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Acculturation in Indian ethnic print media in California : a study of India-west

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ACCULTURATION IN INDIAN ETHNIC PRINT MEDIA IN CALIFORNIA:
A STUDY OF *INDIA-WEST*

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism & Mass
Communications

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by

Mansi Agarwal

May 2006

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A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Cecilia Baldwin", written over a horizontal line.

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ABSTRACT

ACCULTURATION IN INDIAN ETHNIC PRINT MEDIA IN CALIFORNIA: A STUDY OF *INDIA-WEST*

By Mansi Agarwal

This study examined the presence of acculturation in Indian ethnic media, focusing on the publication *India-West*. A rotating random sampling technique was used to choose the articles among the four specific issues included in the study. The study method was a content analysis of 4,432 articles to examine the topics and themes found in the news coverage. Personal interviews with key editors at the publication were also conducted.

In terms of news categories analyzed in the study, political news was clearly the most prevalent topic in the publication. This was followed by arts and entertainment and business news. In terms of acculturation patterns, the average ranking in order from strength to weakness was the following: separation, biculturation, marginalization, assimilation, and other. The results clearly showed that biculturation, or the blending of both Indian and American cultures, is increasing in the news coverage nowadays.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Already the third largest Asian group in the United States, the Indian community is growing at a rapid rate in California. The development of ethnic media is increasing concurrently. California, and particularly the San Francisco Bay Area, is home to many of the Indian publications that have emerged in recent years. Chicago and New York, two other metropolitan areas with significant Indian communities, are also home to dozens of Indian ethnic media publications.

Despite the gradual emergence of Indian ethnic media, little research and literature has been published on newly immigrated ethnic groups from South Asian nations such as India. Extensive research regarding acculturation and media studies can be found concerning other Asian groups, such as the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. In most of these groups, the research that has been conducted in the past has focused on publications in the respective ethnic languages. However, Indian ethnic media differ in that the

majority of the publications are published in English, not the native languages of India.

Ethnic media publications serve several important roles for the immigrant community in the United States. First and foremost, they are advocates and social activists for the community. The publications are forums for discussion and activists for social justice and other specific interests. Secondly, ethnic media inform and educate the immigrant community, about both events happening back in the homeland, as well as current events and issues pertinent to the group, yet not addressed in mainstream media. Lastly, ethnic media help preserve a group's cultural identity, often in a land that is foreign. The publications assist in the acculturation process in terms of communication.

To this day, very little is known about the sizable Asian Indian community in the United States. It is a community that warrants attention as it will become more prominent in terms of population size and, coincidentally, a desirable segment for marketers (Smolenyak & Randery, 1994). The Asian Indian community differs from other Asian groups in that a majority of immigrants speak the English language prior to arriving in the United States, resulting

in Indian ethnic publications that are published in English as opposed to native languages. In addition, the ethnic group is well-educated and affluent in socio-economic terms. The overall Asian Indian socio-demographic profile is somewhat different than that of other Asian immigrant groups residing in the United States.

The focus of this research is to examine *India-West*, a weekly Indian ethnic print publication headquartered in San Leandro, California. The publication is well-known, one of the largest in the Asian Indian community, and covers a wide range of news topics. This study will examine the focus of the publication by evaluating the topics and themes being addressed. It will also take a look at how the process of acculturation has developed and changed in the publication in terms of news coverage during the 30-year time period being examined.

It is the hope of this study to educate and create general awareness among people about Indian ethnic media in California. In addition, the research and results will offer people a better grasp of the role that acculturation plays in Indian ethnic media and how it has progressed in *India-West* over time.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Immigration Trend

The United States is made up of many different cultures, lifestyles, religions, and ethnicities. Lewnes (1993) noted that,

Today, for many, leaving your homeland does not necessarily mean leaving your homeland completely behind. It is possible to live in two worlds, blending elements from the old homeland and the new, becoming an amalgam that could be described as a 'two-worlder'. (p. 18)

Rather than dropping one culture in order to adopt another, immigrants to the United States have increasingly been able to retain and maintain multiple cultures. This "two-worlder" idea that Lewnes (1993) mentioned is a process of acculturation. Viswanath (2000) noted that,

The number of immigrants into the United States from any given part of the world will be small to begin with. As the size of the group increases because of increasing immigration, there is likely to be a shift in reliance from primary to secondary channels of communication. (p. 43)

Immigrants, after settling into their adoptive country decide to form their own "institutions to facilitate their survival and to assist them in assimilating into the mainstream" (Viswanath, 2000, p. 53). One of these more important outlets serves the purpose of communication. The

development of ethnic media as a method of communication has eased the transition of immigrants into United States society, as "islands of ethnic communities are emerging in the American mainstream" (Tam, 2002, B1).

The ethnic news medium is one of the most important and vital institutions, along with religious and cultural organizations, that sustain the ethnicity of immigrants. (Viswanath, 2000, p. 53)

Although the increased prevalence of ethnic media in the United States has facilitated immigrants in the process of acculturation, it has also slowed it down as immigrant groups have relied on native media sources to establish and maintain ties to their home countries. In the end, "most [immigrants] desire to retain their cultural heritage while becoming uniquely American" (Farver, Narang & Bhadha, 2002, p. 348).

Concept of Ethnic Media

What exactly is ethnic media? Johnson (2000) concisely defined ethnic media "as mass media targeted to particular ethnic or racial groups" (p. 230). Ethnic media is a rapidly growing segment of mass communication in the United States today. However, it is not simply of interest in the United States, as "ethnic media have long served to

reinforce cultural traditions" around the world (Jeffres, 2000, p. 504).

Although the United States has a large, democratic and free press, many issues and topics continue to remain uncovered and unexplored in mainstream media. Conner (2004) noted that, "major media outlets spend adequate time covering immigration issues but don't always report fairly and accurately" (p. 16). Chandran (2002) agreed and noted that,

Ethnic media exist because of two reasons: the US is increasingly multicultural and will have more non-whites than whites by 2050. Also, despite an effort by large media organisations to increase coverage of immigrant communities, they do not cover all the issues that matter to these communities. (¶ 3)

Not only do immigration issues and those involving other cultures and countries often go unreported, but as Conner (2004) noted, they are often biased. In addition, when such issues are covered in mainstream media, it is often after the fact and without credit, and ethnic media have already covered the issue in some shape or form. Ethnic media have developed to fill gaps and address niche populations that mainstream media have missed. Park (1971) noted that,

As long as there are people in this country who have common racial or nationalistic interests, they will have papers to interpret events from their own peculiar point of view the press has become an

organ of speech. Every group has its own: (p. 12)

Generally not covered in mainstream media, ethnic groups need their outlet of communication. Viswanath (2000) reinforced that point by adding that, "the immigrants are more likely to rely on ethnic media to fill that gap" (p. 50).

Ethnic media, as all other forms of communication, have their obstacles as well. Often ethnic publications are not taken seriously "because they usually are [assumed to] not run professionally, have poor quality of journalism and are not audited" (Chandran, 2002, ¶ 5). Ethnic media are still trying to find their audience as well as their place among mainstream media in the United States today.

"Considering that expanding audience, some say mainstream journalists must learn to consider the ethnic media as both collaborators and competitors" (Conner, 2004, p. 16).

It is also important to note that the emergence of ethnic media is a phenomenon that tends to be more evident in larger, more established ethnic populations as opposed to smaller, more newly arrived groups.

Development of Ethnic Media

Robert E. Park was one of the key theorists who, through the study of mass communications, race relations

and sociology, explored the emergence of ethnic media in the United States. Park, a sociologist from the Chicago School of thought, wrote about the largely commercial immigrant press that first developed in the United States (Johnson, 2000). Johnson noted that "early immigrant newspapers were steamship ticket agents' newspapers, merely advertising sheets sent out to prospective customers. Eventually they became standard newspapers" (2000, p. 231). Park (1971) observed a correlation between the increases in particular ethnic groups and the corresponding ethnic newspapers that were started. This meant that, as a particular immigrant group increased in population size, the development of ethnic media associated with that group was accelerated as there tended to be more heterogeneity in the population. Park (1971) also noted that, "the immigrant press is read by the more recent arrivals of each immigrant group" (p. 314). Therefore, immigration is one of the main important factors in the establishment of ethnic media and the immigrant press (Park, 1971). In addition, Park (1971) noted that, "the data all point to the fact that the foreign press is a phenomenon of immigration" (p. 326).

Although the beginnings of ethnic media were seen in some early immigrant groups, the development of ethnic

media is a more recent phenomenon. "Traditional ethnic communities could not afford to support an ethnic media nor did they have much need for it" (Zhou & Cai, 2002, p. 424). In earlier times, ethnic communities tended to be much smaller, close-knit, and often in close proximity to one another. This allowed for more communication to be accomplished word-of-mouth or face-to-face. Despite specific ethnic enclaves that exist today, ethnic communities today are composed of large populations and are settled throughout the vast United States. The size and number of ethnic businesses are also much larger than in the past and the economy is more complex and vibrant. There is a greater need for this unifying medium of communication today than there ever was in the past.

Ethnic Media in California

California has been a trend-setting state for the rest of the nation on a variety of ethnic issues. In a state where the minority population makes up the majority - "with 53 percent of Californians identifying themselves as nonwhite" - makes California a state different from any other (Engel, 2003, p. 62). The state's media patterns are no exception. As a result of California's large immigrant population, "ethnic media not only exists, but flourishes"

(Chan, 2002, p. 34). Nearly 26.8% of California residents are foreign born and nearly 41.3% of residents speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004).

Some demographers say that, if current immigration patterns continue, "the U.S. as a whole will join California in having more nonwhites than whites by the year 2050" (Tam, 2002, B1). United States society is continuing to become increasingly diverse and California is just one obvious example.

New California Media, a nonprofit organization in San Francisco, commissioned a study in 2002 to study ethnic media in California. The study found that the state is home to more than 17 million ethnic immigrants. It also found that ethnic media, including television, radio and newspapers, reach more than 84% of those that identify themselves as belonging to ethnic populations (New California Media, 2002). The basic conclusion of the NCM study was that "ethnic media reaches its 'general audience' with substantial frequency" (New California Media, 2002). A study by Tam (2002) supported the high penetration rate of ethnic publications, finding that ethnic newspapers are read daily by 22% of ethnic Californians, while 29% say

they read them several times a week and 32% say once a week. It is clear that ethnic media play a significant role in the lives of ethnic Californians, and will continue to do so as more groups continue to immigrate.

Acculturation Theory

Acculturation was one of the four social processes that Robert E. Park studied in his research. It has been a central concept in understanding the immigrant experience since the earliest of time. Park had studied the early immigration of Europeans into the United States and their patterns and trends of assimilation into society. In today's society, similar patterns are seen in recently immigrated ethnic groups, as many first-generation immigrants attempt to blend into mainstream society while still holding on to core ideals and values from their respective home countries. On the other hand, there are those who abandon their traditional ideals and absorb those of the host country in which they find themselves. Alba and Nee (1997) noted that:

The option of assimilation will be less available to the second and later generations of most new immigrant groups because their non-European origins mean that they are more distinctive, with their distinctiveness of skin color especially fateful. (Racial Distinctiveness section, ¶ 52)

The fact that newer immigrant groups stand out from the previously-settled European immigrants in terms of skin color, they are less apt to assimilate into mainstream society.

Ethnic media help facilitate the adjustment and adaptation to the new society by bridging the gap between the homeland and the new land. However, Rogers (1994) noted that, "very little newspaper content encouraged loyalty to the original homeland" and that separation was actually in effect more often (p. 189). Park (1971) found in his work that the foreign newspapers at the time of early European immigration to the United States were most often in the native language and were continually progressing and assisting in the assimilation of the early immigrant groups.

Park (1971) also believed language was the fundamental basis of all human interaction. He said that "it is language and tradition, rather than political allegiance that unites the foreign populations" (p. 5). People who speak the same language naturally find it easier to communicate, relate and live together. Language and communication are two major factors that contribute to why the immigrant press exists in the first place.

Asian Indian Community

When one thinks of an ethnic group, the first thing that comes to mind is that everybody within that group is the same. In reality, an ethnic group is composed of a variety of people. While individuals may share the same ethnicity, their languages, religions, cultural practices, and traditions could not be more varied, as is the case in the Asian Indian community. Although "linguistic, nationalistic, and generational differences may divide the Indian population . . . they share a number of underlying principles and goals" (Mogelonsky, 1995, Security and Value section, ¶ 20).

As Viswanath (2000) noted, "the Asian Indian ethnic community could not be more diverse" (p. 44). The subcontinent may be home to those of Indian decent, but this encompasses "more than 14 official languages and almost 1,000 dialects" (Viswanath, 2000, p. 44). Many of these languages come from completely different roots, which mean that understanding one Indian language does not mean understanding all Indian languages.

In addition to the diversity in languages, there is also a wide variation in terms of religions and cultural practices throughout the country, with seven major

religions and continuously developing offshoots (Das, 2002, Arrival section, ¶ 5). All of these factors contribute to the diversity and complexity of the ethnic group. "Each Asian community is its own market, and must be treated as such," the same being true for the Asian Indian community (Feig, 2004, p. 38).

Asian Indians in the United States

Like most other Asian immigrants, Indian immigrants began coming to America on ships via Hong Kong, since no direct service was available between India and the West. Many groups of Indians landed at ports throughout the Pacific Northwest, but the goal of early Indian immigrants when statistically significant immigration began in the early 1900s, was similar to that of immigrants nowadays - California (Kitano & Daniels, 2001, p. 103).

The majority of Asian Indians started immigrating to the United States after changes in the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965 made it possible for those from the Indian subcontinent with professional backgrounds to enter the country more easily and bring their families as well. Asian Indians have now been residing in the United States for over 30 years.

According to a report published by the U.S. Census Bureau (2000), in a U.S. population of more than 281 million, the Asian Indian population numbers slightly more than one million (p. 4). The Census figures also indicate that Asian Indians are the third largest ethnic group within the Asian category, representing a little more than 16% of the Asian population in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, p. 4). Despite being one of the most recently immigrated groups - data indicates over 46% of Asian Indian immigrants are foreign born - the group remains one of the fastest growing in the country today (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, p. 9). Kitano and Daniels (2001) noted that, "all the evidence indicates that the Asian Indian population will grow faster than the Asian American population generally" (p. 117).

Statistically speaking, the profile of Asian Indians is somewhat different from that of other Asian groups. The 2000 U.S. Census figures indicate that nearly 64% of Asian Indians hold a bachelor's degree or higher in terms of educational level and nearly 60% are in management and professionally-related fields of work (pp. 12-14). It is proven that "the Indian diaspora in the U.S. tends to be the intellectual and commercial elite" (Time, 2000).

Farver, Narang and Bhadha (2002), also noted that "Asian Indians are still more highly educated than the overall United States population" (p. 340). Income levels also tend to coincide with educational achievement levels. "This elite socioeconomic profile must not be thought of as an ethnic characteristic. India is the home of some of the most heart-wrenching poverty" (Kitano & Daniels, 2001, p. 115). Nowadays, as Leonard-Spark and Saran (1980) noted:

There is an increasing diversity among the Indians now resident in the United States. No longer will there exist a monolithic group of professional elites, but instead a broad range of relations to American society and, particularly, to the occupational structure underlying its economic system. (p. 146)

Asian Indian families are generally stable in socioeconomic terms.

Immigrant groups generally immigrate and settle in clusters where significant populations of their ethnic groups already reside. As a result, there are higher concentrations of particular ethnicities in specific geographic locations. Asian Indians seem to be one exception to this trend.

Only immigrant groups with a heavy professional stratum, e.g. Indians, appear to be exceptions to contemporary concentration, since job considerations for professionals typically override the tendency to settle where large numbers of fellow ethnics have

already done so. (Alba & Nee, 1997, Spatial Patterns section, ¶ 84)

There tends to be a higher concentration of Indians in certain metropolitan areas such as the San Francisco Bay Area, Chicago, and New York, but these are also large hubs for professional jobs. "The heterogeneity of Asian Indian culture and customs has prevented the emergence of pigeonholed Indian settlements and India towns in the United States" (Das, 2002, Arrival section, ¶ 5).

Not only are the settlement patterns of Asian Indians more open, but the overall willingness to accept and accommodate to the host culture is more welcome. In other words, despite maintaining strong ties to Indian culture and the homeland, evidence of the process of acculturation is just as strong within this ethnic group. Kitano and Daniels (2001), referring to the acculturation process, summed it up when they said: "The future of the Asian Indian community in the United States is probably a bright one" (p. 116).

Indian Ethnic Media

Indian ethnic media have emerged to fill the void that has been created by mainstream media. There are issues that have been either neglected or downplayed in the mainstream

press, causing niche media to arise which address those missing links. Indian ethnic media have generally been developed by a primarily first-generation, recently-immigrated community in the United States. Much of the community is "straddling two cultures," as they come with the goal in mind of keeping their roots alive while at the same time adjusting to become uniquely American. As Dasgupta noted, "Asian Indian immigrants seem to insist on keeping their ties with their heritage vital" (1998, ¶ 1). "This dual existence has found an outlet in a flourishing subculture of Indo-American magazines" and other ethnic publications (Mogelonsky, 1995, Security and Value section, ¶ 30).

The emergence of Indian ethnic media has been slightly different from that of other ethnic groups, in that it has generally been published in the English language as opposed to the native language. In general, since "most South Asian immigrants speak highly fluent English, they usually have less difficulty initially meeting and forming bonds with Americans upon arrival in the United States" (News World, 2002). As a result, Asian Indians have also had fewer problems in acculturating to corporate America. The 2000 U.S. Census figures indicate that nearly 58% of Asian

Indians speak a language other than English at home, despite the fact that English is spoken "very well" at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, p. 11). It is a truly bilingual culture. Having a good grasp of the English language and having exposure to Western culture and ideals through television, movies, and music ease the transition and acculturation process (Khairullah & Khairullah, 1999, p. 71). Additionally, those immigrants generally coming from "cities are more acculturated than those coming from towns or villages in India since most of the cities in India are cosmopolitan in nature" (Khairullah & Khairullah, 1999, p. 73).

While dozens of monthly and weekly publications have formed in major metropolitan areas concentrated with a significant Asian Indian populations, "conspicuously absent in the media landscape is an Indian daily, perhaps because the market is not big enough, or because the English-speaking, Internet-savvy community simply prefer to read mainstream American papers or surf the Web for news" (Chandran, 2002, ¶ 18). There are numerous weekly Indian ethnic print publications published in California, such as *India-West* (the focus of this study), *India Post* and *India Journal*, as well as monthlies such as *India Currents*,

Siliconeer, and *Silicon India*. In addition, Chicago and New York are also major Indian ethnic hubs and are home to a dozen or so other Indian ethnic print publications.

A key element in the distribution of Indian ethnic print publications is the fact that they rely on ethnic businesses such as grocery stores, video rental stores, insurance and travel agencies, to circulate the publications. The publications are also generally available at cultural community centers, temples and other places of gathering.

Role of Ethnic Media

Ethnic media play a variety of roles in our society, despite the fact that powerful mainstream media are already in place. The roles of Indian ethnic media have been condensed into three main categories: the advocate and social activist role, the informer and educator role, and the preserver of cultural identity. All of these roles link together. By advocating certain causes for the group, the media informs and educates both the ethnic group as well as those outside of it. In addition, such communication of an ethnic group's causes leads to preservation of culture, tradition, and values inherent in the group itself.

Advocate and social activist. First of all, "ethnic newspapers are advocates for their communities" (Conner, 2004, p. 16). When an ethnic group feels underrepresented or inadequately represented in the mainstream press, the ethnic press is able to carry their cause and inform the immediate community, if not those outside of it. This includes promoting the group's social as well as business interests, and also "provid[ing] comfort and respite from negative images in general market media," as Johnson (2000) noted. On the same note, Viswanath (2000) added that, "relatively less attention is likely to be paid to stories that portray the ethnic community and its members in a negative light" (p. 49).

In representing the group in the press, ethnic media are "assertive in terms of protecting the rights of the immigrants," especially "if the community, in general, enjoys a relatively higher status, as is the case with certain Asian ethnic groups" (Viswanath, 2000, p. 49).

Ethnic media are also advocates in a variety of social and community efforts. "An immigrant newspaper may focus on such themes as the following: human interest features and profiles, success stories of immigrants, and volunteer work being done by the immigrants either in the United States or

in their native land demonstrating their contribution to society" (Viswanath, 2000, p. 48).

Informer and educator. Secondly, ethnic media serve as informers of issues pertinent to the specific ethnic community, often issues that have little or no mention in mainstream media. Zhou and Cai (2002) used the term "information agent" to describe ethnic media (p. 432). "Ethnic media informs and educates" as Cornitcher noted (1999, p. 18). Ethnic media have cultural and intimate credibility with communities that mainstream media might not. This makes it somewhat easier to build loyalty and trust to pass on relevant and important information through media, the goal being to educate the masses. Common information covered in Indian ethnic media include: community events, programs, meetings, schedules, calendars, and so on (Viswanath, 2000, p. 47). In addition to that information, notice of events and happenings that take place in the home country are also covered in the ethnic press, a function of preserving ties to the homeland. Park (1967) noted that:

The newspaper must continue to be the printed diary of the home community. Marriages, divorce, crime and politics, must continue to make up the main body of our news. Local news is the very stuff that democracy is made of. (p. 85)

Coverage of events in the homeland is an important part of what is covered in the ethnic press, both in terms of informing as well as in preserving an immigrant groups' identity. Mogelonsky noted that: "Asian Indians also keep tabs on each other and informed about news at home through a host of Indian newspapers and magazines published in the U.S." (1995, Reaching Asian Indians section, ¶ 38). News is the information that immigrants use most when adjusting and acculturating in a new environment, both because there is more going on and because much of what is going on is like a novelty, as Park (1971) said.

In addition to the informer role, ethnic media in the case of Indian society are slightly different in that they must perform a feedback function as well, since the society is extremely diverse in terms of religious, linguistic and other subgroups (Viswanath, 2000, p. 46). The press acts as a forum for audience discussion and debate of particular events, problems, and issues.

Along with communicating effectively to those within the particular cultural group, ethnic media also serve as an information source for those outside of the ethnic group. If other groups are interested in or happen to

glance or read through such publications, it presents a different view of information than what tends to be more commonly presented in mainstream media.

Preserver of cultural identity. Thirdly, ethnic media serve to maintain a particular cultural groups' ethnic identity, in terms of language, values and culture. Johnson (2000) added that ethnic media aim "to preserve and transmit native culture and identity by maintaining the language and promoting ethnic pride" (p. 233). However, in the Asian Indian community in the United States, language doesn't play much of a role since Indian ethnic publications are most often printed in English, due to the groups' English language proficiency. No matter how infrequently an ethnic group is mentioned or not mentioned in mainstream media, ethnic media provide an outlet to easily maintain their identity, culture, and pride in the United States, and address the constant "tug-of-war" between traditional Indian values and western American values (Dasgupta, 1998). Jeffres (2000) agreed when he said that "ethnic media appear to act as vehicles that help ethnics retain attachment to their culture over time" (p. 522).

Although the preservation of cultural identity in a foreign land is a major focus of many ethnic publications, they also serve to promote the concept of assimilation (Viswanath, 2000). Kitano and Daniels (2001) agreed and noted that: "despite such evidence of continuing ties to India and Indian culture, evidence of increasing acculturation is also strong" (p. 117). One of "the greatest struggle[s] of an immigrant is survival in a new country and a new culture that is alien" (Viswanath, 2000, p. 50). The availability of media options that cater to an immigrant's ethnic identity help facilitate and ease the process in a smooth, effective and adaptive manner, in order to help with the psychological and emotional problems of living in a foreign land.

When arriving in a foreign land, an immigrant group becomes part of a minority group by default. However, having their own ethnic publications allows an immigrant group to symbolically gain power (Johnson, 2000). Zhou and Cai (2002) added that ethnic media reinforces and offers a sense of "we-ness" as opposed to "other-ness" (p. 438).

It is expected that ethnic traditions would be stronger among those embedded in ethnic communication networks, which include interpersonal communication occurring in neighborhoods and ethnic organizations as well as ethnic media. (Jeffres, 2000, p. 503).

Das (2002) added that "Asian Indian immigrants have assimilated without losing their ethnic identity of which they are proud" (Post-1965 Immigrants section, ¶ 64).

In a study by Zhou and Cai (2002) about Chinese language media and assimilation into society, the findings were similar to those of the Asian Indian community. While Chinese language media aim to connect immigrants to the homeland, they also serve to assist the first generation immigrants adjust to American society "by promoting the mobility of goals of homeownership, entrepreneurship, and educational achievement" (p. 421). Regardless of which cultural group it may be, it is evident that similar processes of development are seen among ethnic media. Indian ethnic media gradually acculturate the immigrant community.

Overview

Ethnic media have been an important element in helping immigrants transition to life in the United States. Developing their own outlet for communication has given ethnic groups the freedom and capacity to voice their opinions, share their news and still maintain their home culture in a foreign land.

Ethnic media are known to play three main roles among the powerful mainstream media that already exist in the United States. These roles are namely that of advocate and social activist, informer and educator, and preserver of cultural identity.

The emergence of ethnic media has been highly important and is continually developing for those in the Asian Indian ethnicity. Having resided in the United States for nearly 30 years now, the ethnic group has strong first generation roots as well as the continual immigration patterns required for a flourishing ethnic press. The expanding Asian Indian immigrant population will only lead to a more prominent and more advanced Indian ethnic press in the future.

This research examined the weekly Indian ethnic print publication, *India-West*, based in San Leandro, California. Four years of the weekly publication were studied using a rotated random sampling method, resulting in a total sample of 48 issues. The study examined the range of topics and themes which were addressed in the articles. It also analyzed the content and relating functions of acculturation to see how they changed over a 30-year time period.

Robert Park addressed the existence of ethnic media best when he wrote:

As long as there are people in this country who have common racial or nationalistic interests, they will have papers to interpret events from their own peculiar point of view. So there is, in America, an Irish press, a Jewish press, and Negro press, not to mention others, published in English. There is a Canadian, Louisianan, and cosmopolitan press published in French. There is a Spanish-American, South American, and Mexican press, all published in Spanish. The press has become an organ of speech. Every group has its own. (1971, pp. 12-13).

Had Park been writing this today, he might have easily added the Asian Indian community to his list.

Research Questions

Based on the literature reviewed, ethnic media is a clear marker in the acculturation of ethnic groups into American society. The Asian Indian ethnic group is no exception. The following research questions will aid in analyzing acculturation as present in the emerging Indian ethnic press in California:

RQ1: In Indian ethnic print media in the United States, how much attention is given to the following: (1) Political news (U.S., India, Europe, and other), (2) Business news (company news, stocks/stock market, real estate/property, technology, economy and industry news), (3) Feature stories (human interest features, personality profiles, and success

stories), (4) Health and science, (5) Arts and entertainment (celebrity/gossip, beauty/fashion, music, Hollywood, Bollywood, comics, fiction stories/book reviews, travel, lifestyle, sports, and arts), (6) Analysis and opinion (letters to the editor, op-eds, and other commentary), and (7) Cultural/ethnic identity (faith and religion, community events, and immigration)?

RQ₂: In what frequency are the four functions of acculturation seen in the articles analyzed?

RQ₃: Which functions of acculturation are more evident in the publication now, than they were in previous years? How have the trends changed?

Through the immigration process and acculturation process, Asian Indians have managed to keep their culture alive in various ways, a primary one being communication through ethnic media channels. The aim of this research was to examine article topics and themes and categorize the functions of acculturation covered in the publication, *India-West*, in order to gain an understanding into the development of acculturation in the Indian ethnic press in the United States, specifically in California.

Chapter III

METHOD

This study used a quantitative content analysis to analyze and assess the specific subject matter contained in *India-West*, a major Indian ethnic print publication in the San Francisco Bay Area, California. The study examined news stories in the publication's issues during four specific periods: From January 1976 to December 1976 (the first complete year of the publication after being established at the end of 1975), January 1985 to December 1985, January 1995 to December 1995, and January 2005 to December 2005 (the most current year). In addition, the articles analyzed the correlation between the topics and themes represented in the articles as well as the presence of the four functions of acculturation. A personal interview with the publication's editor was also conducted to add insight into the acculturation process.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a prominent method used for the analysis of communications content. As Berelson (1952) noted, "content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the

manifest content of communication" (p. 18). It is by definition a quantitative method of analysis.

Content analysis offers a set of guidelines that makes it possible to analyze and quantify the material being studied in a systemic way (Hansen, 1998). This method uses a set procedure to make references about the sender of a message, the receiver of the message, and/or the actual message itself (Weber, 1990). Content analysis has been used in the journalism field as early as the 1920s and 1930s to analyze and compare the content of American newspapers.

This study used quantitative content analysis to quantify and determine the degree of attention devoted to particular themes and topics covered in *India-West* and determine whether, in fact, there has been any change in terms of the presence of acculturation during the 30-year existence of the publication.

Study Sample

The publication being examined in this study was *India-West*, based in San Leandro, California. A key criterion for the choosing of the publication was that it is headquartered in California, published in English, and

distributed nationwide. *India-West* is a weekly publication, averaging approximately 100 pages weekly.

Four years of the publication were included in the study, namely 1976, 1985, 1995, and 2005. Although *India-West* was founded in 1975, it was not a complete year for publication, as issues started circulation in November of that year. Therefore, 1976 was chosen as a starting point, and from then on, ten year intervals, including 1985, 1995, and 2005.

Because *India-West* is a weekly publication, a rotated random sample was the method used to choose which issues will be included in the study, as Berelson (1952) suggested. In this case, the issues analyzed are those in the first week of January, second week of February, third week of March, fourth week of April, first week of May, and so forth. This rotation was done for all twelve months for each of the four time periods, which resulted in a total of 48 issues or a total of 4,432 articles in the sample.

Within the 48 total issues, each of the articles were classified and coded into the categories developed in order to determine the type of news, the subject matter contained in the articles, and what themes were present. In addition, the articles were coded for the four functions of

acculturation to see how ethnic identity and acculturation have been developing in the publication during this 30-year period.

Measurement

The data, which consists of the content of the articles and the functions of acculturation as they relate accordingly, was measured by various statistical tests. Because four different time periods are being compared, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was used, as it is most often used to compare multiple groups of data.

Definition of Categories

Each of the 4,432 articles in the sample size were coded and classified into the following categories for analysis:

1. Origin of the story: The location that the story was written from. The subcategories are: (1) California, (2) United States (outside of California), (3) India, and (4) other.

2. Region of the story: The region that the story is written about. The subcategories are: (1) San Francisco Bay Area, (2) Los Angeles metro area, (3) California (other),

(4) United States (outside of California), (5) India, and (6) other.

3. Sources of the news: The source the story originated from. The subcategories are: (1) stories written by the publication staff, (2) stories written by the publication's affiliate news organizations, (3) Associated Press, (4) European news agencies, (5) other (special to the paper, contributions, etc), and (6) unknown.

4. Content of news: The type of news coverage coded into the following specific categories: (1) Political news. The subcategories: U.S., India, Europe, and other. (2) Business news. The subcategories: company news, stocks/stock market, real estate/property, technology, industry news, and economic news. (3) Feature stories. The subcategories: human interest features, personality profiles, and success stories. (4) Health and science. The subcategories: health and science. (5) Arts and entertainment. The subcategories: celebrity/gossip, beauty/fashion, music/dance, Hollywood, Bollywood, comics, fiction stories/book reviews, travel, lifestyle, sports, and arts. (6) Analysis and opinion. The subcategories: letters to the editor, op-eds, and other commentary. (7)

Cultural/ethnic identity. The subcategories: faith/religion, community/events, and immigration.

In addition to the above four classification categories, the content was coded for the functions of acculturation, which were taken from a previous study conducted by Chun-Ying Chou (1997) on Chinese language newspapers in the San Francisco Bay Area. The four functions of acculturation, as defined in that particular study, are: (1) separation, (2) biculturation/integration, (3) assimilation, (4) marginalization, and (5) other/not applicable.

Separation refers to the division and distance retained between any two cultures. This includes any news story maintaining a clear separation of Indian culture from American culture; in other words, those articles that exclusively present Indian culture, values and ideals, but fail to mention American aspects would be part of this category.

Biculturation/Integration refers to the blending of both cultures, in this case Indian and American. This includes any story presenting and advocating bicultural and intercultural communication between societies; in order

words, examples would include articles that deal with both India and the United States.

Assimilation refers to abandoning one's original culture and identity in order to become a part of another. This includes any story advocating departure from traditional Indian ideals and customs and those relating to "Americanization" of the Indian population. Examples of articles falling into this category would exclusively promote American ideals, values, traditions and customs, much of which is seen through arts and entertainment.

Marginalization refers to not only losing association with traditional culture and society, but also with the adoptive society. This includes stories having neither to do with Indian nor American values, ideals, and culture, but rather relate to another country.

The fifth category, coded other/not applicable, are those stories that do not fit in any of the above categories. This includes stories that do not have to do with any country's culture values and ideals, but are rather on another topic completely.

Reliability Test

To ensure fairness and accuracy in data collection, a second coder was used to code 10% or 443 articles of the

total sample. The articles were randomly selected in each of the four years examined to ensure reliability in data collection procedures.

Scott's pi index was used to measure the percentage of reliability between coders. The formula for Scott's Pi index is as follows:

$$Pi = \frac{\% \text{ observed agreement} - \% \text{ expected agreement}}{1 - \% \text{ expected agreement}}$$

There was an agreement between 434 of the 443 articles in the sample. Therefore, the % observed agreement in the coding process was determined by the following equation:

$$\text{observed agreement} / 10\% \text{ of articles coded}$$

$$434/443 = 98\%$$

Using Scott's Pi index, it was determined that the reliability factor for the articles in the sample was 90%.

Background of India-West

Founded late in 1975 by Ramesh and Bina Murarka, both graduates of Stanford University, *India-West* is the oldest and largest circulated weekly newspaper catering to the affluent and well-educated Asian Indian community in the United States. It is published weekly in a colorful format in three sections - the main section, the entertainment

section, and a business/magazine section, and averages approximately 100 pages per issue.

India-West enjoys a weekly readership of more than 100,000 subscribers, greater than any other Indian publication in the western United States. *India-West* is headquartered and published in San Leandro, California. The publication is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary this year.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

The Asian Indian community has been growing at a rapid rate in California, and the development of ethnic media has increased concurrently.

Ethnic media publications serve several important roles for the immigrant community in the United States, which are also evident in Indian ethnic media. Ethnic media are advocates and social activists for the community, they inform and educate the immigrant community about events happening in the homeland as well as events and issues not addressed in mainstream media, and they help preserve a group's cultural identity. These publications assist in the overall acculturation process in terms of communication.

This study examined the publication, *India-West*, by evaluating the topics and themes that were addressed in the news coverage. It also analyzed how the process of acculturation has developed and changed in the publication in terms of news coverage during the 30-year time period examined.

The method used in this study was a quantitative content analysis, followed up with a personal interview with the editor at *India-West* in order to gain further

insight into the presence and coverage of acculturation in the publication.

Discussion of Sample Size

The sample size included four years of the publication -- 1976, 1985, 1995, and 2005. Using the rotated random sampling technique, 48 issues of the publication were selected from the four years, which yielded a sample of 4,432 total articles. A breakdown of the articles sampled and included in the study is shown below in Table 1.

Table 1 Breakdown of INDIA-WEST Sample Size

Breakdown of <i>INDIA-WEST</i> Sample Size	
Issue Dates	# of Articles
1976	406
1985	622
1995	1755
2005	1649
TOTAL ARTICLES	4432

In addition, Figure 1 offers a graphical representation which clearly illustrates a general increase in the number of articles present as time goes on. One can see that the publication had nearly one-fourth fewer

articles in 1976, than in 1995. However, there was a slight decrease from previous years in the number of articles published in 2005.

Figure 1 India-West Sample Size Over Time

Discussion of Article Origin, Region, and Source

In the study, the articles were first coded into three categories: The origin of the article, the region covered in the article, and the source of the article.

The origin of the article refers to the location from which the story was written. The subcategories were: (1) California, (2) United States (outside of California), (3)

India, and (4) other. For this category, the expected trend was an increasing number of articles originating in California in more recent issues. For example, issues in 1976 were expected to have more stories originating in India than the United States due to a primitive stage of immigration and perhaps less acculturation seen in developing ethnic media. This, in fact, was clearly exhibited by the results. In 1976, 72% of the articles originated in India, in 1985 that number decreased to 57%, in 1995 it decreased even further to 47%, and in 2005, articles originating in India comprised only 37% of the sample. The trend clearly shows an overall decrease in the number of stories originating in India.

The opposite trend was seen for articles originating in California and the United States. In 1976, only 23% of articles originated in California and another 4% elsewhere in the United States. In 1985, there was a slight increase to 24% and 8%, respectively. By 1995, the number of articles originating in California peaked at 25% while 14% originated elsewhere in the United States. In 2005, the number of articles originating in California decreased slightly to 22%, however, the number of stories originating elsewhere in the United States increased considerably to

29%. As the years went on, the trend was seen that while stories originating in India decrease, those originating in California and elsewhere in the United States present an overall increase. Table 2 offers a more comprehensive look and Figure 2 illustrates the results that were just discussed.

Table 2 Comparison of Article Origin

Comparison of Article Origin in <i>India-West</i>					
	California	US	India	Other	Total
1976	23%	4%	72%	1%	100%
1985	24%	9%	57%	10%	100%
1995	25%	14%	47%	14%	100%
2005	22%	29%	37%	12%	100%

Figure 2 Distribution of Article Origin

The region of the story refers to the region that the article is written about. The subcategories were: (1) San Francisco Bay Area, (2) Los Angeles metro area, (3) California (other), (4) United States (outside of California), (5) India, and (6) other. For this category, a trend similar to that seen in the origin of stories was expected. For example, in 1976, a greater number of stories were expected to be written about India, as opposed to those written about the United States. The results showed that in 1976, 67% of the articles coded were written about India. In 1985, that number increased slightly to 70%, but in 1995, only 52% of articles were written about India, a number that is even lower than that of 1976. By 2005, less than half, or only 42%, of the articles were written about India. The trend clearly shows an overall decrease in the number of articles written about India. Table 3 and Figure 3 offer a more detailed look at the results regarding the region covered.

Table 3 Comparison of Region Covered in *India-West*

Comparison of Region Covered in <i>India-West</i>							
	San Francisco Bay Area	Los Angeles metro area	Other California	US	India	Other	Total
1976	8%	0%	0%	20%	67%	5%	100%
1985	9%	5%	1%	9%	70%	6%	100%
1995	11%	5%	3%	14%	52%	15%	100%
2005	10%	4%	4%	29%	42%	11%	100%

Figure 3 Distribution of Region Covered

The source of the article refers to the source that the story originated from. The subcategories were: (1) stories written by the publication staff, (2) stories written by the publication's affiliate news organizations, (3) Associated Press, (4) European news agencies, (5) other (special to the paper, contributions, etc), and (6)

unknown. This category yielded interesting results. First of all, in 1976, 78% of the articles coded were of unknown sources. There simply was no indication of whether the article was written by the publication's staff, taken from a newswire service, or contributed by some other source. In 1985, almost half, or 46% of the articles, were contributed by European news agencies. The primary European news service that was used by *India-West* was Reuters. In 1995, just over half, or 51% of the articles, were coded in the category "other." This category consisted of articles listed as "special to the paper." The year 2005 also saw the largest number, 40% of the articles, coded as "other." Articles written by the newspaper staff (28%) and those contributed by Associated Press (24%) were the next greatest in number in 2005. The source category was somewhat inconsistent in its results, but this is due to the changes in wire services that the newspaper used in the particular time periods. For example, in 1976, it seems the publication did not use a wire service, in 1985 and 1995 it is obvious they used Reuters, and in 2005 Associated Press was the primary wire service used. Both Table 4 and Figure 4 offer a more detailed look at the results regarding the article sources.

Table 4 Comparison of Article Sources in *India-West*

Comparison of Article Sources in <i>India-West</i>							
	Publication Staff	Affiliate Organization	Associated Press	European news agency	Other	Unknown	Total
1976	17%	0%	0%	0%	4%	79%	100%
1985	16%	3%	0%	46%	22%	13%	100%
1995	18%	2%	2%	25%	51%	2%	100%
2005	28%	8%	24%	0%	39%	1%	100%

Figure 4 Distribution of Article Sources

Discussion of Content Categories

The most integral part of the study was the actual news content that was coded into the following categories:

(1) Political news. The subcategories: U.S., India, Europe, and other. (2) Business news. The subcategories: company news, stocks/stock market, real estate/property, technology, industry news, and economic news. (3) Feature

stories. The subcategories: human interest features, personality profiles, and success stories. (4) Health and science. The subcategories: health and science. (5) Arts and entertainment. The subcategories: celebrity/gossip, beauty/fashion, music/dance, Hollywood, Bollywood, comics, fiction stories/book reviews, travel, lifestyle, sports, and arts. (6) Analysis and opinion. The subcategories: letters to the editor, op-eds, and other commentary. (7) Cultural/ethnic identity. The subcategories: faith/religion, community/events, and immigration. Several interesting trends were noted in the results of this data. Table 5 summarizes the results of the content categories. In addition, the results in this section regarding the distribution of news stories across content categories answered RQ₁, regarding how much attention was given to the particular categories in *India-West's* coverage of news.

Table 5 Comparison of News Content in *India-West*

Comparison of News Content in <i>India-West</i>							
Issue Date	Political News	Business News	Feature Stories	Health & Science	Arts & Entertainment	Analysis & Opinion	Cultural & Community
1976 (n = 406)	26%	24%	4%	7%	25%	4%	10%
1985 (n = 622)	41%	10%	4%	5%	20%	10%	10%
1995 (n = 1755)	27%	18%	12%	5%	21%	8%	9%
2005 (n = 1649)	21%	11%	16%	4%	27%	6%	15%
Average	29%	16%	9%	5%	23%	7%	11%

Political news. The publication was determined to be more heavily focused on political news, as opposed to the other categories that were coded. In each of the four years, articles in the political news category outnumbered those in every other category. During the 30-year period, an average of 29% of the total articles dealt with political news. The largest number of political news articles appeared in 1995. Table 6 presents a detailed breakdown about the region covered in political news articles. Across all four years, it is evident that the greatest percentage of political news was primarily written about the homeland, or India.

Table 6 Political News Breakdown

Political News Breakdown				
	1976	1985	1995	2005
US	2%	0%	13%	20%
India	97%	99%	55%	63%
Europe	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	1%	1%	32%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Arts and entertainment. Articles relating to arts and entertainment topics averaged 23% of the total articles coded, the next largest category. The category presented a steadily increasing trend, with arts and entertainment stories becoming a more integral part of the publication as the years went on. The largest number of arts and entertainment related articles appeared in 2005. Table 7 presents further details regarding the breakdown of content in the arts and entertainment category. In general, the most articles were coded as belonging to the Bollywood and sports categories, with 26% and 32%, respectively.

Table 7 Arts and Entertainment Coverage Breakdown

Arts and Entertainment Coverage Breakdown					
	1976	1985	1995	2005	Average
Celebrity	1%	0%	10%	13%	6%
Fashion	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Music/Dance	5%	10%	18%	14%	12%
Hollywood	0%	2%	2%	4%	2%
Bollywood	32%	26%	13%	32%	26%
Comics	0%	11%	1%	0%	3%
Fiction/Book Reviews	1%	2%	5%	3%	3%
Travel	4%	4%	2%	0%	3%
Lifestyle	16%	2%	14%	9%	10%
Sports	39%	43%	26%	18%	32%
Arts	1%	0%	8%	7%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Business news. Business news averaged 16% of total content in *India-West*. Business news was seen most heavily appearing in 1976, with 24% of that year's content being devoted to business-related topics. The overall trend presented between 1976 and 1995 was a steady increase in the number of business articles; however, 2005 resulted in business news numbering only 11% of the total content. Table 8 offers a breakdown of the specific types of business articles found in the study. Business news specifically tended to focus on industry news and news regarding the economy. In 1976 and 1985, industry news coverage was the largest part of business news, in 1995,

news about the economy was the largest section and in 2005, it was company news that numbered the greatest.

Table 8 Business News Coverage Breakdown

Business News Coverage Breakdown				
	1976	1985	1995	2005
Company	2%	2%	21%	36%
Stocks	0%	3%	6%	1%
Real Estate	12%	10%	1%	2%
Technology	0%	15%	4%	12%
Industry	64%	55%	33%	32%
Economy	22%	15%	35%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Cultural and community. Cultural and community articles were 11% of the total content. The category has presented an overall increase as time went on. From the 20-year period, 1976 to 1995, the content in this category remained quite stagnant, varying only 1% between 10% and 9% of the total articles. However, in 2005, cultural and community articles numbered 15%, which clearly shows an increasing trend in more recent times. Table 9 details more specifics about the cultural and community category. It shows that the majority of articles in this category were those pertaining to the Indian community and/or events

taking place within the local Indian community. Another interesting trend noted was that while nearly one-third of the articles in this category were immigration-related in both 1976 and 1985, one of the peak immigration periods for Indians, that number sharply decreased by 1995 and then increased again by 2005.

Table 9 Cultural and Community News Coverage Breakdown

Cultural and Community News Coverage Breakdown				
	1976	1985	1995	2005
Faith/Religion	18%	28%	43%	38%
Community/Events	49%	39%	49%	46%
Immigration	33%	33%	8%	16%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Feature stories. Feature stories numbered 9% of the total content. The largest increase in feature stories took place between 1985 and 1995. Prior to 1995, they were just a fraction, or 4%, of the total content. Feature stories were most prominently featured in 2005 than in any other year coded. Table 10 indicates that human interest stories were the largest portion of feature stories written, across all four years. Personality profiles presented a steady

decline, resulting in none written in 2005, while success stories illustrated the opposite trend, a steady increase.

Table 10 Feature Stories Coverage Breakdown

Feature Stories Coverage Breakdown				
	1976	1985	1995	2005
Human Interest	56%	68%	66%	61%
Personality Profiles	38%	16%	12%	0%
Success Stories	6%	16%	22%	39%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Analysis and opinion. Analysis and opinion articles were 7% of the total articles coded. The category first presented an increasing trend between 1976 and 1985, and decreased after that period. The majority of articles under this category were coded as being in the subcategory of letters to the editor. The trend showed a general decrease and then a gradual leveling off across the four years for this subcategory. Op-eds presented the opposite trend, or a steady and gradual increase. In 1976, op-eds were only 11% of the total category, but by 2005 they numbered just over half, or 51% of the category. Table 11 presents further details regarding the content in this category.

Table 11 Analysis and Opinion Coverage Breakdown

Analysis and Opinion Coverage Breakdown				
	1976	1985	1995	2005
Letters to the Editor	83%	74%	47%	49%
Op-Eds	11%	26%	22%	51%
Other Commentary	6%	0%	31%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Health and science. In contrast to the most covered topic, health and science topics were the least covered. The trend showed a continual decrease in numbers beginning in 1976. Health and science articles averaged merely 5% of the total articles during the 30-year period. Table 12 indicates that there hasn't been significant change in the coverage of health and science news in the 30-year period of *India-West*. While health news was 70% of the category in 1976, and decreased between the years 1985 and 1995, it rebounded by 2005, at 66% of the total category. Science news also did not vary significantly. It presented steady increase until 1985, and since then has been decreasing, settling back near its 1976 numbers.

Table 12 Health and Science News Coverage Breakdown

Health and Science News Coverage Breakdown				
	1976	1985	1995	2005
Health	70%	50%	60%	66%
Science	30%	50%	40%	34%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Average Distribution of News Content

Figure 5 illustrates the average distribution of news content over the 30-year period. One can see that the greatest amounts of news content in *India-West* lie in the categories of political news (29%) and arts and entertainment news (23%).

Figure 5 Average Distribution of News Content

Figure 6 illustrates the change in the news content categories distribution over time. One can see that the overall focus of the publication changed from having a greater emphasis on political content in 1976 and 1985, to a more arts and entertainment oriented focus in 1995 and 2005.

Figure 6 Distribution of News Content as Seen Over Time

The Presence of Acculturation in India-West

As part of this study, RQ₂ asked in what frequency the four functions of acculturation -- assimilation, biculturation, separation, and marginalization -- appeared in the publication. The results showed that across all four years, as an average, the functions of acculturation were

present in the following order: Separation (61%) was most prevalent in the news coverage, followed by biculturation (31%), marginalization (7%), assimilation (1%), and other (1%). Table 13 provides further details regarding the presence of the four functions of acculturation.

Table 13 Presence of the Functions of Acculturation in News Coverage

Presence of the Functions of Acculturation in News Coverage					
Issue Date	Assimilation	Biculturation	Separation	Marginalization	Other
1976 (n = 406)	1%	21%	76%	0%	1%
1985 (n = 622)	0%	22%	74%	4%	0%
1995 (n = 1755)	1%	30%	54%	14%	1%
2005 (n = 1649)	1%	51%	40%	8%	1%
Average	1%	31%	61%	7%	1%

Separation. The majority of articles were coded as being of the function separation. This indicates that India-West is still geared toward presenting news from the homeland to the ethnic Indian population settled here in the United States. However, one can see that the percentage of articles in this category has steadily decreased from 76% in 1976 to only 40% in 2005.

Biculturation. The second largest number of articles fell under the category of biculturation or integration. These were those articles presenting both Indian and American values, cultures and ideals. While 31% of articles fell under this category, the opposite trend from separation was seen - a steady increase in the number of articles. Articles dealing with biculturation and integration increased from only 21% in 1976, to just over half, or 51% in 2005. This shows considerable shift in terms of acculturation patterns covered in the media.

Marginalization. It is interesting to note that 7% of articles were considered having marginalization content. These are those articles which had neither to do with Indian culture, nor American culture, but rather a complete loss of culture and association with either society.

Assimilation. Articles considered having assimilation content were the least, or only 1% of the total sample. These were articles relating only to the adoptive, or in this case, American society.

Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of the four functions of acculturation, as discussed above.

Figure 7 Distribution of the Functions of Acculturation

Statistical Analysis

Since the research conducted was being analyzed over multiple time periods, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was conducted to determine statistical significance.

Using the ANOVA test to analyze the data indicated a statistical significance of 0.070. In order to be statistically significant, the number must near 0.050, but the data in this research is clearly nearing significance levels. There was a total of 27 degrees of freedom, a possible error of 21 degrees of freedom, and between the seven categories of news content, there were six degrees of

freedom. Table 14 provides the remaining statistical details gathered from the data.

Table 14 ANOVA Statistical Figures

ANOVA Statistical Figures			
Categories	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
Political News	296	302	154
Business News	165	141	114
Feature Stories	126	115	123
Health & Science	53	48.5	29.6
Arts & Entertainment	258	242	171
Analysis & Opinion	87.2	85	60.7
Cultural & Community	124	107	91.6

Views of India-West

Situated on a busy MacArthur Boulevard in San Leandro, California, is a nondescript commercial building, housing the offices of *India-West*. The publication targets the affluent and well-educated Asian Indian population now residing in the United States. It is the oldest and largest publication in the western United States, having been established in late 1975. In addition to its Bay Area headquarters, *India-West* has offices in Los Angeles, California, and Mumbai, India.

Bina Murarka, editor of *India-West* since its inception in 1975, shared some of her insight as to the development of the paper and changes seen in general ethnic media development. Murarka was born in the state of Uttar Pradesh, in north India. She and her husband, Ramesh Murarka, publisher of *India-West*, met while studying at Stanford University. They decided along with other partners to start a business - a business that eventually grew into the publication *India-West* we see today. The Murarka's began the publication because they felt, "there were few very publications geared to the Indian American community" (B. Murarka, personal email, March 13, 2006). Murarka also indicated that ethnic publications such as *India-West* arise when ethnic populations see a need for an outlet to express their views. By founding their own media outlets, "their issues and concerns can be properly addressed," she said (B. Murarka, personal email, March 13, 2006).

The Murarka's began the publication out of their Fremont home, later moved the office to El Sobrante, then Berkeley, and in 2001 eventually settled on its current location in San Leandro. *India-West* has come a long way from its beginnings. In its early days, the publication was printed bi-weekly, but it quickly became a weekly

publication. It cost five dollars for a yearly subscription back then, but costs \$30 a year nowadays (which includes *Indian Life & Style Magazine*, a glossy fashion and entertainment-focused publication).

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

This study examined the presence of acculturation in Indian ethnic media, specifically in the publication *India-West*. The Asian Indian population in the United States is growing at a rapid rate, as is the emergence of Indian ethnic media. Because there is a lack of research available, both in terms of the ethnic Indian population as well as the Indian ethnic press, this study hoped to delve into that void and furnish some new information and data by analyzing the topics and themes covered in news articles appearing in *India-West*.

The content analysis of 4,432 articles in *India-West*, across the 30-year period of the publications' existence, showed that acculturation is present and constantly evolving in the news coverage of *India-West*. The four functions of acculturation are each found within the publication's coverage to a varying degree. In terms of acculturation, the analysis showed a greater appearance of the separation function, than the other functions. This indicates a larger focus on informing and educating ethnic Asian Indians on news and events happening back in India.

Also, the publication is focusing on preserving Indian culture and the Indian populations' ethnic identity by reporting on news happening in the immigrants' home country.

Based on the results of the content analysis, the order of importance of the functions of acculturation was: (1) Separation: A clear division and distance retained between two cultures; (2) Biculturation: The blending of traditional Indian culture with news, values and culture of American society; (3) Marginalization: Losing association with both the traditional Indian society and the adoptive American society and culture; (4) Assimilation: Abandoning traditional Indian society to fully adapt to the adoptive American society; and (5) other/not applicable: Those stories not having to do with any country's culture.

Among the seven news content categories, the study found that *India-West* focused on political news the most. On average, 29% of the publication's content was devoted to political news. The second highest category was that of arts and entertainment (23%).

Limitations of the Study

The data collected were from four years of the 30-year existence of *India-West*. The years chosen were generally in

10-year intervals -- 1976 (the first full year of the publication), 1985, 1995, and 2005. From the four years, 48 issues were chosen as part of the sample, using the rotated random sampling technique. The content analysis was conducted on the resulting 4,432 articles. Although this process yielded a good sample size, a future study might consider incorporating a different range of time periods or more time periods in general, which might yield a more comprehensive set of data.

Also, this study focused on *India-West* in particular, and tracked the development and changing acculturation patterns over time within this publication. A future study might incorporate competing Asian Indian publications or even another ethnic groups' publication and compare the changes not only over time, but across various publications.

Contribution to Literature

Although some research has been conducted on Asian populations and Asian ethnic media, little research can be found specifically regarding the Indian ethnic community and Indian ethnic media. This study provides an analytical framework by integrating the theory of acculturation and a quantitative content analysis to examine the presence of

acculturation functions and the news coverage content found in *India-West*.

The combination of quantitative and qualitative analytical approaches proved to be more revealing, than simply having an interpretation of only quantitative data.

Directions for Future Research

As the Asian Indian population continues to grow in California, and the United States as a whole, more interest is due rise in such ethnic and cultural research. This study serves as a preliminary point for much more research to come in the future. Future research could possibly collect data on readership patterns and see whether these patterns have any relation to the findings among distribution of content categories.

In addition, media as a whole is continuing to evolve in this age of constant technological advancement -- ethnic media are no exception. They are branching out to include not only print, but audio, video, and online outlets as well. Further research might not only compare acculturation across a variety of ethnic publications, but also across a variety of media.

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