

TABLE I

Discriminant Analysis Summary
Of the Principal

Variables in New Mexico Election Study

Variable	F to Enter or Remove
Radio Political Advertising	15.3930*
Campaign Spending	8.8462*
Newspaper Endorsement	2.5120
Newspaper Coverage	.4246
City Unemployment	.8550
Voter Turnout	.9395
Newspaper Advertising	.3955
Incumbency	.6712
Candidate's Sex	.0000

* $p < .01$, using Wilks-lambda test.

high degree of separation as indicated by the final Wilks' lambda score of .5321 and a canonical correlation of .68 for the only discriminant function between the two groups (winners vs. losers, $X^2=11.67$, d.f. 3, $p < .01$).

Discussion

The question of what effect certain media variables might have on the outcome of *local elections* is an important research question. Students of communication theory should be concerned about such questions since the rise of the electronic journalism age over the past 25 years of national political races. But at the *local level* of campaigning, is radio political advertising effective?

Although scores of studies have been completed on media effects at the state and national level, few studies have focused attention on individual variables or sets of variables that have acceptable reliability in

Young Yun Kim, "Toward an interactive theory of communication-acculturation," pp. 436-453. Dan Nimmo, ed. *Communication Yearbook 3*, 1979.

² William Petersen, "Who's What: 1790-1980," *The Wilson Quarterly*, 9:97-120.

³ Such as: Richard J. Ouseberg, "The Social Integration and Adjustment of Postwar Immigrants in Montreal and Toronto," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 1:202-214 (1964); Young Yun Kim, "Communication Patterns of Foreign Immigrants in the Process of Acculturation," *Human Communication Research*, 4:66-77 (1977); Melvin DeFleur and Chang-Soo Cho, "Assimilation of Japanese-born women in an American city," *Social Problems*, 1957; Andrew M. Greeley, "An Alternative Perspective for Studying American Ethnicity," in *Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974); S. Alexander Weinstock, "Some Factors That Retard or Accelerate the Rate of Acculturation," *Human*

predicting which candidate might win mayoral or local office.

This study indicates politicians campaigning at the local level of government should take radio political advertising into account in their quest for public office. It seems quite apparent that 11 winning mayoral candidates in 1986 New Mexico mayoral elections paid attention to radio political advertising in their media mix.

Ethnic Concentration as Predictor of Media Use

By Pamela J. Shoemaker,

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and Kenneth Hsu

► Acculturation has been defined as an ethnic individual becoming acquainted with and adopting the "norms and values of salient reference groups."¹ What makes a reference group "salient"? Many studies assume that the mainstream culture is the salient one, and that, for example, Hispanics will acculturate to Anglo traditions. Yet this does not always happen. Ethnic differences in the United States, far from fading away in this century as some social theorists predicted, have endured and even increased.² This study examines one important factor which may limit the salience of the host culture and incentives to acculturate to it and which may increase the salience of the ethnic culture — the concentration of ethnics in a community.

Most studies of acculturation see acculturation as influenced by individual-level variables such as education, media use or length of time in the host country.³

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(Footnote continued)

We believe that acculturation is affected not only by attributes of the individual, but also by community characteristics. If acculturation is defined as adopting norms and values of a *salient* reference group, then the size or concentration of one reference group relative to others in the community should influence which group is the more salient. The proportion of Hispanics to Anglos (ethnic concentration) may become large enough to obviate the ethnics' need to conform to the Anglo culture, slowing Hispanics' acculturation and leading to a continuing interest in and use of Spanish-language mass media, according to Kim's theory.⁴

Acculturation is not necessarily a unidirectional process, however, with only ethnics adapting to another culture. Surely Anglos have adapted to the Hispanic culture as well. We would expect ethnic concentration to affect Anglos' use of Spanish-language mass media and interest in learning the Spanish language as well.

We will test the following language and media hypotheses in this article, selected from a larger set that explored several other facets of acculturation. The greater the concentration of Hispanics in the respondent's community: (1) the more Hispanics will speak Spanish when talking with family or friends, (2) the more Spanish-language media Hispanics will use, (3) the more importance Hispanics will place on having a daily Spanish-language newspaper to read, (4) the more Hispanics will agree that all Texans should be able to speak Spanish, (5) the more Hispanics will agree that being able to speak Spanish is personally important to them, (6) the more Hispanics will favor bilingual grade school education and (7) the more Hispanics will prefer Mexican-American culture and customs, prefer associating with Mexican-Americans, and believe that Mexican-Americans are a lot different from other people. The same hypotheses will also be tested for Anglos in order to look for cross-acculturation effects.

Method

Data were collected via telephone interviews conducted by professional

interviewers during the spring of 1984.⁵ All interviewers were bilingual in Spanish and English, and the questionnaire included English and Spanish versions side-by-side on each page. The first two questions were designed to find out which language the respondent was most comfortable in using for the interview. Interviewers were encouraged to switch between languages as necessary for the respondent.⁶

Census (1980) data were used to estimate the percentage of Hispanics in the respondent's community of residence (counties, standard metropolitan statistical areas, and the Houston standard consolidated statistical area). The boundaries of these communities were matched with those of the zip code areas, defined according to the first three digits in the respondent's zip code.⁷

Results

Hypothesis tests were performed separately for Hispanics and Anglos⁸ in order to look for acculturation effects on both groups. Table 1 shows statistically significant relationships supporting the

Relations, 17:321-340 (1964); Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc., "Spanish USA: A study of the Hispanic market in the United States," 1981; Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc., "Spanish USA 1984: A Study of the Hispanic Market," 1984; Pamela J. Shoemaker, Stephen D. Reese and Wayne Danielson, "Spanish-language print media use as an indicator of acculturation," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62:734-40, 762 (Winter 1985).

⁴ Kim, *op. cit.*

⁵ We tested these hypotheses in Texas, where although about 21% of the population was wholly or partially of Hispanic origin in the 1980 census (*Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1982-83*, 103rd edition. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, p. 32), the Hispanic population is not evenly distributed across the state, thus providing a chance to compare different degrees of ethnic concentration.

For more information on the study methodology, see Shoemaker, Reese and Danielson, *op. cit.*

⁷ The proportion of Hispanics in each of the communities in this study were: Abilene 11.57%, Abilene suburb 15.29%, Amarillo, 8.58%, Amarillo suburb 18.98%, Austin 17.58%, Austin suburb 12.98%, Beaumont 3.36%, Bryan 8.87%, Childress 13.44%, Corpus Christi 48.47%, Corpus Christi suburb 38.66%, Dallas-Fort Worth 8.39%, Dallas Fort-Worth suburb 2.31%, Denton 1.59%, El Paso 61.89%, El Paso suburb 58.18%, Houston 14.56%, Longview 1.78%, Lubbock 19.57%, Lubbock suburb 30.54%, Lufkin 3.11%, McAllen 80.40%, Midland 22.34%, Palestine 2.44%, San Antonio 44.92%, San Antonio suburb 60.62%, Temple 8.40%, Texarkana 1.57%, Tyler 2.67%, Victoria 25.97%, Waco 8.78%, Wichita Falls 6.55%.

⁸ A respondent was coded as Hispanic if he said that he was wholly or partially of Hispanic origin. A respondent was coded as Anglo if he said that he was white and not Hispanic. Other respondents were excluded from the analyses presented in this paper.

TABLE 1

Hispanic Concentration by the Language Hispanics Speak When Talking with Family and Friends

Language spoken with family and friends	Percentage of Hispanics in Community			
	Less than 22%	23-44%	45-62%	More than 62%
"What language do you speak when talking with your family?" ^a				
English	43.1%	16.9%	26.6%	12.1%
Spanish	38.9	29.9	34.4	54.5
English and Spanish	18.1	21.1	39.1	33.3
	N=72	N=77	N=64	N=66
"What language do you speak when you talk with your friends?" ^b				
English	37.8%	23.7%	21.9%	6.1%
Spanish	21.6	14.5	18.8	33.3
English and Spanish	40.5	61.8	59.4	60.6
	N=74	N=76	N=64	N=66

^a $\chi^2_4=35.12, p < .001, \text{Cramer's } V = .25$

^b $\chi^2_6=25.67, p < .001, \text{Cramer's } V = .21$

TABLE 2

Zero-order and Third-order Correlation Coefficients Between the Concentration of Hispanics in the Community and Use of Spanish-language Mass Media.

Spanish-language media variables	Percentage of Hispanics in Community ... and Hispanics' media ... and Anglos' media.			
	(N=245)		(N=641)	
	Zero-order	Third-order	Zero-order	Third-order
"How much of the time you listen to the radio is it in Spanish?" ²	.24 ^c	.21 ^c	.05	.05
"Overall, about how much of the television you watch is in Spanish?" ²	.14 ^b	.07	.04	.04
"About how much of the news you watch on television is Spanish?" ²	.10 ^a	.03	.03	.03
"About how many of the newspapers and magazines you read are in Spanish?" ²	.17 ^a	.13 ^a	.05	.05
"How important is it for you to have a daily newspaper to read in Spanish?" ³	.13 ^b	.08	.08 ^a	.08 ^a

¹Controls were age, education and income

²Possible responses include: 0=none of it, 1=less than half, 2=about half, 3=more than half, 4=all of it.

³Possible responses include: 1=not important at all, 2=a little important, 3=somewhat important, 4=very important.

^a $p < .05$, ^b $p < .01$, ^c $p < .001$

hypothesis that the greater the concentration of Hispanics in the community, the less likely Hispanics are to speak only English with family or friends. There was no relationship between the concentration of Hispanics in the community and Anglos' use of language with friends and family (results not shown).

Table 2 shows that, for Hispanics, their concentration in the community is positively related (without controls) to every Spanish-language mass media variable studied. When we control for age, education and income, we find that the third-order partial correlation coefficients between concentration of Hispanics and

Hispanics' Spanish-language media use remain statistically significant only for Spanish-language print media reading and radio listening. The greater the concentration of Hispanics in the community, the more Spanish-language print media and radio are used.

For Anglos, only the importance of having a daily Spanish-language newspaper to read was positively related to the concentration of Hispanics in the community, even with controls for demographics. The more Hispanics in the community, the more importance Anglos placed on having a daily Spanish-language newspaper to read.

Discussion

We have tested several hypotheses to investigate the relationship between the concentration of Hispanics in a community (as an indicator of reference group salience) with various communication indicators of acculturation.

Some of our hypotheses were supported. The concentration of Hispanics in the community was positively related with Hispanics' likelihood of speaking Spanish with family or friends, with Hispanics' Spanish-language print media reading and radio listening, and with Anglos' reported importance of having a Spanish-language daily newspaper to read.

Is this evidence that the size of an ethnic group can affect acculturation? Before we can answer this question, we must consider possible alternative explanations for the observed relationships. Being more likely to speak Spanish with friends when there is a large concentration of Hispanics in the community could be merely a function of having more Spanish-speakers available as friends. But being more likely to speak Spanish with family when there are more Hispanics in your community may be better explained by a lessening of the need to conform to Anglo language norms at home — i.e., less perceived need to acculturate.

Differences in Hispanics' print media use between those who live in communities where the concentration of Hispanics is low and those where the concentration of

Hispanics is high could be a function of the difference between quantity and/or quality of magazines and newspapers that are available in those cities. It is likely that more and better Spanish-language print media are available in communities where there are more Hispanics. Differences in radio listening are more difficult to explain by differences in radio programming quality, however, since Spanish-language radio is more available than Spanish-language print media.

There is some indication that acculturation of both Hispanics and Anglos is influenced by the concentration of Hispanics in the community. In addition to some relationships between Hispanic concentration and communication behaviors, we have found that Hispanic concentration is related to some attitudes about the Spanish language. The greater the concentration of Hispanics in the community, the more personal importance both Anglos and Hispanics placed on speaking Spanish and the more importance Anglos placed on having a daily Spanish-language newspaper to read. This is probably a function of the need to interact with more Hispanics on a routine, daily basis. Adapting to the language of another reference group for pragmatic business or social reasons may be the first step in the acculturation process.

In summary, we have shown evidence that some indicators of acculturation may be affected by the concentration of Hispanics in the community. Not only do Hispanics appear more likely to exhibit certain Spanish-language communication behaviors when Hispanic concentration is high in their community, but Anglos also report more favorable attitudes toward the personal importance of speaking Spanish and toward the importance of having a daily Spanish-language newspaper. Future research on the salience of reference groups should examine not just the sheer numbers of Hispanics in comparison to other reference groups, but should also include other indicators of group salience, such as the ethnic group's power in the community, the group's cohesion, and whether it is gaining or losing members.

There should also be some attention given to the media content in these communities, content that may support or inhibit Hispanic and Anglo acculturation processes.

Puerto Rican Leaders' Views Of English-Language Media

By Pia Nicolini

► The relationship between the media and different ethnic and racial groups has recently received increasing scholarly attention. Wilson and Gutierrez¹ describe this growing concern and attribute it to the nonassimilation of certain ethnic groups, including Hispanics, Blacks and Asians. Wilson and Gutierrez assert that the population of nonassimilating groups is growing. Therefore, media scholars have a great interest in understanding these ethnic groups' perceptions and use of the mass media. The mass media are faced with a need to evaluate their handling of ethnic and racial groups for at least two reasons: (1) self-interest — to capture portions of a growing audience; and, (2) social responsibility — to help shape

public perceptions and awareness of groups in our ethnically diverse society.

Hispanics will likely become the largest ethnic minority in the United States by the year 2000. Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon and Korzenny² provide an excellent recent review of the current research on Hispanic Americans and the media. The review reveals that most of the research findings are based on research with only Mexican-Americans and in the western United States, but little is known about other Hispanic groups, including the very numerous Puerto Ricans of the East coast.

With regard to the Mexican-American leaders' perception of the media, Korzenny, Griffis, Greenberg, Burgoon and Burgoon³ recently conducted individual and focus group discussions with Mexican-American community leaders. They found that Mexican-American community leaders evaluate the media in a consistently negative fashion. According to their results, the leaders' major concerns are: (1) the almost complete absence of Hispanic media personnel hired from among residents of the local community, (2) the fostering of negative stereotypes about Hispanics by an overemphasis on news about crime and violence, (3) an absence of positive news related to Hispanics, and, (4) an insufficiency of Spanish-language media. Significantly, the authors report that the Mexican-American leaders often attributed negative portrayals of Hispanics in the English-language media to "racism."

Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon and Korzenny⁴ recommend that similar studies be conducted among other Hispanic communities in order to ascertain similarities and differences between the Mexican-Americans and other Hispanic groups. The main objective of this study is to help fill this research gap by describing how one major eastern city's Puerto Rican community leaders perceive the mass media. The research questions posed by

¹ Clint C. Wilson II and Felix Gutierrez, *Minorities and the Media* (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1985).

² Bradley S. Greenberg, Michael Burgoon, Judge K. Burgoon and Felipe Korzenny, *Mexican-Americans and the Mass Media* (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1983); and, Felipe Korzenny, Kimberly Neuendorf, Michael Burgoon, Judge K. Burgoon and Bradley Greenberg, "Cultural Identification as Predictor of Content Preferences of Hispanics," *Journalism Quarterly*, 60:677-770 (1983); Bradley S. Greenberg, Carrie Heeter, Judge K. Burgoon, Michael Burgoon, and Felipe Korzenny, "Local Newspaper Coverage of Mexican-Americans," *Journalism Quarterly*, 60:671-676 (1983); Bradley S. Greenberg and Carrie Heeter, "Mass Media Orientations Among Hispanic Youth," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 5:305-323 (1983); Carrie Heeter, Bradley S. Greenberg, Bradley E. Mendelson, Judge K. Burgoon, Michael Burgoon and Felipe Korzenny, "Cross Media Coverage of Local Hispanic American News," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 27:395-402 (1983).

³ Felipe Korzenny, Betty Ann Griffis, Bradley S. Greenberg, Judge K. Burgoon and Michael Burgoon, "How Community Leaders, Newspapers Executives, and Reporters Perceive Mexican-Americans and the Mass Media" in Bradley S. Greenberg, Michael Burgoon, Judge K. Burgoon and Felipe Korzenny, *Mexican-Americans and the Mass Media* (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1983).

⁴ Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon and Korzenny, *op. cit.*

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