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The VCR Use by Korean Minorities
in the United States and
its Cultural Implications
... An Empirical Study
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Euisun Yoo

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M.A. degree in Telecommunication

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**The VCR Use by Korean Minorities
in the United States
and Its Cultural Implications.
... An Empirical Study**

By
Euisun Yoo

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

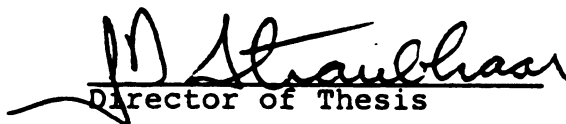
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to attempt to empirically test the relationship between the VCR use by the Korean minorities in the United States and their acculturation into American society.

To achieve this goal, several concepts were developed and introduced to the study based on the previous researches about acculturation. Due to the paucity of previous studies about the Korean VCR use, general basic information about mass media motivation and use is described and then several hypotheses are formulated to empirically explore the relationships among individual acculturation potential (ICP), ethnic loyalty, Korean VCR use and the degree of acculturation.

A field survey was conducted in the Lansing area to test the hypotheses. The results tend to confirm the hypotheses, with a few significant exceptions.

In conclusion, the study found that the Korean VCR use by the Korean immigrants (mostly first generation) help them to maintain their cultural identity whereas American TV shows inverse relationship with the Korean VCR. It implicates that the use of Korean VCR hinders the acculturation of the Korean immigrants.

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INTRODUCTION

It is intent of this paper to provide a detailed analysis of the correlation between the Korean minority in the United States and their usage of mass media. More specifically, the implications Korean VCR films have upon acculturation. /

/ Koreans are one of the most rapildly increasing immigrant groups in the United States. The 1970 Census found about 70,000 Korean residents in the United States, but since then the number has risen very rapidly, with approximately 30,000 Koreans being admitted into the country annually (Hurh, 1984). This rapid population increase is mainly due to the result of the revised U.S. immigration law (P.L. 89-236 of 1965), which has had similar results among other Asians. /

In spite of the fact that many Koreans have migrated to the United States for about a century and form communities in many parts of the country, unfortunately very little sociological research has been done on the Koreans in America. A number of empirical studies recently have been carried out on the new Korean immigrants (Hurh and Kim, 1978; Park, 1981), but these studies are still in the exploration stage in comparison with the extensive studies already available on the Chinese and Japanese-Americans. This lack of research on Korean-Americans is mainly the result of their small number, but it may also derive from the Americans' general ignorance about Koreans as a distinct ethnic group differing significantly from the Chinese and Japanese (Hurh

and Kim, 1982). As evidence, a number of sociologists have recently made some valuable contributions by publishing their exploratory studies on Japanese and Chinese-Americans in Prentice-Hall's Ethnic Groups in American Life Series (Kitano, 1976), Rand McNally's Ethnic Groups in Comparative Perspective (Peterson, 1971; Lyman, 1974), and Wadsworth's Minorities in American Life (HSU, 1971). On Korean-Americans, however, no comprehensive study has been published to date. This raises the necessity of a systematic research about the Korean minority in the United States.

Little is known about the use of the VCR by the Korean minority group and its culture implications. Most of the studies about the use of mass media by minority groups are not concerned about new media (Cable TV or VCR), but traditional television impact (Greenberg, 1982).

The home video cassette recorder (VCR) has achieved popularity since 1980 due to its capability of increasing the number and variety of entertainment its owners can have plus the falling prices of VCRs. It is well known that the VCR is one of popular items among Korean immigrants in the United States for one or another reason. Many first generation Korean immigrants use VCRs to watch pre-recorded Korean TV programs or movies, whereas second generation Korean immigrants use them mainly to watch popular American movies or TV programs. In this sense, VCR use by Korean immigrants seems to show significant cultural connotations in itself. Signification is great enough to warrant research and clarify the relationship between the VCR use

by Korean immigrants and its cultural implications, i.e., its influence on the degree of acculturation of Korean immigrants to the host country.

Indeed most studies about acculturation have been made in the area of anthropology, which sometimes overlooks the importance of new media in the process of acculturation. We don't know why and how Korean immigrants use VCRs. What is not known about VCR use by Korean minorities far outweighs what is presently known.

Furthermore, most of the minority studies have failed to make theoretic conclusions in the sense that they have put too much emphasis on demographic variables to explain their media use pattern. There is no doubt that demographic variables allow us to predict variations in media use. However over- emphasis on demographic variables in predicting the media use by minority groups can lead to some serious misunderstandings, because usually minority groups are in a completely different social and psychological situation from that of the white majority group. In other words, different environmental settings confronting minority groups make their media use unique.

In addition to this, it is not unusual to observe that significant number of studies about VCR impact on audience behavior have been interpreted differently with different outcomes (Agostino & Zenalty, 1980; Levy, 1980). This is because most studies were made on a short-term basis, without analyzing the variety of situations in which the VCR can have impact. It is clear that contradictory findings about the VCR's impact on human behavior, without presenting the theoretical explanation,

have not provided any help to the clarification of its impact on the audience behavior.

In this vein, the necessity of a systematic analysis of VCR's impact on the acculturation of Korean immigrants based on the wholistic viewpoint has arisen. A wholistic viewpoint provides us with a systematic approach to assess the impact of the VCR on the Korean immigrants in terms of cultural aspect, without overlooking the importance of socio-cultural environment in which they live. /

Based on the rationale mentioned above, this study is designed to empirically explain the VCR use by Korean minorities in the United States and its cultural implications. On the descriptive level, it examines the general individual needs of Korean immigrants, their VCR use motivation, and their VCR use pattern based on their social, cultural backgrounds as well as their demographic traits (i.e., age, education level, English ability, period of stay in the United States), and survey the degree of acculturation in terms of attitudinal indices. On the analytical level, a series of hypotheses are tested to examine relationships among individual acculturation potential (education, English ability, period of stay), ethnic loyalty (consciousness of being Korean, degree of involvement in the ethnic community), the amount of Korean VCR use, and degree of acculturation to the host country.

For the purpose of this study, the following research inquiries are formulated:

First, how do the Korean minorities use the media, such as

the VCR? To examine the VCR use by the Korean minority in the United States, social, psychological and demographic characteristics will be discussed. Who actually watches Korean films on VCR ; and what are the demographic characteristics of VCR users, as well as, how often do they watch video films : amount of exposure, and type of content are the major issues to be covered. What is the motivations for the Korean immigrants to watch the VCR : motivation? Also as a basic information for the study of VCR use by the Korean minority, the characteristics of the social setting of the host country, in terms of ethnic confinement, are analyzed here. Besides this, the analysis of relevant factors influencing VCR use by Korean immigrants, such as individual acculturation potential and ethnic involvement are considered to systematically explain the VCR use by Korean minorities. The uses and gratification approach of mass media is adopted as a basic framework of the study to get more systematic and explanatory power for the VCR use by the Korean minority rather than just mere discription.

Secondly, what are the cultural implications of VCR use by the 1st generation Korean immigrants? Two opposing arguments about VCR function exist. As a tool of cultural bridging versus source of cultural conflicts, they will be examined here. Also interrelatedness of VCR use with individual acculturation potential and ethnic loyalty is analyzed in terms of their influence on acculturation by the Korean immigrants.

Literature Review

Theoretical Concept of Acculturation

Historically, the study of culture contact, acculturation, and a minority group is a study of comparative ethnic relations. The study of ethnic relations is fostered by decolonization and the emergence of new nations especially after World War II. The emergence of new nations and decolonization gave an impetus to social scientists such as anthropologist, sociologist, economist, and the political scientist, to develop their own area of interest in ethnic relationship. Foremost, the anthropologist has mainly been interested in the process of culture change in terms of inter-ethnic contact (Lee, 1975).

Minority group (or ethnic group) is a collectivity within a large society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on symbolic element, for peoplehood. A minority as a group of people is differentiated from others in the same society by race, nationality, religion, and/or language. Furthermore, a minority people are relatively lacking in power and hence subject to certain exclusions, discriminations, and other differential treatment (Rose, 1968 : 365). In this sense, Koreans are one of the many ethnic groups in the United States because they have common values and ethnic identity. They form a minority because of the fact that they are much less than half of the population of American society, and are subject to certain political, social, and economic exclusions (Lee, 1975).

Acculturation, a theoretical concept more widely used by anthropologists than sociologists, is the process by which "the culture of a society is modified as the result of contact with the culture of one or more other societies (Gillin and Raimy, 1940:371 ; Thurn-ward, 1932:557).

Acculturation requires the contact of at least two autonomous cultural groups ; there must also be change in one or other of the two groups which result from the contact. Although, in principle, change can occur in either of the two parties (Bailey, 1937), in practice one group dominates the other and contributes more to the flow of cultural elements than does the weaker of the groups. This domination has taken place in a variety of ways, for, as Parkman (1867) has noted, "Spanish civilization crushed the Indian ; English civilization scorned and neglected him ; French civilization embraced and cherished him." But in each case, a clear domination of indigenous life resulted (Padilla, 1980). According to past studies, the following factors generally affect the acculturation of immigrants : (1) racial and cultural similarity between the dominant and immigrant groups; (2) demographic and socio-economic characteristics; (3) nature and area of immigrants' settlement; (4) proximity to homeland; (5) mutual attitudes of the dominant and immigrant groups, and ;(6) the length of immigrants' residence in the United States (Warner and Srole, 1945 ; Eisenstadt, 1951 ; Weinstock, 1964 ; Gordon, 1964 ; Vander Zanden, 1966:308-313 ; Berry and Tishler, 1978:280-287 ; Hurh, 1977a ; Schaefer, 1979:42-45). Here acculturation is defined as a cultural adaption of Korean minorities to the American society.

The acculturation of the Korean minorities refers to the change of cultural patterns to those of the host society. It also means that the cultural adaptation of the Korean immigrants, is the process by which Korean immigrants modify their attitudinal and behavioral patterns in order to maintain and improve their life conditions in a manner that is compatible with the new environment.

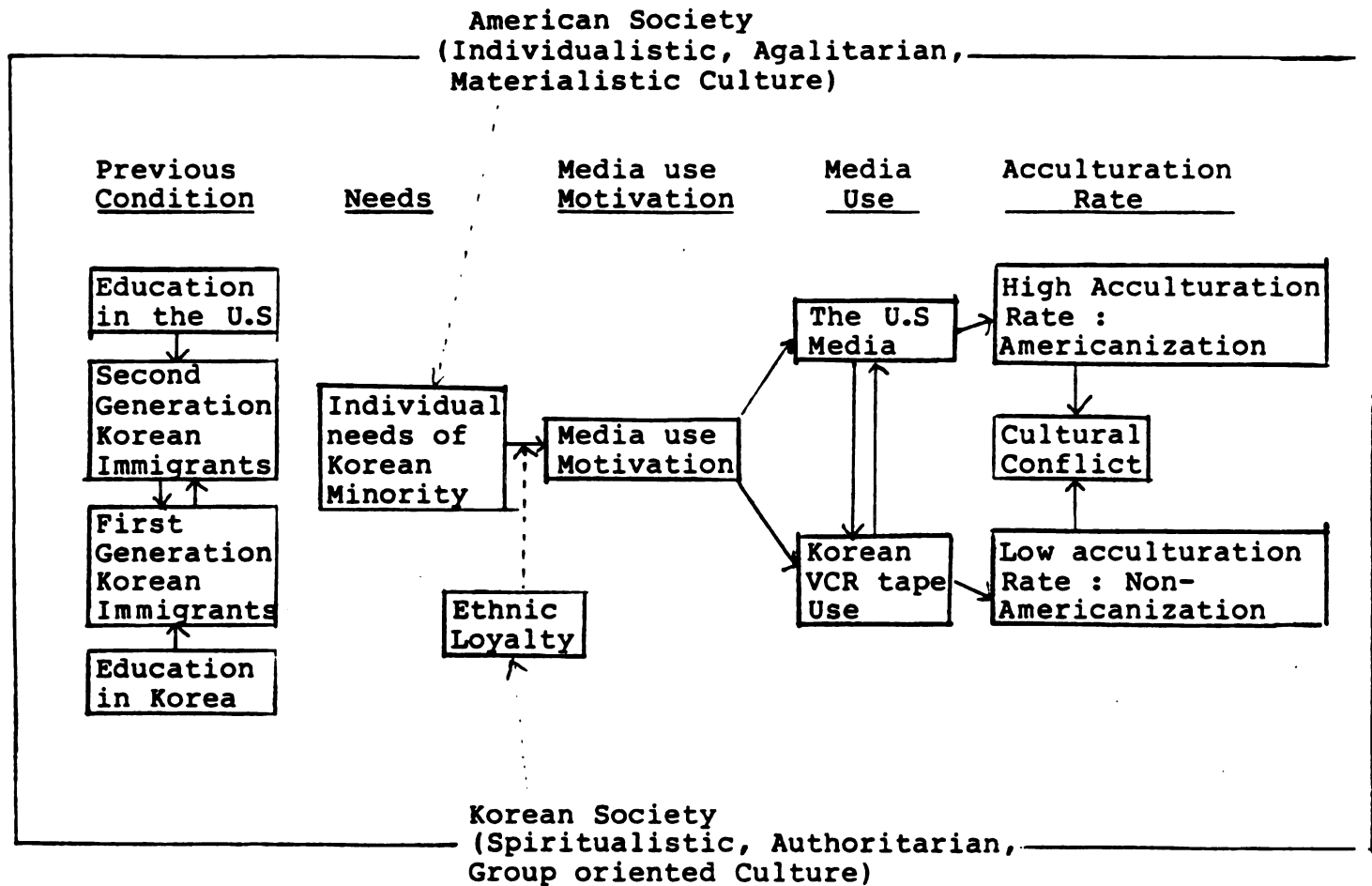
To understand acculturation pattern of the Korean minority group to the host society it is necessary to characterize the socio-cultural structure of the white majority society as well as the Korean society. This is because acculturation is the process of dynamic forces of two different culture.

In this vein, it is natural to say that cultural distinction between the U.S and the Korean culture, characteristics of socio-cultural setting of the host country, and individual traits about acculturation should be studied to comprehend the acculturation rate of the Korean minority group in the United States.

Theoretical Model for the Study

Based on the theoretical concept of acculturation, a model is formed to systematically explain the research questions mentioned above (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. A theoretical model for this study



The model in Figure 1 is designed to outline the theoretical connection of each important concept in this study. This model characterizes the Korean minority into three groups - first generation immigrants, second generation children of immigrants, and Korean students studying in the United States.

The model assumes that most first generation Korean immigrants grew up in Korea and received a Korean style education. Accordingly, their way of thinking or value system

has been formed under the direct influence of Korean culture. However they also try, to varying degrees, to acculturate into American culture. Most of the Korean students studying in the United States also grew up in Korea and received advanced Korean education. They were mostly college or graduate school students in Korea. They know that they are here temporarily, so they don't have to acculturate themselves into American culture, even though they feel the need for fluency in English for their study. However, the children of the first generation immigrants have grown up in the United States and received American style education. They have grown up meeting American friends, eating American fast food, and watching American television. They have developed a different way of thinking from those of their parents.

In short, this study starts with the assumption that the first generation Korean immigrants have different social and individual needs from those of their children. Their media use varies depending on their needs. Their different media use reinforces their different way of thinking, which in turn causes cultural conflicts among the different generations.

In this model, a syllogism is developed, i.e., socio-cultural environment ... individual needs ... media use motivation ... different mass media use ... value conflicts among generations. This study was based on two approaches - active audience in media use and cultural norm theory.

The program choices by an active audience have been discussed for years in the needs and gratifications literature. Straubhaar clarified the concept of active audience in his

article, citing "VCRs challenge the concept of a passively receptive audience" (Straubhaar, 1985:18).

The cultural norm theory states that mass communication has an indirect effect on behavior through its ability to shape norms. According to Melvin Defleur, the cultural norm theory postulates that the mass media, through selective presentations and the emphasis of certain themes, creates impressions among their audience so that common cultural norms are structured or defined in some specific way. Since individual behavior is usually guided by cultural norms, the media would serve indirectly to influence their conduct.

Based on the theoretical model in Figure 1, the necessity of extensive literature review about cultural differences between American and Korean culture, the characteristics of the social structure of the host country, individual acculturation potential (i.e., relationship between individual immigration conditions and acculturation rate), and the role of the ethnic community will be made in the following section.

Cultural Traits and Acculturation

To understand the cultural differences between the United States and Korea, a comparative study is made in this section.

Traditionally Korean culture has developed and flourished under the strong influence of Confucian ideology. As the traditional culture of Korean society has made contact with western cultures, society and social structure has changed rapidly. The value system of the society has suffered conflict

and tension between the prevailing traditional values and the new values.

Social and cultural changes in Korea have caused value conflicts and disorganization in the value system. In particular, conflict between traditional and modern western values, incongruity between the value system and the social structure, and differences in value-orientation according to generations, regions and social strata have developed. Traditional Korea had been a closed society for a long time. Changes in the value system and the social structure have continued and the various mechanisms of adjustment have created provisional value systems and ways of behavior. In this sense, Korea has a "cultural dual structure" with a traditional aspect and the modern aspect.

The traditional familism still has a great influence on the consciousness and behavior of the Korean people. Traditional conservatism is still dominant in Korean society. For instance, Public polling of Koreans shows that most Koreans agree that pre-marital sex should not be accepted (Jungang Ilbo, 1979). Similar survey of Korean university students discloses that Korean university students were inclined rather to authoritarianism than to egalitarianism (Lim, 1981). Furthermore, individualism in Korea is said to be different from that of west. Individualism of contemporary Koreans is similar to the "individualism-by-default". It is a kind of defence mechanism against normlessness (Lim, 1981).

In conclusion, contemporary Korean culture can be characterized as a combination of confucian-based traditional values and individualism-based western values. Traditional ways

of thinking are still dominant in many areas. These Korean values show several distinctions from American culture.

First, one of the salient characteristics of the traditional, but still dominant, Korean culture is authoritarianism. For example, the basic principle, of human relations and social ethics have been completely constituted by hierarchial orders. Every basic human relationship such as the relationships between the ruler and the ruled, father and son, husband and wife, and the old and the young, was prescribed as a hierarchial order. All occupational and social classes such as civil officials, the two typical classes of old Korea (Yangban, Sangnom) were also based on a hierarchial model.

The next important characteristic of the Korean traditional value system is collectivism. It refers to the value-orientation which emphasizes the importance of the group rather than the individual. The traditional collectivism in Korea was familiar collectivism. Extended family systems have developed in Korea, even though nuclear family system is prevalent these days.

Thirdly, spiritualism rather than materialism has been dominant in Korean society. This is due to the influence of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, which emphasizes the obedience to and the harmony with nature rather than the conquest or control of nature. The cultural differences between the two cultures can be summarized (See Table 1).

Table 1. The Cultural Differences between the United States and Korea

The U.S.A.	Korea
Individualism (nuclear family)	Collectivism (family-oriented)
Materialism (monetary success)	Spiritualism (humanism)
Egalitarianism (horizontal human relations)	Authoritarianism (hierarchical human relations)

In sum, Korean culture is changing. However the dominant characteristics of Korean culture are rather authoritarian, collective, and spiritual-oriented when compared with the American culture, which are egalitarian, individualistic and materialistic. Most Koreans, especially the aged, show strong conservatism about the issues of premarital sex, marriage, and family. In this sense, distinctive cultural difference can be made between the United States and Korea.

The first generation Korean immigrants had lived and had been educated under the influence of Korean culture before they immigrated to the United States, whereas their children have been growing up with the influence of western culture. When assuming that mass media reflects the society it belongs to, the Korean VCR reflects the Korean culture whereas American mass media does American culture.

Contextual Analysis

This section is designed to explain the social and cultural environment in which the Korean minority live since it is almost impossible to trace their social and individual needs without considering their context or environment. Previous studies about Korean immigrants show that, like other minority groups in the United States, they have been socially discriminated against by the white majority (Hurh, 1983; Lee, 1975; Choy, 1979; Melendy, 1977; Kim, 1981).

Analysis of what causes the white majority to discriminate against a minority is made here, since a clear understanding of the contextual situation facing minority group in the United States helps us to understand the individual needs of Korean immigrants.

There can be two approaches to understand the prejudice by the white majority against Korean minorities. The first one, as an ethnical viewpoint, is related to the white majority's ethnocentrism. The second one is about the role of mass media as an indirect source of social discrimination.

First, as an analysis of direct sources of social discrimination, psychological and mental aspects as well as socio-economic aspects can be considered here. Specifically, since the Korean-American population, whose eyes are black and the color of their skin is yellow, has been steadily increasing, many American workers regard them as competitors for their jobs. Especially when the economic conditions in the United States were worsening, the Asian American, like other minorities, became the

targets of racism (Fernandex, 1981).

Television has become a medium that stereotypes almost all groups ; however, its stereotypes are especially damaging to minority groups (Banks, 1976). Many people believe that television serves as a reinforcer and a source of ethnic stereotypes. Greenberg and Atkin (1978), Banks (1976) and Molden (1975) believe that black stereotypes made by American TV present a major problem to society. For example, 'MASH' (a daily CBS program) deals with a mobile army hospital during the Korean War. This program is full of distorted messages about Korea. This program describes Korea as a poor and dirty country even though the war ended about 35 years ago and Korea is now one of the most industrialized countries in Far East Asia. Here, Chinese (or Japanese) actors play Koreans. Their clothes are shabby and sometimes not in real Korean style. The images about Korea delivered by this program is related to the dirty and poor Koreans.

Furthermore most of the topics about Korea, which frequently appear in American magazines and newspapers are related to the dark side of Korean politics, such as student demonstrations against the government, military coups, etc. Topics about the growing Korean economy or Korea culture do not appear frequently.

In sum, racial discrimination has not completely disappeared and it continues to plague Korean minority groups directly or indirectly. Job and promotional discriminations still continue. Social discriminations, inherited within the stubborn

social-ethnical structure of the white majority have prevented Korean immigrants from enhancing their political and social status. Indeed many Korean immigrants (especial first generation) were highly educated in Korea before coming to the United States, but their resulting jobs in the United States are mostly menial due to their language barriers and invisible ethnic-based job discrimination. That is, when ethnic confinement (involuntary ethnic segregation) is inherent in the social structure of the host country, it is most likely that the immigrants' assimilation into the dominant groups primary social structure is restricted in its scope and intensity regardless of the immigrants' length of residence, social economic status, degree of acculturation , and desire for assimilation (Hurh and Kim, 1984).

This contextual analysis about Korean immigrants provides us with basic general information in examining the frequency of VCR use and motivation.

Individual Acculturation Potential of Korean Immigrants.

In addition to problems of socio- cultural adjustment, Koreans in America have to cope with individual problems. Most newcomers believe that the United States is the land of opportunity and happiness in terms of economic betterment and political freedom. They soon find that their hopes were exaggerated and they become frusterated. Choy (1979) summarized these problems as follows:

First, cultural differences make it difficult for Korean immigrants to adjust to American society. The family-centered, traditional Korean immigrants find the free-style, aggressive, individualistic American way of life incompatible with what he was accustomed to in his homeland. The discovery of a communal life style is a shock to many Korean immigrants. Some have attempted to initiate the free American style rather hastily, only to be rejected by Americans who expected them to be docile.

Secondly, the language barrier is a big hurdle even for those who learned some English before leaving their homeland. They find themselves unable to communicate adequately with American employers and friends. Furthermore, most first Korean immigrants do not have the time and energy to learn English even if there are adult evening classes, because they have to work to survive. Cultural and language barriers, too many Korean immigrants, create helplessness and inferiority. According to one Korean community study, reports on age groups over 23, only 10% of Korean immigrants respond that they have no difficulty in English (Choy, 1979). A command of English is the most important factor in determining one's opportunity for employment. It is also a necessary tool for the pursuit of higher education, social adjustment, and economic betterment.

It is difficult for Korean immigrants to secure employment in American firms, factories, and public or private institutions because of racial discrimination, lack of proper training, and the communication problems. It is known that 20% of the Korean immigrants are unemployed (Choy, 1979)

To survive in this society, each Korean immigrant should have strong individual acculturation potential. Here individual acculturation potential refers to English proficiency, education level, period of stay in the United States, and age. Several studies were made to investigate the acculturation rate of Korean immigrants, depending on individual pre and post immigration conditions (e.g., education level, English ability, period of residence in the United States, sex, income). Padilla (1976) disclosed, in his survey, that sex did not differentially affect acculturation rates of minorities. He believes that educational level is positively correlated with acculturation. He found that the less acculturated immigrants fall into the lower educational levels while significantly acculturated respondents are found among the higher educational groups. Hurh and Kim (1984) summarized the relationship between some acculturation potential variables and degree of acculturation as follows:

1. In general, the longer the immigrants' length of residence in the host society, the higher the degree of their acculturation becomes.
2. In general, the higher the levels of the immigrants' socio-economic status, the higher the degree and the faster the rate of acculturation will be,

Hurh and Kim (1978), in their survey, also tested the several hypotheses about the relationship between SES (socio-economic status) and acculturation rate. They found that among Korean immigrants, those with high SES (socio-economic status) achieves a higher degree of cultural assimilation than those with low SES. Hurh and Kim (1979), in another Korean immigration study in Los Angeles, found that about 80 % of the Korean

residents in Los Angeles do not generally use English, even though English proficiency is very important tool in the process of acculturation. Only 7.5 percent of respondents were found to use English exclusively.

In short, the majority of Korean immigrants were found to be bilingual-English at work and Korean at home (Hurh and Kim, 1976:24).

Ethnic Loyalty and Acculturation

Padilla (1980) said ethnicity factor is as important as language familiarity and cultural heritage. Ethnicity factor, which constitutes an essential part of the total acculturation process, refers to ethnic pride (or identity) and involvement in the ethnic community (e.g., Korean ethnic church and Korean voluntary association).

Compared with Chinese and Japanese immigrants, Korean immigrants have been known as "church goers." Bok-Lim Kim's recent study on Asian-Americans in the Chicago area reveals that the Korean immigrants' religious involvement (church participation) is greater than that of any other Asian group except the Filipinos (1978:178). Hurh and Kim (1978) supported the findings.

There were 264 Korean churches throughout the United States in 1976, but the number jumped to over 400 in late 1977 (Dong-A Ilbo, January 10, 1978). The number of Korean churches is rapidly increasing.

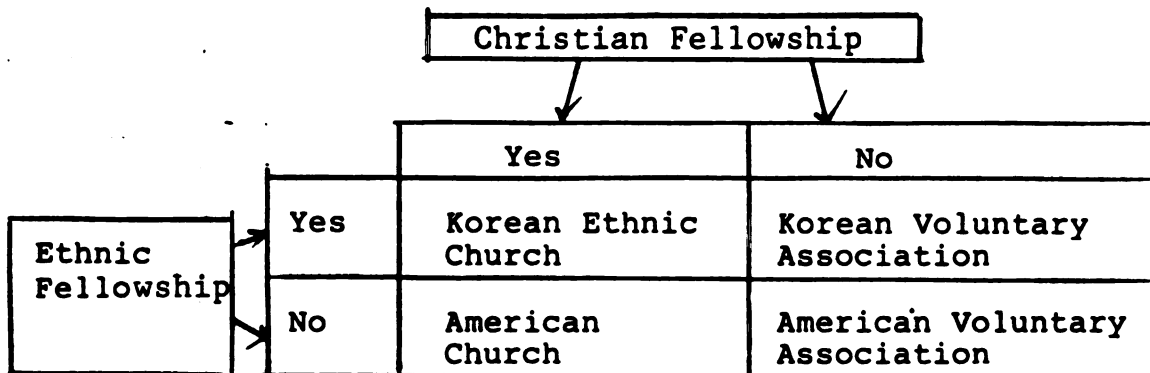
Religious participation appears to be one of the integral parts of the Korean immigrants' acculturation in the United

States. Past theories on the ethnic role of immigration churches thus generally emphasized the communal function, i.e., Gemeinschaft bonds (Francis, 1945; Greeley, 1972, Herberg, 1955; Sklare, 1955). For instance, Greeley elucidates this point well:

In the United States, the churches came to serve an ethnic role; they helped sort out "who one was" in a bewildering complex society. As a result, the various demonstrations have been immeasurably strengthened, as they serve not only a religious need, but a social one as well (1972:125).

The Korean immigrants appear to crave both types of association, spiritual - fellowship and ethnic fellowship Kim 1979,- Hurh and Kim (1984) charted that the Korean ethnic church provides the best both fellowship for the Korean immigrants as shown in the following chart:

Figure 2. Comparative Characteristics of Community Group.



As compared with other ethnic associations, the ethnic church provides the immigrants with frequent and regular opportunities (at least once a week) for primary-group and secondary group interactions. The Korean ethnic church usually provides not only a communal bond (the primary group) but also a *Gesellschaft* (the secondary group), which the immigrant also left behind. In other words, the immigrants are drawn together in the ethnic church not only to meet intimate friends but also to see "new faces" other than their family members, relatives, and close friends. In short, they miss both the informal and formal aspects of the Korean society back home, and the Korean ethnic church seems to provide a microcosm of both (Kim and Hurh, 1984).

Choy (1979) analyzed that the Korean ethnic church emerged as the center of hope and social life for the Koreans in the United States in the sense that Korean immigrants, who are discriminated against for racial reasons, could enjoy meeting friends and talking to each other in their native language. In this sense, his analysis was made based on *gesellschaft* function of the church.

Several research findings about ethnic loyalty (i.e., involvement in ethnic community and ethnic pride) and acculturation were made as follows (Hurh and Kim, 1984):

- 1) The first generation Korean immigrants tend to maintain an or even enhance their strong ethnic attachment regardless of progressive acculturation.
- 2) The immigrants' ethnic attachment tends to be enhanced by:

- a) the dominant groups prejudice and discrimination
 - b) the immigrants' perception of limited social assimilation
 - c) the immigrants' perception of their limited adaptive capacities (e.g., language, economic resources)
 - d) relatively well-defined large ethnic communities
- 3) The immigrants' strong ethnic attachment functions:
- a) to satisfy primary group needs
 - b) to preserve ethnic identity
 - c) to lower the levels of their frustration and dissatisfaction
 - d) to evoke a false sense of success and satisfaction
 - e) perpetuate ethnic confinement and marginality acceptance
 - f) to evoke in the dominant group a reaction that the immigrants "want to be with their own kind and resist assimilation."

In sum, ethnic loyalty seems to have a reverse relationship with acculturation rate. The logic being that the lesser acculturated individual will prefer "ethnic" related activities and will maintain a network of close friends, including spouse, of the same ethnicity. In this sense, the proliferation of the Korean ethnic church shows significant implication in terms of acculturation rate of the Korean immigrants.

Mass Media Use by Korean Immigrants

Not enough study has been made about the mass media use by the Korean immigrants. Furthermore, most of studies on the immigrants' use of ethnic media is rather descriptive than being

explanatory.

Kim (1978) disclosed that ethnic media use by Korean immigrants rapidly decreases over the years while that of American media steadily increases. Also he found that the use of ethnic mass media is negatively associated with an immigrant's perceptual complexity ($r = -.19$, $p < .01$). The immigrant's consumption of ethnic mass media and that of the host mass media show contrasting trends. While the ethnic media consumption decreases, the host media consumption increases linearly over the years. This suggests that the process of change in an immigrant's cultural interests can perhaps be directly inferred from media behavior better than from interpersonal communication behaviors. Jun (1984) also found that use of the ethnic mass media, by and large, decreased in relation to length of stay in the host society. Although males tended to read more ethnic newspaper than females, a significant sex effect was not found. For American mass media communication, males read more newspapers than females regardless of their American tenure. Magazine reading, however, increased over the year regardless of sex differences. Television plays a very important role for acquaintance and familiarity with the host language and culture. That is, 88.4% of the respondents indicated that television aided English proficiency and 94.2% learned of general patterns of American culture through television viewing. This surprising figure will suggest further implications of importance of the television medium over other mass media in the adjustment process within the host society. As an example, English

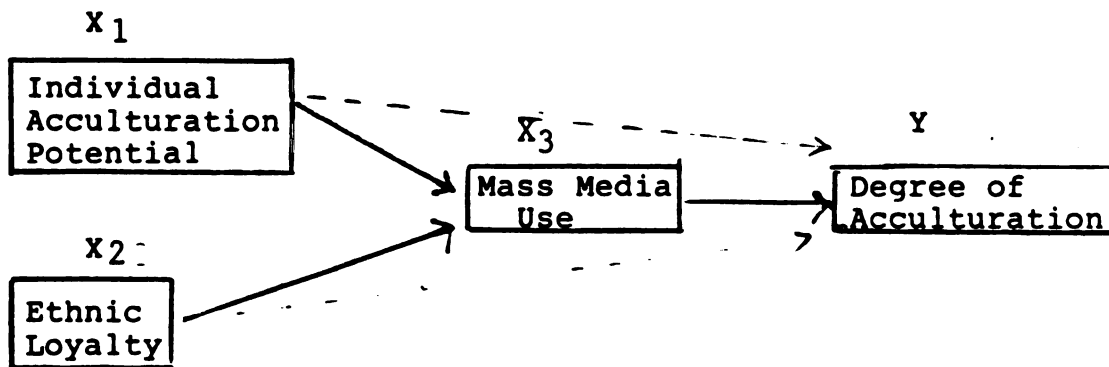
proficiency was positively correlated with the amount of TV exposure, magazine reading, and movie attendance. Park (1981), in his MA thesis, showed that the degree of adaption of the Korean residents in the United States and the American mass media exposure is positively correlated.

Design of the Study

Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

Due to the paucity of previous studies and literature on the new media use by Korean immigrants as noted earlier, the present study was meant to be primarily exploratory in nature, based on the assumed interaction among variables (e.g., ethnic loyalty, individual acculturation potential, VCR use, and acculturation rate of Korean immigrants). For a systematic study of it, a diagram showing dynamic links among them was invented here (See Figure 2-1)

Figure 2-1. Links between acculturation and related variables



- Here, X_1 - Individual Acculturation Potential: period of stay, education level, language proficiency, the place of being educated.
- X_2 - Ethnic Loyalty: Degree of involvement in ethnic community, Degree of ethnic pride (consciousness of being Korean)
- X_3 - Mass Media Use: American mass media (American TV, VCR), ethnic mass media (Korean VCR tape)
- Y - Degree of Acculturation: Attitudinal difference (Preference for American way of thinking, preference for Korean way of thinking)

The theoretical contention and analytical framework, in Figure 2-1, may thus be illustrated by the relationships among major variables (individual acculturation potential, ethnic loyalty, mass media use) related to the mode of Korean immigrants' acculturation.

The first hypothesis is based on the uses and gratification approach of mass communication but more specifically on Rosengren's proposition that certain basic human needs of lower and higher order lead to different media use motivation (Rosengren, 1974). That is, individual human needs derived from individual psychological situation and structure of the surrounding society, result in different media use motivations. This in turn leads to differential patterns of actual media consumption. From this proposition the following hypothesis is derived:

Hypothesis 1: Korean VCR use pattern by Korean immigrants will be varied with individual VCR use gratification sought.

Rosengren assumed that active audiences seek for media behavior or other behavior to gratify their needs (Rosengren, 1974). Kim (1978) disclosed that the use of ethnic mass media is negatively associated with use of the host mass media. While the ethnic media consumption decreases, the host mass media consumption increases linearly over the years. For example, Koreans who watch Korean VCR tapes for one or another reason tend to watch less American TV. Thus the second hypothesis is formulated as follows:

Hypothesis 2: The amount of Korean VCR tape use by Korean immigrants will show negative correlation with the amount of American mass media use.

Jun (1984) tested the hypothesis that use of ethnic mass media decreased in relation to length of stay in the host society. Also he found that males tended to read more ethnic newspapers than females. In addition, the ethnic language proficiency of the young Korean immigrants paralleled their use of ethnic newspapers; those with less language proficiency also read ethnic newspapers less. According to Jun, English proficiency was positively correlated with the amount of TV exposure, magazine reading, and movie attendance. Park (1981) disclosed that English proficiency, length of stay in the United States, and education level influence the subscription rate to American newspapers by Korean immigrants in Los Angeles. He also found that the amount of American TV news viewing varied with English proficiency and education level of Korean immigrants.

In this sense, the degree of ethnic mass media use will be influenced by the individual acculturation potential (Pre-immigration condition: education level, sex, English proficiency and Post-immigration condition: period of stay in the United States, income). Thus the following hypotheses are formulated:

Hypothesis 3: The amount of Korean VCR use will be varied with the individual acculturation potential (age, sex, education level, language proficiency, period of stay in the United States).

3-1: The amount of Korean VCR use will be positively correlated with the age of the respondents

3-2: The amount of Korean VCR use will be varied with the sex of respondents.

3-3: English proficiency will show negative relationship with the amount of Korean VCR use.

3-4: As the period of stay in the United States gets longer, the use of Korean VCR tapes will be decreased.

Hurh and Kim (1984) found that the 1st generation Korean immigrants tend to maintain or even enhance their ethnic attachment (or loyalty). Choy (1979) explained that Korean immigrants go to church on Sunday to meet friends and to talk to each other in their native language. He also believes that Korean churches became centers of the Korean ethnic community. Kim (1981) said the Korean church became a center of ethnic activities. One of the main functions of Korean churches is to provide church members with a "family atmosphere", which presupposes a small congregation in which everyone knows everyone else and everyone else's business. Through church-centered activities Korean immigrants attempt to cope with their overwhelming sense of alienation from the host society. Korean churches unite the Korean immigrants with an ethnic bond. From the previous findings, hypotheses are derived:

Hypothesis 4: Degree of ethnic loyalty (degree of involvement in ethnic community and degree of ethnic pride) will show positive relationship with the amount of Korean VCR use.

4-1: Those who frequently attend the ethnic community will use Korean VCR more than those with less attendance.

4-2: Those who have strong ethnic pride will watch Korean VCR tapes more than those with weak ethnic pride.

Kim (1978) confirmed the hypothesis that the use of ethnic mass media is negatively associated with an immigrant's perceptual complexity ($r = -.19, p < .01$). The greater the Korean immigrant's consumption of ethnic media, the lower the cognitive complexity in perceiving the host society. He also found that the process of change in an immigrant's cultural interests can be directly inferred from media behavior. Jun (1981) disclosed that use of the ethnic mass media decreased in relation to length of stay in the United States. Hurh (1984) concluded that the longer the immigrants' length of residence in the host society, the higher the degree of their acculturation becomes. These findings implicate that as the Korean immigrants stay in the United States longer and longer, they rarely watch Korean VCR tapes, and their acculturation rate increases. Jun (1981) founded that the ethnic language proficiency of the young Korean immigrants paralleled their use of ethnic newspapers. It means, in other words, as the English proficiency of Korean immigrants develop as time lapses, their use of ethnic media decreases and then they are becoming more and more acculturated into the host

society. Thus, the hypothesis developed here:

Hypothesis 5: Degree of acculturation to the American culture (preference for American way of thinking) will be varied with the mass media use by Korean minorities.

5-1: The amount of exposure to the Korean VCR tapes will show negative relationship with the degree of preference for the American way of thinking.

5-2: The amount of exposure to the Korean VCR tapes will show positive relationship with the degree of preference for the Korean way of thinking.

B. Method

The data for the study were obtained from the Korean population in the Lansing area. Originally, 90 were to be randomly selected as the sample, but the sample size had to be eventually reduced to 71 due to a number of unexpected difficulties encountered during the sampling and interviewing process.

Contrary to my expectations, no comprehensive and up-to-date directory of Korean immigrants in the area was available at the Census Bureau. A number of ethnic organizations, including Korean churches, alumni associations, and Korean Students Directory of MSU were used here. In addition, the Michigan area Korean telephone directories were used.

When overlapping memberships and those living outside the Lansing area were eliminated, a list of 213 Korean immigrants was obtained. Among 213 Korean immigrants, 49 first/ second generation Korean immigrants were selected with a random sampling technique. In addition to this, 22 Korean students were selected

from about 300 to compare the Korean VCR use pattern with the immigrants(see Table 2).

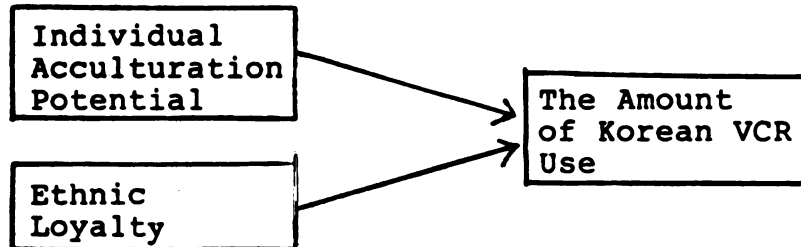
Table 2. Sample distribution

	N (%)
First Generation Korean Immigrants	26 (36.6)
Second Generation Korean Immigrants	23 (32.4)
Students	22 (31.0)
Total	71 (100)

In order to describe the individual needs and VCR use motivation by the Korean minorities and to explain relationships among individual acculturation potential, ethnic loyalty, mass media use, and acculturation rate, a questionnaire was developed to measure them. The questionnaire, consisting of 111 items, required 20 minutes to complete. The questionnaire items were then translated into Korean by researcher because language competence of respondents in English and Korean was crucial to construction of the questions. During the interview, each respondent (especially first generation Korean immigrants) was asked if he wanted Korean-written questionnaire. Except some first generation immigrants, the others completed questionnaires written in English. A pilot test was administered before conducting this survey. Therefore, ambiguous wording can be revised and new items, which were considered to be necessary, added.

To test the hypotheses mentioned earlier, several statistical techniques such as chi-square, Person Correlation are employed in this study. Besides these, a multiple regression analysis is applied here to systemtically examine the relationship between the amount of the Korean VCR use and its related variables (e.g., individual acculturation potential and ethnic loyalty).

Figure 3. A Multiple Regression Diagram



Descriptive Analysis

Demographic Characteristics

The age distribution for the sample is presented in Table 2-1. On the whole, the respondents range in age 17 to 64. Among these age groups, about half of the respondents (49.3%) belong to the age from 26 to 35. About one-fifth of them (21.1%) are older than 35.

Table 2-1. Age Distribution of the Sample

Age	N	%
17 - 25	21	29.6
26 - 35	35	49.3
over 35	15	21.1
Total	71	100

Among respondents (male = 54.3%, female = 45.7%), 66.2% of the respondents show that they are married, and more than half of the total respondents (63.3%) revealed that they had received a college education. This figure is somewhat higher than previous studies, since this study includes Korean students in the Lansing area. Kim and Hurh (1979) reported that 77.8% of Korean immigrants are college-graduates. However, when compared with their education level, their income is relatively low. About 42.3% of the respondents show that their annual income is less than \$15,000. Their annual income, however, will be increased if Korean students, who stay here temporarily, are excluded. To

summarize demographic attributes of the Korean minority respondents, the following Table is made (See Table 3).

Table 3. Demographic Attributes

Marital Status	N(%)	Education Level	N(%)	Income (\$)	N(%)
Single	24(23.8)	College and more	45(63.3)	50,000 -	8(11.3)
Married	47(66.0)	Technical School	1(1.4)	30,000 - 50,000	20(28.2)
		High School	25(35.2)	15,000 - 30,000	13(18.3)
				- 15,000	30(42.2)
Total	71(100)	Total	71(100)		71(100)

Social and Cultural Characteristics

In order to assess the magnitude of language problems among the respondents, they were asked to self evaluate their English proficiency. Results are summarized in Table 3. The majority of them (62%) are reluctant to say that their English proficiency is at a high level. Only 34% of the respondents show that they have no problem in English. Their result implicates that almost all the Korean minorities, except second generation Koreans, experience language difficulties in English.

English proficiency of Korean minorities shows the negative correlations with the degree of involvement in ethnic community and age (See Table 4).

Table 4. Self Evaluation of English Proficiency

English Level	N (%)
Very High Level	13 (18.3)
High Level	14 (19.7)
Average	23 (37.4)
Low Level	19 (26.8)
Very Low Level	2 (2.8)
Total	71 (100)

This implicates that the aged Korean minorities are usually suffering from poor English. Therefore they can not adjust themselves into American society successfully because of communication problems they have as well as ethnic discrimination the host society has. English proficiency is negatively correlated with the degree of involvement in the ethnic community ($r = -.3889$, $p < .001$).

As shown in Table 5, period of stay in the United States shows positive correlation with English proficiency ($r = .2061$, $P < .05$). It is natural to say that as Koreans stay longer and longer in the United States, they are getting old ($r = .1984$, $P < .05$).

Table 5. English Proficiency and Social Characteristics

	Ethnic Community Involvement	English Proficiency	Period of Time	Age
Community Involvement				
English Proficiency	-.3889 P= .001			
Period of Stay	.0323 P= .394	.2061 P= .042		
Age	.4786 P= .001	-.6330 P= .001	.1984* p= .049	

** P< .01

* P< .05

It is revealed that more than half of the Korean minorities (57.7%) attend Korean meetings, such as Korean churches or Korean associations more than one time per month. In view of the fact that only about 24% of the total population of Korea are Christians (Joongang Ilbo, 1981), one can see a significant over representation of Christian in this survey. This interest in church participation among the respondents seems to to be indicative of their need to mitigate the stresses and tensions resulting from their sense of socio-cultural estrangement (Hurh, 1978). Table 6 shows the degree of the ethnic community involvement by the Korean minorities.

Table 6. Degree of Involvement in the Ethnic Community

Frequency	None	Less than One	1-2	3-5	more than 5
%	16.9	25.4	35.2	21.1	1.4

So far, attempts have been made to assess the degree of social characteristics among the Korean minorities by inquiring into various behavioral patterns. Focus is shifted here to attitudinal patterns about Korean /American way of thinking. Data were obtained through a series of questions designed to elicit the respondents' attitudes regarding Korean or American ways of thinking.

Acculturation implies abandoning some old ways of thinking and adopting some new ones. In Table 6, responses to several questions regarding attitudinal preference for Korean (American) ways of thinking are summarized.

Table 7. Attitude toward the Korean (American) way of thinking

Attitude	Korean way of thinking		American way of thinking	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly Agree	16	22.9	3	4.2
Agree	34	48.6	25	35.2
So So	14	20.0	29	40.8
Disagree	6	8.6	10	14.1
Strongly Disagree	0	0	4	5.6
Total	70	100	71	100

As shown in Table 7, about 71.5% of the respondents respond that they like the Korean way of thinking whereas 39.4% of them showed the preference for American way of thinking. These results implicates that significant number of the Korean minorities in the United States show strong ethnic ties. Even though they live in the United States, their way of thinking is

still under the influence of Korean values. When considering that about 32.4% of the respondents are second generation Korean immigrants, who have grown up under the direct influence of American culture, we assume that there are significant attitudinal differences toward ways of thinking among the Korean minorities.

Mass Media Use by the Korean Minorities

About 55% of Korean minorities respond that rarely watch Korean VCR tapes whereas about 85.4% of respondents show that they usually watch American TV. It shows that American TV is readily available, but the significant numbers of Korean minorities (41.7%) sometimes watch Korean VCR tapes. Summary was made in Table 8.

Table 8. Mass media use by Korean minorities

Use Media	a lot	some	a little	not at all
American TV	52.1	32.4	15.5	
Radio	14.1	22.5	52.1	11.3
Korean VCR tapes	22.5	19.7	33.8	21.1
American magazine	1.4	42.3	32.4	22.5
American newspaper	8.5	39.4	29.6	21.1
Korean newspaper	46.5	21.1	18.3	14.1

As shown in Table 8, about half of the respondents (46.5%) show that they read Korean newspaper frequently whereas only 8.5% of Korean minorities read American newspapers a lot. This finding

implicates that language proficiency is positively correlated with the use of American mass media. Most of the respondents (73.2%) agree that they watch American TV for amusement. Also 68.6% of Korean immigrants agree that watching American TV helps them to develop their English. On the other hand, Korean minorities watch Korean VCR tapes mainly for amusement (64.8%), and to know about Korea (44.3%). Among TV programs, sports (78.9%) and movies (84.5%) are considered as the most popular programs for Korean minorities to watch. Among Korean VCR tapes, Korean movies (46.8%), music shows (32.3%), and comedies (60.6%) are rated as popular programs. Table 10 shows the VCR use pattern by Korean minorities.

Table 9. Korean VCR Use Motivation (%)

	Strongly agree	Agree	So so	Disagree	Strongly disagree
To understand Korean culture	8.6	32.9	17.1	14.3	8.6
For amusement	35.2	29.6	14.1	2.8	
To get unknown information about Korea	14.3	24.3	11.4	25.7	5.7
To know what are popular songs in Korea	11.3	22.5	23.9	19.7	4.2
To avoid loneliness	14.3	28.6	18.6	11.4	8.6
To avoid tension	9.0	38.8	17.9	11.9	3.0
To get specific guideline for decision making	1.5	5.9	33.8	32.4	7.4
To be comfortable	8.7	21.7	37.7	11.6	1.4
Because it is easy to understand	26.1	21.7	17.4	13.0	2.7
To kill time	11.6	30.4	17.4	11.7	5.8
To know about my country	11.4	32.9	12.9	21.4	2.9
To educate my children	14.5	11.6	20.3	24.6	10.1

Table 10. The Amount of Korean VCR Use (%)

	a lot	some	a little	not at all
Daily Dramas (soap opera)	12.9	21.4	32.9	14.3
Historical Dramas	14.3	12.9	31.4	22.9
Music Shows	12.7	29.6	26.8	12.7
Sports	5.8	11.6	30.4	33.3
Korean Movies	11.3	35.2	28.2	7.0
Educational Programs	2.9	25.7	30.0	22.9
Documentary films	12.9	10.0	31.4	27.1
News	11.4	17.1	25.7	27.1
Cultural Programs	4.2	21.1	23.9	32.4
Comedy	18.3	42.3	14.1	7.0

According to this survey, 55% of respondents agree that Korean VCR films are entertaining. However, they do not think that Korean VCR films are educational or informational.. Only 20.3% of respondents agree that Korean VCR films are educational. 18.3% of Korean minorities evaluate that Korean VCR films are informational. This result implicates that Korean VCR tapes are mainly used for entertainment purposes rather than for education or information.

Analytical analysis: Hypotheses testing

Construction of Variable Index

Several attempts were made to logically construct each variable and test the hypotheses mentioned earlier. As described before, 16 items of individual needs, 12 items of VCR use motivation, and 10 items of Korean VCR films were made in the questionnaire. Since it was impractical to test each of them against hypothesis of this research, an attempt was made to reduce the items to a limited number of factors by factor analysis and with consideration of some conceptual and substantive issues related to these items.

Through factor analysis, three factors were identified in the individual needs items. These factors are presented in Table 11.

As shown in Table 11, 5 items revealed high factor loading for respondents in the first factor. These items measure the spiritual needs of the Korean minority. Hereafter, the first factor will be referred to as spiritual needs. In the second factor, 4 items revealed high factor-loading for the respondents. The four items measure the functional need of respondents. Finally 2 items showed high factor loading, which can be named as emotional needs of respondents. thus 3 factors such as spiritual, functional, and emotional needs will be used as indices of individual needs of Korean minorities for testing the hypotheses.

Table 11. Varimax rotated factor matrix of individual needs

Individual needs items	Individual needs factors		
	Spiritual needs	Achievement needs	Emotional needs
Being a good person	.69108	-.10448	-.05276
Children's education	.57899	-.45104	.35144
Being a person of culture	.44792	.23677	-.12925
Knowing who I am	.53865	-.07555	.45062
Believing in Jesus Christ	.63964	.17229	.06809
Being talented	.22202	.63437	.02848
Making alot of money	.09291	.57053	-.12583
Spending leisure time well	.10282	.41354	.27255
Being approved by others	-.03769	.47478	.04227
Getting excitement	-.18161	.06397	.74923
Having fun	.05542	.15911	.80097
Eigen Value	2.86386	1.71976	1.62837

Likewise, 12 items of Korean VCR use motivation were reduced to 2 factors shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Varimax Rotated Factor Matri of VCR Motivation

Korean VCR use motivation	Korean VCR use motivation factors		
	Informational motivation	Entertainment motivaiton	
To get unknown information about Korea	.81532	.08464	-.18116
To know what are popular songs in Korea	.63283	.32858	.17462
To get specific guideline for decision making	.65204	-.02464	-.22993
Because it is to understand	.53311	.35067	-.18568
To know about my country	.66517	.13817	.02886
To educate my children	.67117	-.00530	.03101
For amusement	.05220	.55423	.18090
To avoid loneliness	.10795	.79602	-.13346
To avoid tension	.3683	.88152	-.01682
To kill time	.22071	.80508	.18552
To understand Korean culture	.38124	.04977	-.67007
To be comfortable	.18183	.18753	.73934
Engen Value	3.71559	2.01900	1.07065

In the first factor, six items revealed high factor loading for respondents these items show that the Korean minorities watch

Korean VCR tapes for informational purpose. Therefore this factor, composed of 6 items, will be referred to as informational use. In the second factor, four items showed high factor-loading to each other. These items measure emotional use of Korean VCR use by Korean minorities. These items include "for amusement" (.55423), "to avoid loneliness" (.79602), "to avoid tension" (.88152), and "to kill time" (.80508). Hereafter the second factor, composed of 4 items, will be named as emotional motivation of Korean VCR tape use. However the third factor composed of 2 items, shows some difficulties to be used in the test of hypotheses. It was suspected that items in the factor carried 2 different meanings, and it is hard to name the factor. Actually the meaning of the third factor is closed to the 2nd factor. According the 3rd factor transferred to the 2nd factor, and named as emotional motivation of Korean VCR tape use. Accordingly two factors were made here for hypotheses testing.

In the same way, 10 items of Korean VCR films were reduced to 2 factors (informational material, entertainment material). The 1st factor representing informational film contains educational program (.74055), documenary films (.84594), news (.91317), and cultural program (.87283). The 2nd factor includes daily drama (.90771). Korean movie (.48632), music show (.94524), and comedy (.64111). The second factor is referred to as entertainment material.

In sum, seven factors were developed here to logically study the relationship of each variable, since it is impractical and inefficient to examine the relationship among several terms of

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items of each factor. In this sense, factor analysis technic is used to reduce the tens of items into several factors which represent those items. Then, based on the construction of variable index made so far, hypotheses testing was conducted.

The Result of Hypotheses Testing

To test the hypotheses, several statistical techniques such as pearson correlation, cross tab, ANOVA, and multiple regression are employed variables and create new logical comments.

H1: Korean VCR use pattern will be varied with individual VCR use motivation.

Because of the lack of comprehensive theory dealing particularly with VCR use by Korean minorities, Rosengren's uses and gratification model of mass communication is applied here. According to Rosengren (1974), basic needs of audiences lead to motives for media or other behavior. Based on this assumption, 16 items of individual needs, 12 items of Korean VCR viewing motivation, and 10 items of Korean VCR films are developed. Using factor analysiis, 3 factors of needs, 2 factors of motivation, and 2 factors of use of Korean VCR films are made to test the hypothesis. Table 13 clearly shows the correlation among these factors.

Table 13. Pearson correlation coefficients among needs, motivation, and VCR tape use.

	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Factor5	Factor6	Factor7
Factor1							
Factor2	.1037 (p=.195)						
Factor3	.1703 (p=.078)	-.0251 (p=.418)					
Factor4	.3260** (p=.003)	.0023 (p=.493)	-.2822* (p=.045)				
Factor5	.2801** (p=.009)	-.1625 (p=.087)	.0418 (p=.364)	.7597** (p=.001)			
Factor6	.3671** (p=.001)	.0738 (p=.271)	-.2429* (p=.021)	.8109** (p=.001)	.6528** (p=.001)		
Factor7	.2758** (p=.010)	-.0574 (p=.317)	-.0924 (p=.222)	.7711** (p=.001)	.8091** (p=.001)	.7501** (p=.001)	

** P<.01 * P<.05

Here, Factor1 (spiritual needs): Being a good person + children education + knowing who I am + believing in Jesus Christ

Factor2 (emotional needs): Getting excitement + having fun

Factor3 (achievement needs): Making a lot of money + getting success

Factor4 (information seeking motivation): To know unknown information + to get specific guidelines + to know about my country ...

Factor5 (emotional release motivation): For amusement + to avoid loneliness + to avoid tension + to kill time

Factor6 (information program viewing): Historical drama + educational program + documentary + news + cultural program

Factor7 (entertainment program viewing): Daily drama + music show + Korean movie + comedy

As shown in Table 13, spiritual needs show positive correlation with functional motivations ($r=.3260$, $p<.01$) as well as emotional ones ($r=.2801$, $p<.01$), whereas emotional needs do not show any significant correlation with functional or emotional motivations. That is, people who have spiritual needs tend to use Korean VCR tapes to get information which can fulfil their needs. However, achievement needs show negative correlation with functional motivation ($r=-.2822$, $p<.05$). Making a lot of money (through the family managed small business) does not necessarily require specific information or guideline.

In the same way, Pearson correlation coefficients between the VCR use motivation and VCR program viewing were drawn here. According to Table 13, information-seeking motivation shows strong positive correlation with information program viewing ($r=.8109$, $p<.01$). It explains that if a person uses the VCR for information-seeking, he tends to watch informational programs. The fact that information-seeking motivation also shows strong correlation with entertainment program viewing implicates that these two motivation factors are highly interrelated to each other. Likewise, people who watch informational programs of Korean VCR tapes tend to watch entertainment programs as well ($r=.7501$, $p<.01$).

In conclusion, hypothesis 1 is confirmed. People who use VCR for information seeking, tend to watch information programs such as documentaries, cultural, or educational programs. People who use VCR for emotional-release, show that they watch entertainment programs to achieve relaxation. Strong

interaction between two VCR viewing motivations implicates that Korean minorities watch Korean VCR film for entertainment as well as information.

H2: The amount of Korean VCR tape use will show negative correlation with the amount of American mass media use.

If hypothesis 2 is true, people who are heavily exposed to Korean VCR tapes might not use American mass media (newspaper, magazine, radio, TV) as much as people who rarely watch Korean VCR tapes. Table 14 clarifies the relationship between the U.S. media and Korean ethnic media.

Table 14. Correlation between Korean ethnic media and the U.S. media

	American TV	American radio	Korean VCR	American magazine	American newspaper	Korean newspaper
American TV						
American radio	.4153** (p=.001)					
Korean VCR	-.0955 (p=.217)	-.3530** (p=.001)				
American magazine	.2256* (p=.038)	.3179** (p=.004)	.5580** (p=.001)			
American newspaper	.2150* (p=.036)	.4596** (p=.001)	.3381** (p=.002)	.5608** (p=.001)		
Korean newspaper	-.2608* (p=.014)	-.2667* (p=.012)	.4068** (p=.001)	-.4257** (p=.001)	-.0268 (p=.412)	

** p<.01

* p<.05

As shown in Table 14, most of American mass media are negatively correlated to Korean ethnic media. The use of American TV shows negative relationship with the use of Korean newspaper ($r = -.2608$, $p < .05$) whereas it is positively correlated to the use of American radio ($r = .4153$, $p < .01$), American magazine ($r = .2256$, $p < .05$), and American newspaper ($r = .2150$, $p < .05$). The use of Korean VCR shows a weak negative correlation with American TV ($r = -.0955$) even though it is not significant. Likewise, this table shows that people who tend to watch Korean VCR tapes rarely read American magazines ($r = -.5580$, $p < .01$) and American newspapers ($r = -.3381$, $p < .01$). As expected, amount of Korean newspaper reading is highly correlated with another ethnic media, i.e., Korean VCR tape. This result is consistent with the previous study about mass media use by Korean immigrants (Kim, 1978). When assuming that second generation Korean immigrants, who have grown up under the influence of the U.S. culture and have no language barrier, use usually American mass media rather than Korean ethnic media, there might be a significant value difference within Korean minorities. Mass media always reflects the society it belongs to.

In conclusion, hypothesis 2 is confirmed. Use of ethnic media shows negative correlation with the use of American mass media.

H3: The amount of Korean VCR use will be varied with individual acculturation potential.

H3-1: The amount of Korean VCR use will be varied with age.

H3-2: People with high English proficiency will have negative relationship with the amount of Korean VCR use.

H3-3: As the period of stay in the host country gets longer, the use of Korean VCR tapes will be decreased.

Since individual acculturation potential to the American society is referred to as age, period of residence in the United States, English proficiency and education level, relationship between the amount of Korean VCR use and each acculturation potential variable are examined to test the hypotheses. Table 15 shows the relationship between period of stay and the amount of Korean VCR use.

Table 15. Relationship between VCR Use and Period of Stay in the United States.

		Period of Stay		
		1-2 years	3-10 years	over 10 years
VCR Usage	American TV	25.0	8.1	0
	American Movie	31.3	37.8	35.7
	Korean TV	37.5	32.4	42.8
	Korean Movie	6.3	10.8	7.1

As shown in Table 15, respondents who have lived in the United States for less than two years said that they use VCR mainly to watch Korean TV program (37.5%), American movie (31.3%) and American TV (25.0%) in order. Respondents who have stayed here for about 3-10 years said that they use VCRs to watch

American movies (37.8%), Korean TV programs (32.4%), whereas, a significant portion of people who already have lived in the United States tend to use the VCR to watch Korean TV programs.

In other words, most of the Korean minorities use the VCR to watch Korean TV programs at the initial period of residence (1-2 years) in the United States and then they mainly use the VCR to watch American movies during their stay of 3-10 years. If they have remained over 10 years, they again tend to watch the Korean VCR program more than previously. To explain this phenomena, a hypothetical model is invented based on the previous studies (Hurh, 1984; Joongang Ilbo, September 25, 1979).

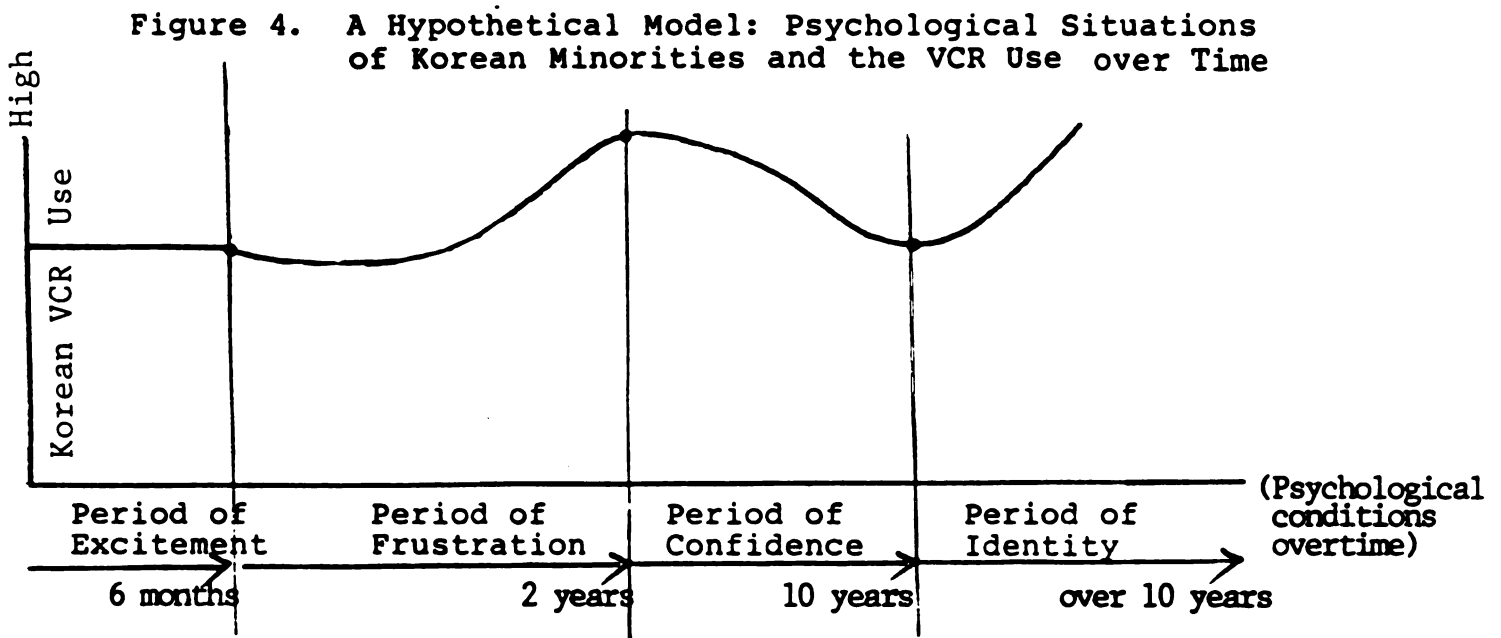


Figure 4 shows four periods of psychological conditions, with which we can predict the use of the Korean VCR tapes. These stages can be interpreted as follows:

(1) Period of Excitement (Just before coming to the United States --- about 6 months' stay) : New hope and expectations about the United States exist at this initial period. Most of the Korean immigrants have strong willingness to reach their expectations and a stable life. They also show a strong interest in their mother land. According to a pilot study conducted in March before this survey, about 80% of the Korean minorities responded that they want to know what is going on in Korea (Yoo, 1987). They tend to seek information about Korea. In this vein, their VCR use for viewing Korean TV programs is understandable.

(2) Period of Frustration (about 6 months --- 2 years' stay) : During this period, Korean minorities begin to realize that their American dream is beyond reality and difficult to achieve. Also they feel the social discrimination against them as well as cultural heterogeneity of the host country. They realize that it is almost impossible to master a new language- English. Even though there are some night language schools, they don't have enough time to attend the lectures. Most Korean immigrants spend all their time to manage their lives in this competitive society. Hurh and Kim (1984:41) described this stage as "exigency" characterized by problems of (a) language barrier, (b) unemployment or underemployment, (c) social isolation, (d) culture shock in general. Significant number of Korean minorities may regret that they had left "home" for this society and yearn to return to their familiar milieu. A survey conducted by one Korean daily newspaper shows that most of Korean immigrants would like to return to their motherland especially during this period (JoongAng Ilbo, September 25 of 1979).

The loss of confidence and psychological frustration make them seek Korean VCR films as an outlet for their tension.

(3) Period of Confidence (2 - 10 years): As time goes on, acculturation starts, and the resolution phase comes. At this stage, most Korean immigrants are getting confident about the daily life in the United States. Their communication problem is, to some extent, eliminated and their lives are settling down. They satisfy their past decision to immigrate to the United States. They adjust to the U.S. culture. They feel that they are members of the American society. Accordingly, they pay less attention to Korea than during the excitement and frustration periods. During the confidence period, less than a third of the Korean minorities (32.4%) tend to use VCRs to watch Korean TV program.

(4) Period of Self-Identity (After 10 years): This period can be defined as the confusion of self-identity. During this period, Korean immigrants realize an invisible limit of reaching their social expectation. Even though they gain some economic successes, they come to realize the ethnic confinement by the white majority. In addition to this, value conflicts with their children ,who have grown up under the direct influences of American culture, make them confused about their way of life. They think that they lost something valuable in stead of gaining economic stability. So they turn their attention to their homeland ,Korea . Accordingly, their exposure to the Korean VCR film is increasing again.

In this sense, Figure 5 clarifies the tendency of Korean minorities in terms of Korean VCR use over time.

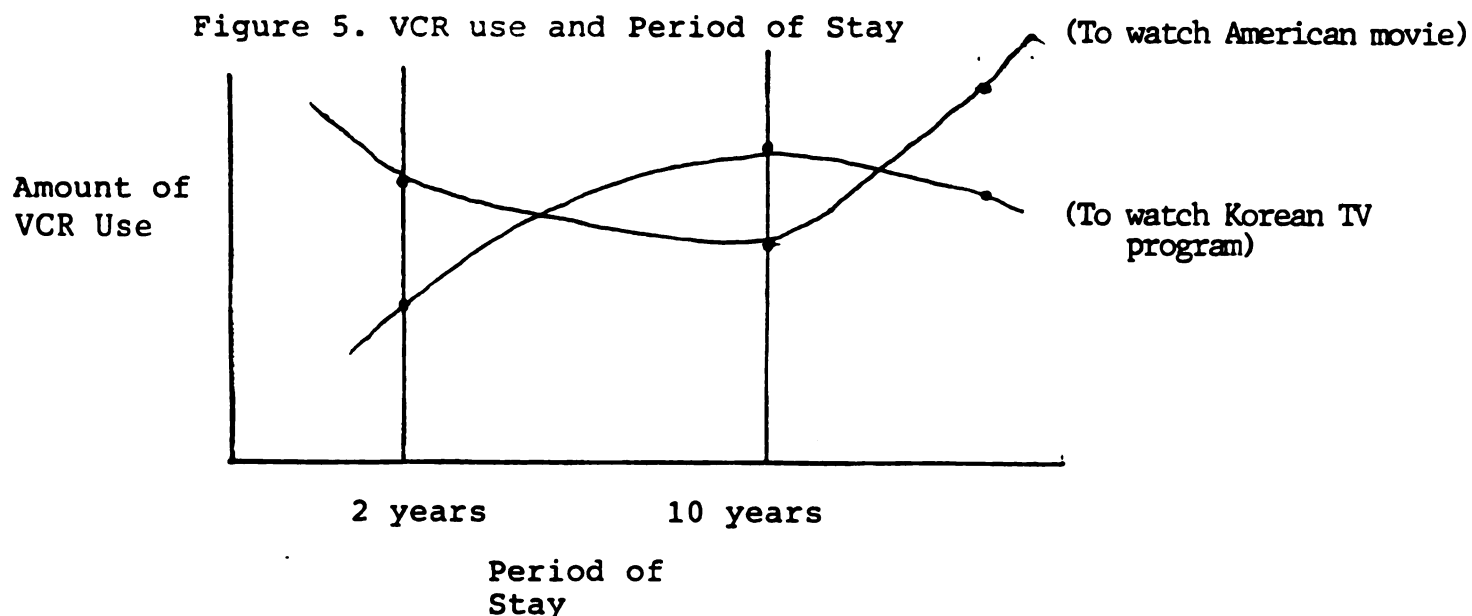


Figure 5 shows that at the initial period of stay in the United States, Korean minorities tend to use VCRs mostly for viewing Korean TV programs. However use decreases during the period of confidence. After 10 years, their Korean VCR use is again increasing.

Table 16 reveals that those with high English proficiency tend to use VCRs mainly for watching American movies, whereas people with low English ability use VCRs for Korean TV programs. This result is consistent with the previous studies about mass media use by the Korean immigrants (Yum, 1982; Jun, 1984). It implicates that Korean VCR use is influenced by language competence. The amount of Korean VCR use will be inversely correlated with the English proficiency.

Table 16. The Use of the VCR by the Korean Minorities.

VCR Use	English Ability					
	Low		Medium		High	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
American films	4	(20)	12	(57.1)	14	(57.7)
Korean films	11	(55)	8	(38.1)	11	(42.3)
Others	5	(25)	1	(5)	0	(0)
Total	20	(100)	21	(100)	25	(100)

As shown in Table 16, English proficiency shows inverse relationship with the use for the Korean VCR programs ($P < .05$). Likewise, a relationship between age and the amount of Korean VCR use was examined with the use of crosstabs (See Table 16).

Table 17. Age and VCR Use Pattern

Age VCR Use to watch	17-25		26-35		over 35	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
American TV	3	14.3	3	9.7	1	6.7
American Movie	12	57.1	11	35.5	1	6.7
Korean TV	5	23.8	11	35.5	8	53.3
Korean Movie	1	4.8	5	16.1	0	0
Others	0	0	1	3.2	5	33.3
Total	21	100	31	100	15	100

Table 17 shows that relatively young Korean minorities tend to use VCRs mainly to watch American movies whereas people, whose age is over 35 use VCRs to see Korean TV programs. Age, however, does not show significant relationship with the Korean VCR use when Pearson correlation coefficients between Korean VCR tape use and age is drawn in Table 18. Table 18 shows that age is positively correlated with Korean VCR use ($r=.0442$, $p>.05$) but is not significant. Table 18 indicates that ages shows significant, positive correlation with period of stay. It goes without saying that as the period of stay gets longer, the older the person gets.

Table 18. Correlation among Korean VCR Use, Period of Stay, and Age

	Korean VCR Use	Period of Stay	Age
Korean VCR Use			
Period of Stay	** .3819 (p=.002)		
Age	.0442 (p=.371)	* .1984 (p=.049)	

** $p<.01$

* $p<.05$

In summary, hypothesis 3 is partially confirmed by the survey.

Specifically, a hypothesis that the amount of Korean VCR use will be varied with age is not confirmed in this survey ($p>.05$) even though relatively older people tend to watch Korean VCR tapes.

The correlation between them is not significant at the level of $P=.05$. The study reveals that people with high level of English proficiency tend to use American mass media (e.g., American TV) rather than Korean ethnic media such as Korean VCR tapes. Depending on the English proficiency, the amount of VCR use for Korean TV programs differentiated.

The amount of Korean VCR use increased at the initial period of stay in the United States, however, as Korean minorities get accustomed to American culture and begin to overcome language barriers, their Korean VCR use decreased. Then after 10 years of stay in the United States, the amount of Korean VCR use once again increased. In this sense, the hypothesis that period of stay will have a significant positive relationship with Korean VCR use is not confirmed successfully.

These findings implicate that language proficiency is more predictable variable rather than any other acculturation potential variables.

H4: Degree of ethnic loyalty (degree of involvement in the ethnic community and degree of ethnic pride) will show positive relationship with the amount of Korean VCR tape use.

H4-1: Those who frequently attend the ethnic community will use Korean VCR tape more than those with less confidence.

H4-2: Those who have strong ethnic pride will use Korean VCR tapes more than those with ethnic pride.

To test this hypothesis, Pearson correlation was employed. Table 19 shows the correlation between ethnic loyalty and mass media use.

Tabel 19. Correlation among Mass Media Use, Ethnic Community Involvement, and Ethnic Pride

	Ethnic Pride	Community Involvement	Korean VCR Use	American TV Use
Ethnic Pride				
Community Involvement	.0213 (p=.430) **			
Korean VCR Use	.5155 (p=.001)	.0455 (p=.367) **		
American TV Use	-.0752 (p=.268)	-.3665 (p=.001)	.0357 (p=.395)	

** p<.01

As shown in Table 19. ethnic pride (pride of being Korean) shows strong positive correlation with Korean VCR use ($r=.5155$, $p<.01$), therefore, it is negatively correlated with American mass media use even though it is not significantly strong.

Ethnic community involvement is also positively correlated with Korean VCR use ($r=.0455$, $p>.05$). The correlation between ethnic community involvement and Korean VCR use is not significant in terms of $r=.05$.

In conclusion, hypothesis 4 is partially confirmed. In other words people who have strong ethnic pride tend to watch Korean VCR tapes. The correlation between them is very strong in a positive direction. However, ethnic community involvement, even though it also has positive correlation with Korean VCR use, it is too weak to be significant. It was found that ethnic community involvement shows negative correlation with the amount

of American TV use.

Hypotheses 3,4 show that some of individual acculturation potential variables and ethnic loyalty have influence on the amount of the Korean VCR use. To systematically examine the relationship among the Korean VCR tape use, individual acculturation potential, and ethnic loyalty. Multiple regression analysis is employed. This is necessary to trace the cause and effect among these factors. The multiple regression analysis shows how independent variables can explain (or predic) the dependent variable.

To follow causal sequence, direct multiple Rs were estimated with the standardized regression coefficients obtained from multiple regression analysis. Here, ethnic loyalty and individual acculturation potential are considered as independent variables. The amount of Korean VCR tape use is regarded as the dependent variable in this regression model. Table 20 shows the final regression results.

Table 20. Multiple regression diagram for the amount of Korean VCR use

Independent variable	Multiple R	R ²	R change	F	Significance
Ethnic pride	.51546	.26570	.26570	19.90104	.000 **
Period of stay	.57334	.32872	.06302	5.06928	.028 *
Education	.59601	.35552	.02650	2.17843	.146
English proficiency	.60028	.36033	.00511	.41547	.522
Age	.62222	.38716	.02682	2.23214	.141
Ethnic community involvement	.62275	.38781	.00066	.05667	.818

According to Table 20, ethnic pride is the most influential variable to explain the amount of the Korean VCR use. Ethnic pride refers to the consciousness of being Korean. Without having this consciousness, they do not feel any necessity to use ethnic media. \langle Ethnic pride can explain the 26.57% of the total variance of the Korean VCR use. \rangle The next influential variable is period of stay in the United States. \langle It shares 6.3 % of the total variance with the Korean VCR use. \rangle Two independent variables (ethnic pride and period of stay) show significant influence on the dependent variable (the amount of Korean VCR use) at the probability level of $P = .05$.

H5 : Degree of acculturation will be varied with mass media use by the amount of Korean VCR use.

H5-1: The amount of the Korean VCR use will show positive relationship with the degree of preference for the Korean way of thinking.

H5-2: The amount of Korean VCR use will show negative relationship with the degree of preference for the American way of thinking.

To test these hypotheses, respondents were asked how much do they like American / Korean ways of thinking. Each item has 5 categories such as "strongly agree", "agree", "so so", "disagree", "strongly disagree".

According to Gordon (1964), acculturation ("cultural assimilation" in Gordon's terms) refers to the change of immigrants' cultural patterns to those of the host society, whereas social assimilation ("structural assimilation") refers to the large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions

of the host society on the primary group level. Unlike acculturation, social assimilation thus requires acceptance of the immigrant group by the dominant group (Teske and Nelson, 1974).

Unfortunately it is really hard to measure the acculturation rate, since the concept of acculturation is somewhat vague and ambiguous. According to Gordon's definition about acculturation, the preference for the American ways of thinking is considered acculturation. That is, preference for American way of thinking and preference for Korean way of thinking are measured to show each respondent's acculturation situation.

Table 21. Mass Media Use and Preference for Korean (American) Way of Thinking.

Media Use	Preference for Korean way of thinking
Korean VCR	* .2731 (P=.020)
American TV	* -.2555 (P=.016)
Preference for American Way of Thinking	** -.2860 (P=.008)

** P< .01

* P< .05

Table 22 shows the potential function of the Korean VCR use as a maintenance of cultural identity, since Korean VCRs help Korean minorities to maintain a Korean ways of thinking. Korean VCR usage is inversely related with acculturation into American society.

Table 22. Correlations among the Korean VCR Use, Ethnic Loyalty, Korean Way of Thinking.

	Degree of Ethnic community Involvement	Ethnic Pride	Korean Way of Thinking
Korean VCR Use	.0455	.5155 **	.2731 *

** $P < .01$

* $P < .05$

According to the Table 22, people who heavily watch the Korean VCR programs are likely to have Korean ways of thinking. Korean VCR use is highly correlated with the ethnic pride in a positive direction ($r = .5155$, $P < .01$) as already found in hypothesis testing.

As mentioned earlier, the characteristics of the Korean culture can be described as authoritarianism, male-dominated, collective society. These traditional Korean values are becoming more egalitarian, and individualistic. Conservative ways of thinking are still prevalent in metropolitan areas of family life.

If an assumption that the content of mass media reflects the

society it belongs to is true, Korean VCR programming will be reflected in Korean culture. As is true with American TV programming. As mentioned before, mass media plays a role in shaping the norm. Korean ways of thinking are somewhat inversely correlated with the use of the Korean ethnic media.

In this vein, Korean VCR use might hamper the rapid acculturation of Korean minorities.

Summary and Discussions

Before testing hypotheses, respondents' demographic attributes as well as socio- cultural characteristics were examined as a general background information.

Among respondents, more than half of the total respondents revealed that they received college education or more. However their income is relatively low, when compared with their high educational level.

As socio- cultural characteristics, ethnic community involvement, English proficiency, period of stay, and age were investigated. English proficiency is inversely correlated with ethnic community involvement ($r = -.3889$, $P < .001$) and age ($r = -.6330$, $P < .001$) whereas age is positively correlated with the degree of involvement in the ethnic community ($r = .4786$, $P < .001$). About 71.5 % of the respondents agreed that they like the Korean way of thinking whereas 39% of them showed that they like American way of thinking.

Most of Korean minorities (84.5%) watch American TV more than Korean ethnic media. Of note in particular is that only 8.5% of the Korean often read the American newspaper. This implicates that language proficiency is positively correlated with the use of American mass media. About three fourth of the respondents (73.2%) watch American TV for amusement.

To test the hypotheses mentioned earlier, variable index construction was made since factors (3 for individual needs, 2

for each VCR use motivation and VCR program type) were formulated, using factor analysis technique.

As measured by Pearson correlation coefficients, hypothesis 1 is tested and confirmed. That is, information seeking motivation shows strong positive correlation with informational program viewing ($r = .8109$, $P < .01$). Likewise, emotional release motivation is positively correlated with entertainment oriented VCR programs.

Caution should be exercised here because of strong interaction between information seeking motivation and emotional release motivation,

Hypothesis 2 is generally confirmed. Pearson correlation coefficients between American mass media and Korean ethnic mass media show that people who tend to watch Korean VCR films rarely read American magazine or newspaper. This finding implicates that there can be a significant value difference, if we assume that most first generation Koreans watch Korean VCR films and their children mostly watch American TV or American VCR programs. This is because mass media contents reflect the society they belong to.

Cultural norm theory (Defleur, 1970:129) says that mass communication has an indirect effect on behaviour through its ability to shape norms. It implicates that different media use, whose contents are made under the influence of two different cultures, might result in value differences or conflicts.

Hypothesis 3 is partially accepted. Test results support a hypothesis that people with high level of English proficiency

tend to use American mass media (e.g., American TV) rather than Korean ethnic media (e.g., the Korean VCR). However, the amount of the Korean VCR use has no significant correlation with age and period of stay. Especially in the case of period of stay, the amount of the Korean VCR use shows some quasiculvilinear relationship with the period of stay. To explain the phenomena, a hypothetical model indicating the relationship between pre and post immigration psychological conditions and the amount of the Korean VCR use is developed based on the previous studies (JoongAng Ilbo, September 25 of 1979; Hurh and Kim, 1984, 1984). The hypothetical model classifies the immigration period as four stages.

1) Period of Excitement (Just before coming to the United States - 6 months after staying): During this period, some Korean immigrants may experience a set of elated feelings such as feelings of relief that they have finally "made it" safely to the country they have aspired to settle in and excitement over reunion with their families, relatives, and friends who have already settled in the United States. Ethnic discrimination at this time is not realized. Everything is new to them. Also they retain the basic cultural identity of their homeland. In this sense, their VCR use for the Korean TV program is understandable.

2) Period of frustration (about 6 months - 2 years): During this period, Korean immigrants feel social discrimination and begin to realize that their American dream is really difficult to achieve because of their language barriers. The VCR use as an outlet of their tensions is made during this period of frustration.

3) Period of confidence (2 years - 10 years): Language barrier is, to some extent, removed and acculturation rapidly increases. Korean immigrants feel that they are members of the American society. Accordingly they pay less attention to Korea than previously. The frequency of VCR use to watch the Korean TV program is decreasing.

4) Period of self -identity (after 10 years): The VCR use for viewing Korean TV program is increased during this period as an effort of recovering their cultural- identity. Korean immigrants realize ethnic confinements since social assimilation (i.e., participation in the primary group of the white majority) requires the acceptance by the host society. Conflicts with their children in terms of values make them feel that they lost something important instead of gaining economic prosperity. A consciousness of lost tradition increases their use of Korean VCR films.

To test hypothesis 4, pearson correlation was employed here. Hypothesis 4 is partially confirmed. That is, ethnic pride (consciousness of being Korean) shows strong, positive correlation with the amount of the Korean VCR use ($r = .0455$, $p < .05$).

To examine how much individual acculturation potential and ethnic loyalty can predict the Korean VCR use, a multiple regression diagram (See Table 19) was formed. According to the survey, ethnic pride demonstrates 27% of shared variance with the amount of Korean VCR use and proved significant at the probability level of .01. Period of stay also had significant

influence to explain the amount of the Korean VCR use. It has 6% of shared variance with the Korean VCR use.

Hypothesis 5 is generally confirmed. To examine the impact of the Korean VCR on acculturation of the Korean minority in the United States, preference for Korean/American ways of thinking was asked to measure the acculturation rate. Pearson correlation coefficients among Korean VCR use, ethnic loyalty, and Korean ways of thinking were drawn to test this hypothesis. The results show that Korean VCRs help Korean minorities to maintain the Korean ways of thinking. As expected, preference for Korean ways of thinking is inversely correlated with the preference for the American way of thinking ($r = -.2860$, $P < .05$).

In this vein, Korean VCR use retard the acculturation of the Korean minority into the host society. When assumed that the program of mass media reflects the society they belong to, Korean VCR reflects the Korean culture which can be characterized as rather conservative, collective, and authoritarian. In this vein, the new medium might retard the rapid acculturation of the Korean minority to the host country. Cultural norm theory supports this supposition.

In summary, different mass media use by Korean minorities stimulates cultural gaps among them. Korean VCR creates link to connect first generation Korean immigrants to their homeland. This can lead to cultural conflicts between first generation Korean immigrants and second generation Koreans.

Conclusion and Implications

This study starts with the assumption that the Korean minority (especially first generation) are living in the bicultural settings of the United States. Accordingly, their individual and social needs are influenced by two completely different socio- cultural environments. The second or third generations of Korean immigrants are less biculturally oriented, as their parents' and/or grandparents' influences diminish. Their different needs lead to different media motivation and use to fulfill their needs, connotating different cultural implications.

This study is designed to study general basic research inquiries: How do the Korean minorities in the Lansing area use Korean ethnic media such as Korean VCR? What are the cultural implications of Korean VCR use? Specifically, our main purpose for this study was to analyze the relationships among individual acculturation potential, ethnic loyalty, VCR use, and acculturation. These key variables are studied and selected from the extensive literature review.

Due to the paucity of systematic studies about the VCR use by Korean minorities, this study is, in a sense, exploratory. To avoid overlooking contextual factors, general background information about Korean minorities was introduced.

In order to answer and meet the above research inquiry and purpose, this study is designed on two levels: descriptive and analytical. On the descriptive level, demographic attributes of Korean minorities as well as their socio- cultural characteristics and mass media use patterns are described. On

the analytical level, a series of hypotheses were tested to analyze the relationships among individual acculturation potential, ethnic loyalty, VCR use, and degree of acculturation.

The detailed results of the findings need not be repeated here. A cursory sketch of the most significant findings are, however, summarized below for conclusive interpretation and theoretical relevance.

Most Korean minorities in the Lansing area are highly educated and more than half of them (62%) show that their English is not fluent. Their income is relatively low when compared with their high educational level. English proficiency demonstrates positive correlation with period of stay ($r=.2061, P<.05$), but it is inversely related with age.

More than half of the Korean minorities (57.7%) attend church or other Korean ethnic community more than once a month. Degree of ethnic community involvement shows negative correlation with English proficiency ($r= -.3889, P< .01$).

About 71.5% of the respondents disclosed that they prefer Korean way of thinking to American ways of thinking. When assumed that one third of the respondents are second generation Korean minorities in the United States, most of first generation Korean immigrants tend to show preference for the Korean ways of thinking.

American TV and Korean newspaper are two popular mass media Korean minorities frequently use. About 84.5% of the respondents say that they usually watch American TV programs when the opportunity exists. In case of Korean VCRs, about 40% of the respondents show that they often use Korean VCR.

Beyond the descriptive analysis, this study tested five

hypotheses in order to examine existing theories and propositions through indicative generalizations. Each hypothesis contains individual acculturation or ethnic loyalty variables relating them to Korean VCR use and preference for Korean ways of thinking.

The first hypothesis was derived from Rosengren's outline of uses and gratification model, assuming that individual needs lead to mass media use or other behaviour. The above question is generally confirmed in this survey. The second hypothesis was again mainly based on Rosengren's uses and gratification model of mass communication. The model suggests that a certain type of media use behavior (or alternative behavior) was made to fulfil the media use (or other behavior) motivation. This second hypothesis that the amount of Korean VCR use will show inverse correlation with the amount of American media use is generally confirmed. In other words, people who tend to use American media respond that they rarely use Korean ethnic media such as Korean VCR or Korean newspaper.

According to a pilot study about mass media use by Korean minorities, first generation Korean immigrants tend to watch Korean VCR programs whereas second generation Koreans rarely watch Korean VCR programs (Yoo, 1987). This mass media use differences among Korean minorities generates an interesting question: what is the communication pattern in Korean families in the United States?

The third hypothesis was derived from several previous studies about acculturation mostly in the field of anthropology (Padilla, 1980; Lee, 1975). A concept of individual

acculturation potential was developed. Here individual acculturation potential is referred to as individual soci-demographic traits with which acculturation process stimulates. Previous studies about individual acculturation variables are reviewed (Padilla, 1980; Lornner, 1975; Lee, 1975; Keifer, 1974; Choy, 1979). Implied in these studies is that people with high individual acculturation potential would enhance the mass media use of the host society. This study, however, gives a partial support to the hypothesis. The result shows that age and period of stay, which are positively correlated to each other, do not have any significant correlation with Korean VCR use. English proficiency differentiated Korean VCR use. People with high level of English proficiency tend to use American mass media rather than Korean ethnic media such as Korean VCR. These findings implicate that low individual acculturation potential does not always mean that it increase the use of Korean ethnic media.

The fourth hypothesis was formulated based on the assumption: people who show strong ethnic attachment might watch Korean VCR films more than people with weak ethnic attachment. According to Greenstone (1975), ethnic attachment refers here to the individual immigrants subjective identification with a particular ethnic group and maintenance of intimate social ties with members of this or her ethnic group. This study has hypothesized that relationship ethnic loyalty increases the amount of Korean VCR use. Contrary to expectations, ethnic community involvement does not show significant correlation with the Korean VCR use. Ethnic pride, however, demonstrate strong

positive relationship with the amount of Korean VCR use ($r=.5155$, $p<.01$).

These findings clearly demonstrate the importance of consciousness of being Korean to predict the amount of Korean VCR use. Also this result implicates that ethnic pride is the most influential variable to make Korean minorities keep their cultural-identity.

The fifth hypothesis was formulated to measure the impact of Korean VCR or acculturation rate of Korean minorities in the United States. As expected, it was found that the use of Korean VCR aids in the Korean minorities keeping their preference for Korean ways of thinking. On the contrary, the use of American TV hinders Korean minorities from keeping their preference for Korean ways of thinking ($r=-.2860$).

In sum, the most plausible interpretation of the findings for the study would be that ethnic pride is the determinant variable to predict the amount of Korean VCR use. The use of Korean VCR help Korean Minorities maintain their cultural identity.

Based on the findings that most Korean VCR users are first generation Korean immigrants, whose individual acculturation potentials are relatively low and their ethnic attachment is strong. That second generation Korean minorities usually watch American TV instead of Korean VCR film, this study implicates:

- 1) the use of Korean VCR reinforce the existing Korean way of thinking of the viewers. The Korean VCR play a role of cultural linkage between the first generation Korean immigrants and their homeland.

- 2) The use of Korean VCRs intensifies the difference in their ways of thinking, implicating possible value conflicts among Korean minorities.

In conclusion, this study implies two cultural aspects of Korean VCR use. First, as a tool of cultural linkage and secondly as a possible cause of a generation gap among the Korean minorities.

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VCR Survey Questionnaire

Hi, My name is Euisun Yoo. I am a student of Michigan State University. I am now doing research about VCR. It would be greatly appreciated if you spare a little time for this survey. The information I get from you will be used only for academic research and all of this information will be remain confidential. Thank you for your kind cooperation in advance.

1. How much following items are important to your life?
Please check one best answer.

	Very Important	Important	So So	Less Important	Rarely Important
Relaxing					
Being talented					
Making a lot of money					
Spending leisure time well					
Getting success and promotion					
Being a good person					
Children's education					
Being an influencial person to others					
Being a person of culture					
Being a knowledgeable person					
Getting a good job					
Knowing who I am					
Being approved by others					
Getting excitement					
Having fun					
Believing in Jesus Christ					

2. When you are free, how often do you use the following media ?
Choose one best answer.

	a lot	some	a little	not at all
American TV				
Radio				
Korean TV and film on VCR				
American Magazine				
American Newspaper				
Korean Newspaper				

3. How many hours do you usually spend watching American TV a day during weekdays?

- _____ 1) never watch TV
 _____ 2) less than one hour
 _____ 3) 1-2 hours
 _____ 4) 3-4 hours
 _____ 5) more than 4 hours

4. Why do you watch American TV?

How much do you agree with following items?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	So So	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
For amusement					
To avoid tension					
To avoid loneliness					
To get guideline for decision making					
To forget social discrimination					
To learn English					
To understand U.S. culture					
To get information					

5. What type of American TV programs do you watch?

Indicate the degree to which you agree with these statements?

	a lot	some	a little	not at all
Daily drama (soap opera)				
Music Show.				
Documentary films.				
Sports				
Action thrillers/mystery Movies				
Comedies				
News				
Cultural programs				
Educational programs				

6. What do you think about American TV programs?

Indicate the degree to which you agree with these statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	So So	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
American TV programs are not realistic.					
American TV is too entertaining.					
American TV helps me learn English.					
American TV is difficult to understand.					
American TV has too many sex scenes.					
American TV has too many violent scenes					
American TV is educational in general.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	So So	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
American TV is good to understand culture.					
American TV has too many commercials.					
American TV portrays orientals as inferior people.					

7. Have you ever watched VCR?

- ☐ 1) Yes
☐ 2) No [Go to the question 15. directly]

8. What kind of VCR program do you usually watch?
Choose one best answer.

- ☐ 1) American TV program
☐ 2) American Movie
☐ 3) Korean TV program
☐ 4) Korean movie
☐ 5) Others

9. Have you ever watched Korean films on VCR?

- ☐ 1) yes
☐ 2) no [If no, go directly Question 15.]

10. How often do you watch Korean VCR films?

- ☐ 1) everyday
☐ 2) about twice a week
☐ 3) once a week
☐ 4) once a month
☐ 5) twice a month
☐ 6) rarely watch Korean VCR films

11. How do you usually get Korean video films?
choose one best answers.

- ☐ 1) Through friends
☐ 2) Through video rent shop
☐ 3) Through oriental market
☐ 4) Through Korean restaurant
☐ 5) Through Korean church
☐ 6) Through relatives in Korea
☐ 7) others

12. Why do you watch Korean VCR films?
How much do you agree with following items?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	So So	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
To understand Korean culture					
For amusement					
To get unknown information about Korea					
To know what are popular songs in Korea					
To avoid loneliness					
To avoid tension					
To get specific guideline for decision making					
To be comfortable					
Because it is easy to understand					
To kill time					
To know about my country					
To educate my children					

13. What type of Korean VCR films do you watch?

Indicate how much do you agree with following items?

	a lot	some	a little	not at all
Daily drama (soap opera)				
Historical drama				
Music show				
Sports				
Korean Movie				
Educational program				
Documentary films				
News				
Cultural program				
Comedy				

14. What do you think about Korean VCR films?

How much do you agree with these items?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	So So	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Korean VCR films are entertaining.					
Korean VCR films help me understand Korean culture					
Korean VCR films are educational.					
Korean VCR films are informational.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	So So	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Korean VCR films have too many violent scenes.					
Korean VCR films have too many sex scenes.					
Korean VCR films are satisfactory.					
The quality of Korean VCR films are poor.					

15. Following items are concerned about your attitude to the United States and Korea. Please check one best answer.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	So So	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I know a lot about Korea					
I like the Korean way of thinking.					
I will return to Korea someday.					
I know what is going on Korea.					
I am interested in Korean politics.					
Korean traditional values are too conservative.					
I like American way of thinking.					
I like fashion style of American actors/actresses					
Money is the most important thing in the world.					
Americans are very liberal.					

16. How much do you agree with following items?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am proud that I am Korean.				
Premarital sex is wrong.				
Parental agreement should be made before marriage.				
Large family system is out of fashion.				
Sometimes I feel generation gap with my parents (children).				

17. How often do you usually attend Korean meeting a month (e.g., church, Korean association)?

- ☐ 1) none
- ☐ 2) less than one
- ☐ 3) 1 - 2
- ☐ 4) 3 - 5
- ☐ 5) more than 5

18. Are you married?

- ☐ 1) yes
- ☐ 2) no

19. Sex ☐ 1) Male
☐ 2) Female

20. What is the last grade of school you completed?

- ☐ 1) less than high school
- ☐ 2) high school
- ☐ 3) Technical school
- ☐ 4) College
- ☐ 5) Graduate school

21. Where did you complete the school you mentioned above?

- ☐ 1) Korea
- ☐ 2) United States

22. What grade will you give on your English ability?

- ☐ 1) very high level
- ☐ 2) high level
- ☐ 3) so so
- ☐ 4) low level
- ☐ 5) very low level

23. Are you an immigrant or son (or daughter) of immigrant?

- ☐ 1) Yes
- ☐ 2) No

24. How long have you been in the United States?

About _____ Years

25. How old are you?
_____ years old

26. What is your total family income?

- ☐ 1) more than \$50,000
- ☐ 2) about \$30,000 - \$50,000
- ☐ 3) about \$15,000 - \$30,000
- ☐ 4) less than \$15,000

Thank you very much

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