productive ages (25 to 64) have attained four or more years of college education, compared to 21% of non-Hispanic whites. Immigrants from Taiwan displayed the highest levels of educational attainment with 62% completing at least four years of college, followed by those from Hong Kong (46%) and from the Mainland (31%). Professional occupations were also more common among foreign-born Chinese than among non-Hispanic whites (35% vs. 27%). Immigrants from Taiwan were more likely than their compatriots from Hong Kong and the Mainland to be in professional occupations (47% vs. 41% and 29%). The annual median family incomes for immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Mainland were \$34,000, \$50,000, and \$34,000 in 1989, respectively, compared to \$30,000 for the median American family. While major socioeconomic indicators are above the national average, the trend of bifurcation is quite striking too, especially among immigrants from the Mainland. For example, as of 1990, almost 40% of immigrants from China do not have high school diplomas, compared to 8% of those from Taiwan, 18% of those from Hong Kong, and 22% of all Americans.

Differences in linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds lead to variations in settlement patterns. Historically, Chinese immigrants were highly concentrated in the gateway cities of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York. This traditional pattern of regional concentration continues to hold; as of 1990, approximately

58 percent of the ethnic population were found in just three metropolitan regions (New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, Los Angeles-Anaheim-Riverside, and San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose CMSAs). Immigrants from China tend to cluster in New York or the San Francisco Bay area, and those from Taiwan in Los Angeles. Outside the historical gateway cities, new Chinese immigrants tend to choose such major cities as Boston, Chicago, Houston, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. as their preferred destinations. Those settled outside the historical gateway cities and outside inner-city Chinatowns tend to be socioeconomically more mobile and assimilated.

Within each of these metropolitan regions, however, the settlement pattern tends to be bimodal where ethnic concentration and dispersion are equally significant. Mandarin-speaking co-ethnics from China, those from Taiwan, and those of higher socioeconomic status tend to stay away from Cantonese-dominant Chinatowns. Once settled, they tend to establish new ethnic communities, often in more affluent urban neighborhoods and suburban areas such as the “second Chinatown” in Flushing, New York, and “Little Taipei” in Monterey Park, California (Fong 1994; Zhou and Kim 2002). The middle-class Chinese immigrant community of Monterey Park and areas of concentration that have expanded into Los Angeles’ eastern suburbs are also referred to as Chinese “ethnoburbs”—a term used to describe suburban immigrant communities with strong ethnic enclave economies (Li, 1997).

The surge of immigration in the past three decades has replenished the Chinese immigrant community. As of 1990, close to 90 percent of the ethnic population was either foreign born (the first generation) or of foreign-born parentage (the second generation), more than 80 percent reported speaking Chinese at home, and about 60 percent admitted to not speaking English “very well.” As they strive to get settled, many post-1965 immigrants, including the upwardly mobile, find themselves in paradoxical situations—they have voluntarily left their old homeland but remained emotionally attached to it; they aspire to become a part of their new homeland but are often blocked by language and cultural barriers. They need institutional support to help ease adjustment difficulties. Chinese language media is among the numerous new ethnic institutions that have emerged to serve that need, providing an important tool in helping new immigrants adapt to life in a foreign land.

The Impacts of Ethnic Enclave Economies on Chinese Language Media

Economic development in the Chinese immigrant community is another driving force for the rise of Chinese language media. During the era of Chinese Exclusion, the immigrant community was spatially isolated in Chinatowns. The ethnic economy that developed from those Chinatowns was oriented to sojourning and

was confined to either ethnically specific niches, such as restaurants, or low-skilled, labor-intensive niches unattractive to native workers (Zhou 1992). Even after the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in World War II and in the following two decades, Chinatowns' economies remained small in scale and limited in variety, as the immigrant population aged with little replenishment and the second generation gradually moved out of the enclave.

Traditional ethnic economies could not afford to support an ethnic media, nor did they have much need for it. Advertisement was an uncommon practice in old Chinatowns as businesses were closely intertwined with networks of co-ethnic members and their social organizations. Information about goods and services and business or employment opportunities was channeled primarily through word of mouth and face-to-face interaction. For example, the owner of a popular restaurant was likely to be the head of a family association and was inclined to hire his country folks who, in turn, spread the word about his restaurant. A laundry worker was likely to shop at the same place as his neighbors who could share shopping tips and exchange information about pricing and quality of goods and services in the neighborhood. As a result, business owners and workers met their respective needs without having to step outside Chinatown.

Since the 1970s, unprecedented Chinese immigration, accompanied by the tremendous influx of human and financial capital, has set off a new stage of ethnic economic development (Fong 1994; Lin 1998; Zhou 1992). From 1977 to 1987, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the number of Chinese-owned firms grew by 286%, compared to 238% for Asian-owned firms, 93% for black-owned firms, and 93% for Hispanic-owned firms. From 1987 to 1997, the number of Chinese-owned businesses continued to grow at a rate of 180% (from less than 90,000 to 252,577). As of 1997, there was approximately one ethnic firm for every 9 Chinese and for every 11 Asians, but only one ethnic firm for every 42 blacks and one for every 29 Hispanics. Chinese American-owned business enterprises made up 9% of the total minority-owned business enterprises nationwide, but 19% of the total gross receipts (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1991, 1996, 2001).

Most impressive has been the increase in the scale and variety of ethnic businesses in Chinatowns and Chinese ethnoburbs, a phenomenon also referred to as "the enclave economy." The enclave economy is a sociological concept that differs from that of the ethnic economy in that it connotes a spatial dimension (based on the geographic concentration of ethnic businesses and co-ethnic populations) and a social dimension (embedded in and with profound impacts on the social structures of an ethnic community) (see Portes and Bach 1985; Zhou and Logan 1989; Zhou 2002). Some ethnic businesses have become incorporated into the mainstream economy, such as Computer Associates International in Long Island, New York, and Kingston Technology and Sybase in Silicon Valley, California. These ethnic businesses rely on neither a distinctive ethnic labor market

nor a co-ethnic consumer market and thus have relatively little tangible impact on the immigrant community as a whole, except for being celebrated as models of success. The enclave economy, in contrast, depends almost entirely on the ethnic capital, labor, and consumer markets and serves as an anchor, or identity marker, for the immigrant community (Zhou 1992). Although the enclave economy contains certain features of the primary sector of the mainstream economy and provides opportunities for upward mobility, such as self-employment, it remains marginal (not necessarily disadvantaged) to the mainstream economy in that it operates largely within a culturally and linguistically distinct environment. Even though many new ethnic businesses have expanded beyond the geographic boundaries of ethnic enclaves to tap into the non-co-ethnic consumer market, they still tend to be concentrated in metropolitan areas with a visible concentration of co-ethnic consumers and co-ethnic businesses and maintain close ties to the ethnic community.

Compared to the traditional Chinatown economy, the new ethnic enclave economy is much more diverse. In the past, most of the ethnic enterprises were restricted to retail and service sectors. Today, high-tech and durable goods manufacturing, communications, wholesale trade, FIRE (finance, insurance, and real estate), and professional services are among the fastest growing industries in the immigrant community. The same type of ethnic enterprises may be further diversified into various specialties. Take the medical profession as an example. In New York City, the Chinese business directory listed only 12 doctors' offices in 1958 and 30 in 1973, compared to 300 in 1988 (Zhou 1992, p. 95). Among these 300 doctors' offices, there is a wide range of specialties ranging from internists, pediatricians, obstetricians, and gynecologists to dentists, optometrists, orthopedists, cosmetic surgeons, acupuncturists, and chiropractors. New ethnic businesses are also much larger in size and scale than traditional ones. In the restaurant business, for example, traditional family-run restaurants are supplemented by trendy corporate-managed restaurants equipped with a banquet hall, private dining rooms, karaoke and other entertainment facilities, and a seating capacity of 500 or more.

To a great extent, the survival and growth of the enclave economy depend heavily on ethnic resources—foreign capital, pooled family savings, ethnic labor force, ethnic consumers, and transnational markets. To compete for a greater share of the ethnic consumer market, ethnic businesses can no longer depend on word of mouth or face-to-face interaction to facilitate information flow. They must find new ways to communicate with their potential consumers who are diverse in dialects, origins, socioeconomic status, and settlement patterns, but share similar tastes and needs for goods and services that the larger economy cannot adequately provide. As a result, Chinese language media has emerged in the immigrant community not simply as a service to ethnic businesses for marketing and advertisement, but also as a new type of ethnic business in itself.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE LANGUAGE MEDIA: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

Chinese language media in the United States is composed of publications, television, radio, and, most recently, online publications and broadcasting. Their development is, no doubt, affected by contemporary Chinese immigration and the booming ethnic enclave economy. As we shall see, the ethnic media functions as both an economic enterprise and a social institution. It is most developed and thrives in both old and new immigrant-receiving centers where the Chinese and their ethnic economies are concentrated, even though they have transcended geographic boundaries through modern technologies.

Publications: Dailies and Weeklies

Publications dominate the ethnic media. According to an incomplete count (Kang & Lee Advertising 1998), there are three major dailies that have a substantial U.S./Canada circulation, as listed in Table 1. The *Chinese Daily News*, which is affiliated with the United Daily Group based in Taiwan, is by far the largest and most influential Chinese language daily in the United States in particular and the global Chinese community in general. Since its debut in New York in 1976, the *Chinese Daily News* has become an independent daily with three headquarters—New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco—and multiple branch offices in major cities in the United States, Canada, Europe, and Latin America. The paper currently contains five sections, 56–96 full pages, and a Sunday magazine. In the U.S., it has five metropolitan editions and a circulation of 298,500. The second largest newspaper is the North American edition of the *Sing Tao Daily*. As a subsidiary of the Hong Kong based Sing Tao Newspaper Group, the *Sing Tao Daily* established its branch offices in San Francisco in the early 1960s, Los Angeles and New York in the 1980s, and Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia in the 1990s. The paper contains four sections and 32–64 full pages with six metropolitan editions and an U.S. circulation of 181,000. The third largest newspaper is the *China Press*, which was established in 1990 in New York as an independent paper but maintains close contact with the official media machine in Mainland China. The *China Press* contains four sections and 40–48 full pages with two metropolitan editions and an U.S. circulation of 120,000.

In cities where the “big three” dailies are headquartered or have branch offices, there also coexist numerous Chinese language dailies and weeklies with regional or national circulation ranging from 15,500 to 90,000 (see Table 1). In addition, many local community newspapers and magazines have also appeared in the same cities, especially since the 1990s. Community papers, mostly owned by immigrant entrepreneurs, are published weekly or biweekly and have a circulation typically between 5,000 and 10,000. Most of these community papers are distributed at no

Table 1. Major Chinese Language Dailies and Weeklies With National or Regional Circulation in the United States

Name	Date established	Headquarter	Metropolitan edition	Circulation	Page	Section	Frequency	Sunday
The Big Three Dailies								
<i>Chinese Daily News</i> (formerly <i>World Journal</i>)	1976	N.Y., L.A., & S.F.	N.Y., S.F./Seattle, L.A./TX, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia/DC, Atlanta, Florida, & Hawaii	298,500	56-96	6	Daily	Yes
<i>Sing Tao Daily</i>	1960	Hong Kong	S.F., N.Y., L.A., Boston, Chicago, & Philadelphia	181,000	32-64	4	Daily	No
<i>China Press</i>	1990	New York	L.A. & S.F.	120,000	40-48	3-4	Daily	Yes
Other Dailies								
<i>Southern Chinese Daily</i>	1979	Houston	Bay Area, Seattle, Boston, Washington, DC, Chicago, St. Louis, Atlanta, & Dallas	—	—	—	Daily	Yes
<i>International Daily News</i>	—	Los Angeles	S.F./Seattle, N.Y./Texas/Atlanta	90,000	56-68	4	Daily	Yes
<i>Chinese Free Daily News</i>	1990	Taiwan	Los Angeles & New York	75,000	—	—	Daily	No
<i>Ming Bao Daily News</i>	—	Hong Kong	New York	38,500	—	—	Daily	Yes
<i>Chinese American Daily News</i>	1990	Los Angeles	Southern California	30,000	30-40	2	Daily	No
<i>The United Journal</i>	1952	New York	New York	25,000	—	—	Daily	No
<i>Chinese Today</i>	1981	Los Angeles	L.A., S.F., N.Y., & Houston	—	56	7	Daily	No
<i>Pan Asia-Sing Pao</i>	—	Hong Kong	S.F., L.A., & Seattle	22,600	16	—	Daily	No
<i>Pan Asia-Ta Kung Daily</i>	—	Hong Kong	S.F., L.A., & Seattle	13,800	16	—	Daily	No
<i>Pan Asia-Wen Wei Daily</i>	—	Hong Kong	S.F., L.A., & Seattle	15,500	16	—	Daily	No
<i>Pan Asia-Shun Daily</i>	—	Hong Kong	S.F., L.A., & Seattle	15,900	16	—	Daily	No
<i>Xinmin Evening News</i>	—	Alhambra, CA	North America	—	32	20	Daily	No
Weekly or Monthly								
<i>New Asian American Magazine</i>	—	Chicago	N.Y., S.F., L.A., Chicago, & Phoenix	57,800	—	—	Bi-Monthly	No
<i>China Times Magazine</i>	—	Taiwan	New Jersey	32,000	—	—	Weekly	No
<i>Travel and Recreation Magazine</i>	1994	Los Angeles	Southern California	20,000	—	—	Weekly	No
<i>Sino Times</i>	1998	Rowland Hts., CA	L.A., N.Y., S.F., & Miami	—	72	6	Bi-Weekly	No
<i>Sino-US Weekly</i>	1994	San Gabriel, CA	L.A., Seattle, N.Y., Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, DC, Denver, & Dallas	—	14	—	Weekly	No
<i>China Journal</i>	1992	Los Angeles	Chicago, Atlanta, Houston, & Miami	—	14	—	Weekly	No
<i>The Epoch Times</i>	1995	New York	NY, CA, New Jersey, Boston, Atlanta, DC, Texas, Florida, & Missouri	—	12	—	Weekly	No

Source: Kang & Lee Advertising, 1998, www.asianmediaguide.com/chinese/chinese.html; authors' own survey 2000-01.

cost through Chinese-owned businesses (e.g., Chinese supermarkets, travel agencies, bookstores, and restaurants) and some charge customers a nominal fee. Most of the community papers and magazines are established in suburbs rather than in inner cities (see Appendix 1). In Los Angeles, for example, there are at least two dailies and six weeklies printed and circulated locally. All are headquartered in the Chinese immigrant community in L.A.'s eastern suburbs. In Washington, D.C. there are at least six local weeklies, and all are registered in Rockville, Maryland, a suburban community with an increasingly visible Chinese immigrant population.

Television, Radio, and Online Media

Chinese language television is relatively new, but has developed rapidly since the mid-1980s. According to Kang & Lee Advertising (1998) and our own survey, there are three major Chinese television networks—Asian American Television (AATV), Chinese Television Network (CTN), and North American Television (NATV). These national networks broadcast in both Cantonese and Mandarin twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week via satellite or through local cable systems in major cities for two to fifteen hours per day. Chinese television programming features headline news from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan and breaking news in the United States and in the world, along with a wide variety of special reports and entertainment programs. AATV is based in Los Angeles and receives the majority of its programming from Mainland China, including satellite local and international news from China, variety shows, popular or classic Chinese movies, Cantonese operas, and kids' shows, and produces some programming locally including U.S. and American Chinese community news, commentaries, and special forums on topics ranging from current affairs, local politics, and education to real estate and finance. AATV claims to reach to about 87,000 households in Los Angeles via two local cable channels, usually three to six hours a day Monday through Saturday, and as many as 100,000 more viewers via satellite dishes. CTN was established in 1994 in Hong Kong, aiming at serving the global Chinese community. Like AATV, CTN's major market is in Los Angeles and has a viewership of about 280,000 households via local cable channels, and another 285,000 via satellite dishes for its 24-hour programming. NATV was established in 1994 in Los Angeles and claims to be the largest Chinese language television network. It receives most of its Cantonese programs from Hong Kong and Mandarin programs from Taiwan. Through satellite and local cable services, NATV reaches an estimated viewership of about 860,000 on the West Coast and in New York.

There are at least twelve Chinese local television stations (see Table 2), and the number is growing in cities with sizeable Chinese immigrant populations. These local stations air programs supplied by national and regional TV networks in

Table 2. Chinese Language Television, Radio, and the Internet Media in the United States

Name	Date established	Headquarter	Coverage area	Language usage	Viewer/listener	Daily broadcast time
Television Networks						
North American Television	1994	Los Angeles	Via Satellite	Cantonese & Mandarin	860,000	24 hours
Asian American Television	—	Los Angeles	Via Satellite	Cantonese & Mandarin	180,000	24 hours
Chinese Television Network	1994	Hong Kong	Via Satellite	Cantonese & Mandarin	560,000	24 hours
Television Stations						
Chinese Television Company	1976	S.F.	S.F. Bay area	Cantonese & Mandarin	—	2 hours
TVB (USA)	1985	S.F.	L.A. & S.F.	Cantonese, Mandarin & Vietnamese	270,000	24 hours
Pacific Television	1986	S.F.	S.F. Bay area	Cantonese, Mandarin & Vietnamese	250,000	3 hours
World Television	1985	New York	New York	Cantonese & Mandarin	—	2 hours, Mon-Sat
Sinovision	1990	New York	New York	Cantonese & Mandarin	67,000	4 hours
Chinese American Television	1988	Los Angeles	Southern Ca.	Cantonese & Mandarin	240,000	1 hour
Panda Television	1989	Los Angeles	Nationwide	Mandarin & English	80,000	3 hours
Vinlux Television	1990	Los Angeles	Nationwide	Mandarin w/English sub.	—	4 hours
KALI	1996	Los Angeles	Southern Ca.	Mandarin	—	8 hours, Mon-Fri
Seattle Chinese Television	—	Seattle	Seattle	Mandarin	60,000	2 hours
Texas Chinese Television	1983	Houston	Houston	Mandarin	—	30 minutes
Chicago News Television	1989	Chicago	Chicago	Mandarin	100,000	1 hour
Radio Stations						
Chung Wah Commercial Radio	1982	New York	New York	Cantonese	150,000	12 hours
Chinese American Voice	1986	New York	N.Y., N.J. & Conn.	Mandarin & Taiwanese	130,000	24 hours
Chinese Radio Network	1976	New York	N.Y., L.A., & Dallas	Cantonese & Mandarin	380,000	24 hours
San Francisco Chinese Radio	1990	San Francisco	S.F. Bay area	Cantonese & Mandarin	450,000	9 hours, Mon-Sat
KVTO	1994	San Francisco	S.F. Bay area	Cantonese	—	13 hours
Sinocast (KMRB)	1987	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Cantonese & Mandarin	150,000	24 hours
Chinese News and Money Radio	—	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Mandarin	—	12 hours, Mon-Fri
Unitcast (KWIZ)	1990	Los Angeles	Southern Ca.	Mandarin	—	12 hours, Mon-Fri
Radio Chinese (KAZN)	1993	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Mandarin	250,000	24 hours
LA English & Chinese Radio	1996	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Chinese & English	880,000	12 hours
Chinese American Broadcast Network	1995	Boston	Boston	Cantonese & Mandarin	—	6 hours, Mon-Fri
Internet						
<Chineseworld.com>	1999	New York		Chinese		
<Singtao.com>	—	Hong Kong		Chinese		
<Chinesedaily.com>	1998	Los Angeles		Chinese		
<Yahoo.com>	—	Silicon Valley		Multilingual		
<Sina.com>	1999	Silicon Valley & Beijing		Bilingual		
<USDgaon.com>	2000	Maryland		Chinese		

Source: Kang & Lee Advertising, 1998 <www.asianmediaguide.com/chinese/chinese.html>; Authors' own survey 2000-01.

China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, and feed their programming to local cable systems with broadcast time varying from thirty minutes to eight hours daily. Except for the San Francisco based Chinese Television Company, which was established in 1976, most of the Chinese language television stations started broadcasting in the mid- to late 1980s and the 1990s, and most serve the West Coast, reflecting recent Chinese immigration and the geographic concentration of the immigrant population. In major cities such as Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Houston, and Chicago, these local Chinese TV stations claim a viewership of as large as 100,000 or more.

Chinese language radio broadcasting is also a fairly recent phenomenon. At present, there are a handful of Chinese radio stations, mostly located in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York (Kang & Lee Advertising 1998; see Table 2). Compared to television, radio stations produce a substantially higher proportion of their programming locally, focusing on news updates, rush hour traffic updates, business and finance, lifestyle, shopping, entertainment, and tabloid gossip.

At the peak of the information age, Chinese language media has expanded onto the Internet serving the greater immigrant community in North America (see Table 2). Two of the big three dailies launched their online editions on the Web in the late 1990s. The *Chinese Daily News* can now be viewed online at Chinese-world.com, and *Sing Tao Daily* at Singtao.com. The most visited website serving as a comprehensive online medium is the Chinese version of yahoo.com. The Los Angeles based *Zhong Guo Daily News* and *Taiwan Daily News* jointly maintain the website Chinesedaily.com. The Chinese yahoo.com is not a direct translation from the English site, but contains distinctly Chinese channels and categories providing full coverage of just about everything that one needs to know and can be viewed in both simplified and traditional Chinese writing. Another popular media site is Sina.com. Initially developed by Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley and later merged with a Beijing based company, Sina.com has become the leading Chinese language Internet medium offering online news, entertainment, community, and e-commerce in four localized websites that are produced and updated daily by local teams in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and North America. As of September 2000, Sina.com enjoyed 46 million average daily pageviews and 11 million registered users. Most recently, the first Chinese language online newspaper in the United States, USDragon.com, was established by a group of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Maryland. Like the printed press, this online paper features four channels—USDragon News, Chinese Community, USDragon Columns, and Leisure and Entertainment (with various categories within each channel)—and eight metropolitan editions—Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Boston, Chicago, Houston, and Detroit. In addition, Internet users also have access to online newspapers and magazines published in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan and numerous other websites based in homeland locations. What

distinguishes the homeland based websites and the U.S. based websites are the perspectives and approaches they adopt. A Chinese-American perspective and a transnational approach are clearly articulated in the U.S. based Chinese language websites.

Content Coverage

In the United States, all outlets of the Chinese language media are owned by ethnic or transnational entrepreneurs (with some owned by overseas Chinese media corporations) and managed and staffed by Chinese immigrants. What gets covered reflects not only the diverse material needs and cultural tastes of co-ethnic consumers, including both immigrants and business owners, but also the ideological positions of editors-in-chief, producers, and, to a lesser extent, reporters. Moreover, editorial focus, content selections, and programming of media outlets are heavily influenced by place of origin and homeland political affiliation. For example, the *Chinese Daily News* is politically pro-Taiwan, and “anti-communism” is one of its founding principles. In contrast, *China Press* is pro-China, and “promoting unification” is one of its founding principles.

While ideological and political differences persist, many outlets strive to become more professional, adopting the honest, fair, and impartial principle of reporting, to gain credibility in the immigrant community. Most of the media outlets have in their mission statements such phrases as “connecting immigrants to mainstream America,” “assisting immigrants to assimilate into American society,” “promoting better relations and dialogues between China and Taiwan,” and “promoting integration to the global Chinese community.” The *Chinese Daily News* leads the ethnic media in this direction. Although the editorial focus of the *Chinese Daily News* leans on political, economic, and social developments in Taiwan and maintains its anti-communist stand, it has become increasingly sensitive to the needs and tastes of its diverse constituents, most of whom are immigrants from the Mainland. Since the mid-1980s, the *Chinese Daily News* has hired reporters of Mainland origin and increased the proportion of Mainland coverage in each of the main sections (e.g., inviting both Taiwanese and Mainlanders to participate in special forums to discuss the hotly contested issue of unification versus independence; publishing reader letters that voice different views; adding two full pages to the entertainment section to cover the whereabouts and gossip of mainland movie stars and celebrities). As a result, the *Chinese Daily News* has significantly increased its circulation among immigrants from the Mainland and has won substantial consumer loyalty. One Mainland immigrant, who was a strong China supporter, admitted to us that he shifted his subscription from the *China Press* to *Chinese Daily News* because the latter was not only “richer and more comprehensive in its content coverage” but also “the best Chinese language paper” available to him.

News coverage is the key component of all Chinese language media outlets. Regardless of whether in print, on air, or online, all outlets contain substantial news coverage, which includes: a) local and national news highlights directly transmitted from major media outlets in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan; b) U.S. national and local news, current affairs, special reports, and weather reports (produced by the mainstream media such as the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and the Associated Press) translated into Chinese; and c) news about the local, national, and global Chinese community that is produced by ethnic outlets. In addition to news coverage, most of the publications in print and online feature thematic sections on politics, community life, business/finance, entertainment/leisure/sports, and editorial columns and reader viewpoints/letters. While it is easier for ethnic media outlets to appear neutral in news coverage, contents in thematic sections often reflect editorial biases to varying degrees.

Television content focuses heavily on entertainment, showing homeland produced classic or popular movies, soap operas, concerts, sitcoms, and young children's animated shows. In recent years, Chinese television networks have increased the proportion of locally produced programming, including news reporting; forums on a range of special topics—health, family, education, finance, real estate, and entrepreneurship—in which local experts are invited to participate; and locally recorded/taped/edited concerts and performances by popular singers and dancers from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Like television, radio also focuses heavily on entertainment (e.g., popular and folk music, traditional Chinese operas, and contemporary soap operas) and sports (NBA games, golf and tennis tournaments, and other major sports in the U.S., and sports in China or Taiwan) in addition to news. However, the proportion of locally produced programs in radio broadcasting is relatively higher than on television. Local programming includes community news, ethnic politics, education, home ownership or business ownership, rush hour traffic reports, and commercial advertisement.

In sum, content coverage in Chinese language media in the United States is not a wholesale importation from the homeland media, nor is it an edited translation version of the mainstream American media. It responds to the diverse needs of their co-ethnic clientele. Newspaper readers and radio listeners tend to be diverse in educational and occupational statuses, ranging from cooks, waiters, and seamstresses to engineers, scientists, and teachers. Online media users are predominantly middle-class professionals who are not only well-educated, but also English-proficient and assimilated. Television viewers tend to be non-English speaking, older, and more recently arrived. In its increasing proportion of local reporting or locally produced programming, the ethnic media fulfills an important function as an information agent by keeping immigrants of diverse backgrounds well informed of their two social worlds.

Constraints for Survival and Growth as an Economic Enterprise

Like all mass media, Chinese language media functions as an economic enterprise with a dual objective: delivering professional services to the business community and the ethnic population and generating revenues to sustain and expand itself. Assuming that most of the Chinese immigrants who do not speak English very well (some 60 percent of all immigrants) and half of those who are proficient in English prefer to use Chinese language media either entirely or selectively, the ethnic consumer market amounts to at least 1.2 million. Taking into account the strong purchasing power of the population and the thriving ethnic economies, this market is potentially lucrative. With numerous media outlets, intra-ethnic competition for advertising and readership/viewership/listenership is inevitable. The biggest challenge facing Chinese language media is balancing its professional goal and its profit-oriented goal.

There are several constraints on the survival and growth of Chinese language media. First, in the ethnic media market, advertising sales generate most of the revenue from ethnic businesses, because of low rates of subscriptions and free or low-cost listenership and viewership. Since there are so many Chinese language outlets available in the immigrant community, ethnic business owners can exercise pressure through the allocation of advertising, making media outlets pay more attention to advertisers than to readers. This business orientation and overdependence on ethnic businesses can reduce the outlets' incentive to enrich content coverage.

Second, most staff reporters are not trained in the profession. Among those who are professional journalists, many are not proficient in English. In the former case, there is a potential problem with the quality of reporting, and in the latter case, there is an apparent problem with English-Chinese translation and local production.

Third, regardless of professional training and experience, work in the ethnic media is low paying, at around \$20,000 for an entry-level position in New York. As a result, many ethnic reporters work several jobs to make a living. For example, it is not unusual for someone to work as a reporter for a Chinese language outlet while also working as an insurance agent or a real estate agent. Those with a journalism degree and who are proficient in both Chinese and English would naturally be attracted to mainstream outlets first or use ethnic outlets as a stepping stone. The less committed or overloaded work force can negatively affect the quality of work.

Fourth, reporters may receive favors from potential advertisers in exchange for a product introduction write-up on the front page of the local business section and in prime airtime, creating potential ethical problems. Also, some media outlets may receive financial donations from homeland governments or political organizations, which may compromise the principles of impartiality and media independence.

Last but not least, many Chinese outlets run paid advertisements in the form of articles (150–300 words) written by reporters or radio interviews

(3–5 minutes) in addition to their regular advertisements. This kind of paid advertisement is an important source of revenue for the outlet, but it involves favoritism on the part of individual reporters, creating another potential threat to the outlet's credibility.

These constraints undoubtedly impede the development Chinese language media to meet high professional standards while sustaining itself. However, the problems are inherent in the structure of the ethnic enclave economy and the dynamics of Chinese immigration. As the editor-in-chief of a Los Angeles based weekly puts it, "Ours is a small ethnic press. I never intend to make my paper comparable *New York Times* or *Los Angeles Times* [sic], and I don't think anybody else in my business do [sic] . . . For us, no Chinese businesses, no Chinese immigrants, no Chinese language papers. Fierce internal competition has been what drives the quality of my paper. I guess it's a good thing."

MEDIA INFLUENCES: INHIBITING OR FACILITATING ASSIMILATION

Chinese language media has thrived and shows no sign of slowing down. Individual outlets are in themselves business enterprises, and they collectively serve as an ethnic social institution in the immigrant community. How is this ethnic institution related to the immigrants and to their host society at large and how does it affect assimilation in American life? There are two approaches to this question, each guided by a different assumption. The assimilationist approach assumes that the ethnic community and the host society are inherently conflictual and mutually exclusive, that there is a natural process by which diverse ethnic groups shed their cultural baggage and come to share a common culture and identity, and that, once set in motion, this process moves inevitably and irreversibly toward assimilation (Alba 1985; Gordon 1964; Warner and Srole 1945). The pluralist approach, in contrast, assumes that the ethnic community is an integral part of the host society and that each ethnic culture, despite its distinct internal dynamics, contributes to the host society as a whole. New immigrants, with little English language proficiency, few marketable or transferable skills, and limited information about their new homeland, have to cluster in ethnic enclaves upon arrival and rely on co-ethnic networks and institutions to find housing, jobs, and their way around. The assimilationists would predict that immigrants eventually withdraw from their ethnic institutions as they become assimilated. In contrast, the pluralists would predict that the immigrants eventually find an identifiable place in American life through these ethnic institutions (Conzen 1991; Zhou 2002; Zhou and Bankston 1998).

In our view, Chinese language media can be understood as a social institution complementary to rather than inharmonious with the host society. There is ample evidence to support this view. First and foremost, the ethnic media effectively

connects immigrants to the host society with a medium that is most familiar to immigrants and that keeps them informed. Regardless of outlet types, news coverage about the U.S. society and the immigrant community is substantial. Without speaking a single word of English, immigrants know what's going on in the world around them, from big headline news about a U.S. military surveillance plane's crashlanding on Hainan Island, Judy Chu's election as the third Chinese American in the California State Assembly, California's Energy crisis, the high court's decision on marijuana use, or the postponement of the McVeigh execution to tabloid gossips about Hollywood stars. In one of our interviews, a sixty-some-year-old acupuncturist in Los Angeles's Chinatown, who does not speak English, surprised us with an incredibly vivid description of a recent NBA playoff. When we asked how he got to that level of detail, he smiled, pointing to the *International Daily News* on his desk, and said, "I watched the game on CBS, and then read the newspaper and listened to the radio on my way to work the next day. The radio had a better coverage." He asked us to test him on other current events, and seemed to know more than we could ask. In this case, the Chinese language media is not only a source of information itself but also a supplement to the mainstream media. This example also suggests that non-English speaking immigrants are acculturated via the Chinese language media.

Second, the ethnic media connects immigrants to the host society by providing them with a detailed roadmap and pointing out the best possible options for them to navigate unknown and foreign territories. Upon arrival, new immigrants, even those with some proficiency in English, want to know how to go about finding suitable housing, jobs, business and investment opportunities, schools for their children, and various services. But they are not well connected to the service and employment networks in the mainstream society and their own family or friendship networks are no longer sufficient to meet these diverse needs. As an information agent, the ethnic media fills the various needs of new immigrants that are not met in the larger society. With some assistance, a non-English speaking newcomer can pick up a phone to possibly find a rental apartment unit and a job in the same day because housing and job advertisers also speak Chinese. The locally produced newspaper forums and TV and radio programs routinely discuss topics that are of special interest to immigrants—such as how changes in immigrant laws affect them, how to invest in their children's education, how to purchase and finance a dream home, how to apply for a business loan, how to bridge the generational gap between them and their teenage children, and so forth.

Third, Chinese language media promotes and reinforces the mobility goal of the immigrant community. As discussed previously, the Chinese immigrant community today has shifted its sojourning orientation to that of settling—to move up in American society rather than to make money and return home. In the Chinese immigrant community, the biggest concerns are making a living, homeownership, and children's education. In many cases, immigrants regard themselves as

successful if one runs his own business or becomes a “laoban” (boss), owns a home (even if he or she has to reside in the basement and rent the rest of the house out), or has a child in an Ivy League college. As an ethnic institution, the media consistently supports and reinforces these mobility goals. In the local business and community sections of newspapers, for example, there are news reports and editorial write-ups or columns, as well as numerous advertisements, to inform the reader about business opportunities, the best timing and place to purchase a home, and children’s problems and educational achievement. For example, the *Chinese Daily News* annually publishes a chart of the latest *US News and World Report* ranking of the top twenty-five colleges. In a visit to a Chinatown worker’s home, we saw such a chart being clipped off the paper and posted on the refrigerator door. We also heard people talking about these rankings during the time for college applications. Winners of various regional and national academic decathlons, who are of Chinese ancestry, will get front page coverage in major dailies with pictures posted and extensive write-ups about the winners’ families.

The impact of the ethnic media in reinforcing the values of educational achievement and financial success is subtle but profound on the immigrants and on their children as well, many of whom may neither be interested in nor have the language proficiency to understand Chinese media contents. A high school senior, who volunteered in a nonprofit organization in L.A.’s Chinatown, told us, “My father always read aloud news reports on winners of something, anything. When he did that, my whole body got stiffened. I felt he was talking to me and expecting me to do the same.” Another telling story is about a Chinese immigrant, who is fluent in English, has a master’s degree in accounting, and is a CPA. He moved to Washington, D.C. from the Deep South to take a six-digit-salary job in a mainstream firm while maintaining his own business as a tax consultant. He told us that he ran a continuous ad in the local Chinese newspaper about his business even though he did not intend to expand it. He explained, “The purpose is not to get new business but to make a statement about yourself. It is important to show that you [the business] *exist* [emphasis added] and that people know about you.” Indeed, in his circle of new Chinese friends in D.C., he is known as a boss, not an employee.

Fourth, Chinese language media works to, often subtly and gradually, acculturate the immigrants. This may sound counterintuitive—how can ethnic language media contribute to acculturation when the key measure is the adoption of the host language? We have found that the media can influence certain habits, ways, and behaviors which are not typically Chinese. One example is the “TV dinner,” a habit picked up in America. In Chinese families, sitting together at the dinner table is a daily ritual and also a sign of parental respect. Children are supposed to sit with parents at the table and listen to their conversation without interruption, and they are not allowed to leave the table until they finish dinner. (It used to be that they had to sit there until everyone had finished.) Now it is common for children to

have a TV dinner without being scolded. And it is also common to find a mother taking her rice bowl to the couch to watch her favorite television series shown at prime time.

Another example is take-out food. While eating out may be a Chinese way, take-out food or food delivery is not. With the convenience of many restaurants providing take-out and delivery services, and many immigrant women working, take-out food has been quite common within the ethnic enclave. Since restaurants are the key advertisers in newspapers, immigrants can easily select a place to order take-out just by glancing over the front or back page of a paper.

Still another example is that the ethnic media encourages immigrants to practice democracy by providing them with an outlet where they can write or call to voice their opinions—things that they did not normally do so comfortably in their homeland (in China particularly). That causes behavioral change. We've seen, in many cases, that customers threaten to write to the press to report a problem as a way to get even with unethical doings of business people. A Taiwanese housewife who is a regular *Radio Chinese* (L.A.) listener was teased by her husband in front of us at the end of our interview with her, "Don't cite her wrong. She will call in to the station to 'sue' you."

While the ethnic language media serves as a bridge between the Chinese-speaking immigrant community and mainstream society, it also does the usual thing—keeping immigrants in close contact with the homeland, thus easing the psychological and emotional problems of being a foreigner. New immigrants are concerned with what goes on in original homeland as well as in the larger U.S. society, how homeland politics and economy affect their families and friends who are left behind, and how events or policies developed in the homeland, the U.S., or elsewhere affect U.S.-China relations and their own lives in the U.S. Mainstream media outlets usually lack detailed coverage on these types of issues, and the ethnic media fills the gap.

Moreover, the ethnic media creates a cultural space enabling immigrants to enrich their lives. New immigrants are interested in things that they have been personally connected to or have grown up with—arts and literature, entertainment, their favorite movie/music/sports stars, and the familiar faces, voices, and writings of television anchorpersons, sports commentators, comedians, novelists, and humorists. But the cultural scene in the U.S. is unfamiliar and irrelevant and sometimes even unsettling in the case of racial stereotyping, insensitive ethnic jokes, and biased depictions of the group. The language barrier exacerbates the sense of cultural emptiness. An immigrant writer described this painful feeling as "being in a cultural desert." He remarked, "You try to look ahead but see no destination; you try to turn back but can't retrace your footsteps; and you end up drifting aimlessly without direction." While Chinese language media fills the emptiness by offering the familiar and thus easing the pain, it also opens up a cultural space where immigrants can express in writing their experience and share it with others. In the family section of the *Chinese Daily News*, for

example, we have seen short stories, poems, and essays that reflect immigrant life in America.

Apparently, the influence of Chinese language media on immigrant life in America is profound and in many ways directly and indirectly shapes the orientation and sense of home among Chinese immigrants in the United States. However, we have also found that the Chinese media, interacting with a concentration of ethnic economies and institutions, sets barriers to improving intergroup relations at the individual level. As a social institution, the ethnic media reinforces immigrants' sense of "we-ness" to the exclusion of "other-ness" and lowers their incentive to expand their social and personal networks to include members of other racial and ethnic groups. For example, the immigrants may be well informed about what is going around them in their community, but they may not be compelled to make friends with their non-Chinese neighbors for reasons like the lack of English proficiency as well as the perceived low instrumental value of such personal relationships. Indeed, in Chinese ethnoburbs in Los Angeles, as well as many sub-enclaves such as "Dongbei [Northeast China] Village" that have emerged in recent years, many Chinese immigrants feel as if they are living in Taipei or Shanghai or Guangzhou; and they do not show strong motivation to learn English or seek out their non-English neighbors to develop and nurture informal contacts. Oftentimes they live so comfortably in their little enclaves that they call U.S.-born Chinese Americans, who do not speak Chinese, "sellouts" or "bananas," and their American neighbors "laowai" (foreigners). As a result, in areas where Chinese immigrant population becomes a critical mass, where Chinese enclave economy thrives, and Chinese language media and other ethnic institutions prevail, native-born Americans who share the same space often express feelings of being pushed aside and excluded, strangers in their own land. Some of them even perceive Chinese immigrants as a threat and a potential for un-Americanizing Americans (Horton 1995).

CONCLUSION

Thus far, we have provided a general overview of Chinese language media and its impact on immigrant life in the United States. We have seen that the rapid development of the ethnic media has not only responded directly to broader changes in the Chinese immigrant community but also helped shape individual orientation and community development. We argue that the ethnic language media, like any ethnic institution, cannot simply be viewed as an institution isolated from the mainstream. Under certain conditions, which are contingent upon pre-migration socioeconomic characteristics, the social and economic structures of the ethnic community in the host society, and host society reception, it can function to facilitate assimilation to life in the new land.

Our descriptive analyses show that Chinese language media, while constituting an ethnic business, also connects immigrants to the host society by providing immigrants with a detailed road map of what goes on around them, promoting and reinforcing the mobility goals of the immigrant community, and creating a cultural space in which immigrants can enrich their lives. However, the ultimate question becomes: Are Chinese immigrants who are involved in this ethnic institution being assimilated in American life? Yes and no. Yes, because they feel comfortable at home. No, because they still don't speak English and they probably won't because they are too comfortable. What do we make of this paradox? If we took the assimilationist approach, we would expect the immigrant community and ethnic institutions to diminish in instrumental importance and eventually become obstacles to assimilation as they, intentionally or unintentionally, discourage immigrants from learning English and American ways, stifle their incentive to make contact with members of the dominant group and mainstream institutions, and trap them in permanent isolation. Indeed, we have seen signs and evidence that Chinese immigrants are not mixing well with the native born in ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs, especially at the individual level.

However, if we took a pluralist approach, we have not seen strong evidence for permanent isolation. The non-English speaking immigrants seem to be well-informed of the larger society. The English-proficient and assimilated immigrants, who have moved out of the enclaves and melted into the American mainstream, seem to return to the ethnic community in larger numbers and with greater frequency. Some of them are forming new ethnic organizations and are actively involved in them (Zhou and Kim 2001), and many subscribe to or turn to the ethnic media for information and entertainment, even when they have access to mainstream media. Still, the U.S.-born children of immigrants, who have attained a college education and well-paid jobs in the mainstream economy, are seen returning to ethnic enclaves or ethnoburbs to open up professional services and turn to Chinese language media for advertising their services. Also, some mainstream marketers, such as AT&T, Motorola, and Prudential, have started to seek out ethnic language media to advertise their products (Veciana-Suarez 1990). In fact, a lot of crossover (first vs. second generation, ethnic vs. mainstream businesses) is occurring. May this be called assimilation in reverse? It is hard to say. Of one thing we are certain—that is, when immigrants feel comfortable here, they are at home; and home is America.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The original version of this paper was presented at the annual conference, "New Cultural Frontiers," at the LeRoy Neiman Center for the Study of American Society and Culture, University of California, Los Angeles, May 17–18,

2001. We thank David Halle, Jennifer Lee, and Robert Zussman for their helpful comments.

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APPENDIX 1: CHINESE LANGUAGE LOCAL OR COMMUNITY WEEKLIES IN SELECTED U.S. CITIES

Name	Date established	Headquarter	Place of circulation	Circulation	Page	Section	Price
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area							
<i>United Times</i>	1981	Santa Ana, CA	Southern California	28000	4	1	Free
<i>China Post</i>	1990	Alhambra, CA	Los Angeles	26,000	8	1	Free
<i>Taiwan Daily News</i>	1998	El Monte, CA	Los Angeles	—	42	2-4	\$0.05
<i>Zhong Guo Daily News</i>	1998	El Monte, CA	Los Angeles	—	42	2-4	\$0.05
<i>Tomorrow Times</i>	1993	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	—	20	1	\$0.25
<i>Merit Times</i>	1997	Monterey Park, CA	Los Angeles	—	12	1	\$0.25
<i>New Immigrant Times</i>	2000	S. El Monte, CA	Los Angeles	—	24	1	\$0.25
<i>Chinese Weekend</i>	2001	City of Industry, CA	Los Angeles	—	24	1	\$0.25
Washington, DC Metropolitan Area							
<i>Washington China Post</i>	1982	Rockville, MD	Washington, DC metropolitan area	—	16-20	1	Free
<i>A & C Business News</i>	1996	Rockville, MD	Washington, DC metropolitan area	—	24-34	2-3	Free
<i>New World Times</i>	1998	Rockville, MD	Washington, DC metropolitan area	—	24	1	Free
<i>Washington Chinese Times</i>	2000	Rockville, MD	Washington, DC metropolitan area	—	40	2	Free
<i>Washington Chinese News</i>	2000	Rockville, MD	Washington, DC metropolitan area	—	16	1	Free

Source: Authors' own survey, 2000-01.

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