Changing Mass Media Consumption Patterns Before/After Relocation: East Asian International Students' Mass Media Use and Acculturation Strategies

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The new global streaming platforms have provided international students with direct access to American media content before moving to the United States and continued access to their home country's media content while studying in the United States. We considered prerelocation mass media use and changes in mass media consumption patterns after relocation and reexamined the relationship between international students' mass media use and acculturation strategies (i.e., integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization). We surveyed East Asian international students in a large U.S. public university (N = 148). Prerelocation consumption of American mass media played a more significant role than postrelocation consumption of American and Asian mass media in predicting assimilation and integration strategies, suggesting a remote acculturation effect through mass media exposure. Integration was primarily affected by prerelocation mass media use. In contrast, assimilation was continuously influenced by using American mass media before and after the relocation. We discuss the implications of these findings in understanding the relationship between mass media consumption and sojourners' adoption of acculturation strategies in the time of global online streaming services.

Keywords: acculturation strategies, East Asian international students, mass media use, remote acculturation, integration

　　　　International students nowadays enjoy ready access to media content from both the United States and their home country, regardless of geolocation. Aided by the new wave of global streaming services, prospective international students can watch American TV series, shows, and movies remotely. Current international students can also maintain access to TV series, shows, and movies produced in their home country via emerging video streaming platforms at home. Adding up to the newly gained access is the increasingly sophisticated audiovisual media formats that make the shows and movies appealing to emotions, thus allowing for higher levels of identification compared with media content provided on traditional TV channel services.

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Acculturation research has extensively studied the acculturation process of international students (Bochner, McLeod, & Lin, 1977; Kashima & Loh, 2006; Rasmi, Safdar, & Lewis, 2009). Recent research paid more attention to social networking sites facilitating international students' acculturation (Billedo, Kerkhof, Finkenauer, & Ganzeboom, 2019; Li & Peng, 2019; Rui & Wang, 2015). However, mass media content, such as TV series, shows, and movies—especially how they are consumed differently by international students in a time of global video streaming services—has received limited attention. The changes in access to these mass media content brought by global video streaming services can potentially reshape international students' acculturation process in ways that have yet to be examined.

In this study, we focus on international students' consumption of TV series, shows, movies, and news content from both their home country and host country before and after their relocation and examine how using these mass media content, as well as changes in mass media consumption[1] patterns, predicts international students' acculturation strategies. Most international students are in their early adulthood (age 17–45; Erikson, 1968), a stage where individuals' primary developmental task is to establish identity and intimacy (i.e., finding one's place in the world after leaving home, finding a long-term romantic relationship, beginning a career, and starting a family; Erikson, 1968). Arguably, international students' identity-building takes place while navigating both their home and host cultures in the context of immigration and globalization. Therefore, this study also contributes to understanding how mass media consumption shapes acculturation strategies for international students during a critical period of identity development. We chose East Asian international students as our research subject because East Asian countries have long been the leading places of origin for international students in the United States (Institute of International Education, 2022). More importantly, East Asian countries share major cultural traits, such as Confucianism and collectivism (Huang & Chang, 2017), which are distinctive from American culture.

When examining the relations between prerelocation mass media use and acculturation strategies, we considered the possibility of remote acculturation, where a geographically distant culture influences residents of one culture by consuming its media products and popular culture (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015). We also examined how an increase or decrease in using host-country mass media after the relocation is related to acculturation, a relationship rarely explored in previous research. Conceptually, this study treats acculturation as a multifaceted phenomenon involving various acculturation attitudes. We adopted the concept of acculturation strategies, which identify four different yet related types of acculturation profiles (e.g., integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization; Berry, 1997, 2002, 2005). Using this conceptual framework, we focus on the nuanced relationship between mass media use and various acculturation strategies.

Acculturation and Acculturation Strategies

Acculturation is defined as the process that unfolds when individuals are exposed to different cultures directly and continuously, resulting in changes in the cultural patterns of both parties, particularly in members of the nondominant group (Berry, 2002). Acculturation is typically conceptualized as psychological and sociocultural adjustments (Li & Gasser, 2005; Park, Song, & Lee, 2014; Rui & Wang, 2015). Psychological adjustment concerns the general mental and emotional well-being, whereas

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[1] Mass media use and mass media consumption are used interchangeably in the manuscript.

sociocultural adjustment refers to the ability to "fit in" (i.e., the acquisition of appropriate skills that allow individuals to function effectively in a new cultural milieu; Jindal-Snape & Rienties, 2016).

Acculturation is increasingly recognized not as a single-scale score that discriminates low- against high-acculturation level but rather as a multifaceted phenomenon that involves numerous social and psychological changes as an individual adjusts to the host society (Barry, 2001; Chen & Kay, 2011). Berry (2002, 2005) proposed the fourfold acculturation theory, arguing that immigrants in multicultural societies such as the United States adopt various acculturation strategies based on two primary dimensions: orientations toward one's ethnic group and those toward the dominant group. When the two dimensions intersect, four acculturation strategies emerge: integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization (Berry, 1997).

Individuals who indicate high involvement with both their heritage and the host culture are considered to fit the *integration* profile, which was reported to be the most widely adopted strategy among immigrant youth in thirteen countries (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006), adolescents in immigrant families in Portugal (Neto, 2002), and Chinese international students in Belgium and Germany (Cao, Zhu, & Meng, 2017; Yu & Wang, 2011). Predictors for integration include high identification with home and host-country culture, balanced use of home and host-country languages, and high social engagements with home and host-country contacts (Berry et al., 2006). Being involved in both cultures has a positive impact on both psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry et al., 2006; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

Individuals who fit the *separation* profile typically score high on home country language proficiency and usage while showing a low level of proficiency in the host-country language and overall contact with the host society (Berry et al., 2006). Multiple studies focusing on young immigrants and sojourns in Western societies reported separation as the second-most adopted acculturation strategy following integration (Barry, 2001; Cao et al., 2017; Neto, 2002; Wang & Yu, 2015). Even though strong ethnic orientation was not commonly considered an adaptive strategy, research has shown that adolescents with a separation profile reported higher life satisfaction, higher self-esteem, and fewer psychological problems than those with an *assimilation* profile (Berry et al., 2006). However, individuals who endorsed the assimilation attitude showed better sociocultural adaptation, such as having less difficulty navigating social situations and adjusting in schools, than those who endorsed the separation strategy (Berry et al., 2006; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Reading local newspapers regularly was a positive predictor of assimilation (Krishnan & Berry, 1992).

Marginalization is regarded as an unformed and diffused set of acculturation attitudes with a rejection of integration and acceptance of different degrees of assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 2005). Individuals do not voluntarily choose this option but become marginalized because of either forced assimilation or exclusion; they often lack a clear orientation and appear to be marginalized and confused (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006). Those who fit the marginalization profile show little interest in heritage cultural maintenance, likely because of cultural loss; they also have little participation in the host society because of exclusion or discrimination (Berry, 1997, 2005).

The theory of acculturation strategies treats acculturation as a continuous and dynamic process (Berry et al., 2006). The acculturation strategies are also interrelated and exhibit similar relationships with certain concepts. For example, conceptually, maintaining identification with ethnic culture is shown in integration and separation, and a detachment from ethnic culture is shared between assimilation and

marginalization. Shifting identities, increased peer contacts, and improved language proficiency may lead to changes in one's acculturation attitude (Berry et al., 2006).

Remote Acculturation

Expanding the classical definition of acculturation, which requires direct and continuous contact with a culturally different society, remote acculturation proposes that "intermittent and/or indirect contact between geographically separate groups" can lead to acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, p. 167). This mechanism can work by consuming a remote country's cultural products, such as television, sports, and food. Remote acculturation reflects important cultural realities of the 21st century, namely, increased intercultural contact for nonimmigrants and growing multicultural destinations for temporary migrant groups (Ferguson, 2013). For example, higher consumption of American television and sports was associated with stronger European-American orientations among Jamaican adolescents (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015).

East Asian international students are among the migrant groups for whom remote acculturation is likely to occur. The popularity of American media in East Asian countries in recent years provides prospective international students with ample opportunities for indirect and intermittent intercultural contact with American culture before pursuing an education in the United States. The leading global streaming platform Netflix has entered the market in most countries in Asia, where the company's revenue soared and took over the online video streaming market in South Korea and Japan (Netflix, n.d.; Toh, 2021; Yu, 2020). Well-educated Chinese urban residents are frequent viewers of American TV (Jiang & Leung, 2012), and Chinese companies have long been keen on purchasing the broadcasting rights of many American TV shows and movies (Brzeski, 2017).

These changes about access to American media products in East Asia have not yet been addressed in acculturation research. The relationship between prerelocation mass media use and the acculturation process also remains underexplored (Dalisay, 2012). Based on the mechanisms of remote acculturation, we propose to examine whether American mass media consumption before relocation will affect Asian international students' acculturation strategies.

RQ1:   *How does East Asian international students' consumption of American mass media before relocation relate to their acculturation strategies?*

Mass Media Use After Relocation and Acculturation Strategies

The extent to which immigrants and sojourners are acculturated into the host society is related to their use of the mass media of the host society (Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Kim, 2001; Moon & Park, 2007; Raman & Harwood, 2008). Using host-country mass media is particularly influential in the initial stage of acculturation when the individuals' competence for interpersonal communication with host-country members is yet to be developed (Kim, 2001). Exposure to American mass media (i.e., time spent watching American television and reading newspapers and magazines), was a significant positive predictor for accepting American culture and a significant negative predictor for attachment to ethnic identity (Moon & Park, 2007). Studies also consistently reported a positive relationship between using ethnic media and a stronger attachment to ethnic identity and values (Hwang & He, 1999; Lee & Tse, 1994; Moon & Park, 2007).

When examining the use of home culture mass media, 20th-century acculturation research typically focused on ethnic media in the host country because immigrants and sojourners lacked direct access to the mass media of their home country. However, today's video streaming services provide immigrants and sojourners ready access to mainstream media content produced in their home country. The rapid growth of Chinese media cultures and markets (Curtin, 2007; Zhao, 2008), the Japanese media cultures (Iwabuchi, 2002, 2004), and the Korean Wave (Huat & Iwabuchi, 2008; Shim, 2006) all testify to the popularity of inter-Asian media cultures in the global media landscape. These developments mean that East Asian international students' use of home country media is no longer confined to ethnic media in the host country, as examined in previous studies. Thus, we propose to reassess the relationship between home country mass media use and acculturation in a time of global video streaming services. We focused on mass media content, such as TV series, talk shows, reality shows, movies, and news content, because these are the main content available on video streaming platforms. To address the relationship between acculturation strategies and consumption of the home country and host-country mass media, we ask the following research questions:

RQ2:   *How does East Asian international students' consumption of American mass media after relocation relate to their acculturation strategies?*

RQ3:   *How does East Asian international students' consumption of Asian mass media after relocation relate to their acculturation strategies?*

One variable that remains unexplored when considering the effect of mass media use on the acculturation process is the change in mass media consumption patterns after relocation (e.g., the increase or decrease in the consumption of media content produced by the host country relative to media content produced by the home country after relocation). For example, after relocation, Asian international students may be exposed to more American television than Asian television because of the increased availability of American media content; they may also be more motivated to consume more Asian media because of homesickness. By considering both using American and Asian media before and after relocation, we were able to investigate how changes in consuming American media relative to Asian media are related to acculturation strategies. Thus, we ask the following research question:

RQ4:   *How does the increase in the consumption of American mass media relative to Asian media after relocation relate to East Asian international students' acculturation strategies?*

Method

Procedure and Participants

We distributed an online survey to Asian international students at a large public university in the Midwest region of the United States in the academic year of 2017–2018. Participants were recruited through an online student pool and offered extra course credit for participation. We specified in the survey recruitment materials that participants must be Asian international students. All participants responded to the country origin question by identifying an Asian country as their home country, confirming that we included only Asian students. The institutional review board of the university where the research was conducted approved all procedures. The survey took about 15 minutes to complete. We excluded from the final sample incomplete responses and those who did not pass more than half of the attention filters ($n \geq 1$). To maintain homogeneity in culture, mass media use, and

language in the sample, we also removed non-East Asian students ($n = 14$). Our final sample size consisted of 148 participants from three East Asian countries and regions: China (85%), South Korea (12%), and Taiwan (3%). Sixty-two percent of the sample was female. Eighty-six percent were undergraduate students, 7% were graduate students, and 7% were nondegree students. The sample's average age was 21 ($M = 21.03$, $SD = 1.87$).

Measures

Mass Media Use

We measured mass media use using an adapted version of the Lifetime Television Exposure (LTE) scale. The LTE scale was designed to measure individuals' recall of television exposure across lifetime periods. This measure is based on the approach to long-term memory that stipulates the representation of routine events from the past are organized in memory according to the major stages in a person's lifetime (Riddle, 2010). In Riddle's (2010) study, the past viewing summary score predicted young adults' current social reality beliefs related to crime and victimization. The LTE scale has been adapted to measure video game consumption among college students by asking them to recall how often they played video games in elementary school (childhood), high school (adolescence), and currently (adulthood) and was found to predict rape myth acceptance in college (Fox & Potocki, 2016; Hanus & Fox, 2015). One study tested the validity of measuring remote memories and found support for the relative accuracy in recalling early viewing of TV programs watched frequently (Potts, Belden, & Reese, 2008; Potts & Seger, 2013). We adapted the scale to measure international students' consumption of Asian and American mass media in two time periods: two years before relocation and current. The two years before relocation is a period when international students would consume English-speaking media frequently for language acquisition and remote culture learning. We measured the consumption of mass media during weekdays and weekends separately. The weekday and weekend times were weighted so that the weekday time counted for 71.4% (as 5 out of 7 days of the week is 71.4%), and the weekend time counted for 28.6%. Prerelocation American/Asian mass media use was measured by averaging participants' frequency of consuming American/Asian TV shows, talk shows, reality shows, and news media during the two years before they moved to the United States. Postrelocation American/Asian mass media use was measured by averaging participants' frequency of consuming American/Asian TV shows, talk shows, reality shows, and news media during the past two years living in the United States (those who stayed in the United States for less than two years were asked to think of their media use since their arrival). All questions were measured using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = "Never," 7 = "Almost Always").

Changes in Mass Media Consumption After Relocation

We first calculated a ratio that divided participants' American mass media use by participants' Asian mass media use after relocation. Then, we constructed another ratio by dividing participants' American mass media use by participants' Asian mass media use before relocation. Finally, the second step's score is subtracted from the score generated by the first step. To describe the changes in participants' consumption of American media after relocation, we used the following formula: (AmericanMedia_after/AsianMedia_after) – (AmericanMedia_before/AsianMedia_before). This process allows us to capture the differences in how participants' consumption patterns (i.e., American media relative to Asian media) have changed after relocation. If the subtraction result is bigger than zero, it represents that the participants' consumption of American media relative to Asian media has increased after relocation.

Acculturation Strategies

We used the East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM) developed by Barry (2001) to measure acculturation strategies. The EAAM consists of four subscales: assimilation (8 items, Cronbach's a = .81), separation (7 items, Cronbach's a = .64), integration (5 items, Cronbach's a = .73), and marginalization (9 items, Cronbach's a = .86; Barry, 2001). One sample item for assimilation was "When I am in my apartment/house, I typically speak English," and for integration was "I think as well in English as I do in my native language." For separation, an example was "My closest friends are Asian," and for marginalization, "There are times when I think no one understands me." Participants rated each item on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = "Strongly agree," 7 = "Strongly disagree"). Item scores in each subscale were averaged to construct the final score of each acculturation strategy.

Control Variables

Based on previous research, the cultural distance between home and the host country is associated with abilities to navigate social settings in the new culture (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1999). In particular, cultural distance was associated with lower levels of adjustment among international students (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009). We measured cultural distance using the Brief Perceived Cultural Distance Scale (BPCDS; Demes & Geeraert, 2014). Participants were asked about their perceived differences between the home country and the host country in 12 aspects, including natural and social environment, living, food and eating, practicalities, family life, social norms, values and beliefs, people, language, and friends. The perceived degree of difference for each item was measured using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "No difference," 5 = "Extreme difference"). Scores on the 12 items were averaged to form the cultural distance score (Cronbach's a = .84).

We also controlled for some of the most well-established predictors for international students' psychosocial adjustments to life in the United States, including age, sex, length of staying in the United States, and English proficiency. We measured English proficiency by the average score of participants' self-reported competence in listening, speaking, reading, and writing on a 5-point scale (1 = "Poor," 5 = "Excellent") (Cronbach's a = .85).

Data Analysis

Four hierarchical regression analyses with assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation as the dependent variables were conducted to answer how American mass media use before relocation and American and Asian mass media use after relocation is related to Asian international students' acculturation strategies. No multicollinearity issue was found, and all analyses were conducted in Stata 14. The control variables were entered as the first block, American mass media before relocation as the second, and American and Asian mass media use after relocation as the third in predicting the four acculturation strategies (results are shown in Tables 2–5).

Results

Table 1 displayed the means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations of all relevant variables. Participants, on average, have stayed in the United States for 41 months (M = 42.36, SD = 27.40). Integration

(M = 4.41, SD = 1.00), along with separation (M = 4.46, SD = .77), were the most adopted acculturation strategy, followed by marginalization (M = 3.43, SD = 1.02), and assimilation (M = 2.92, SD = .90).

Participants consistently reported using Asian media (before: M = 4.47, SD = 1.17; after: M = 4.23, SD = 1.25) more than using American media (before: M = 3.18, SD = 1.22; after: M = 3.61, SD = 1.14) both before and after their relocation. There were increases in participants' usage of American media, as well as decreases in the usage of Asian media after relocation.

For RQ1, Asian international students' use of American media before relocation is positively related to assimilation (β = .26, p < .001, model 1b), integration (β = .16, p < .01, model 2b), and marginalization (β = −.15, p < .05, model 3b), but not to separation (β = −.03, p > .05, model 4b). For RQ2, students' use of American media after relocation is positively related to assimilation (β = .18, p < .01, model 1c) and negatively related to separation (β = −.27, p < .001, model 4c) but not associated with integration (β = .04, p > .05, model 2c) and marginalization (β = .07, p > .05, model 3c). For RQ3, students' use of Asian media after relocation is negatively related to assimilation (β = −.17, p < .01, model 1c) and marginalization (β = −.18, p < .05, model 3c), positively related to separation (β = .24, p < .001, model 4c), and not associated with integration (β = −.03, p > .05, model 2c).

In terms of effect sizes in explaining assimilation, the adjusted R^2 for the final model is .29. Using American media before relocation explained 11% of the variance, and using Asian and American media *after* relocation explained 7% over and above other variables in the model. For integration, the adjusted R^2 for the final model is .40. The control variables explained the bulk of the variance (37%). Only the use of American media before relocation contributed to statistically significant increases (3%). The variance explained for marginalization was much smaller than for assimilation and integration, as the adjusted R^2 for the final model is .07. The block consisting of Asian and American mass media use after relocation contributed statistically significant increases (3%) in the variance explained in marginalization. The use of American media before relocation explained 3% of the variance. Finally, for separation, the adjusted R^2 for the final model is .19. Most of the variance explained for separation came from the block consisting of Asian and American mass media use after relocation (19%), as American mass media use before relocation barely contributed any additional explanatory power.

Analyses conducted to answer RQ4 on the association between the increase in using American mass media relative to Asian mass media after relocation and acculturation strategies are displayed in Table 6. As shown, the increase was negatively related to separation (β = −.71, p < .001). The relative increase in American mass media use is unrelated to assimilation (β = .09, p > .05), integration (β = −.07, p > .05), and marginalization (β = .39, p > .05).

About the control variables, English proficiency consistently demonstrated a positive relationship with assimilation (β = .38, p < .001, model 1a) and integration (β = .77, p < .001, model 2a). Being male was positively related to assimilation (β = .41, p < .001, model 1a) and integration (β = .33, p < .05, model 2a; see Tables 2 and 3). English proficiency showed a negative relationship with marginalization (β = −.32, p < .05, model 3a) and separation (β = −.25, p < .05, model 4a; see Tables 4 and 5). Culture distance was negatively related to integration (β = −.22, p < .05, model 2b). Age and length in the United States had a nonsignificant relationship with the four acculturation strategies (coefficients omitted for brevity; see Tables 2–5). Based on

the variance explained, these control variables played a substantive role in explaining assimilation and integration (particularly integration) while contributing little in explaining marginalization and separation.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Zero-Order Correlations of Relevant Variables (N = 148).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	1												
2	.45***	1											
3	.21**	−.22**	1										
4	−.36***	−.11	.05	1									
5	−.04	−.07	.07	.04	1								
6	−.14+	.12	−.26**	.23*	.01	1							
7	.32***	.23*	−.20*	−.08	.18*	.38**	1						
8	−.04	.09	−.25**	.24*	.03	.71**	.35**	1					
9	.33***	.25*	−.11	−.27***	.15+	.30**	.55**	.35**	1				
10	.04	−.01	.15+	−.34***	.04	−.18*	−.34***	−.52***	.23*	1			
11	.11	.13	.10	−.03	−.03	−.14+	−.20*	−.01	−.11	−.03	1		
12	.19*	.30**	.09	−.01	.05	−.06	−.13	.03	.01	.04	.71**	1	
13	.30***	.56**	−.17*	−.21*	.10	.04	.22*	.07	.28**	.02	.12	.25**	1
M	2.92	4.41	3.42	4.46	3.62	4.47	3.18	4.23	3.61	.19	21.03	42.36	2.98
SD	.90	1.00	1.01	.77	.61	1.17	1.22	1.25	1.14	.38	1.87	27.40	.71

Note. 1. Assimilation. 2. Integration. 3. Marginalization. 4. Separation. 5. Culture distance. 6. AsianMedia_before. 7. AmeriMedia_before. 8. AsianMedia_after. 9. AmeriMedia_after. 10. IncreMedia. 11. Age. 12. Length in the United States. 13. English proficiency. $+p < .1$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $*** p < .001$; $N = 148$.

Table 2. Regression Analysis Predicting Assimilation.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c
Step 1 (control variables)			
Age	−.02 (.05)	.01 (.05)	.03 (.05)
Sex (female = 0)	.41** (.15)	.47** (.14)	.47*** (.13)
Length in the United States	.003 (.004)	.003 (.004)	.003 (.004)
English proficiency	.38*** (.10)	.27** (.10)	.22* (.10)
Cultural distance	−.10 (.12)	−.18 (.11)	−.20+ (.11)
Step 2			
AmericanMedia_before		.26*** (.06)	.24*** (.07)
Step 3			
AsianMedia_after			−.17** (.06)
AmericanMedia_after			.18** (.07)
Intercept	2.18+ (1.18)	1.34 (1.12)	1.37 (1.16)
R^2	.15	.26	.33
Adjusted R^2	.12	.23	.29
F	5.12***	8.35***	8.38***
R^2 change		.11	.07

Unstandardized coefficients (standard errors in parentheses).
$+p < .1$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$; $N = 148$.

Table 3. Regression Analysis Predicting Integration.

	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 2c
Step 1 (control variables)			
Age	−.07 (.05)	−.05 (.05)	−.08 (.05)
Sex (female = 0)	.33* (.14)	.36* (.14)	.36** (.14)
Length in the United States	.008* (.004)	.008* (.004)	.01** (.004)
English proficiency	.77*** (.10)	.71*** (.10)	.67*** (.10)
Cultural distance	−.22* (.11)	−.27* (.11)	−.28* (.11)
Step 2			
AmericanMedia_before		.16** (.06)	.14* (.07)
Step 3			
AsianMedia_after			−.03 (.06)
AmericanMedia_after			.04 (.07)
Intercept	3.90*** (1.11)	3.40** (1.10)	3.92** (1.18)
R^2	.39	.42	.43
Adjusted R^2	.37	.40	.40
F	18.1***	17.1***	13.1***
R^2 change		.03	.01

Unstandardized coefficients (standard errors in parentheses).
$+p < .1$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$; $N = 148$

Table 4. Regression Analysis Predicting Marginalization.

	Model 3a	Model 3b	Model 3c
Step 1 (control variables)			
Age	.03 (.06)	.02 (.06)	.04 (.07)
Sex (female = 0)	−.17 (.18)	−.20 (.18)	−.21 (.17)
Length in the United States	.004 (.005)	.004 (.005)	.003 (.005)
English proficiency	−.32* (.12)	−.26* (.12)	−.27* (.13)
Cultural distance	.14 (.14)	.18 (.14)	.17 (.14)
Step 2			
AmericanMedia_before		−.15* (.07)	−.11 (.08)
Step 3			
AsianMedia_after			−.18* (.07)
AmericanMedia_after			.07 (.09)
Intercept	3.07*** (1.40)	3.55* (1.40)	3.64* (1.48)
R^2	.06	.09	.12
Adjusted R^2	**.03**	**.05**	**.07**
F	1.86	2.30*	2.38*
R^2 change		.03	.03

Unstandardized coefficients (standard errors in parentheses).
$+p < .1$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$; $N = 148$.

Table 5. Regression Analysis Predicting Separation.

	Model 4a	Model 4b	Model 4c
Step 1 (control variables)			
Age	−.03 (.05)	−.03 (.05)	−.05 (.05)
Sex (female = 0)	−.04 (.14)	−.05 (.14)	−.05 (.12)
Length in the United States	.003 (.003)	.003 (.004)	.003 (.004)
English proficiency	−.25** (.09)	−.24* (.10)	−.16+ (.09)
Cultural distance	.07 (.10)	.08 (.11)	.11 (.10)
Step 2			
AmericanMedia_before		−.03 (.06)	.006 (.06)
Step 3			
AsianMedia_after			.24*** (.05)
AmericanMedia_after			−.27*** (.06)
Intercept	5.40*** (1.07)	5.50*** (1.09)	5.38*** (1.06)
R^2	.05	.05	.24
Adjusted R^2	.02	.01	.19
F	1.54	1.32	5.30***
R^2 change		.00	.19

Unstandardized coefficients (standard errors in parentheses).
$+p < .1$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$; $N = 148$.

Table 6. Predicting Acculturation Strategies Based on Changes in Mass Media Use.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Assimilation	Integration	Marginalization	Separation
Age	−.013	−.071	.04	−.040
	(.054)	(.051)	(.06)	(.046)
Sex (female = 0)	.42**	.32*	−.16	−.061
	(.15)	(.14)	(.18)	(.13)
Length in the United States	.0025	.008*	.004	.0039
	(.004)	(.004)	(.005)	(.0032)
English proficiency	.38***	.77***	−.32*	−.26**
	(.10)	(.10)	(.12)	(.08)
Cultural distance	−.10	−.22*	.13	.11
	(.12)	(.11)	(.14)	(.10)
Increase in American mass media use	.09 (.18)	−.07 (.17)	.39+ (.21)	−.71*** (.16)
Intercept	2.13+	3.93***	2.87*	5.76***
	(1.18)	(1.12)	(1.39)	(1.01)
R^2	.15	.39	.08	.17
Adjusted R^2	.12	.36	.04	.14
F	4.28	15.0	2.14	4.91
p	< .001	< .001	> .05	< .001

Unstandardized coefficients (standard errors in parentheses).
$+p < .1$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$; $N = 148$.

Discussion

Drawing from a long line of research on mass media use and the acculturation process of immigrants and sojourners (Chaffee, Nass, & Yang, 1990; Hwang & He, 1999; Moon & Park, 2007; Shoemaker, Reese, & Danielson, 1985), this study is the first to find that East Asian international students' use of American and Asian mass media, both before and after relocation, associated with their adoption of different acculturation strategies. Integration is significantly related to American mass media use before relocation, suggesting that international students who proactively learn and plan about the cross-cultural transition may function better in the host society. Assimilation is associated with American mass media use both before and after relocation, suggesting that assimilation is a continuous process that benefits from sustained exposure to and learning from American media. Separation is not related to mass media use before relocation but may be a product of consuming less American mass media and more Asian mass media after relocation. Finally, marginalization is negatively related to Asian mass media use after relocation, which can be understood as the positive impact of connecting with the home country's culture in reducing confusion over cultural identity.

Remote Acculturation: American Mass Media Consumption Before Relocation and Acculturation Strategies

Remote acculturation literature suggests that prospective international students may experience acculturation before relocation by consuming American media (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015). So far, it has not been addressed how such consumption is related to their acculturation strategies after relocation. This study found that American mass media use before relocation played a prominent role in predicting acculturation strategies. Specifically, it showed stronger associations with the assimilation and integration strategies than with marginalization and separation.

The finding on how using American media before relocation played a more significant role than using American/Asian media after relocation offers indirect support for remote acculturation and its impact on the adoption of acculturation strategies. The acculturation strategies adopted by international students may result from accumulated exposure to host-country media that had started before relocation. People who typically consume American media outside of the United States may develop a cultural affinity with American society. Such affinity may predispose them to adopt acculturation strategies that demonstrate that affinity after the relocation (i.e., integration and assimilation). This finding could inform the design of future interventions related to acculturation, as prerelocation intervention could potentially be more effective in creating a smoother acculturation process.

However, while assimilation and integration entail proactive contact with the host society, assimilation indicates a clear tendency to detach from the home culture and become fully immersed in the host society. As assimilation was continuously influenced by using American media before and after relocation, integration is related only to using American media before relocation. We will further address this difference in the following section.

The separation and marginalization strategies did not significantly relate to American mass media use before relocation, which may be attributed to the often-idealized portrayal of American society in American TV series, shows, and movies. Those who view the American culture through a filtered lens from a distance may be less likely to develop acculturation attitudes that indicate distancing from American society. Connecting to the literature on remote acculturation, consumption of media content from the United States and the United Kingdom may have created a "westernized multicultural Zambians" segment among Zambian adolescents; they reported having greater connections to these remote cultures and less identification with the Zambian culture (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015). Similarly, after the possible influence of remote identity acculturation before relocation, East Asian international students may be less likely to use strategies that do not align with their identification with the American culture (i.e., marginalization and separation).

The Nuances in Acculturation: Mass Media Consumption After Relocation and Acculturation Strategies

Regarding the effects of American mass media use after relocation, consuming American media is positively associated with the assimilation strategy. This finding aligns with the literature on the host-country media's role in bringing immigrants and sojourners closer to the host culture (Gary, 2006; Lee & Tse, 1994;

Moon & Park, 2007). Past research about the role of media in immigrants' acculturation process suggests that exposure to media such as newspapers and radio/TV news is highly influential in helping immigrants acculturate into the politics and language of the host country (Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Liu & Gastil, 2014). The cultural learning approach emphasizes the need to learn about the host country before making a successful cross-cultural adaptation. Language, nonverbal gestures, norms, and values are essential subjects of cultural learning (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). The mass media of the host society remains a useful tool through which immigrants and sojourners can learn the host language, acquaint themselves with the skills of day-to-day living, and gain knowledge about the cultural norms and values of the host society.

Unlike previous literature that viewed acculturation as a binary or unidimensional process that is consisted of high versus low levels of acculturation, the difference we identified between American mass media use's positive relationships with the assimilation strategy and insignificant relationship with the integration strategy showed that there are nuances within the same "high-acculturation" dimension. Specifically, integration may be promoted by American mass media use before relocation, while assimilation is continuously facilitated by American mass media use both before and after relocation.

Meanwhile, using American media was negatively related to the separation strategy and not to the marginalization strategy. Arguably, high American media exposure after relocation may help international students improve intercultural communication competence through cultural learning, which could lower the motivation and the need for adopting a separation strategy. Additionally, considering marginalization involves a state of confusion and limbo resulting from cultural separation from the home country and exclusion from the host country, consuming American media may not be able to relieve such alienation.

About the effect of Asian mass media use after relocation, we found that Asian mass media use was negatively associated with the assimilation strategy and positively associated with the separation strategy, which translates into a tendency to affiliate more with the home country culture while distancing from the host-country culture. This finding is consistent with previous studies (Hwang & He, 1999; Lee & Tse, 1994; Raman & Harwood, 2008). Instead of finding ways to engage with the host country, East Asian international students who maintained high-level exposure to their home country media intentionally separated themselves from the host society. The multicultural nature of the U.S. society affords international students the freedom to remain separate from yet functional in American society. Furthermore, watching TV series, shows, and movies from their home country can be comfort-seeking and stress-relieving behaviors, which may interfere with Asian students' learning about and interaction with the host culture. However, since we cannot make causal claims based on cross-sectional data, an alternative explanation could be that international students who adopted separation and assimilation strategies are more likely to consume Asian media.

Additionally, the consumption of Asian media after the relocation is unrelated to the integration strategy and negatively related to the marginalization strategy. International students who are likely to adopt the integration strategy may have formed the attitude before relocation and, with that attitude in mind, managed to navigate both cultures successfully after relocation, regardless of mass media consumption. Considering that marginalization characterizes a state of flux, the consumption of home country media may bring additional comfort and reassurance that reduces confusion over cultural identity and home.

Changes in Mass Media Consumption Patterns and Acculturation Strategies

This study also examines how changes in mass media consumption patterns after relocation are related to acculturation strategies. The ways we measured the American and Asian mass media use—both before and after relocation—made it possible to capture if participants' consumption of American media relative to Asian mass media had increased after relocation. We found that increased use of American media relative to Asian mass media was negatively related to the separation strategy. Aligning with the cultural learning approach, increased American mass media use *relative to* Asian mass media after relocation facilitates faster cultural learning and intercultural communication competence (Masgoret & Ward, 2006).

Changes in consumption of American media after relocation did not significantly associate with assimilation and integration, suggesting that such changes are not particularly relevant for higher motivations to assimilate or integrate after Asian international students' transcontinental move. It is quite possible that international students' remote acculturation played a more significant role in helping them to adopt the assimilation and integration strategies, which are insusceptible to post hoc changes in mass media consumption.

Limitations and Future Research

Some limitations of this study should be noted. First, our data did not directly support a positive relationship between Asian international students' use of American media before relocation and their remote acculturation toward American society. We argue that the associations between American mass media use before relocation and acculturation strategies after relocation could be mediated by remote acculturation based on the literature on remote acculturation. Future research should directly test the relationship between mass media use before relocation, remote acculturation, and acculturation after relocation. Second, our sample ($N = 148$) was a relatively small nonprobability sample. Albeit undesirable, when studying niche populations such as East Asian international students, the problem of small sample size is inevitable, as is the case in some previous studies (Li & Gasser, 2005). We also did not sample East Asian international students from metropolitan areas on the West or East Coast with large Asian communities. Geographic locations may also influence the acculturation strategies individuals adopt after relocation to respond to the local social and political environment.

Third, we did not discriminate the different media types and their relationship with acculturation strategies as we find it difficult to do so based on the literature review. The relationships between media types and acculturation, or the meaning of the term "media use," has become less clear, given the rise of digital video/audio streaming platforms and as scholars shift their attention to studying social media. Future research on this topic could propose a comprehensive framework by incorporating dimensions such as active versus passive, offline versus online, textual versus audiovisual, home versus host-country origin, information versus entertainment, and so on, to categorize media use better. Fourth, there was likely recall bias with media use, especially for participants who had stayed in the United States for a long time. While focusing on mass media, we did not measure other forms of media use. Asian international students may be exposed to media content through social media platforms, which could influence how they adopt different acculturation strategies.

Fifth, although this study does not directly address the issue of identity, cultural identity may mediate between media consumption's relationships with acculturation strategies. Whether international students identify more with home or host culture could be related to their use of home or host-country media, and such cultural identity could be reflected in their acculturation strategies. Moreover, the acculturation strategies that international students adopt may have a potentially profound and nuanced influence on how they tackle significant developmental tasks as young adults. For example, students adopting the separation strategy may be more inclined to seek out intimate relationships and careers within their home culture. Future studies could examine the specific relationships between psychosocial stages (i.e., measures of psychosocial development) and acculturation strategies and their subsequent impacts on life choices.

Finally, since this is a cross-sectional survey, no causal claim can be made. Despite not being able to rule out all other confounding variables because of the nature of survey research, prerelocation use of American media precedes the adoption of acculturation strategies, which makes the causal argument between American mass media use before relocation and the adoption of assimilation and integration strategies more plausible. There may also be a media selection effect at play (Slater, 2007; i.e., using American media before acculturation cultivates remote acculturation), which predisposes individuals' selection of American media that reinforces their choice of acculturation strategies after relocation. Our results may have captured only one part of this chain of effects. Future longitudinal research could capture this reciprocal cycle of effects between mass media use and acculturation strategies.

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