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Mediatizing the network model of cultural capital: Network diversity, media use, and cultural knowledge along and across ethnic boundaries

Wenhong Chen*

Department of Radio-TV-Film, College of Communication, 1 University Station A0800, University of Texas at Austin, 2504 Whitis Ave Stop A0800, Austin, TX 78712-1067, United States

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ABSTRACT

Existing studies have paid limited attention to how media use and network diversity are related to cultural capital along or across ethnic boundaries. Extending the network model to a mediated network model of cultural capital, this research examines cultural knowledge as a function of media use and network diversity and whether media use moderates or mediates the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge. Data were drawn from a random sample survey on Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Toronto. Results showed that media use was a stronger predictor of cultural knowledge than network diversity. It also moderated and mediated the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge along and across ethnic boundaries.

1. Introduction

Cultural capital provides actors the toolkit for navigating the social world. A growing body of literature has examined the formation and function of cultural capital at the nexus of class and interpersonal networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Erickson, 1996). Yet, existing studies have paid limited attention to how media use is related to cultural capital along and across ethnic boundaries (Bennett and Silva, 2011). Expanding the network model of cultural capital which highlights interpersonal networks as an important source of cultural capital (Erickson, 1996; Lizardo, 2006) to a mediated network model of cultural capital, this research focuses on how co-ethnic and mainstream media use and network diversity are related to cultural knowledge, an important indicator of cultural capital. It further investigates whether media use moderates and/or mediates the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge along and across ethnic boundaries. It draws on a sample of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Toronto, Canada, which provides a fertile ground to understand the interaction of media use, social networks, and cultural capital. With varying degrees, immigrant entrepreneurs use ethnic and mainstream media, interact with inter- and intra-ethnic network contacts, maintain ethnic cultural capital and accumulate mainstream cultural capital. Moreover, entrepreneurs have to tell stories to gain credibility and recognition and such storytelling has to draw upon legitimate cultural script catered to the taste of different audience, which requires a variety of cultural capital and the knowledge of applying it to the right situation (Erickson, 1996; Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001).

2. Theoretical framework

Taking into account media use into the conventional network model of cultural capital has theoretical importance. In a media saturated social world, "the media mediate, entering into and shaping the mundane but ubiquitous relations among individuals and between individuals and society" (Livingstone, 2009:7; Thompson, 2013). Drawing on terms such as medialization (Asp, 1990), mediatization (Hjarvard, 2008), or mediation (Livingstone, 2009), a growing literature has explored interactions between media and society, especially how media production and consumption shape the discourse and the "processes of skillful and purposeful activities of actors" such as institutions, organizations, or individuals when they engage with and adjust to media (Hjarvard, 2008:7; Strömbäck, 2010). If interpersonal networks of family, friends, workmates, or co-members of civic groups use to be the most important source of information, identity, and influence, few scholars would disagree that media "have to some extent taken over their role as providers of information and moral orientation" (Hjarvard, 2008:13). As media design and distribute cultural products that articulate and legitimate certain forms of cultural knowledge

* Tel.: +1 512 471 4952; fax: +1 512 471 4077.
E-mail address: wenhong.chen@austin.utexas.edu

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and practices, media serve as symbolic devices that structure individuals' acculturation and the ways in which they navigate diverse sociocultural spaces. That is, both media and interpersonal networks can act as sources and conduits of cultural capital, serving informational, signaling, and modeling function.

Yet, most research has focused on how political parties, social movement organizations, or life course has become mediated and few studies have empirically examined "the degree, nature and consequences of the mediatization of anything or everything – politics, education, family, religion, self" (Livingstone, 2009:7). In a similar vein, media use has been frequently mentioned or assumed but rarely theoretically and empirically examined in the network model of cultural capital. Indeed, there has been a strikingly lack of research on the relations, interactions, and mechanisms that link media use, interpersonal networks and cultural capital.

In what follows, I first discuss the importance of considering ethnicity as an important source of cultural capital (Hall, 1992; Kingston, 2001; Lamont and Fournier, 1992; Yosso, 2005), which would enrich the network model of cultural capital. As importantly, examining cultural capital in the aggregate may gloss over the complexities as it may be facilitated and constrained by social capital and media use along and across the ethnic boundaries. I then discuss how mainstream and ethnic media use would be related to cultural capital. Two sets of hypotheses and research questions are centered on the main effects of network diversity (H1a–H1c and RQ1) and media use (H2a–H2c and RQ2) on cultural capital, respectively. Moreover, I argue that media use may serve as moderator (H3) and mediator (H4) of the relationship between network diversity and cultural capital along and across the ethnic boundaries.

2.1. Cultural capital along and across ethnic boundaries

Bourdieu (1986) understood cultural capital as the extent to which an individual was socialized into the high culture or the culture of the dominant class in three forms: the embodied state in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body, the objectified state in the form of the ownership or consumption of cultural goods (e.g., books, art, and other cultural artifacts), and the institutionalized state in the form of educational qualifications. In empirical research, the concept has been operationalized as cultural taste, attendance, or consumption (Bennett and Silva, 2011; Lizardo, 2006) and as cultural knowledge indicated by a familiarity with various cultural genres (Erickson, 1996; Veenstra, 2005).

The classic work on cultural capital has emphasized the role of high culture in establishing class boundaries and reproducing inequalities (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Dimaggio and Mohr, 1985; Lamont and Molnar, 2002). While Bourdieu (1984, 1986) highlighted the implications of cultural capital for class distinction in a rigid, hierarchical French society, scholars in North America and elsewhere have argued that cultural capital can be used for spanning rather than demarcating class boundaries (Bryson, 1996; Lamont and Molnar, 2002; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Veenstra, 2005; Wang et al., 2006). For instance, social control in the workplace has been increasingly facilitated by coordination via diverse cultural knowledge rather than by distinction based on a mastery of high culture, as "those who have many cultural weapons can find one to suit the battle at hand, whether in the business company or in social company" (Erickson, 1996:219). Accordingly, high-status people have shifted from culture snobs specialized in high culture to culture omnivores with a wide range of cultural repertoire, while low-status people tend to be univorious with a limited cultural repertoire (Peterson and Kern, 1996). More recent studies further reveal that instead of one-size-fit-all, there are multiple manifestations of cultural omnivoresness (Bennett and Silva, 2011). However, both Bourdieu's theory on high and low culture and Peterson's theory on cultural omnivorism are primarily class-based, giving short shrift to cultural capital along other important fault lines of inequalities such as race/ethnicity (Hall, 1992; Kingston, 2001; Veenstra, 2005).

Ethnicity is a profound source of cultural capital, which "does not always reduce to class cultural capital by any straightforward 'currency exchange'" (Hall, 1992:271). Yet, similar to class-based cultural capital, ethnicity-based cultural capital has critical implications for the maintenance of symbolic boundaries and the reproduction of inequalities in multiethnic societies (Lamont and Fournier, 1992; Yosso, 2005). Ethnic cultural capital refers to cultural knowledge and artifacts acquired by ethnic group members for in-group status attainment and out-group differentiation, which has a sometimes contentious, sometimes supplementary relationship with mainstream culture. For instance, upward mobile African Americans demonstrated "double-engagement" in the dominant Euro-American high culture and black art forms (DiMaggio and Ostrower, 1990). Thus, a better understanding of cultural capital along and across ethnic boundaries is "perhaps the most urgent priority in view of the increasing ethnic diversity of (most) Western societies" (Bennett and Silva, 2011:435).

2.2. The network model of cultural capital along and across ethnic boundaries

Bourdieu's seminal work (1984, 1986) reveals the exchange or "transubstantiation" between financial, cultural, and social capital. Theorized as individuals' investment in social relations for instrumental or expressive returns (Lin, 2001), social capital facilitates a wide range of information sources and faster information flow. People with diverse, resource-rich networks gain better access to information, influence, social credentials, and recognition via their network contacts as they gain timely access to fresh, high-quality, and fine-grained information faster and earlier than less connected people, which can further be translated into economic returns such as landing good jobs or having better ideas (Burt, 2004) as well as accumulating entrepreneurial resources (Chen and Tan, 2009). Besides class, social networks have been considered as an important source of cultural capital, dubbed by Lizardo (2006) as the "network model of cultural capital". Social interactions with diverse network contacts require and facilitate the accumulation of a diverse repertoire of cultural knowledge (DiMaggio, 1987). Network diversity – having network members of diverse social and economic backgrounds – is related to greater knowledge about a variety of cultural forms and a better understanding of their situational relevance (Erickson, 1996; Veenstra, 2005). For example, entrepreneurs "coordinate and motivate the efforts of all ranks in the company, and this calls for shared culture to smooth relationships across class boundaries" (Erickson, 1996:221).

Several mechanisms may link network diversity with cultural knowledge. First, both the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) and the social information processing theory (Salancik and Pfeffer, 1978) suggest that the process of communicating, interpreting, and evaluating cultural knowledge unfolds in interpersonal networks. As pipes that carry information and prisms that amplify status (Podolny, 1993), interpersonal networks can serve as sources, conduits, and filters of cultural knowledge. Enabling informational and normative influence, a diverse network allows people greater access to cultural knowledge and more elaborated references to evaluate their cultural preference. Second, a diverse network increases cognitive flexibility and nurtures a cosmopolitan identity, allowing people to appreciate a wide range of cultural knowledge and practices (Erickson, 1996; Kane, 2004). Third, a diverse network gives people more opportunities to deploy their cultural knowledge for instrumental or symbolic gains.

Just as ethnicity is a profound source of cultural capital, racial or ethnic homogeneity has been a significant structural dimension of interpersonal networks in multiethnic societies (DiPrete et al., 2011; McPherson et al., 2001; Moody, 2001). On the one hand, shared roots, language, and life experience provide the starting point of co-ethnic interactions. On the other hand, members of racial or ethnic minorities can be pushed to co-ethnic networks due to real or perceived discrimination. Having network diversity within the ethnic community may enrich co-ethnic cultural knowledge. Yet, some members of disadvantaged groups can establish ties with members of advantaged groups, enabling access to diverse resources (Lin, 2000). Many immigrant entrepreneurs build social and business connections across ethnic boundaries, to accumulate diverse cultural capital and gain legitimacy from various constituencies (Chen and Wellman, 2009). Applying an ethnic lens to the network model of cultural capital,

H1a. Both co-ethnic and inter-ethnic network diversity is positively related to overall cultural knowledge.

H1b. Co-ethnic network diversity is positively related to co-ethnic cultural knowledge.

H1c. Inter-ethnic network diversity is positively related to mainstream cultural knowledge.

Encapsulated in the ethnic community, ethnic members without diverse inter-ethnic contacts may have limited mainstream cultural knowledge. Yet, lacking diverse co-ethnic contacts may hinder the maintenance of co-ethnic cultural knowledge. As few studies have examined the relationship between network diversity and cultural capital across ethnic boundaries,

RQ1. What are the relationship between co-ethnic network diversity and mainstream cultural knowledge and the relationship between inter-ethnic network diversity and co-ethnic cultural knowledge, respectively?

2.3. Media use and cultural knowledge along and across ethnic boundaries

The Frankfurt School saw media discourse as a powerful agent of socialization, producing homogeneous mass cultural taste and behavior preferred by the state apparatuses (Adorno, 1991). Mass media have contributed to the formation of an "imagined community" at the local or national levels (Anderson, 1983). As a major venue of cultural production and distribution, mass media play a vital role in mediating high culture into middlebrow and popular culture, making it more accessible and influential (Guillory, 1995). Accumulating cultural capital is one of the needs that people aim to gratify when they select and use media (Savolainen, 1995). Thus,

H2a. Co-ethnic and mainstream media use is positively related to the overall cultural knowledge.

With varying degrees, ethnic members juggle mainstream, co-ethnic, and homeland media (Zhou et al., 2006). Traditionally, ethnic media were defined as media produced by ethnic members for ethnic members in an ethnic language (Park, 1970 [1922]). Thanks to globalization and technological advancements, the ownership and the production of ethnic media have become increasingly complicated. Some ethnic media outlets are transnationalized, fully or partially owned by mainstream media corporations headquartered in the home country or a third country (Deuze, 2006; Sun, 2006). Others have been purchased by mainstream media corporations in the host country, in their effort of tapping the ethnic market (Tait, 2005; Zhou et al., 2006). Nonetheless, ethnic media have been and remain one of the pillar institutions in ethnic communities, serving the informational, economic, cultural needs of ethnic members (Matsaganis et al., 2010; Zhou et al., 2006). The literature has been consistent that co-ethnic media help immigrants to maintain ethnic identity and culture (Georgiou, 2001; Kim and Ball-Rokeach, 2006; Jeffres, 2000; Matsaganis et al., 2010). The literature is also consistent on a positive relationship between mainstream media use and immigrants' knowledge about the mainstream culture (Hwang and He, 1999; Lee and Tse, 1994; Peeters and D'Haenens, 2005). Thus,

H2b. Co-ethnic media use is positively related to co-ethnic cultural knowledge.

H2c. Mainstream media use is positively related to mainstream cultural knowledge.

However, the literature is less conclusive on the implications of ethnic media for immigrant integration into the mainstream society (Lum, 1991; Sun, 2006; Viswanath and Arora, 2000). In general, ethnic media coverage is more focused on the ethnic community or the home country than on the host society (Lin and Song, 2006). Some studies show that ethnic media use is negatively related to immigrant acculturation (Chen, 2010; Lee and Tse, 1994), while other studies demonstrate that ethnic media bridge immigrants with the larger society in the host country (Zhou et al., 2006) and educate immigrants into new citizens and consumers who act according to mainstream values (Shi, 2009). If combined with mainstream media use, ethnic media use is positively associated with immigrant acculturation (Walker, 1999). A third stream of research argues that ethnic media contribute to the emergence of hyphenated or hybrid identities among immigrants (Matsaganis et al., 2010). Few studies have examined the relationship between mainstream media use and ethnic cultural knowledge. Thus,

RQ2. What are the relationship between co-ethnic media use and mainstream cultural knowledge and the relationship between mainstream media use and co-ethnic cultural knowledge, respectively?

2.4. Interpersonal networks and media use

Interpersonal networks and media use are interrelated. First, interpersonal networks can affect people's access and use of media and communication technologies by affecting the extent to which they get exposure to new technologies and peer pressure for adoption (Rogers, 1995; Monge and Contractor, 2003). Second, social interaction with network members has critical implications for media usage and effect. Informal conversations with friends and acquaintances facilitate media exposure to popular movies, sitcom, or TV shows (Veenstra, 2005). In the two-step flow of communication (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955), opinion leaders interpret media content for people in their social circles. Third, social capital, especially social control and obligations embedded in close-knit networks of strong ties, may exclude out-group members and impose in-group members great conformity (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Group affiliation and selective media exposure are mutually reinforcing. People select congenial media that fit their pre-existing values, which can create an "echo chamber" of like-minded people that hampers the encounters with diverse perspectives (Stroud, 2010; Sunstein, 2001). In a similar vein, there has been a well-established positive relationship between co-ethnic dominant networks and co-ethnic media use (Breton, 1964; Zhou et al., 2006).

2.5. Moderation and mediation

Building on the discussion on (a) the main effect of network diversity and media use on cultural knowledge and (b) the relationship between interpersonal networks and media use, I argue

in what follows for moderating and mediating effects of media use on the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge, contingent on whether there is a consonance or dissonance of network composition and media use along the ethnic boundaries. Network-media-consonance occurs when a person's media use and network composition are located along the same side of the ethnic boundary (e.g., using more mainstream media and having more diverse contacts in the mainstream society or vice versa). Network-media-dissonance occurs if a person's media use and network composition are located in different sides of the ethnic boundary (e.g., using more ethnic media but operating in a diverse network with more inter-ethnic contacts or vice versa).

2.5.1. Moderation

In case of network-media-consonance, an amplification hypothesis would suggest that network diversity and media use in an ethnic tandem would mutually reinforce each other and jointly contribute to greater cultural capital. Yet, borrowing from Burt's notion of redundancy (1992), a redundancy hypothesis would argue that when media use and network diversity serve as functional equivalent, they may make each other redundant and have limited additional value. In case of network-media-dissonance, the mismatch between media use and network diversity across the ethnic lines may deprive ethnic members an alternative source and conduit of cultural knowledge. Yet, a compensation hypothesis would argue that media use and network diversity across the ethnic lines can supplement each other, offering alternative access to cultural knowledge. Accordingly,

H3. Co-ethnic and mainstream media use moderates the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge.

2.5.2. Mediation

Media use may not only moderate (amplify or diminish) but also mediate (bridge or channel) the network model of cultural capital. Both media use and interpersonal networks are integral components of individuals' personal communication infrastructure, offering them materials, channels and resources for accumulating, elaborating and deploying their cultural capital. Moreover, interpersonal networks can affect the access, usage patterns, and consequences of media use (Rogers, 1995; Veenstra, 2005), especially along the ethnic lines (Zhou et al., 2006). Accordingly, the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge is channeled by the exposure to, interpretation, and evaluation of certain forms of media, shaped by the information and influence flow in interpersonal networks. That is, the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge can be partially enhanced by network-media-consonance or suppressed by media-network dissonance. Thus,

H4. Co-ethnic and mainstream media use mediates the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge.

3. Data and methods

Data were drawn from a random sample survey of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Toronto, Canada. Immigrant entrepreneurs provide a fertile ground to understand the interaction of media use, network diversity, and cultural capital. With varying degrees, they use both mainstream and co-ethnic media, interact with members of inter- and co-ethnic groups, maintain and utilize cultural capital along and across ethnic boundaries. The sample was randomly drawn from business directories issued by government agencies and permitted a comprehensive listing of immigrant businesses of varying sizes in multiple industrial sectors. Overall, 308 questionnaires were completed face-to-face from 2005 to 2006, with a response rate of 53%.[1] Missing value analysis suggested no systematic pattern of missing values (Little and Rubin, 2002). Common method biases were checked using Hartman's single-factor test and confirmatory factor analysis (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Table 1 reported descriptive statistics.

3.1. Dependent variables

Drawing on Erickson's work (1996), the survey asked the respondents if they knew something about 60 well-known names selected from the Canadian and Chinese cultural space, respectively (Appendix A). Three indices were constructed by using the sum score of the names that the respondent knew something about in overall, in the cultural genres of European-North American root, and in the cultural genres of Chinese root, respectively. There were three dependent variables: the overall cultural knowledge, mainstream cultural knowledge indicated by a familiarity with the cultural genres of European-North American root, and ethnic cultural knowledge indicated by a familiarity with the cultural genres of Chinese root. The indices were standardized on a 1–100 scale. Respondents scored on average 43 on the overall cultural knowledge, 42 on mainstream and 43 on Chinese cultural knowledge.

3.2. Independent variables

3.2.1. Network diversity

Network diversity was measured as individual's access to network members of diverse backgrounds (Erickson, 1996). More specifically, the position generator was used to measure the respondent's network diversity by giving the respondent a list of high- and low-status occupations and asking whether he or she knew someone on the first name basis in each of the occupation (Lin, 2001). Adopted from the original 22 occupations used in the position generator that has been employed in national surveys in the U.S., Europe, and Asia (Lin et al., 2001), the current survey included a total of 18 occupations, selected based on their relevance to entrepreneurship and whether they, combined, reflect the overall occupational hierarchy (Appendix B). Moreover, I expanded the standard position generator to capture the transnational and ethnic composition of respondents' networks. To understand the transnational aspect of entrepreneurs' networks, respondents were asked to indicate if they personally knew someone in the 18 occupations in the home country and in the host country, respectively. If the respondent indicated that he or she knew someone in one of the 18 occupations in the host country, a follow-up question probed the race/ethnicity of this network contact.

Network diversity was indicated by the sum score of the occupations in which the respondent knew someone in the home country and in the host country, respectively. The average network diversity was about 6 in the home country and the average network diversity was about 11 in the host country. Network diversity in the host country was measured by the sum score of the occupations in which the respondent knew someone in three racial/ethnic categories: white contacts, Chinese contacts, and non-Chinese visible minority contacts, respectively.[2] The average network diversity via

[1] A sample of 800 ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs was randomly selected from a total of 4827 Chinese-owned businesses identified from two business directories: (a) the *Toronto Business Directory 2004*, issued by the City of Toronto, and (b) the *York Region Business Directory 2005*, issued by the Regional Municipality of York. The two business directories, combined, contained 84,446 businesses. A total of 221 out of the 800 selected entrepreneurs were excluded as the business had been taken over by non-Chinese owners, shut down, relocated outside of the Greater Toronto Area, or the telephone number was no longer in service.

[2] In the Canadian context, visible minorities refer to non-Caucasian racial minorities. White means non-Hispanic White or Caucasian.

Table 1
Descriptive statistics.

Variable	*N*	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Cultural capital					
Overall	308	42.74	16.49	0	83.33
Chinese	308	43.25	19.74	0	85
Mainstream	308	41.72	27.07	0	100
Network diversity					
Home country	308	5.55	5.62	0	18
Host country	308	10.71	4.57	0	18
Chinese	308	6.98	4.03	0	17
White	308	3.45	3.38	0	16
Non-Chinese visible minorities	308	0.50	1.18	0	11
Media use					
Chinese language media	308	5.05	4.44	0	18
Mainstream media	308	9.25	5.91	0	24
Female	308	0.21	0.41	0	1
Partnered	308	0.87	0.33	0	1
Length of residence	308	4.63	1.24	1	7.28
Education (ref = high school or less)					
University	308	0.59	0.49	0	1
Postgraduate	308	0.16	0.37	0	1
Local specific human capital	308	0.50	0.50	0	1
Transnational entrepreneur	308	0.42	0.49	0	1
Weekly hours on media					
Newspaper	308	2.02	0.92	0	5
Internet	307	2.91	1.78	0	10
TV	308	2.64	1.27	0	10.25
Radio	307	2.25	1.71	0	9.49

white contacts was 3.5, the average network diversity via Chinese contacts was 7, and the average network diversity via non-Chinese visible minorities was 0.5.

3.2.2. Media use

Respondents were asked to name the top three newspapers, Internet websites, TV channels, and radio stations they read, visited, watched or listened, respectively. A respondent could nominate a maximum of 12 media outlets. To capture media use along and across the ethnic lines, the nominated media outlets were coded into four categories: (1) Chinese language media in the home country, (2) Chinese transnational media or Chinese ethnic media in the host country, (3) mainstream media in the host country, and (4) non-Chinese ethnic language media in the host country. The first two categories were combined into the category of co-ethnic Chinese language media because less than 14% of the respondents nominated any homeland media (Appendix C). Furthermore, as less than 2% of the respondents nominated any non-Chinese ethnic language media in the host country, the analysis focused on the Chinese language and mainstream media use. The Chinese language media use index and the mainstream media use index were constructed in two steps. First, a sum score counting the frequency when a Chinese language media outlet or a mainstream media outlet was nominated as one of the top three newspapers, Internet websites, TV channels, or radio stations the respondent used, respectively. Second, the two sum scores were weighted whereas the first ranked media outlet received a weight coefficient of 3, the second ranked 2, and the third ranked 1.

3.3. Control variables

Sociodemographic and socioeconomic variables were controlled as existing studies showed that they were related to media use (Norris and Inglehart, 2009), network diversity (McPherson et al., 2001), and cultural knowledge (Erickson, 1996). Gender was dichotomous, coded as 1 if the respondent was female and 0 if male. Partnered was dichotomous, coded as 1 if the respondent was married or living with a partner and 0 otherwise. The length of residence was the number of years that the respondent had lived in the host country. As the distribution was skewed, the square root of the length of residence was used as suggested by the ladder command in Stata. Age was excluded due to a strong correlation with the length of residence in the host country. Human capital was indicated by the highest level of education and classified in three categories: high school or less, university, and postgraduate. Local specific human capital was dichotomous, coded as 1 if the respondent received his or her highest degree from educational institutions in the host country and 0 otherwise. Drawing on Portes, et al.'s (2002) widely cited definition, transnational entrepreneur was dichotomous, coded as 1 if the respondent's business success depended on contacts and associates in home country or a third country and 0 otherwise. The weekly hours spending on newspapers, the Internet, TV, and radio were controlled, respectively. As the distribution was skewed, the square root was used. The hours spending on each specific medium rather than the total hours of media exposure were used because the Cronbach's alpha of the four items was lower than 0.40.

3.4. Interaction terms

Interaction terms were constructed between each pair of network diversity and media use, respectively. Continuous variables were mean centered to avoid multicollinearity. Only significant interaction terms were reported.

4. Results

A series of stepwise OLS regression models examined the relationships of network diversity, media use, and cultural knowledge (Tables 2–4). In each table, Model 1 contained sociodemographic variables and the time spending on each media platform. Model 2 added network diversity variables, while Model 3 further took into account media use variables. The VIF and tolerance values suggested that multicollinearity was not a concern.

Table 2
OLS regression of the overall cultural knowledge.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	β	SE	$P>t$	β	SE	$P>t$	β	SE	$P>t$
Female	−0.13	2.14	*	−0.11	2.13	*	−0.10	2.10	*
Partnered	0.05	2.63		0.03	2.61		0.04	2.58	
Length of residence	−0.23	0.82	***	−0.20	0.86	**	−0.16	0.91	*
Education (ref = high school or less)									
University	0.15	2.38	*	0.11	2.38		0.10	2.45	
Postgraduate	0.24	3.14	***	0.21	3.15	**	0.20	3.25	**
Local specific human capital	0.25	2.30	***	0.24	2.32	***	0.22	2.31	**
Transnational entrepreneur	0.13	1.77	*	0.10	1.80		0.08	1.78	
Weekly hours on media									
Newspaper	0.14	0.99	**	0.13	0.98	*	0.11	0.97	*
Internet	−0.08	0.50		−0.08	0.50		−0.07	0.49	
TV	0.08	0.71		0.07	0.70		0.02	0.72	
Radio	−0.06	0.53		−0.06	0.53		−0.08	0.53	
Network diversity									
Home country				0.08	0.19		0.06	0.19	
Host country				0.12	0.23		0.09	0.23	
Media use									
Chinese language media							0.18	0.25	**
Mainstream media							0.18	0.19	**
_cons		5.72	***		5.89	***		6.39	***
Adjust R^2	0.21		***	0.22		***	0.24		***
R^2 change				0.02		*	0.02		**

$N = 306$.
* $P<0.05$.
** $P<0.01$.
*** $P<0.001$.

4.1. Overall cultural knowledge

Model 1 in Table 2 showed that men, people with shorter length of residence in the host country better educated, who earned the highest degree from the host country, transnational entrepreneurs, and who spent more time on reading newspapers had greater levels of overall cultural knowledge. Model 2 revealed that network diversity – either in the host country or in the home country – was not significantly related to the overall cultural knowledge. Thus, H1a predicting a positive relationship between network diversity and the overall cultural knowledge was rejected. Model 3 showed that both Chinese language media use and mainstream media use were significantly related to the overall cultural knowledge. H2a predicting a positive relationship between co-ethnic and

Table 3
OLS regression of Chinese cultural knowledge.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	β	SE	$P>t$	β	SE	$P>t$	β	SE	$P>t$
Female	−0.11	2.45	*	−0.10	2.40	*	−0.09	2.35	
Partnered	0.03	3.01		0.01	2.96		0.01	2.89	
Length of residence	−0.45	0.94	***	−0.39	1.00	***	−0.32	1.01	***
Education (ref = high school or less)									
University	0.05	2.72		0.03	2.71		0.08	2.74	
Postgraduate	0.16	3.59	*	0.13	3.63		0.17	3.67	*
Local specific human capital	0.06	2.63		0.07	2.60		0.08	2.57	
Transnational entrepreneur	0.15	2.03	**	0.11	2.04	*	0.12	1.99	*
Weekly hours on media									
Newspaper	0.14	1.13	**	0.13	1.10	*	0.11	1.08	*
Internet	−0.05	0.57		−0.06	0.56		−0.04	0.55	
TV	0.05	0.81		0.05	0.79		0.01	0.81	
Radio	−0.08	0.61		−0.07	0.60		−0.08	0.59	
Network diversity									
Home country				0.12	0.22		0.11	0.21	
Host country									
Chinese				0.05	0.30		0.01	0.30	
White				−0.02	0.34		0.05	0.35	
Non-Chinese visible minorities				−0.17	0.86	***	−0.13	0.86	*
Media use									
Chinese language media							0.27	0.30	***
Mainstream media							0.02	0.21	
_cons		6.54	***		6.81	***		7.19	***
Adjust R^2	0.27		***	0.31		***	0.35		***
R^2 change				0.05		***	0.04		***

$N = 306$.
* $P<0.05$.
** $P<0.01$.
*** $P<0.001$.

Table 4
OLS regression of mainstream cultural knowledge.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	β	SE	$P>t$	β	SE	$P>t$	β	SE	$P>t$	β	SE	$P>t$
Female	−0.08	3.03		−0.06	2.95		−0.05	2.76		−0.05	2.74	
Partnered	0.04	3.72		0.02	3.64		0.02	3.39		0.03	3.37	
Length of residence	0.24	1.17	***	0.20	1.23	***	0.14	1.19	**	0.15	1.18	**
Education (ref = high school or less)												
University	0.21	3.37	***	0.15	3.34	*	0.05	3.22		0.06	3.21	
Postgraduate	0.21	4.45	***	0.15	4.47	*	0.05	4.31		0.04	4.28	
Local specific human capital	0.38	3.26	***	0.36	3.20	***	0.30	3.02	***	0.30	3.00	***
Transnational entrepreneur	0.03	2.51		0.02	2.51		0.00	2.35		0.00	2.33	
Weekly hours on media												
Newspaper	0.06	1.40		0.06	1.36		0.05	1.28		0.06	1.27	
Internet	−0.07	0.71		−0.07	0.69		−0.10	0.64	*	−0.10	0.64	*
TV	0.07	1.00		0.05	0.97		0.01	0.95		0.02	0.94	
Radio	0.02	0.76		0.01	0.73		−0.02	0.69		−0.03	0.69	
Network diversity												
Home country				0.03	0.27		0.00	0.25		0.01	0.25	
Host country												
Chinese				0.03	0.37		0.03	0.35		0.04	0.35	
White				0.23	0.42	***	0.15	0.41	**	0.08	0.48	
Non-Chinese visible minorities				0.05	1.06		0.00	1.01		0.01	1.01	
Media use												
Chinese language media							−0.05	0.35		−0.10	0.38	
Mainstream media							0.33	0.25	***	0.32	0.25	***
White × Chinese language media										−0.11	0.10	*
_cons		8.10			8.38		.	8.46			8.41	
Adjusted R^2	0.40		***	0.44		***	0.52		***	0.52		***
R^2 change				0.05		***	0.07			0.01		*

$N = 306$.
* $P<0.05$.
** $P<0.01$.
*** $P<0.001$.

mainstream media use on the overall cultural knowledge was supported. The change in R^2 indicated that the inclusion of media use variables led to a better model.

4.2. Chinese cultural knowledge

Model 1 in Table 3 showed that men and those who had lived in the host country shorter had higher levels of Chinese cultural knowledge. Postgraduate education, transnational entrepreneurship, and the time spending on newspaper reading were significantly and positively related to Chinese cultural knowledge. Model 2 revealed that network diversity via non-Chinese visible minority contacts in the host country was significantly and negatively related to Chinese cultural knowledge ($\beta = -0.17$, $p < 0.001$), while other network diversity variables were not significant. Thus, H1b on a positive relationship between co-ethnic network diversity and co-ethnic cultural knowledge was not supported.

Model 3 showed that Chinese language media use – but not mainstream media use – was positively related to Chinese cultural knowledge ($\beta = 0.27$, $p < 0.001$). In fact, the β coefficient suggested that Chinese language media had the strongest relationship with Chinese cultural knowledge among the variables included in the model. Thus, H2b predicting a positive relationship between co-ethnic media use and co-ethnic cultural knowledge was supported. The change in R^2 indicated that the inclusion of media use variables led to a better model.

4.3. Mainstream cultural knowledge

Model 1 in Table 4 showed that people who had lived in the host country longer had greater levels of mainstream cultural knowledge. The levels of education and the highest degree earned from host country were positively related to mainstream cultural knowledge. Model 2 revealed that only network diversity via white contacts in the host country was significantly and positively related to mainstream cultural capital ($\beta = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$). Therefore, H1c predicting a positive relationship between inter-ethnic network diversity and mainstream cultural knowledge was partially supported.

Model 3 showed that mainstream media use but not Chinese language media use – was significantly and positively related to mainstream cultural knowledge ($\beta = 0.33$, $p < 0.001$). The β coefficient suggested that mainstream media use had the strongest relationship with mainstream cultural knowledge among the variables included in the model. Thus, H2c predicting a positive relationship between mainstream media use and mainstream cultural knowledge was supported. The change in R^2 indicated that the inclusion of media use variables led to a better model.

As to RQ1 on the relationship of network diversity and cultural knowledge across ethnic boundaries, network diversity via non-Chinese visible minorities was negatively associated with Chinese cultural knowledge (Model 2, Table 3), while co-ethnic network diversity was not significant to mainstream cultural knowledge (Model 2, Table 4). As to RQ2, the relationships between media use and cultural knowledge across ethnic boundaries were not significant (Model 3, Tables 3–4).

4.4. Moderation

Model 4 in Table 4 showed a significant interaction effect between network diversity via white contacts and Chinese language media use on mainstream cultural knowledge ($\beta = -0.11$, $p < 0.05$). That is, although Chinese language media use did not have a main effect on mainstream cultural knowledge, it served as a moderator that muted the positive association between network diversity via white contacts and mainstream cultural knowledge.

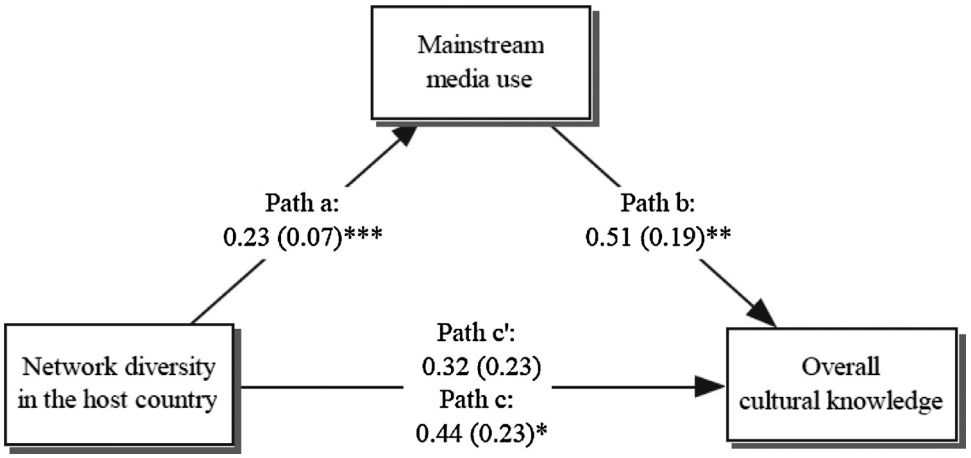

Fig. 1. Network diversity and mainstream cultural knowledge partially mediated by mainstream media use. *Note:* Unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Sobel: 0.11 (0.06) *, Goodman-1 (Aroian): 0.11 (0.06) *, Goodman-2: 0.11 (0.05) *; Indirect effect: 0.11 (0.06) *; Proportion of total effect that is mediated: 26%; *** $P < 0.001$; ** $P < 0.01$; * $P < 0.05$.

Thus, H3 on a moderating effect between media use on network diversity and cultural knowledge was partially supported.

4.5. Mediation

Sobel–Goodman test and bootstrapping method in Stata were used to test the mediation effects of media use on the relationship between network diversity and cultural knowledge (Baron and Kenny, 1986).

4.5.1. Mainstream media use

Fig. 1 showed that while the direct effect of network diversity in the host country on the overall cultural knowledge was not significant ($b = .32$, $p > 0.05$), the total effect was significant ($b = .44$, $p < 0.05$). Network diversity in the host country had a significant indirect effect on the overall cultural knowledge through mainstream media use ($b = 0.11$, $p < 0.05$). Network diversity in the host country was positively related to mainstream media use ($b = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$), which, in turn, was positively related to the overall cultural knowledge ($b = 0.51$, $p < 0.01$). Overall, 26% of the total effect of network diversity in the host country on the overall cultural knowledge was mediated by mainstream media use. The bootstrapped 95% bias-corrected confidence interval further showed that mainstream media use (0.023, 0.279) was a significant mediator linking network diversity in the host country and the overall cultural knowledge.

4.5.2. Chinese language media use

Fig. 2 showed that network diversity via non-Chinese visible minority contacts had a significant indirect effect on the Chinese cultural knowledge through Chinese media use ($b = -0.58$, $p < 0.05$). Network diversity via non-Chinese visible minority contacts was negatively related to Chinese language media use ($b = -0.48$, $p < 0.01$), which in turn was positive associated with Chinese cultural knowledge ($b = 1.19$, $p < 0.001$). Overall, Chinese language media use mediated 21% of the total effect of network diversity via non-Chinese visible minority contacts on Chinese cultural knowledge. The bootstrapped 95% bias-corrected confidence interval further showed that Chinese media use (-1.032, -0.120) offered a significant underlying mechanism that helped to explain the negative relationship between network diversity via non-Chinese minority contacts and Chinese cultural knowledge.

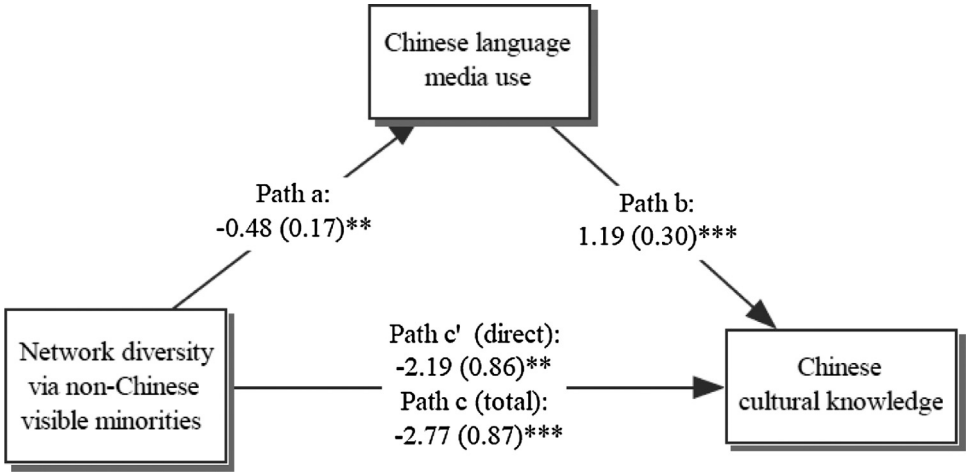

Fig. 2. Network diversity and co-ethnic cultural knowledge partially mediated by co-ethnic media use. *Note:* Unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Sobel: −0.58 (0.25) *, Goodman-1 (Aroian): −0.58 (0.25) *, Goodman-2: −0.58 (0.24)*; Indirect effect; −0.58 (0.25) *; Proportion of total effect that is mediated: 21%; *** $P < 0.001$; ** $P < 0.01$; * $P < 0.05$.

Thus, H4 was partially supported for the significant mediating effect of mainstream media use on the overall cultural knowledge and the significant mediating effect of Chinese language media use on co-ethnic cultural knowledge.[3]

5. Discussion and conclusion

Existing studies have examined the relationship between network diversity and class-based cultural capital (DiMaggio, 1987; Erickson, 1996). Lizardo (2006) has argued for a "cultural conversion model" that cultural tastes have an independent effect on network size and composition. Yet, both the network model of cultural capital and the cultural conversion model of interpersonal networks have paid limited attention to media use as a source of cultural capital. Even few studies have examined the relationship between networks, media use, and cultural capital along and across ethnic boundaries in contemporary multiethnic societies. Addressing this important gap, this research is highly original and extends the network model to a mediated network model of cultural capital. Highlighting the role of media use in maintaining and bridging symbolic boundaries, it reveals that media use can have main, moderating and mediating effect on cultural knowledge.

First, the main effect. Media use is a stronger predictor of cultural knowledge than network diversity, although both have irreducible, distinct relationships with cultural knowledge. Having more diverse white contacts is related to greater mainstream cultural knowledge. Yet, network diversity via non-Chinese visible minorities is negatively related to Chinese cultural knowledge. Media use – but not network diversity – is significantly related to the overall cultural knowledge. Chinese language media use has the strongest relationship with Chinese cultural knowledge, and mainstream media use the strongest relationship with mainstream cultural knowledge. A few factors may help to explain the strong relationship between media use and cultural knowledge. People purposefully adapt their media diet and social circles, which, in turn, would affect their cultural knowledge. Other things being equal, adopting a diverse media diet requires lower transaction cost than developing a diverse network. Networking demands more energy, resources and mutual interests than media use. Thus, it is easier to accumulate cultural knowledge via media exposure than via network diversity.

Second, media use as moderator. The results show that co-ethnic media use buffers the positive relationship between network diversity via white contacts and mainstream cultural knowledge. One explanation may be that co-ethnic media's limited coverage of the mainstream society hampers the cultural-capital enhancing function of a diverse network with white contacts.

Third, media use as mediator. Mainstream media use offers a bridge linking the network diversity in the host country and the overall cultural knowledge. Co-ethnic media use serves as a suppressor of the negative relationship between network diversity via non-Chinese visible minorities and Chinese cultural knowledge.

Fourth, offering a layered analysis of various types of network diversity, media use, and their relationships with cultural knowledge, this research sheds light on the bounded nature of cultural capital within the ethnic lines. The mediated network model is constrained by network-media-dissonance along the ethnic boundaries. The mismatch hypothesis is partially supported as co-ethnic media use served as a moderator that mutes the positive association between network diversity via white contacts and mainstream cultural knowledge. Furthermore, there is a compensation relationship as co-ethnic media use suppresses the negative relationship between network diversity via non-Chinese visible minorities and Chinese cultural knowledge. Treating media use as moderators and mediators offers a promising venue to reconcile the conflicting findings in the literature about the ethnic media effect on immigrant integration (Chen, 2010; Matsaganis et al., 2010; Shi, 2009; Zhou et al., 2006).

In addition, the findings support existing studies on the class and life course variations of cultural capital. Education, especially postgraduate education, is positively related to the overall, Chinese, and mainstream cultural knowledge. Local specific human capital is positively related to the overall and the mainstream cultural knowledge, in tandem with existing studies arguing that a degree from the host country educational institutions is an institutionalized form of cultural capital (Beenstock et al., 2010; Waters, 2003). Longer residence in the host country is associated with more mainstream cultural knowledge but less overall and Chinese cultural knowledge. The results echo with studies showing that cultural capital is adaptive and evolves over time (Chen, 2010; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro, 2005).

This research has several limitations that call for future research. First, the data are cross-sectional and cannot provide sufficient information about the causal order. As the relationships between networks, media use, and cultural capital are likely to be reciprocal, longitudinal data are required to discern the causal direction. Second, cultural capital is measured as cultural knowledge, which is enough to carry a casual conversation but may not capture sophisticated cultural appreciation (Kane, 2004). Thus, more fine-grained measures of cultural capital are needed in future research. Third, the survey respondents were Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada. While studying a single ethnic group has its merit, comparative studies of entrepreneurs from different ethnic groups in multiple cities or countries would provide deeper insight and greater generalizability of the relationships and dynamics identified in this paper. Fourth, most studies have focused on majority–minority interaction and few have taken into account minority–minority interaction in multi-ethnic contexts. This research suggests that more attention should be paid to the patterns and consequences of minority–minority interactions.

These caveats notwithstanding, this research has advanced the existing literature that has paid limited attention to how media use, alongside network diversity, is related to cultural capital. The findings support the extension of the network model to a mediated network model of cultural capital. Surveying newcomers to New York City in the early 20th century, Walter Lippmann stated, "All of us are immigrants spiritually" (1914 [1986]:118). One hundred years later, globalization and technological advancement have expanded people's networks across geographic and social boundaries. As individuals – entrepreneurs or professionals, activists or scholars, immigrants or sojourners – increasingly switch between multiple, intersecting networks and interact with diverse network partners, they develop varied cultural tastes and knowledge along and across class and ethnic lines.

Mediatizing the network model of cultural capital via a lens of ethnicity, this research enriches the conventional interpretations of cultural capital that has un- or under-acknowledged a wider array of cultural knowledge and practices along ethnic boundaries. It has made significant contributions based on its unique perspective, compelling theoretical and empirical rationales, and interdisciplinary appeal, firmly anchored in sociology but innovatively integrated the insights from communication and media studies. Generating a more nuanced account, this study will inspire future research on interpersonal networks and media use as the sources, conduits, and spaces where cultural capital is articulated, accumulated, and exploited in multiethnic societies.

[3] Regression results of the mediators (mainstream and co-ethnic media use) are available but not reported due to space limitation.

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Appendix A.

Survey question on cultural knowledge.

54. Now we would like to ask if you know something about the following people, such as who they are and what they do. (PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY).

1 ☐ Margaret Atwood	2 ☐ Lu Xun	3 ☐ Yu Xiaonan
4 ☐ Henry Moore	5 ☐ Jin Yong	6 ☐ Amy Tan
7 ☐ Leonard Cohen	8 ☐ Yang Jiang	9 ☐ Gao Xingjian
10 ☐ Toni Morrison	11 ☐ Eileen Chang	12 ☐ Yoyo Ma
13 ☐ Jim Carrey	14 ☐ Gong Li	15 ☐ Lucy Liu
16 ☐ Nicole Kidman	17 ☐ Zhao Wei	18 ☐ Jet Li
19 ☐ Meryl Streep	20 ☐ Jiang Wen	21 ☐ Chow Yun-Fat
22 ☐ Mike Myers	23 ☐ Ge You	24 ☐ Joan Chen
25 ☐ Jack Welch	26 ☐ Edward Tian	27 ☐ Shenglin Xian
28 ☐ Steve Jobs	29 ☐ Ma Weihua	30 ☐ Rita Tsang
31 ☐ Meg Whitman	32 ☐ Zhang Ruimin	33 ☐ Michael Lee-Chan
34 ☐ Heather Reisman	35 ☐ Chen Lihua	36 ☐ Daisy Wai
37 ☐ Jim Karygiannis	38 ☐ Wang Qishan	39 ☐ Olivia Chow
40 ☐ David Miller	41 ☐ Wu Yi	42 ☐ Thomas Qu
43 ☐ Belinda Stronach	44 ☐ He Luli	45 ☐ Chen Xiaoling
46 ☐ Sheila Copps	47 ☐ Bo Xilai	48 ☐ Tony Wong
49 ☐ Wayne Gretzky	50 ☐ Chang Hao	51 ☐ Yao Ming
52 ☐ Serena Williams	53 ☐ Deng Yaping	54 ☐ Michelle Kwan
55 ☐ Tiger Woods	56 ☐ Li Ning	57 ☐ Mengke Bateer
58 ☐ Vince Carter	59 ☐ Fu Mingxia	60 ☐ Michael Chang

Appendix B.

Network diversity measured by the position generator.

	% of respondents knowing someone in the occupation in the home country	% of respondents knowing someone in the occupation in the host country			
		Total	Chinese	White	Visible minority
Government official	29	38	38	56	7
Community association leader	21	42	77	20	3
Professor	36	48	52	46	3
Venture capitalist	18	39	66	32	3
Bank loan officer	30	74	67	27	6
Lawyer	32	81	58	39	4
Accountant	37	93	71	23	6
IT engineer	33	74	80	15	5
Journalist	19	37	84	14	2
Sales or marketing manager	36	63	52	46	2
Human resources manager	22	36	47	51	2
Entrepreneur	52	83	71	25	4
School teacher	47	65	38	57	5
Physician	45	86	82	14	4
Truck driver	20	49	48	40	11
Electrician	24	65	61	31	8
Waiter/waitress	28	63	85	11	4
Policeman/policewoman	26	35	40	57	4

$N = 308$.

Note: For example, 29% of the respondents knew a government official in the home country. Furthermore, 38% knew a government official in the host country. Among which, 38% were Chinese, 56% White, and 7% non-Chinese visible minorities.

Appendix C.

The frequency of nominated media outlets (%).

Nomination	In the home country	In the host country		
		Mainstream media	Chinese language media (in the host country or transnational)	Non-Chinese ethnic media
0	86	10	29	98
1	12	8	18	1
2	2	10	17	0
3		18	16	
4		16	12	
5		11	7	
6		9	1	
7		6	1	
8		4		
9		4		
10		2		
11		1		
12		0		

$N = 308$.

Note: For instance, 10% respondents nominated no mainstream media outlet in the host country, 29% no Chinese language media outlet that was either transnational or located in the host country, 86% no Chinese language media outlet in the home country, and 98% nominated no media outlet of other ethnic language in the host country.

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