Latinas and Television in the United States: Relationships Among Genre Identification, Acculturation, and Acculturation Stress

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This research investigates how television use by Hispanic women in the United States relates to the process of acculturation. Viewing of and identification with various types of English-language television genres are compared with acculturation level and acculturation stress. The study also explores the use of television to learn English and Spanish-language television consumption.

Results indicate that women who identified most with talk shows had the lowest levels of acculturation stress, and women who identified most with comedies, the highest. Women with the lowest levels were most likely to use television to learn English.

The data suggest that Latin American women's television use varies, as does Anglo-American women's, and that demographic variables provide only part of the explanation for differences in acculturation. Results indicate that English-language television in the United States can play a positive role in its audience members' selective acculturation to mainstream society and that television has a part in fulfilling some Latinas' learning needs. This information lends support to media function typologies and adds to the body of knowledge about stress-related gratifications of television use.

Keywords: acculturation, acculturation stress, Hispanic, Latina, mass media, television, uses and gratifications.

Growth in the number of immigrants and cultural minorities in the United States has increased interest in multicultural audiences' uses of mass media. The increased diversity of the nation's population presents an opportunity to study adults and the role of media as a resource for socialization. The mass media have been identified as a socializing force (Gandy & Matabane, 1989; Kim, 1988; O'Keefe & Reid-Nash, 1987; Rosengren, 1974; Tuchman, 1978) and a sociocultural resource (Lull, 1980b, 1985). In particular, television can play a vital role in socializing individuals into the dominant culture.

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role as a “window on the world” for newcomers or for minorities, who can visit the living rooms of other cultures via the television screen. We also know that immigrants have profound learning needs about other cultures created by the psychological tensions that come from being in a strange place.

This research investigates the role of television in acculturation for Hispanic women living in a region of the southeastern United States. The study looks at the relationship between a Latina’s viewing and/or identifying with various television genres and her level of acculturation and acculturation stress. English-language soap operas, action dramas, comedies, and talk shows are the genres primarily studied. Although interpersonal communication plays a key role in acculturation (Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Kim, 1977, 1988) and may vary with roles (Subervi-Vélez, 1986), this study does not investigate interpersonal communication variables.

Review of Related Literature

Along with comprehensive reviews of Hispanics and mass media (Subervi-Vélez, 1986, 1994), most research associated with Hispanics and the mass media over the past 15 years can be organized into five types of studies. These include descriptive uses of the mass media by Hispanics (Allen & Clarke, 1980; Hispanic attitudes toward mass media credibility (Tan, 1978); coverage and treatment of Hispanics in the mass media (Greenberg & Baptista-Fernandez, 1980; Greenberg et al., 1983; Heller, 1995; Lichter et al., 1987; Subervi-Vélez, 1994; Turk et al., 1989); mass media and Hispanics as consumers (Downing, 1992; Gutiérrez, 1987; O'Guinn et al., 1985; O'Guinn et al., 1987); mass media and Hispanics as voters (Subervi-Vélez, 1988; Tan, 1983); or combinations of these topics (Greenberg et al., 1983; Greenberg & Brand, 1994). Most of these studies relied either on survey methods, content analysis, or both. In addition, a body of literature about mass media and acculturation/ethnic identity also will be addressed.

Hispanic mass media empirical studies in the 1980s tended to focus on media use (Allen & Clarke, 1980; Chang et al., 1987; Greenberg et al., 1983; Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Korzenney et al., 1983; Rios, 1993; Shoemaker et al., 1985; Shoemaker et al., 1987; Tan, 1983). Noting the trend toward analysis of general communication patterns, Subervi-Vélez (1986) advocated ethnic media studies that would employ uses and gratifications approaches to such research. Uses and gratifications studies focus on understanding how the use of mass media gratifies individual needs, explaining individuals’ media behavior, and detecting the outcome of media use (Katz et al., 1974; Newton & Buck, 1985; Palmgreen et al., 1985; Ruben, 1983, 1986; Swanson, 1987). Within this framework, Katz et al. (1974) summarized the media consumption process: The social and psychological origins of needs generate expectations of the media (or other sources), which lead to differential patterns of media exposure that result in need gratifications and other (often unintended) consequences. In short, a uses and gratifications approach to studying media incorporates psychosocial aspects of individuals that create variations in media uses and their consequences.

Fundamental to this research is the concept of the active audience. A member of an active audience (Fiske, 1987; Levy & Windahl, 1985; Palmgreen et al., 1985;
Rios, 1994; Windahl, 1981) will strategically choose television programming. One measure of program choice is a consumption measure, such as asking respondents how many hours of television they watch or how often they view a particular television genre. In addition, television viewers will relate to specific characters or personalities, a concept that has been termed media identification (Levy & Windahl, 1985). Looking at oneself in relation to people on television—using television images or characters as referents—is a form of media identification. A few studies of women and the media have detected this identification process. For instance, research on adolescent girls and television has found that girls relate to female television characters (Durkin, 1985; Lull, 1980a) and to male television characters as well (Miller & Reeves, 1976; Reeves & Miller, 1978). In this study, the concept of media identification was positioned within the “differential patterns of media exposure” section of the Katz et al. (1974) model discussed previously.

According to the uses and gratifications model, social and psychological origins of needs generate the media expectations that lead to these patterns of exposure. Acculturation studies have documented the social and psychological needs of immigrants (Berry, 1980; Espin, 1987; Kim, 1988, 1992; Mena et al., 1987; Salgado de Snyder, 1987; Vargas-Willis & Cervantes, 1987) and described acculturation as an active process involving strategic choices. Demographic factors such as income and education, along with other factors in one’s adaptive predisposition (Griffith & Villaviciencia, 1985; Kim, 1988), affect acculturation success. Some have asserted that Hispanic men acculturate more quickly than Hispanic women (Burnam et al., 1987; Espin, 1987). However, one sample (Espin, 1987) consisted of women in therapy, and another (Burnam et al., 1987) noted that education and employment differences related to gender could account for the differences.

One cannot discuss acculturation without addressing acculturation stress—more commonly referred to as culture shock (Furnham & Bochner, 1990). Acculturation research has supported the vital role that communication plays in the acculturation process and in reducing the stress caused by changes in values, culture, and lifestyle. Kim (1988) noted, “strangers are faced with high degrees of uncertainty. They are unfamiliar with various aspects of the new cultural environment, particularly the ‘mentality’ (thought patterns) of the natives” (p. 87). She stated that people have inherent drives to maintain equilibrium and that people adapt in order to regain internal equilibrium and reduce stress. They accomplish this through communication (p. 50).

In addition to dealing with the new cultural environment that Kim described, Latinas list language barriers, discrimination, lack of employment, and financial stress that they may or may not have experienced in their native country as factors contributing to acculturation stress. The changes caused by migration also may disrupt conventional family relationships. For instance, the rigid division of labor in Mexican families may be disrupted when a wife is exposed to North American customs (Amaro et al., 1987), or an older Latina may be distressed by the youth-oriented culture in the U.S. and the lack of respect shown her by younger family members (Vargas-Willis & Cervantes, 1987).

Women who find themselves psychologically at odds with their environment, such as the Latinas just mentioned, will try to reduce dissonance and achieve internal harmony (Güdykunst, 1988; Kim, 1988, 1992; Zajonc, 1960). Some uses
and gratifications studies have found that audience members use television in times of stress (Bryant & Zillman, 1984). Findings from other studies would predict that a Latina who found her role inappropriate in her new surroundings would make a strategic decision to find ways of achieving consonance. She may use communication, as Kim suggested, to increase her ability to change her acculturation level, thus alleviating stress, or she may use communication to reinforce her current cultural norms, thereby reducing stress. Acculturation research points to the role of communication in the process, and uses and gratifications theory suggests she would turn to mass media communication.

Given the possible mass media outlets, Hispanic women are likely to choose television for several reasons. First, because television saturation in Latin America is high, the format is familiar. Second, because the United States exports much of its programming, some television programs may be familiar (although generally Latin Americans would receive dubbed versions). Third, possible low literacy among some groups of Latinas means that visual media can be used more readily. Fourth, television is less expensive than print media. Fifth, there are indications that younger Hispanics in general, and female Hispanics in particular, are less likely to read the newspaper, and there is some evidence that Latinas watch more entertainment television and television news than do male Hispanics (Burgoon et al., 1983).

In summary, uses and gratifications theory provides solid concepts for exploring the relationship between television viewing and factors in acculturation. Psychological elements of the theory, in addition to the concept of identification, might lead one to believe that audience stress differences and audience acculturation levels would create differences in attending to and identifying with different types of television programming. On the other hand, choosing and identifying with various television genres also could lead to different outcomes in acculturation stress or acculturation level. It is not clear whether television use affects acculturation, whether acculturation affects television use, or whether—most likely—the process is a circular one, with each change affecting the subsequent one. Kim (1992) diagramed it as a stress-adaptation-growth dynamic spiral, leading to personal growth over time.

**Uses and Gratifications Approaches and Hispanic Acculturation**

Acculturation communication studies with Latinos have tended to focus on English-language versus Spanish-language media use, and they have indicated that the language of the medium used may relate to acculturation level or ethnic identity (Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Korzenny et al., 1983; Riggins, 1992; Shoemaker et al., 1985; Shoemaker et al., 1987; Subervi-Vélez, 1986; Zmud, 1992). However, much of the previous mass communication research with Hispanics was conducted in regions where Latinos comprised large percentages of the population and Spanish-language media were readily available. One issue that the literature raises, then, concerns possible findings about the relationship between acculturation level and media use in a market dominated by English-language media. When Spanish-language media are not available and the only choices are in English, ethnic
audiences could maintain low acculturation levels while still viewing large amounts of English-language television, depending on the gratifications they seek from television.

Perhaps the "choiceless" English-language viewing could make a difference. Miyazaki (1981, p. 335) stated that the advantage of television is that viewers can see a character's "shifts of mind" and behaviors in ways that one cannot when learning about real-life individuals. In addition, the viewer does not have to make a personal commitment as she would in an intimate conversation. This may be an advantage for a Hispanic woman who may prefer this stage of involvement and learning before meeting Anglos, or for a Latina homemaker who is relatively isolated. Whether a viewer has media language choices or not, she still make genre choices. One of the objectives of this study is to investigate media genre and acculturation variables.

Based on the literature review and data about popular Latin American television genres, we chose four media genres on which to focus the tests of the relationship between media use/identification and acculturation: action dramas, talk shows, situation comedies, and soap operas. Existing social and psychological structures are part of the uses and gratifications model, and income, years of education, and proportion of residency (years in the United States divided by age) are important in acculturation literature; these were therefore included as control variables. During pretest qualitative interviews, Latinas stressed the role of television in learning English, so this concept was added to the media genres.

Because this research was not based on longitudinal data, there is no way of ensuring which of the variables (beyond demographics) occurs first. As noted earlier, the process may have a circular aspect, with Time 1 acculturation levels or acculturation stress levels leading to television genre choice, which then leads to reduced/increased/maintained acculturation stress or acculturation level at Time 2, which then may reinforce or change future media choices.

Research Hypotheses

1. Less education and family income, in addition to shorter proportion of U.S. residency, will result in more acculturation stress.
2. Less education and family income, in addition to shorter proportion of U.S. residency, will result in a lower acculturation level.
3. Controlling for education level, family income, and proportion of U.S. residency, (a) more viewing and identifying with television action dramas, talk shows, and situation comedies, (b) less viewing and identifying with soap operas, plus (c) more use of television to learn English and about U.S. women will result in less acculturation stress.
4. Controlling for education level, family income, and proportion of U.S. residency, (a) more viewing and identifying with television action dramas, talk shows, and situation comedies, (b) less viewing and identifying with soap operas, plus (c) more use of television to learn English and about U.S. women will result in a higher acculturation level.
Method

Sampling and Interviewing

The final sample included 135 Hispanic women living in three counties in North Carolina. This was a small sample; however, smaller sample sizes can be appropriate for regional studies and studies with no subgroup analysis such as this one. In addition, the population from which the sample was drawn was small. Two of the counties documented 170 and 202 (respectively) Hispanic women in the general age group under study, and all Hispanics in the state comprise just 1.2% of the total population, although there is evidence that undercounting by the U.S. Bureau of the Census occurred.³ Studying Hispanic women in North Carolina, then, is quite different from working with Latinas in California or Texas. Although the migration literature indicates that Latin Americans tend to cluster in communities because they help one another find jobs and housing, they do not have access to the vast personal networks that are available to Hispanics in neighborhoods or cities where they comprise a greater percentage of the population (Massey, 1986; Massey et al., 1987).

The surveys were administered in Spanish. Respondents were reached through the Latin American Association of North Carolina, in a migrant health center waiting room, after Spanish-language masses at Catholic churches, and at English-as-a-second-language (ESL) classes in two community colleges. No respondents received payment. In addition, the researcher rented booths near those selling Spanish-language audiotapes and videotapes, Latin American food supplies, and other culture-specific items at two different community flea markets. Respondents at the flea markets were paid $3 each for completion of the survey. A final method of data collection was a miniversion of a snowball sample. Various contacts in the Latin American community were asked for the names and numbers of other Hispanic women, who were then asked to participate in the study. Many respondents at the various locations had the survey read to them in Spanish because they had low reading levels.

A pretest with 41 respondents was conducted to test the effectiveness of the sampling strategy, reduce the number of questions on the survey, and improve survey wording. As a result of the pretest, questions about learning English from television were added to the protocol. Pretests were conducted at two churches, one ESL class, a migrant health center, and through contacts in the Latina community. These interviews were not included in the final sample.

Data for the pretest were gathered in June and July of 1991, and data for the final study were gathered between August 1991 and July 1992. Table 1 provides a demographic profile of the respondents.

Sampling and Nonsampling Error

Sampling error must be considered in this study because of unequal rates of selection from the population. No clear patterns of refusals could be determined in the various settings. However, selecting women who choose to attend church or to learn English (or who have the resources of transportation, time, child care,
Table 1  Respondent Demographic Information: Ranges and Means

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Range</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of education</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of U.S. residency</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of age</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of years in U.S.</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes residency of less than 1 year.

N = 135.

ecc., to attend services or English classes) may create a bias. Selecting respondents in the flea market studies could create a bias as well—those who were most in need of the $3 incentive might have been the ones most likely to complete the survey. In addition, because of the Latino culture, males accompanying the women (usually spouses, significant others, fathers, or older brothers) also had to be solicited by the researcher for permission to interview the Latinas with them, thus affecting refusal rates. However, the variety of data-gathering settings helped to balance any biases.

Sample Profile

Tables 1 and 2 highlight sample demographics. Respondents' education levels range from zero to 21 years, with a mean of 11.4 years of schooling. The average length of residency in the state is 5 years, and the mean length of U.S. residency is 10.3 years. The greatest percentage of respondents are from Mexico, and the mean age is 29, four years older than the state average mean for Hispanic women in the state where the research was conducted. More than one third have family incomes of $12,000 per year or less, and the mean is less than $24,000. Sixty percent of the women are employed outside the home, averaging 21 hr of work per week, and 58% are married. The number of children range from one to seven, with a mean of 1.6 children. Census data describing average length of residency, income, and education for North Carolina Latinas were not available. However, 1990 census information is available for the general North Carolina population. Median household income is $26,647 statewide, with 13% of the population designated as living in poverty. Seventy percent of the general population over age 25 have a high school diploma, and more than 17% have a bachelor's degree.

Table 2  Country or Region of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country or region of origin</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States (self-identified Hispanic)</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 135.
Nationwide, the mean age of all Hispanics is 26 years, slightly younger than the women in this research project. The average age of Latinos is low because Mexican Americans comprise 60% of the general population, and their mean age is 24. However, the mean age of U.S. Cubans is 39, the average age of Central and South Americans in the United States is 28, and the average age of Puerto Ricans is 27. This North Carolina sample had a greater percentage of these groups and a lower percentage of Mexican Americans, which accounts for the differences.

Median family income for U.S. Hispanics is slightly more than $24,000, not unlike the family incomes among women in this sample. About half the Hispanics in the nation complete high school, a statistic similar to that in the sample. Fewer than 10% of U.S. Latinos complete college, and Mexican Americans achieve the lowest education levels. This sample has more college-educated respondents in comparison to the national norm, probably because other Latin American subgroups have higher education levels and there were fewer Mexican Americans in the study. Respondents range from professionals and wives of professionals to factory assembly-line employees, office personnel, and agricultural workers. Although most Hispanics in the United States live in large urban areas, much of this data was collected in suburban, rural, or small city markets. To summarize, despite some differences, the demographics of this sample are not inconsistent with the profile of the general population under study, given differences in Hispanic subgroups and regional factors.

Measurement

The 81-item questionnaire was shortened from the original 110-item pretest questionnaire to reduce the size of the protocol. The final survey contained four scales, plus a set of questions related to demographic variables. (This article deals with three scales and the demographics.) The survey was translated from English into Spanish, then back into English to check for consistency in the cross-translation, as recommended by those researching Hispanics (Marin & Marin, 1989, 1991). The questionnaire then was reviewed by former residents of Peru, Chile, Columbia, and Mexico. When disagreement over word choice arose, both words were used, with one in parentheses, or the terms were alternated within the question. The Appendix contains a copy of the instrument translated into English (although they were always administered in Spanish).

Media Use Scales. Questions 1–37 measured various aspects of media use (consumption) and identification. Individual questions about types of programming measured how much of each English-language genre the women watched and how often they saw Spanish-language television. In addition, four media scales were included to measure the concept of identification with characters and situations in each of the television genres. Questions 12–15 measured identification with soap operas and had an alpha coefficient of 0.92, items 16–19 asked about identification with comedies and had an alpha coefficient of 0.90, questions 20–23 asked about identification with talk shows and had an alpha coefficient of 0.93, and items 24–27 measured identification with action dramas and had an alpha coefficient of 0.90. Another scale added after the pretest (questions 35–37) asked respondents about their use of the media.
about the use of television to learn English and to learn about U.S. women and the way they live. Its alpha coefficient was 0.86.

**Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics.** Marin et al. (1987) developed this scale; in their use of it, separate validations for Mexican Americans and Central Americans showed similar results. In this study, three items about media use were omitted from the acculturation scale because media were dealt with in the media use scales. Questions 65–69 measured acculturation level, and the scale's alpha coefficient was 0.84.

**Acculturation Stress Scale.** Items 56–64 measured acculturation stress within the family, the workplace, and United States society in general. It used some new measures related to gender role in addition to items previously used with Hispanics by Mena et al. (1987) and Salgado de Snyder (1987).

**Data Analysis**

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS-PC) was used to generate descriptive statistics on the media variables, the demographic variables, and the acculturation variables. Hypotheses were tested using a set of SPSS multiple regression analyses with the demographic control variables input first.

Multiple regression in mass communication research is normally associated with making inferences from samples to populations and with probability samples. However, social science statisticians describe its comprehensiveness and flexibility for description, explanation, and prediction without inferring to a larger population (Achen, 1982; Greenberg, 1987; Pedhazur, 1982; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989; Thorne, 1989; Zeller & Carmines, 1978). Greenberg (1987) said that, although random assignment “is preferable for control purposes, multiple regression provides a means of establishing controls so that nonrandom conditions may also be studied” (p. 215). In addition to its use in inferential statistics, multiple regression is “eminently suited for analyzing the collective and separate effects of two or more independent variables on a dependent variable” (Pedhazur, 1982, p. 6). In this analysis, multiple regression was used to analyze strengths of relationships among variables while controlling for select demographic variables—not to make inferences about a broader population of Hispanic women. Because dependent variables were ratio measures, independent variables were interval measures, and control variables were ratio or interval measures, this analytical technique was chosen. Nonparametric statistics with elaborate crosstabs were not a practical way for a researcher to look at the relationships among variables in this study.

Although regression implies an ordering of the variables, Pedhazur (1982) said that the way we order variables in nonexperimental research cannot completely reflect the way variables operate in the real world. Regression equations “reflect average relations between a dependent and a set of independent variables, and not necessarily the process by which the latter produce the former” (p. 222). Even though acculturation stress and acculturation level were treated as dependent variables in this research, the reader must understand that it is a statistical treatment of a real-life dynamic process of gratifications sought, television consumption, and
Table 3  Hours of English-Language and Spanish-Language Television Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Television Use</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English-language TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekday hours</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday hours</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday hours</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total weekly hours</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly videos use</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish-language TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total weekly hours</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly videos use</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 135.

outcomes that lead to new gratifications sought. Because regression analysis is generally robust when departing from assumptions, except for measurement errors and specification errors (Pedhazur, 1982), the dependent variable scales were chosen for their strong reliability coefficients in previous studies, along with prior use with Latin Americans.

According to Tabachnick and Fidell (1989), “There are more restrictions on inference than there are on description. Many assumptions of multivariate statistics are necessary only for inference. If simple description of the sample is the major goal, many assumptions are relaxed” (p. 9). Although inferences were not made, the data met the assumptions for inferential multiple regression, as well. Data were screened for normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. Bivariate scatterplots were scanned for linearity and homoscedasticity, and no curvilinear relationships were found. Multicollinearity was not detected.

Results

Descriptive Statistics: Hispanic Women’s Media Use

Respondents’ media use averaged fewer than three hours per day on weekdays or Sundays and slightly more than three hours on Saturday, as Table 3 shows. Only 24% watched Spanish-language television, primarily because there was no access to Spanish channels in the television markets where most of the research was conducted. Only one of the four cable companies in these areas provided a Spanish-language channel, so a viewer had to live within the market area and be a cable subscriber to see it (or regularly visit a cable subscriber). If women watched Spanish-language television, they watched fewer than three hours daily. As shown in Table 4, the most popular television genres, as measured by always or frequent viewing in this sample, were news, followed by movies and comedies. Although the favorites matched those of the Nielsen ratings for the general U.S. population from the same period (Nielsen Media Research, 1992), it had been expected that English-language soap operas and action dramas would rank higher because of the significant telenovela production industry in Latin America and the number of U.S.-produced action dramas that are exported to the region.
Table 4  Television Genre Use (Percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program type</th>
<th>Always or frequently</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Seldom or never</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>101*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game shows</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>101*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedies</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music, variety, and entertainment</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>99*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk shows</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap operas</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action dramas</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 135.
*Error due to rounding.

Bivariate Relationships

Table 5 shows bivariate relationships among control variables. The only correlation among the control variable is a significant one between income and education, a common finding in social science research.

Tests of the Hypotheses

Demographics and acculturation. The first and second hypotheses investigated the strength of relationships between demographic variables and acculturation variables—predicting that better educated, higher income women who had lived in the U.S. longer (as a proportion of their age) would be more acculturated and have less acculturation stress. Table 6 shows the results of the separate regressions run for each acculturation variable, with demographics input as independent variables.

As predicted, the combination of higher acculturation level and less acculturation stress was associated with better educated, higher income Latin American women who had been in the United States for a greater proportion of their age. Twenty-four percent of the variance in acculturation stress and 55% of the variance in acculturation level were explained by the three demographic variables. Of course, it is possible that, because of their higher education and income levels, these Latinas were comfortable with U.S. culture even before arriving in the United States. The strongest demographic predictor for each acculturation variable was proportion of residency, and the weakest, income.

Television genres and acculturation stress. The third hypothesis predicted that, after controlling for demographics, watching and identifying with more action

Table 5  Bivariate Associations of Key Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Income</td>
<td></td>
<td>.31**</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Proportion of U.S. residency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, 1 df.  **p < .01, 1 df.
N = 135.
Table 6  Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Identifying With and Learning From Television Genres and Acculturation, After Controlling for Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Acculturation stress</th>
<th>Acculturation level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>.37**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of U.S. residency</td>
<td>-.30**</td>
<td>.52**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk shows</td>
<td>-.23**</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedies</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.17*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action dramas</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap operas</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning from TV</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.23**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Step 1 Adjusted $R^2 = .24$, $F(3, 131) = 13.63$.**  
Adjusted $R^2 = .55$, $F(3, 131) = 32.06$.**  
Step 2 Adjusted $R^2 = .28$, $F(8, 126) = 7.47$.**  
Adjusted $R^2 = .59$, $F(8, 126) = .26$.**  
*p < .05, 1 df.  **p < .01, 1 df.  
N = 135.

dramas, comedies, and talk shows—and watching fewer soap operas—would result in less acculturation stress. Results are shown in Table 6. However, the only statistically significant relationship occurred between talk-show watching and acculturation stress. Those who identified with talk shows most frequently had the least amount of stress, or vice versa (those who had the least amount of stress watched talk shows most). Thus, only one aspect of the hypothesis about acculturation stress and television watching was supported.

This outcome suggests that, even in communities where the Latina may not have family, extended family, or friends with whom she could work through some of her acculturation challenges, the talk-show genre might allow some stress reduction by watching others talk about their problems. It is even possible that, because the most popular talk shows select outrageous topics for discussion, the Latina’s problems seem more easily grasped and resolved.

**Television genres and acculturation level.** The fourth hypothesis predicted that watching and identifying with action dramas, talk shows, and situation comedies would relate to higher acculturation levels. As Table 6 shows, only part of the hypothesis was supported. Identifying more with comedies was associated with higher levels of acculturation, and women with the lowest acculturation levels most often used television to learn English and to learn about women in the United States and the way they live.

The data did not support the aspects of the hypotheses dealing with statistically significant relationships between action dramas and acculturation stress or action dramas and acculturation level. However, more acculturated Latinas were more likely to identify with this genre, and those with higher stress were less likely. Soap opera identification results, however, indicate the opposite of the hypothesized relationship. Latinas with high acculturation stress and low acculturation levels were less likely to identify with soap operas. Small cell sizes may have affected the
results associated with action dramas and soap operas because the two were the least popular genres for viewers in the sample, as Table 4 indicates.

Does identifying with media make a difference? As mentioned previously, demographics explained 24% of the variance in acculturation stress and 55% of the variance in acculturation level, as shown in Table 5. When media variables are added to the equation, 28% of the variance in acculturation stress and 59% of the variance in acculturation level are explained. Income, which was significant in the analyses without media variables, became insignificant when media variables were added. The data suggest, then, that television identification variables can be meaningful additions to a theory of acculturation, although not as important as years of education or proportion of residency.

Discussion

The results suggest that television may play a role in the acculturation process. Mass media scholars often point to socialization as one of the key functions of media, and this study adds to our knowledge about television’s role in one form of socialization—acculturation. Viewers who actively select and identify with certain television genres seem to enhance television’s usefulness in the acculturation process. Although much of mass communication research focuses on dysfunctions of media, this research points to some positive outcomes. Viewers are attending to and identifying with media for different socialization gratifications or are closing off select media to reinforce their decisions not to socialize in certain ways. Existing in telecommunications space may be communities of various television genre viewers, linked by certain needs and satisfied in some ways by what television can offer.

Latinas as Viewers

Latinas in this study were not unlike the general U.S. television viewing population during the period the data were collected. The Nielsen Television Index, Top 50 PrimeTime Programs, 1991–92 Season lists 7 comedies among the top 10 programs. Among the four genres studied in this research, respondents preferred comedies (see Table 4). Prior studies have found that the more acculturated a Hispanic is, the less Spanish-language media he or she uses. However, previous studies assumed access to Spanish-language television. This research shows that, even when there are no Spanish-language programs or channels, Latinas of varying acculturation levels watch English-language television. We cannot assume that these viewers prefer English-language television over Spanish-language television. However, it parallels Zmud’s (1992) finding, where Hispanics in her study, “regardless of their degree of assimilation,” were likely to consume English-language television (pp. 136–137), even though assimilation levels generally drove media language choice and especially print media choice. One advantage of conducting television research in a market where Spanish-language television is not readily available is that researchers can delve into specific content questions related to English-language media use with Hispanics of all acculturation levels. In a market
with media language choices, the least acculturated Hispanics may not choose English-language media at all, thus limiting investigation.

Clearly, Hispanics are watching English-language television; so why do they not appear on screen (Greenberg & Brand, 1994; Heller, 1995; Subervi-Vélez, 1994)? It is ironic that television producers in the United States have not included more Hispanics in their programming; such programming would serve the markets without Spanish-language media, along with acculturated Hispanics in multilanguage markets. Given the commercially based U.S. broadcast system, broadcasters who have not been inclusive for ethical reasons might add Hispanics or family programs as a means of serving advertisers who want to sell products and services to the burgeoning “Hispanic market.” This study’s evidence of a process of identification with characters and plots in various television genres suggests that including Latina characters might enhance viewer gratification from television genres. Not only could this help achieve societal goals, such as alleviating conflict or prejudices associated with cultural stereotypes, or absence of cultural roles, but it could also improve ratings and advertisers’ sales.

The uses and gratifications approach seems to be a legitimate one for studying Hispanics and media. Media use in this study varied according to what Latinas brought to the viewing experience (demographics, acculturation level, acculturation stress) or what the consequences of the viewing experience were (acculturation level, acculturation stress). In her work on uses of media by Hispanics, Ríos (1993) also found purposive media use among two groups who used mainstream media for assimilation purposes and ethnic media for cultural maintenance. Media use varied according to the needs of the audience. However, Ríos found another group who did not actively use media in this way, whom she speculated may rely on interpersonal channels or media not addressed in her interviews. Like this study, Ríos’s study found diversity in its audience that upheld the active audience concept and limited “linear acculturation models” (p. 139) of media use.

Not addressed by Ríos in her extensive study of Mexican American media use were factors that created a need for media usefulness. Hispanic uses and gratifications studies that explore psychological needs (that media will help gratify) should include acculturation stress and add a concept absent from this study and the Ríos study (1993)—acculturation motivation. Kim included this concept in one of her earlier studies (1977) but found weaknesses with the scale she used. The variable has not been considered an important one in acculturation media studies since then. If media use is goal-directed and active in terms of gratifications sought, this could be as important as acculturation stress, especially when dealing with information programming.

Role of Television Genres in Acculturation

Kim (1988) described a relationship between acculturation and information programming, and the respondents in this study who did not identify with talk shows provide support for her thesis. If one is motivated to acculturate, one would seek more information from the majority culture. However, the results also make sense because other genres with car chases, love scenes, or slapstick comedy convey more information visually than do talk shows, whose visuals are normally “talking
heads." Information programming, then, is more language dependent. It may require more language proficiency to use it, but in return its gratifications may contribute more to building language skills and reducing acculturation stress. The issue of language confounds research of the gratifications or consequences of information programming. Acculturation scales that have their foundations in language uses, such as the one used in this study, make it difficult for quantitative studies to differentiate between language ability and language preference. Open-ended questions or qualitative studies could add to this knowledge.

Without longitudinal acculturation studies, researchers cannot ascertain whether media choices drive acculturation variables or acculturation variables drive media choices. Differences in acculturation level and amount of acculturation stress may govern different processes in television genre use, reinforcing existing acculturation states, or they may create a moving equilibrium—a circular process of media consumption and personal change, leading to new media consumption and more personal change.

Study Limitations and Future Research

The television genres chosen for the identification scales were selected based on limited research. A qualitative study exploring uses and gratifications of various genres should be undertaken to determine the best selection of genres for future uses and gratifications studies. In addition, ratings information about Hispanic viewers and more information about Latin American women that were not available for this study may be resources for future studies. The information-seeking role of acculturating women is key, so it might be useful to look at a combined scale of information programming, including news and talk shows, and compare it to gratifications of entertainment programming. Media identification measures also need improvement, something that a qualitative project could help accomplish.

A strength of this study is its focus on Latinas; a weakness is that, in addition to immigrants, 7% of the respondents were born in the United States. Although results did not differ when these 10 women were removed from the sample, it is important to note. These women were included because of the probability that members of minority populations would experience the same forms of acculturation stress and the same needs to acculturate or not to acculturate as newcomers to the population.

Another way people seek acculturation information is through interpersonal communication. A limitation of this study is its focus only on mediated, one-way communication. It would be useful to differentiate between mass media contributions to acculturation and the contributions of personal relationships to acculturation variables. The literature (Griffith & Villavicencio, 1985; Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Kim, 1977, 1988; Subervi-Vélez, 1986) suggests that much of the remaining variance could be explained by people-to-people factors.

Interdisciplinary research among mass media and scholars involved in interpersonal, group, or community studies could make significant gains in learning about the full role of communication in acculturation. This could lead to a more complete model of describing mass media use in acculturation. In summary, the study of mass media's role in acculturation is wide open. There are many directions
for future research; more interdisciplinary research, more qualitative research, and innovative approaches to mass media measurement are some of the priorities.

Notes

1. It is important to define and differentiate among the terms Hispanic, Latin American, and Mexican American. A Hispanic American is an individual living in the United States whose ancestry, language, and/or cultural orientation is related to a Spanish-speaking country (Burgoon et al., 1983). This definition can be applied to the terms Latino and Latin American as well. However, Latin American and Latino embrace Portuguese-speaking Brazilians, too. Mexican Americans are individuals living in the United States whose ancestry, language, and/or cultural orientation is related to Mexico. In this study, all the terms relate to native citizens or immigrants who may or may not have legal status in the United States. In addition, Latina, a feminine version of Latino, is used. Anglo-American, or Anglo, describes White Americans of European descent.

2. Undercounting refers to underestimating the number of persons in a given group; with Hispanics, undercounting is often the result of undocumented status, nonstandard housing, or large numbers of persons in one residence.

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Appendix

Hispanic Women and Television:
A North Carolina Study

Does television give you the information and entertainment programming you want? As a woman you may have special needs. We would like to know what you think about women on television, and how they relate to your life and your feelings about women's issues. Your opinion will help us to learn more about Hispanic women and what they like to see on television.

Please do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire so that you may remain anonymous. All of your answers will be completely confidential.

Many thanks for your participation.

School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC

First, we would like to ask you a few questions about how much you watch television and videotapes.

Q-1. Approximately how many hours of television did you watch yesterday? (Please write the number of hours)

Q-2. On a typical weekday, Monday through Friday, how many hours of television do you watch? (Please write the number of hours)

Q-3. On a typical Saturday, how many hours of television do you watch? (Please write the number of hours)

Q-4. On a typical Sunday, how many hours of television do you watch? (Please write the number of hours)

Q-5. Do you watch any television programs that are broadcast in Spanish? (Circle number of your answer)

   1. Don't know
   2. No
   3. Yes

Q-6. About how many hours of Spanish-language television did you watch last week? (Please write the number of hours)

Q-7. How about videotapes? Do you ever borrow or rent videotapes? (Circle number of your answer)

   1. Don't know
   2. No
   3. Yes
If yes, please answer questions 8 and 9. If no, skip to question 10.

Q-8. If yes, about how many videotapes do you watch per month? (Circle number of your answer)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 or more

Q-9. If yes, out of all the videotapes you watch, about how many per month are in Spanish? (Circle number of your answer)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 or more

Now we would like to ask you about choosing television programs and who seems to make most of the decisions about which television programs are watched in your current household here in North Carolina.

Q-10. How often do you make decisions about which television programs are watched in your home? (Circle number of your answer)

6. Always
5. Most of the time
4. Some of the time
3. Seldom
2. Never
1. Not pertinent

Q-11. If you borrow or rent videotapes, how often do you choose the videotapes that you borrow or rent? (Circle number of your answer)

6. Always
5. Most of the time
4. Some of the time
3. Seldom
2. Never
1. Not pertinent

If you watch soap operas, please answer questions 12–15. If you do not watch them, go to question 16.

Q-12. How often do you watch soap operas, or telenovelas, such as Young & Restless, All My Children, General Hospital, As the World Turns, or others? (Circle number)

5. Very frequently
4. Frequently
3. Sometimes
2. Occasionally
1. Never

Thinking about your favorite soap operas, please circle the number of your answer that best describes your reaction to each statement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Frequently</th>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q-13. I identify with the stories (situations) on my favorite soap opera. (Circle number of your answer)

Q-14. I feel the women on my favorite soap operas are people I can relate to. (Circle number of your answer)
Q-15. Watching soap operas is one way to learn about other women and how they live. (Circle number)

If you watch situation comedies, please answer questions 16–19. If you don’t watch them, go to question 20.

Very Frequently Frequently Sometimes Occasionally Never
5 4 3 2 1

Q-16. How often do you watch situation comedies, like The Cosby Show, Golden Girls, A Different World, Murphy Brown, or other such comedies? (Circle number of your answer)

Thinking about your favorite situation comedies, please circle the number of the answer that best describes your response to each statement:

Q-17. I feel the women on my favorite situation comedy are women I can relate to. (Circle number)

Q-18. Watching situation comedies is one way to learn about other women and how they live. (Circle number)

Q-19. I imagine myself in circumstances I see on TV situation comedies. (Circle number)

If you watch talk shows, please answer questions 20–23. If you don’t watch them, go to question 24.

Q-20. How often do you watch talk shows? Some examples are Phil Donahue, Oprah, and Good Morning America. (Circle number)

Thinking about your favorite talk shows, please circle the number of your answer that best describes your reaction to each statement:

Q-21. I identify with the discussions on my favorite talk shows. (Circle number)

Q-22. I feel the women who star on my favorite talk shows are women I can relate to. (Circle number)

Q-23. Watching talk shows is one way to learn about other women and how they live. (Circle number)

If you watch action-drama shows, please answer questions 24–27. If you don’t watch them, go to question 28.

Very Frequently Frequently Sometimes Occasionally Never
5 4 3 2 1

Q-24. How often do you watch action-drama shows? Some examples are Hunter, Matlock, Heat of the Night, and Against the Law. (Circle number)

Q-25. I feel the women on my favorite action-drama shows are women I can relate to. (Circle number)

Q-26. I identify with the stories (situations) on my favorite action-drama shows. (Circle number)

Q-27. Watching action-drama shows is a good way to learn about other women and how they live. (Circle number)
Q-28. How often do you watch other drama shows like LA Law, or Murder, She Wrote? (Circle number)

Q-29. How often do you watch the local or world news? (Circle number)

Q-30. How often do you watch music shows, MTV, or variety entertainment shows? (Circle number)

Q-31. How often do you watch game shows or quiz shows? (Circle number)

Q-32. How often do you watch movies on television? (Circle number)

For questions 33–37, please circle the number of your answer that best describes your reaction to each statement:

Q-33. When I came to the United States I watched soap operas because it was one way of learning about other women and the way they live.

Q-34. When I came to the United States I watched comedies because it was one way of learning about other women and the way they live.

Q-35. When I came to the United States I watched talk shows because it was one way of learning about other women and the way they live.

Q-36. When I came to the United States I watched action dramas because it was one way of learning about other women and the way they live.

Q-37. When I came to the United States I watched television because it was one way of learning English.

Now you will see a list of statements. Each represents a commonly held opinion, and there are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in the extent to which you agree or disagree with such opinions. After you read each statement, decide which answer best describes the way you feel. (Please circle the number of your answer.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q-38. The husband should be regarded as the legal representative of the family group in all matters of law.

Q-39. A wife's activities in the community should complement her husband's position.

Q-40. The best thing a mother can teach her daughter is what it means to be a girl.

Q-41. Woman's work and man's work should not be fundamentally different in nature.

Q-42. Swearing by a woman is no more objectionable than swearing by a man.

Q-43. A woman is not truly fulfilled until she has been a mother.

Q-44. When a man and woman live together she should do the housework and he should do the heavier chores.

Q-45. A normal man should be wary of a woman who takes the initiative in courtship even though he may be very attracted to her.

Q-46. Women should be paid a salary by the state for the work they perform as mothers and homemakers.
Q-47. A woman should be appreciative of the glances and looks she receives as she walks down the street.

Q-48. It should be perfectly okay for a mature woman to get involved with a young man.

Q-49. A man's main responsibility to his children is to provide them with the necessities of life and discipline.

Q-50. A woman should be careful how she looks, for it influences what people think of her husband.

Q-51. A woman who dislikes her children is abnormal.

Q-52. Homosexual relationships should be as socially accepted as heterosexual relationships.

Q-53. More daycare centers should be available to free mothers from the constant caring for their children.

Q-54. Women should be allowed the same sexual freedom as men.

Q-55. A woman should be no more concerned with her physical appearance on the job than a man.

Thank you for those opinions. Now, we would like to find out about stress in women's lives. Stress is thought of as tension, pressure, or strain on people. Please let us know which aspects of your life cause you stress by circling the number of the answer that best describes your situation:

Strongly Agree  Agree  Disagree  Strongly Disagree  No opinion
5  4  3  2  1

Q-56. It bothers me that I cannot be with my family.

Q-57. I don't feel at home here.

Q-58. Because I am different I do not get enough credit for the work I do.

Q-59. It bothers me that family members I am close to do not understand my new values.

Q-60. Close family members and I have conflicting expectations about my future.

Q-61. People think I am unsociable when in fact I have trouble communicating in English.

Q-62. I have trouble understanding others when they speak English.

Q-63. I don't fit in with women I know who are from the United States.

Q-64. When I socialize with Anglo-Americans, I am afraid I'll do something wrong.

Here are a few other questions about you:

Q-65. In general, what language or languages do you read and speak? (Please circle number of answer)

1. Only Spanish
2. More Spanish than English
3. Both equally
4. More English than Spanish
5. Only English
Q-66. What language did you use as a child? (Circle number)
   1. Only Spanish
   2. More Spanish than English
   3. Both equally
   4. More English than Spanish
   5. Only English

Q-67. What language do you usually speak at home? (Circle number)
   1. Only Spanish
   2. More Spanish than English
   3. Both equally
   4. More English than Spanish
   5. Only English

Q-68. In which language do you usually think? (Circle number)
   1. Only Spanish
   2. More Spanish than English
   3. Both equally
   4. More English than Spanish
   5. Only English

Q-69. What language do you usually speak with your friends? (Circle number)
   1. Only Spanish
   2. More Spanish than English
   3. Both equally
   4. More English than Spanish
   5. Only English

Finally, allow us to ask a few questions for statistical purposes:

Q-70 and Q-71. In your house, how many bathrooms and bedrooms do you have?
   ______ bathrooms
   ______ bedrooms

Q-72. What is the highest grade level you have completed? (Please circle the number of
       the last grade you completed)
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
   13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 or more years

Q-73. How many years have you lived in North Carolina? (Please write the number of
       years in the blank)
   ______ years

Q-74. How many years have you lived in the United States? (Please write the number of
       years in the blank)
   ______ years

Q-75. How old are you? (Please write your age in the blank)
   ______ years

Q-76. Are you currently working outside the home? (Circle the number of your answer)
   1. Yes
   2. No

Q-77. If your answer is yes, how many hours per week do you work? (Please write the
       number of hours per week in the blank)
   ______ hours per week

Q-78. Were you born in any of these Latin American countries or regions? (Please circle
       the number)
   1. Mexico
   2. Cuba
3. Puerto Rico
4. Central America
5. South America
6. Somewhere else

Q-79. What is your marital status?
1. Single
2. Married
3. Widowed, separated, or divorced
4. Other

Q-80. If you have children, how many do you have?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 or more children

Q-81. Below is a list of family income categories. Please circle the number of the category that best describes the average total monthly income (before taxes) of your immediate family:
1. 0–$500 per month
2. $500–1,000
3. $1,000–1,500
4. $1,500–2,000
5. $2,000–3,000
6. $3,000–4,000
7. $4,000–5,000
8. more than $5,000 per month

Thank you so much for your time. You have provided an important service. Your opinions will help us know more about what Hispanic women are like and what they like to see on television. Many thanks.