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Assimilation, Rejection or Convergence? The Role of the Bilingual Press in San Antonio, Texas

Mary O'Donnell

Southern Illinois University Carbondale, modonnell@lake.ollusa.edu

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ASSIMILATION, REJECTION OR CONVERGENCE?
THE ROLE OF THE BILINGUAL PRESS IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

by

Kay O'Donnell

B.A., University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1987

M.A., University of New Orleans, 1992

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy degree.

School of Journalism
in the College of Mass Communication and Media Arts
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
May 2010

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DISSERTATION APPROVAL

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By

Kay O'Donnell

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the field of Journalism

Approved by:

Dr. Dennis T. Lowry, Chair

William Freivogel

Laura Hlavach

Dr. Kavita Karan

Dr. Cora Le-Doux

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
Jan. 29, 2010

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

KAY O'DONNELL, for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in JOURNALISM,
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TITLE: ASSIMILATION, REJECTION OR CONVERGENCE? THE ROLE OF
THE BILINGUAL PRESS IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Dennis T. Lowry

A mixed methods study of the two leading bilingual news publications in San Antonio, Texas, in 2009 reveals that the editors and journalists who are responsible for the content and direction of the publications have adapted the role of their publications to fit the evolving composition of the U.S. Hispanic population in San Antonio. This study incorporated content analysis based on 24 issues of two bilingual news publications and seven in-depth interviews with editors and journalists at the two publications. The results were examined within the frame of recent models of ethnic media functions and their use of assimilation and pluralism characteristics. The quantitative and qualitative findings show that the two publications utilize a convergence of both assimilation and pluralism elements within the content of their pages.

The importance of research that combines the above elements centers on the central fact that the expanding Hispanic populace in America is characterized by its steady stream of newcomers combined with an existing population which often has many familial layers. This has created a need for a type of "foreign-language" press unlike any that preceded it. This press must meet the needs of both unassimilated newcomers and highly assimilated residents alike. The resulting picture that emerges is of a press that combines both assimilation and pluralistic functions, looking ahead while not forgetting the past.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family, especially my mother, Dustin and Max.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to recognize the support, encouragement and knowledge that the following individuals imparted to me on my journey to fulfill this degree: Dr. Dennis Lowry, my committee chair; William Freivogel, Laura Hlavach, Dr. Kavita Karan, Dr. Cora Le-Doux, committee members; and Yvette Benavides, Pablo Martinez, Dr. Francine Danis, Dr. Margit Nagy and Patricio Espinoza, colleagues from Our Lady of the Lake University.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

By the year 2050, the face of America is expected to be dramatically altered. For the first time in the nation's history, minorities will be the majority. In particular, the U.S. Census Bureau (2008) projects that the Hispanic population will almost triple in size, growing from nearly 48 million to approximately 133 million by midcentury, with nearly one in three U.S. residents being Hispanic. The Hispanic population in America has been growing for decades, and parallel to this growth has been the expansion of the Spanish-language and bilingual media. Combined circulation figures for the Hispanic print media have reached record numbers in the past few years; likewise, ad revenue generated by these publications has never been higher, reaching a peak of \$1.5 billion in 2006 (Whisler, 2006).

The Hispanic population continues to rely on print media as a valuable source of information (Whisler, 2009). The population projections, continuing growth rate of Hispanic print media, and the increasing ad revenue produced by these media combine to create an expectation that Hispanic print media will continue to play an important role in the future. Understanding the role that Hispanic print media play in the overall media landscape is important in order to gain a fuller understanding of their existence, proliferation and profitability. This study will take a case study approach by studying the two leading bilingual print publications in San Antonio, Texas, a city with a long and rich history of Spanish-language newspapers, radio and television. By using quantitative content

analysis and qualitative in-depth interviews with journalists at the two publications, this study will offer a comprehensive analysis of the role of these newspapers. Specifically, the research will explore whether the publications have assumed an assimilatory function or one that encourages pluralism. As others (Alba & Nee, 2005; Viswanath & Arora, 2000) have noted, the changing “face” of America, due to immigration and demographic trends, requires a rethinking or retooling of the assimilation model. Finally, it is vital for those involved in print media in the United States to understand the purpose and function of successful Hispanic publications, for at some point they will have to determine how to best reach their own Spanish-speaking populace. Publishers from Oregon to Virginia, Illinois to Louisiana are already taking on this challenge ... others surely will follow.

The Spanish-language Print Picture Today

Every journey has a starting point, and for the Spanish-language press of the United States, that journey began on Sept. 7, 1808, in New Orleans, Louisiana, with the publication of *El Misisipi* (Kent & Huntz, 1996). More than 200 years later, the Spanish-language and bilingual media in the U.S. have grown substantially, now including major television networks, radio stations and print publications.

The current state of mainstream English-language newspapers in the United States is marked by newspaper closures; record layoffs; and declining readership, advertising, profits and overall numbers (Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009), a trend not fully present in Spanish-language and bilingual

publications. To see just how different the picture is for Hispanic media, New America Media's 2009 report includes figures that show, "Today Hispanic newspapers serve all but four of the country's 50 states and almost 200 markets nationwide. This provides far better coverage than any other media serving the Hispanic community. On a weekly basis, at least 57 percent of Latino households are using one or more Latino publications" (Whisler, 2009). In the past few years, more and more English-language newspapers have either added pages, sections or supplements in Spanish. Some, such as the Los Angeles Times and the San Antonio Express-News, have created new publications targeting Spanish-language audiences. Others are recognizing the need to target their own community's growing Hispanic population. A case in point is The Press-Enterprise Company (publisher of The Press-Enterprise, the daily newspaper for Riverside, California, and the weekly Spanish-language newspaper *La Prensa*), which announced in October 2008 a new commitment to improving and increasing its Spanish-language products (PR Newswire, 2008). Another example can be found in Kansas, where the Hutchinson News bought the biweekly Spanish-language newspaper, *Tiempos*, in 2008 with the goal of expanding its distribution throughout the region (Associated Press wire, 2008). A third approach to reaching the Hispanic market involves new partnerships, such as the one between the third-largest U.S. newspaper publisher, McClatchy, and major Spanish-language publisher, ImpreMedia. The deal was announced in April 2008 and is designed to help McClatchy "offset its losses in the U.S. newspaper market (and) sharpen its focus on the rapidly growing Hispanic

community by sharing articles and other content ...” (Associated Press, 2008, para. 1)

While some well-established mainstream print publications have turned to Spanish-language or bilingual options as a way to survive during a dire period in U.S. journalism history, Hispanic publications have been enjoying record circulation numbers and ad revenue. In 2008, the latest year that figures are available from the Latino Print Network (2009), there were 834 Hispanic newspapers in the U.S., and although the number of Spanish-language dailies declined, weeklies have been seeing a steady increase. The decline of the dailies has been noted for the past few years, with the number of Spanish-language dailies reaching a high point in 2005, with 42, and falling every year since. But their remaining circulation, combined with that of the growing weeklies and less-than-weeklies, now stands at 17.8 million (LPN, 2009).

In 2006 it was estimated that minority markets accounted for approximately a third of America’s buying power (Lieberman, 2006) with forecasts predicting the biggest increases in ad spending to occur with Spanish-language media. Though a lot of this revenue is expected to be generated within the arenas of television and radio, even newspapers are getting a boost. According to Lieberman, within the past few years, ImpreMedia, “the largest Spanish-language newspaper publisher” (2006, p.1B), has bought several of the top Spanish-language newspapers in the U.S., including Chicago’s *La Raza*, Los Angeles’ *La Opinion* and New York’s *El Diario*.

Furthermore, Advertising Age (2008) has noted that spending on ads for Hispanic media outpaced the U.S. media spending for the years 2003-2007, with spending on ads in Hispanic media growing by 4.2 % in 2007 alone, compared with only 0.2% for spending on advertising with all U.S. media. Additionally, Advertising Age ranked San Antonio as the ninth-largest designated market area in the United States in 2007 as far as media spending for Spanish-language outlets, accounting for \$64 million in sales, \$4.6 million of that for print. Out of the top 10 DMAs, San Antonio posted the largest percentage increase over the previous year, up 3 percent, followed by San Francisco with 2.9 percent and Chicago with 2.8 percent.

Hispanic publishing in the United States recorded its highest combined ad revenues in 2006 at \$1.5 billion (LPN, 2007), and saw a slight decrease to \$1.4 billion in 2008 (LPN, 2009) – still a very strong number in a time of weak economic conditions and an overall unstable climate for print media as a whole. The bulk of ad dollars for Hispanic publications, more than 80 percent, came from local advertising, rather than national advertisers such as Target or Wal-Mart (Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008). The State of Spanish Language Media (2008) offers a more detailed look at the breakdown between national and local advertising revenue at Hispanic newspapers in the United States, revealing that ad revenue at dailies totaled \$538 million in local advertising and \$112 million in national, for weeklies it was \$352 million for local, \$81 million for national, and for less-than-weeklies, \$31 million local, \$10 million national (p. 25). This heavy reliance on local advertising revenue indicates a

pattern of success for the Hispanic press while also revealing one of the key functions it plays for its readers that may not be addressed by mainstream, English-language newspapers – that of connecting potential customers (readers) to products they want or need, many of which are connected to their Hispanic culture.

Research on the Hispanic media has centered primarily on the following areas: how Hispanics use the media (Shoemaker, Reese & Danielson, 1985b; Ghanem & Wanta, 2001), preferences for English-language vs. Spanish-language media (Shoemaker, Reese, & Danielson, 1985a;), and how Hispanics are represented by both the English-language and Spanish-language media in the U.S. (Tan, 1978; Greenberg, Burgoon, M., Burgoon, J., & Korzenny, 1983; Turk, Richard, Bryson & Johnson, 1989; Fox, 1996; National Council for La Raza, 1997; Santana & Smith, 2001; Weill & Castañeda, 2004). The studies that have focused on the assimilation function of the Spanish-language press shed some light on the motives of this press in regards to whom they are targeting with their content (Subervi-Velez, 1986; Viswanath & Arora, 2000). Johnson (2000) used a mixed-methods content analysis to examine the assimilative and pluralistic functions of ethnic media, particularly English-language and bilingual Latina magazines. She determined that this type of publication did not fit into the existing models that describe the functions of the ethnic media and proposed a revised model that included assimilation and pluralism working together, and the potential for a higher level of symbolism. Interestingly, in the same journal in which Johnson's research appeared, Viswanath and Arora (2000) published an

article in the issue printed prior to hers which outlined five functions of the ethnic media and heavily discussed the roles of assimilation and integration as they are reflected by this media. In addition to this research, a more recent study by Branton and Dunaway (2008) compared how the topic of immigration was covered by English-language newspapers and Spanish-language newspapers, concluding, among other things, that Spanish-language newspapers cover the topic more extensively. In their defense of the importance of their topic as a viable area of research, the pair stated: “Given the dramatic growth of the Latino population in recent decades and the corresponding explosion of Spanish-language media organizations in the United States, it seems important to consider whether and how the news content produced by these organizations is distinct” (p. 1020).

Looking at what makes Hispanic newspapers “distinct” is not an area that has received intensive study. Considering the changing population numbers in the U.S., however, it is important to take a closer look at the Hispanic print media and how they see themselves in relation to their readers. To get a quick glimpse of how the increasing Hispanic population in the United States is making an impact, consider these newspaper headlines from May 14, 2009:

- “Hispanic Surge Is Reshaping Oregon” – The Oregonian (Portland, Ore.)
- “Hispanic Residents Increasing in State” – The Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Journal Sentinel

- “Number of Hispanics up 59% in Eight Years; in Chesterfield, it Rises 135%” – Richmond (Virginia) Times Dispatch
- “BR Hispanic Population Increasing Steadily – Growth Rate Faster Than Other Groups” – The (Baton Rouge, Louisiana) Advocate

This study specifically looks at *La Prensa* and *Conexion*, the main bilingual print media in San Antonio, Texas, to determine if and how this press assists in assimilating its Hispanic readers. This research is important for two reasons: First, it is necessary to understand how the journalists at the Hispanic publications view their missions to readers. The real and potential advertising power of the Hispanic population, particularly in San Antonio which has a history of supporting Hispanic media, is a strong motivation for determining to what extent the Spanish-language press is helping its readers become “Americanized” compared to what extent this press is seeking to preserve the Hispanic culture. Second, ethnic media in the U.S. are a growing, vibrant resource; in fact, use of ethnic media by African, Asian and Hispanic Americans increased by 16 percent since 2005, reaching an audience of 57 million, according to a 2009 New America Media poll.

This research will use a quantitative method, content analysis, to analyze the content of the two leading bilingual print publications in San Antonio, as well as a qualitative method in the form of in-depth interviews with journalists at these publications. The interviews with those who help set the direction and tone of the publications will offer insight and context to the quantitative results. No research to date has looked at the role of the main bilingual print media of a metropolitan

U.S. city from an assimilation vs. pluralism perspective, seeking both quantitative and qualitative results.

Research Objectives

This study examines the current roles of San Antonio's leading bilingual press. Specifically, to what extent does this press serve an assimilation function, or does it serve mainly to maintain the Hispanic culture as an identity that is separate from mainstream America, or is it a combination of both? In analyzing the purpose of this press, this study adapts Johnson's (2000) model of ethnic media functions which contains four assimilation functions (promotion of Western consumption, focus on individual change, focus on the future, and socializing to "the modern") and five pluralism functions (preservation and transmission of ethnic culture, promotion of ethnic pride, symbolic ethnicity and unification of subgroups, respite from general market media, and culture transmission to non-ethnic groups).

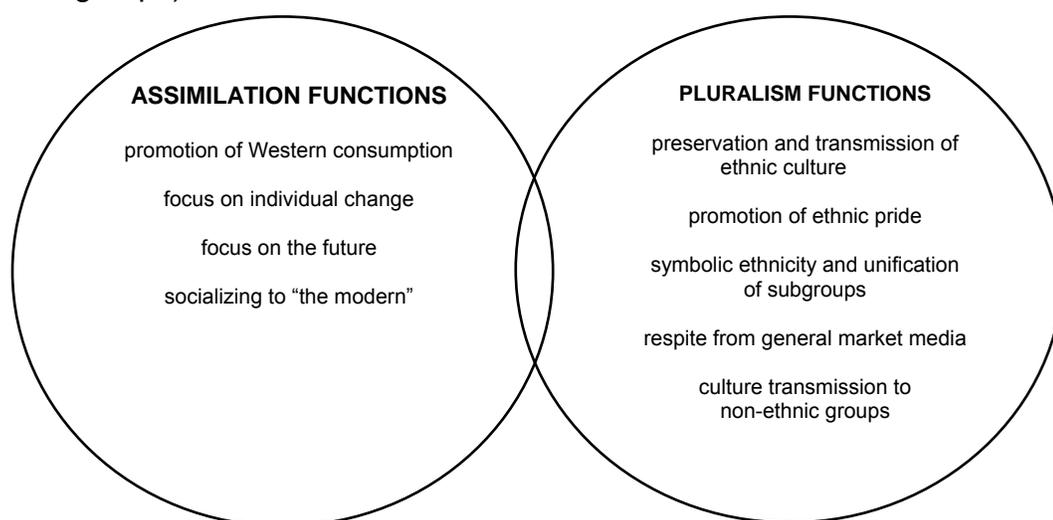


FIGURE 1 Johnson's (2000) functions of the ethnic media

As she states, it is a model which reflects that media outlets "may not be pluralistic or assimilative, contrary to old models. One publication or broadcast

station can present a range of content that contains both pluralistic and assimilative messages” (pp. 245-246). Though Viswanath and Arora’s five functions of the ethnic media also were considered as guidelines, Johnson’s model is more appropriate for this study as she specifically applied it to research of Hispanic media and took into account this type of media’s ability to serve both assimilatory and pluralistic functions.

This study uses both a content analysis, with categories derived from Johnson’s categories of the ethnic media, of the two leading bilingual publications in San Antonio, Texas, *La Prensa* and *Conexion*, and in-depth interviews with the journalists, editors and publishers of these two newspapers. Drawing on the themes expressed in this study’s research questions, the major questions propelling this study are: (1) Do the bilingual print publications in San Antonio operate in an assimilatory function, a pluralistic function, or a combination of both? (2) What specific ethnic media functions does each of the publications assume? (3) What is the level of quality, as perceived by the producers (reporters, editors and publishers) of the publications, of their print products? A longstanding criticism of some Hispanic publications has been that their quality (in regards to the reporting, writing, editing, particularly) is not of a high enough standard, thus potentially costing them readership and standing in the journalistic community.

Role of Assimilation

The foreign-language press in America has an extensive history as serving as a conduit between cultures, easing the immigrant’s transition to a new

land while also instructing on the basics of everyday life. The press for various immigrant groups – such as Germans, Irish, Italians, Swedish, to name only a few – thrived during the time when print was the dominant mass medium. Specifically, Vecoli reasoned that “print culture increasingly gained importance among American immigrants at the turn of the century, becoming a major resource and an instrument with which they fashioned ethnic identities and ethnic communities” (p. 17).

When analyzing the immigrant press, many have focused on its assimilation function, and, consequently, the tendency for this type of press to lose its value and disappear once the immigrant group had fully adapted to the language and ways of its new country. Bean and Stevens (2003) looked at an array of early work on assimilation theory, from that of Robert Park in the mid-1920s to the late 20th-century examinations by Andrew Greeley, Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, surmising that the theory has evolved from a “straight-line” perspective promoted by Park to one that centers on an “ethnic-disadvantage point of view” (p. 98). The evolving state of assimilation theory increasingly has been taking into account the characteristics of modern immigrants as well as discussing the role of succeeding generations of immigrant families. Specifically, assimilation theory has been applied to examinations of the ethnic press in America, with a few studies targeting the Spanish-language or bilingual press (Subervi-Velez, 2008; Johnson, 2000; Shoemaker, Reese & Danielson, 1985). Regarding the ethnic press in the United States in general, Viswanath and Arora (2000) stated that it has “a significant role in assimilation and integration” (p. 39).

They outlined several functions of the role of the ethnic press, including that “in line with assimilatory function, the ethnic newspaper may provide more information on involvement of ethnic community members in American politics and more coverage of the relationship between ethnic groups’ native homelands and their adopted country” (p. 54). Federico A. Subervi-Velez (1986), a researcher with a long track record of studying the Hispanic media, urged specific research in this area, stating that “relationships among media and Hispanic assimilation and pluralism have rarely been stated explicitly” (78). Though Subervi-Velez issued his call for more research more than 20 years ago, few scholars have accepted the challenge. An exception is Johnson (2000, 2003), one researcher who has examined extensively the functions of ethnic media, particularly Hispanic, in regards to assimilation and pluralism. She refers to her ethnic media model as “a template” that is “aimed at improving our understanding of ethnic media content, and the interaction between audiences and content” (p. 285).

The fulfillment of a political need is a theme echoed in a study by Shoemaker, Reese and Danielson (1985). In their research, the trio surveyed Texans to generate a profile on media consumption and ancillary components such as acculturation, cultural identification and voting habits. Overall, they found that “English-language mass media appear to fulfill the political, social, and cultural needs of some Hispanics, while others rely on Spanish-language media or would rely on them if more and better Spanish-language or bilingual media were available” (p. 63). Furthermore, when it came to acculturation, the

researchers suggested two possible developments. First, that as the older Hispanic population recedes and the younger one rises, the interest and use of Spanish-language print media could decline. However, the researchers also suggested a second alternative in which a form of reverse acculturation would occur, whereby the Hispanic culture would exert its own influence over the Anglo culture. “Thus there is some evidence to suggest that Hispanic culture – particularly as evidenced by the Spanish language – may not become fully lost in the Anglo mainstream” (p. 64).

This phenomenon has been noticed recently in the younger Hispanic populations. According to Levin (2006), second-generation Hispanics are increasing in number and will outnumber their immigrant parents by 2020. This young population, Levin says, is influencing the United States, to the extent that “not only are they Latinizing the American mainstream, they are Americanizing what it means to be Hispanic in the United States” (Levin, 2006, para.4).

Additionally, 2006’s “The State of the News Media,” the annual report distributed by the Project for Excellence in Journalism, as far as ethnic media users go, suggests that “the ethnic media play a significant role in the American media landscape, influencing the views of a large number of citizens of various ethnic backgrounds” (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2006, para. 19). The group’s 2008 report (based on 2007 figures) showed that the impact of ethnic media in the United States does not appear to be diminishing, but it is changing. The report cited the growing level of niches among this type of media and the

increasing attention by the mainstream news outlets as several attempt to enter the ethnic media market, particularly Spanish-language.

This influence is even more pervasive in the Hispanic community as reflected in Suro's research for the Pew Hispanic Center (2004). Suro states "that the news media powerfully influence the twin processes of cultural change at work in the Hispanic population: the assimilation of American attitudes and the formation of a distinct ethnic identity" (p. 1). In analyzing how U.S. Hispanics often switch between English and Spanish in getting their news, he surmises that "the language in which Latinos get their news significantly influences their opinions on issues ranging from immigration policy to the war in Iraq" (p. 1).

This study uses assimilation theory as a foundation for analyzing the role of the bilingual print media in San Antonio. The research also will utilize the ethnic media models (Johnson, 2000; Viswanath & Arora, 2000; Zhou & Cai, 2002) that have been developed from theories on assimilation and pluralism and that are directly connected to the questions raised in this study.

Why San Antonio?

Newspapers that utilize both English and Spanish are nothing new in San Antonio, Texas. Kanellos and Martell (2000) noted that the city has a long history of offering Spanish and bilingual news options to its population, including *El Eco* which began publishing in 1838, *El Cronista Mexicano* in 1891, and *La Prensa*

which was first published from 1913-1962, then reopened in 1989.¹ Many of these early papers in San Antonio exhibited independence from American influences while promoting their own cultural identity. *El Bajarraño* appeared in San Antonio 10 years after Texas attained statehood, proudly proclaiming on its masthead that it was “dedicated to the interests of the Texas Mexican population” (p. 99). Other activist-minded newspapers followed in the city, such as *El Regidor* (1888-1916) and *El Imparcial de Texas* (1908-1924) which was started by Francisco A. Chapa who “had a political commitment to the Mexican-American population, and used his newspaper to promote electoral activism” (p. 102).

San Antonio has been the setting or partial setting for research on the Spanish-language and bilingual media in the past (Turk, Richard, Bryson, & Johnson, 1989; Mayer, 2001), and its strong connection to this type of media is often cited as a reason for selecting the city. Mayer noted that “If San Antonio has been a forerunner in trends for Latino media, scholars should expect similar trends in other cities, if not now then in the future” (p. 300).

One researcher who included San Antonio in her study on the influence of Hispanic media, observed that despite the fact that the city can claim some of the oldest Spanish-language media in the country (KWEX TV and KCOR-AM radio, for example), overall, this media historically has lacked power. Veciana-Suarez (1990) noted three necessary factors that influenced the strength of Spanish-language media in any one particular location: “Hispanics’ economic power in

¹ Authors Nicolas Kanellos and Helvetia Martell’s records included Spanish-language serials published in the United States as well as those published in English or in Spanish and English

that particular city, area, or region; their political power; and the retention of the language” (p.19). She further noted that reliance on just one of the factors is not enough to secure a powerful medium, citing San Antonio as an example of a region where political clout and economic strength are robust for Hispanics, yet retention of the Spanish language is not. The result, Veciana-Suarez determined, is a weak Spanish-language media. Her characterization of the potential audience pool for this media includes extremely acculturated Hispanics who may not write or read Spanish, but still speak it. Furthermore, these media consumers include “cross-overs” who use media presented in both English and Spanish. “When they are interested in a specific Hispanic issue or candidate, they tune in to both the English and Spanish media” (p.57).

Today, the newspaper landscape in San Antonio includes one English-language daily, one bilingual publication published twice a week, and two tabloids published once a week (one bilingual and one in English). *Rumbo*, which began as a daily Spanish-language newspaper, closed its print edition in San Antonio in October 2008 to focus its efforts on its Web site and to double its circulation in Houston. Similarly, *Cancha*, a 3-year-old, Spanish-only biweekly tabloid, ceased publication in early 2009, citing economic conditions for its closure. In addition to these publications, there are dozens of small, community-oriented news publications with limited distributions. Because Spanish-language and bilingual news publications have maintained a steady presence in San Antonio since at least the mid-1800s and continue to maintain a strong presence today, the city’s

that were either produced by or served Hispanic communities in the United States.

press offers an opportunity to study modern-day implications for these types of media.

Definition of Terms: Hispanic

For decades, America has been struggling to define people of Latin American descent with only one word. In 1930, the category “Mexican” appeared on the U.S. Census, but was eliminated, according to Prewitt (2004), due to “political pressure from the Mexican government” (p. 150). Prewitt adds that “Mexicans were then counted as white until 1970. At that point they reentered the census, but as part of an ethnic categorization – persons of Hispanic origin. This category was a deliberate effort to count Hispanics without treating them as a race. They were to be considered a cultural-linguistic group” (p. 150).

The U.S. Census’ dismissal of the race and cultural distinctions of the varied peoples of Latin America is also a topic broached by América Rodríguez (1999). She cites three main Latin American immigrant groups in the United States: Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, saying “the submerging of intraethnic national, class, and racial distinctiveness permitted the racialization of the social formation *Hispanic*” (p. 49).

Before the Census Bureau settled on “Hispanic,” it “at different times tried and then rejected *Spanish speaking, Spanish surnamed, and not black, not white.*”

Some researchers use the term “Hispanic” as an umbrella term to include several different nationalities, united primarily by the Spanish language. Others substitute “Latino” or “Chicano” for Hispanic with no distinctions offered.

In their research concerning language and modes of communication in Texas, Shoemaker, Reese and Danielson (1985) say their decision to use the term “Hispanic” over other labels such as Chicano or Mexican-American was based on the acknowledgement that “there are too many terms, too many shades of meaning, and too many emotional loadings” (p. 6). They did recognize, however, that the term “Hispanic” is “extremely broad (and) that the groups encompassed by it vary widely ...” (p. 6).

For its 2000 census, the Census Bureau used “Hispanic or Latino (of any race)” to reflect the group’s total numbers in the United States. It then broke down the total number into four categories: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Other Hispanic or Latino. For the purposes of this study, only the term “Hispanic” will be used to refer to those people of Latin American descent in America.

Defining assimilation.

In his discussion on assimilation, Acuña (2003) says, “the question of assimilation and who should determine it is a debate that has been raging since the founding of the United States” (p. 45). The assimilation question has been inextricably tied to the issue of immigration and its historical periods of highs and lows. Though Acuña acknowledges the pattern of assimilation of other nationalities – such as Irish, German and Italian, with assimilation predominantly occurring in the 19th and early 20th centuries – he does note that the assimilation process has been much slower for Latinos, stating the culture’s dependence on identity as one factor. The result, he finds, is that “many U.S. Latinos remain un-

assimilated to the fourth and fifth generation from their original immigrant ancestors” (p. 45).

The history of assimilation theory is long and complex, crossing over many disciplines, and assuming a variety of new aspects and even new definitions along the way. It has evolved from its early conception by Robert Park, devised from his writings on the subject in the 1920s, to now include forms such as the segmented assimilation model proposed by Rumbaut and Portes (2001), which states that assimilation is dependent on a number of factors including family dynamics, the rate of acculturation, and economic barriers. Rumbaut and Portes go so far as to say that assimilation is not a definite outcome for all immigrants, but rather just a potential end result for some.

Alba and Nee (2005) traced modern interpretations of assimilation to include the well-founded concepts of segmented assimilation, also associated with the term “downward” assimilation, and pluralism. However, the pair sought an earlier conception of assimilation, one that was proposed by the Chicago School, and applied it to the current reality of U.S. immigration and demographics when creating their new definition. They defined assimilation as “the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences” (p.11). Furthermore, Alba and Nee pointed out that their definition includes the potential for the assimilating individual to affect change into the group or society it is entering.

Other scholars have studied how race and discrimination affect different immigrant groups’ assimilation process. In a broad view, Thompson (1989)

discussed how the element of discrimination has negatively impacted the theory's status, saying the theory has been unable "to explain the continued presence of severe racism and racial stratification" in the United States and, thus, has fallen into disfavor among some of its former advocates (p. 102).

Golash-Boza (2006) studied the effects of racism and discrimination on the prospect of assimilation by Hispanics in the United States and concluded that those who reported feeling discriminated against were more likely to reject the classification of "American." She further states, "Some Latinos/as are holding onto their national origin identifiers and refusing to hyphenate themselves, even in the third generation. Others are taking on a hyphenated American identity, and still others are assuming the pan-ethnic label. Which path these individuals take depends on their experiences in the United States" (p. 51). In this study, the more current segmented assimilation model, with its inclusion of the possibilities of partial or full rejection of assimilation itself, will be used.

Defining acculturation.

Acculturation, also referred to as cultural assimilation by theorist Milton Gordon, is the accepted first stage in assimilation. "Acculturation – learning the language, values, and other modes of cultural discourse that predominate in the 'host' society – is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for entering later phases of the assimilation process," states Thompson (p. 79). He further adds: "In the United States what constitutes acculturation has always been clear: acculturation means, at a *minimum*, the adoption of the English language and some conformity to the dominant, European-originated values on which

American social institutions are structured (the Constitution, the legal system, the economy, to name but a few)” (p. 80).

Thompson highlights an element of cultural assimilation that current strains of the Hispanic culture appear to be rejecting. He states that “cultural assimilation (learning English and Anglo-American values) almost always involves not only the acceptance of the dominant culture, but also the rejection of the assimilation person’s native culture as inferior, backward, and unworthy” (p. 80).

Defining cultural pluralism.

As a theory, cultural pluralism was developed and defined by Horace M. Kallen who wrote in 1915 that “all the immigrants and their offspring are in the way of becoming ‘Americanized,’ if they remain in one place in the country long enough – say six or seven years. The general notion, ‘Americanization,’ appears to denote the adoption of English speech, of American clothes and manners, of the American attitude in politics” (p. 72).

Kallen’s idea of an America comprised of diversity among various ethnicities, yet acting uniformly and for a united purpose, is an ideal that is still discussed today. The details for achieving such a cooperative co-existence, however, have proven elusive.

In his pro-assimilation-themed book, “The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society,” Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. (1992) states that, “Cultural pluralism is a necessity in an ethnically diversified society” (p. 74). Schlesinger built upon Kallen’s original conception of cultural pluralism,

particularly in his emphasis on a common language and culture among the diverse ethnicities of America. “The question America confronts as a pluralistic society is how to vindicate cherished cultures and traditions without breaking the bonds of cohesion – common ideals, common political institutions, common language, common culture, common fate – that hold the republic together” (p. 138). Schlesinger also discusses his view on bilingualism in America, stating that “a common language is a necessary bond of national cohesion in so heterogeneous a nation as America. ... Like Afrocentricity and the ethnicity cult, bilingualism is an elitist, not a popular, movement,” he states (p. 110).

Alba and Nee (2005) discussed the credence of the pluralistic model, especially in a modern-world setting. They note that pluralism can allow second and possibly later generations of immigrants to the U.S. to maintain strong ties to their original land. “The pluralistic alternative envisions that, in the contemporary world, the choice to live in an ethnic social and cultural matrix need not be associated with the loss of the advantages once afforded almost exclusively by the mainstream” (p.6).

Johnson (2000) explored the shift away from assimilation and toward pluralism in her research on English-language and bilingual Latina magazines in the United States. She concluded that the publications used both approaches and called for a modification to the ethnic media model “that reflects dual functions of assimilative and pluralistic expression and takes into account the possibility of more symbolic ethnic media functions” (p.229). To this end she

devised a nine-part model for the functions of ethnic media that include four assimilation functions and five pluralism functions.

In other research studying both assimilation and pluralistic stances, Zhou and Cai (2002) explored the connection between Chinese media and assimilation, asking how this “ethnic institution (Chinese media) is “related to the immigrants and to their host society at large and how does it affect assimilation in American life?” (p.434). In answering this question the researchers considered two approaches: the assimilationist approach which “assumes that the ethnic community and the host society are inherently conflictual and mutually exclusive,” and the pluralist approach which “assumes that the ethnic community is an integral part of the host society and that each culture, despite its distinct internal dynamics, contributes to the host society as a whole” (p.434). The researchers determined that the Chinese-language media played a more “complementary” rather than “inharmonious” role and outlined four areas in which this occurred:

First and foremost, the ethnic media effectively connects immigrants to the host society with a medium that is most familiar to immigrants and that keeps them informed. ...

Second, the ethnic media connects immigrants to the host society by providing them with a detailed roadmap and pointing out the best possible options for them to navigate unknown and foreign territories. ...

Third, Chinese language media promotes and reinforces the mobility goal of the immigrant community. ...

Fourth, Chinese language media works to, often subtly and gradually, acculturate the immigrants (pp.434-436).

Significance of the Study

Schlesinger's writings, penned fifteen years ago, offer a perspective that is still unresolved today, and, additionally, raise questions for this study. If

bilingualism is an "elitist" movement, why are so many who are biliterate at the low end of the economic spectrum in America? Furthermore, if the preference is still for English to be the only recognized U.S. language, why have strains of the mainstream media gone to great lengths to be read and heard in Spanish?

Some historians and theorists alike may agree that for a nation to remain unified, its new citizens must adapt fully to the country's established ways and customs. However, current population trends, and those that are predicted for the next few decades, are requiring a review of this perspective. The influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants, added to the existing Hispanic population in the United States, is predicted to push the Hispanic populace to record numbers. Furthermore, the usage of the Spanish language is increasing as evidenced by U.S. Census Bureau data (Sept. 23, 2008) which state that in 2007 one-in-five residents of four states, including Texas, spoke Spanish in their homes. Looking at the national picture, the bureau estimates that approximately 35 million residents, or more than 12 percent, speak Spanish at home.

Over the past several years, the print media in America, mindful of this trend, have been adapting in numerous ways to meet the needs of this population. Hispanic-owned media also have grown in number and power, and

are a media form that often finds itself more in line with the objectives of the old immigrant-style media than with the present-day mainstream print media goals. Some of these papers print entirely in Spanish, others in Spanish and English. Most are mindful of Hispanic traditions, tastes and preferences and reflect these aspects within the content of their pages. And in an era when print media in America are faltering, Hispanic media are holding steady, if not thriving.

All of these elements comprise the focus of this study, which is to determine if the people behind the Hispanic print media in San Antonio, Texas, are motivated to help new Spanish-speaking immigrants assimilate to the American way of life, or whether they are focused on preserving the cultural nuances and heritage of their readers' homelands by way of educating, or simply reminding their readers of these traditions, or is it a mixture of both? If, in fact, portions of the Hispanic population in America are undergoing a form of reverse acculturation, does the growth and increasing strength of bilingual and Spanish-language media aid this effort and, hypothetically speaking, could it even go so far as to help establish Spanish as an accepted second national language?

This study is unlike other research in this area in several ways. First, this is the first study to use a mixed-methods approach to examine the functions of two ethnic print newspapers of a major metropolitan U.S. city. Second, this research qualitatively explores the motivations and judgments made by decision-makers at *La Prensa* and *Conexion* while concurrently examining their perceptions of how they as individuals and their publications as a whole function in an assimilatory manner, a pluralistic way, or something in between. Third, the

results of both the quantitative and qualitative research will determine if a new model is needed to describe the functions of the ethnic media.

As far as importance of this topic, Johnson and others (Branton & Dunaway, 2008) have called for more research into the roles played by Hispanic print media in the United States. When Branton and Dunaway (2008) looked at the differences in how English-language and Spanish-language newspapers in California covered the topic of immigration, they argued that with the growing Hispanic population and, subsequently, growing number of Spanish-language media sources, “it seems important to consider whether and how the news content produced by these organizations is distinct” (p. 1020). Regarding the study of San Antonio’s bilingual print media, however, this research could be important to: (1) publishers and editors of bilingual and Spanish-language newspapers who may need to modify their assimilatory or pluralistic functions; (2) advertisers who are currently utilizing or considering utilizing bilingual or Spanish-language print media. By gaining a better understanding of the paths these publications are establishing for their readers, advertisers can make more thoughtful decisions about ad placements; (3) add to the understanding of the functions of the ethnic print media in San Antonio and how those functions are changing as the Hispanic population in America grows.

The following chapter offers a review of the relevant research-related literature pertaining to: 1.) the history of immigration in the United States, with an emphasis on immigration from Mexico; 2.) the history of the immigrant press in the United States; 3.) the past roles and present trends in the Spanish-language

press; and, 4.) the use of assimilation and acculturation theories as applied to the foreign-language press in the U.S.

Chapter 3 explains the methodology for this study. Both a quantitative content analysis and in-depth interviews with journalists and editors at *La Prensa* and *Conexion*, the two leading bilingual publications in San Antonio, were conducted in order to gather data for this project. Twenty-four issues (twelve from each publication, one of which is a weekly and the other a biweekly) published between January 2008-December 2008 were selected using a random number table. Selecting twelve issues of the publications, with one from each month of the year, is a process suggested by Lacy, Robinson and Riffe (1995) in their research of appropriate sample sizes for studies involving weekly newspapers. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the quantitative research and relates these findings to the proposed research questions. Chapter 5 follows the format of Chapter 4, only concentrating instead on the qualitative data. Conclusions reached following an analysis of the research findings are offered in Chapter 6. This chapter also includes discussion of the implications of the findings and related analysis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

When reviewing the scholarly activity on the Hispanic press in the United States, the question, “What has been written?” might well be replaced with “What still hasn’t been written?” Many have noted the lack of scholarly activity in this area (Gutiérrez, 1977; Gonzales, 1977; Greenberg, M. Burgoon, J. Buroon, Korzenny, 1983), though others have broadened this oversight to include the entire foreign-language press (Hardt, 1989).

It is not for a lack of getting the “big picture,” for as far back as the 1970s, scholars and media observers were noting the rise in Hispanic immigration and questioning how it might impact U.S. journalism. Why else would *Journalism History* devote an entire issue of its publication to the topic, Spanish-language media, in 1977? Furthermore, almost 25 years later, the Neiman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University dedicated nearly half of the pages of its summer 2001 issue (19 separate articles) to “Latino Voices: Journalism by and About Latinos.”

So the question of whether Hispanic journalism is important has been asked – and asked yet again. However, it has not resulted in a substantial body of academic analysis.

According to a 2008 population estimate update by the Census Bureau (August 14, 2008), the Hispanic population in America is expected to triple during the time period of 2008-2050, increasing from 46.7 million to 132.8 million, which

would make its share of the overall U.S. population about 30 percent. To add further depth to this picture, consider that Hispanics have created many familial layers over the years, with many of Hispanic descent now labeling themselves second, third or even fourth generation. Unlike previous waves of immigrants from countries such as Poland or Germany, Spanish-speaking newcomers are maintaining usage of their native language long after they've established themselves in the United States, in part because their media network enhances and enables their bilingualism.

This consistency in Hispanic immigration is making an impact on the news industry. The mainstream print industry has begun to pay serious attention to the role of at least one foreign-language press – Spanish. Although the economic situation for the mainstream newspaper industry in America is currently dire, a few areas of the print media business are showing a pulse, including niche publications and Spanish-language/bilingual newspapers.

Yet from an academic standpoint, many questions remain. This literature review will focus on the following five areas: (1) a look at the history of major immigration trends in the United States, including a focused examination of immigration flows from Mexico; (2) an overview of the immigrant press in the history of the United States, noting its past uses and present placement in the media landscape; (3) a historical look at the Spanish-language press in the U.S. with particular emphasis on its past role and its current direction; (4) the theories of assimilation and acculturation as they have been applied to both the foreign-

language press in general and the Spanish-language press in particular; and (5) previous research conducted on the role of the Hispanic press.

Historical Perspective of Immigration to the U.S.

Tracking the arrival of those from other lands has been documented for centuries in America and been a topic of research for everyone from social scientists to government analysts. Determining the size and patterns of various immigration flows can reveal a lot about our country at any given time in its history. For example, Taft and Robbins (1955) discussed the situation in America in the early 1900s: “Forty years ago the coming of tens of millions of immigrants from Europe, and a smaller number from Asia, was considered one of the most important domestic problems of the New World. Colleges and universities were giving standard courses on immigration and problems of assimilation” (p. 367).

Immigration trends in America.

Scholars have demonstrated various ways to classify the waves of immigration that have occurred on America’s shores. In the introduction to their text, editors Foner and Fredrickson (2004) condense it to two major waves occurring since the late 1800s, “27.6 million immigrants arrived between 1881 and 1930, and then after a hiatus of more than three decades due to restrictive laws, depression and war, more than 25 million came between 1965 and 2000, a flow that continues virtually unabated into the twenty-first century” (p. 1).

Others, such as Lee (2004) have used three eras to define the major periods of U.S. immigration history: 1880s-1920s, 1920s-1960s, and post-1965 (p. 119). Lee further notes that the majority of immigrants included in the last wave came from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. “In the 1990s

immigrants born in Latin America made up more than half of all immigrants in the United States for the first time” (p. 128).

Rumbaut (1994) analyzed census data to make conclusions about post-World War II immigration trends. He observed that the pattern of immigration since the 1950s has shown a decline in immigrants from the more-developed countries and a corresponding significant increase from less-developed countries. This, he says, helps to explain the decidedly different composition of people that have made up the U.S. population for the second half of the 20th century. Rumbaut describes these “new” immigrants as “extraordinarily diverse, a reflection of polar-opposite types of migrations embedded in very different historical and structural contexts” (p. 583).

Trends in Mexican immigration.

For the purposes of this study, the immigration trends related to Mexico are of specific importance, due to the fact that the majority of the Spanish-speaking population in South Central Texas, and San Antonio in particular, hail from Mexico. In general, the topic of immigration from Mexico has been a consistent subject of research, particularly in the past few years. The main reason for the interest is, naturally, due to the large number of people from that country entering America and America’s revisiting of immigration policy and law in a post-9/11 world. Bean and Stevens (2003) state that “the volume of Mexican migration to the United States over the past thirty years has vastly exceeded that coming from any other source country. This was especially true for the decade from 1991 to 2000, during which Mexico accounted for 24.7 percent of all legal

entrants to the United States” (p. 43). In part, they attribute the dramatic increases in Mexican immigration over the decades to the federal Bracero Program of 1943 and the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (pp. 54-55).

The Pew Hispanic Center (2007), in a report which tracked the dramatic increase in immigrants to the U.S. becoming naturalized citizens, noted that the increase impacted Mexican immigration as well, even though historically speaking, Mexican immigrants tend to not follow the path of becoming U.S. citizens. Despite this history, from the years 1995 to 2005, the Pew research shows that there was an increase of 144% in the number of Mexican immigrants becoming naturalized citizens.

Durand, Massey and Charvet (2000) in their descriptive analysis of the evolving state of immigration from Mexico noted that earlier migration movements resulted in Mexicans settling primarily in the states of Texas and California. However, in the 1990s, the researchers found that Mexicans were making their way to other states as well, resulting in a transformation of this immigration strain “from a regional to a national phenomenon” (p. 1).

Johnson, Johnson-Webb and Farrell (1999) came to similar conclusions in their examination of demographic trends involving Hispanics in the U.S. and the group’s impact on existing communities. The pair additionally noted the interaction between local media and these new arrivals, with the English-language newspapers trying to lure them as readers by adding more Spanish advertisements and the Spanish-language-based media profiting as well by

increased readership for Spanish newspapers and more listeners for Spanish radio.

The nearly uninterrupted flow of immigration/migration from Mexico has had ripple effects on U.S. politics as well. Rodriguez (2005) noted that the steady stream of Mexican immigrants “has made the process of Mexican integration a perpetual one. But this dynamic hasn’t so much retarded assimilation as it has sown confusion in the formulation of political and cultural identities” (p. 35). For example, the 21st-century national debate over how to overhaul the U.S. immigration system is one that has carried over from George W. Bush’s presidency to that of President Barack Obama. The debate has been characterized by protests and rallies, including one in October 2009 in which thousands of immigrants converged on Capitol Hill to call for reform. According to a Oct. 13, 2009, article in the New York Times, advocates for reform are encouraged that President Obama has stated that immigration reform is a priority for his administration, however, they fear the issue has been overshadowed by other, more pressing issues such as the economic crisis and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (Urbina, 2009).

According to Heisler (2008), this present-day debate is one that can be traced specifically to the long-lasting impact of the Bracero Program. She stated that the program’s impact on Mexican migration still can be seen in the 21st century and it has implications on the U.S. government’s attempt to find solutions to undocumented immigration by Mexican citizens. Heisler described the depths of the issue’s complexity, noting that Mexican migration can be seen as “the

largest sustained flow of migrant workers in the contemporary world, it has been deeply embedded in a migratory system that has been decades in the making and has become largely self-perpetuating” (p.65). Heisler characterizes the present-day situation of immigration as a failed congressional effort, and one increasingly mired in “anti-immigrant/anti-Mexican sentiments” (p. 65). A long-term solution to the issue cannot be achieved on the part of the United States alone, she said, but must include the involvement of the Mexican government as well.

History of the Immigrant Press in the U.S.

When reviewing the literature related to the record of the foreign-language press in America, a few categories emerge: general histories that examine the overall role of the immigrant press, histories of specific foreign-language newspapers such as German or even Swedish (Capps, 1966), and analyses of a specific function of a foreign-language newspaper such as assimilation or economic. Park’s seminal work on the subject, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (1922), covers all of these areas and more. Park’s book is still heavily referenced today in contemporary research, particularly in studies which examine the assimilation function of the foreign-language press. Hardt (1989) decried the state of research on the contributions of the immigrant press, stating that, as a whole, “it has been either completely ignored or severely neglected in the cumulative writings of an American press history” (p. 114). Hardt also discusses Park’s work, and although he calls it “far from complete” (p.122), he acknowledges that Park shows the immigrant press “as a forum of unknown

readers who participated through language and culture in each other's lives" (p. 122).

Editors Danky and Wiegand (1998) look at various types of immigrant press from Italian to Chinese in *Print Culture in a Diverse America*. This compilation of scholarly articles analyzes various aspects of the contributions and influences of the foreign-language press over the past couple of centuries. Others (Hutton & Reed, 1995) also examine the various contributions to American press history by immigrant groups or other cultural entities, including the rise of the African-American press, the Spanish-language press and Native American newspapers, to name but a few.

Taking a geographically based research approach, Zeigler (1983) looked at the locations of various immigrant newspapers throughout the United States, noting both the ethnic concentrations of these areas and the circulation trends of the papers. Though he noted many decreases in circulation figures, he did foresee a way for these papers to reverse the declines, that is, if they could "make the transition to ethnic presses serving the needs of third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation immigrants who neither know the mother tongue nor care about events in the 'old country,' but who do take pride in their ethnic heritage" (p. 9). Taft and Robbins (1955) also pointed out that, historically, the immigrant press often has tried to attract the second generation among immigrants, but unfortunately, with little success (p. 533).

Blau, Thomas, Newhouse and Kavee (1998) looked at the correlation between the immigrant press and immigration waves, concluding that one of the

primary roles of this type of press was to receive the newcomers into a new community, not necessarily to help build that community.

New York City was also the location of the research done by Conolly-Smith (2004) who pinpointed the years 1895-1918 in his examination of the German immigrant press in *Translating America*. By looking at the German immigrant press of that time in New York City, he focuses on the papers' role as assimilators. "There is no better way to gauge the everyday life of ethnic Germans and the daily tensions and temptations they faced as hyphenated Americans than to examine the German immigrant press of New York" (p. 15).

The German immigrant press also was the topic of Knoche's (1980) research, this time set in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He, too, emphasizes the assimilation and acculturation functions of these newspapers and how they encompassed both the "old world" and the "new world" for the newcomers. He concludes, however, that the better these papers got at helping to "Americanize" German immigrants, the less the immigrants thought about and cared for their homeland. Eventually, "when they (the newspapers) had fulfilled that function (assimilation) they rapidly lost their usefulness" (p. 18).

Jeffres and Hur (1980) took another approach to the immigrant press, this one from the viewpoint of the consumer. They cite a lack of research in this area, particularly any that analyzes the media behavior of minority groups in the U.S. Using a questionnaire, the researchers studied 13 ethnic groups in Cleveland, Ohio, determining that these groups used and relied on ethnic media and, in fact, wanted more of it.

Where it's been and where it's going.

The immigrant press of the late 20th century in part resembled the U.S. press of the 19th century in that their “philosophies of journalism and their approaches to marketing cover the spectrum from restrained to sensationalist” (Scardino, 1988).

Nearly 10 years ago, it was estimated that there were more than 1,000 “ethnic” newspapers published in the United States, covering more than 50 languages (Simon, 1999). The New York Times commented on this phenomenon by saying, “The ethnic press, operating in the shadow of mainstream newspapers, has quietly been building circulation and advertising revenue” (Sreenivasan, 1996, D7).

Pease (1989) commented on the need for the mainstream newspaper industry to begin focusing more acutely on minorities in their own communities in order to combat declining circulations. In particular, he called on newspapers to dispel one of the popular myths of the time, “that pursuing minority markets is futile because minorities don’t read newspapers,” saying that such a path was pure “laziness” (p. 3).

New publications, such as an Ethiopian biweekly in Washington (Williams, 2006), arose to accommodate the needs and interests of some of these immigrant groups, though lack of funding historically has been a hurdle for many of these ventures. The tide may be changing, though, as advertisers have begun to take notice of the potential profitability of investing in ethnic media. “Advertisers who once deemed ethnic audiences too small, too poor or too old to

take seriously are looking at them anew as immigration rates soar” (Lieberman, 2006, 1B).

The Spanish-Language Press in the U.S.

Over the decades, it appears attention has risen and fallen on the Spanish-language press in large part due to its connection to waves of immigration. As more immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries arrived on America’s shores, interest would heighten among those who study the media as to how the newcomers would affect existing communications operations. The United States has seen Spanish-language media, particularly television and print, gain in popularity and numbers with vigor since at least the 1980s.

History of the Spanish-language press.

The introductory article in a special issue of *Journalism History* (Gutiérrez, 1977), which was devoted to the cause of the Spanish-language press, emphasized the neglect this immigrant press had received over the years from media historians “who have neither taken the time nor made the effort to investigate, analyze and report the rich history of Spanish-language print and broadcast media in the United States” (p. 35). Often mention of this press was side-note material in research in such areas as sociology, geography or even immigration studies. Gamio (1930) briefly discussed the Hispanic press in his book, *Mexican Immigration to the United States*, noting the distinctive role these newspapers played in creating communities for the new arrivals. As for the reader of these papers, Gamio says, “He thinks, feels, and expresses himself in the Mexican and not in the American way, although considering only material

culture, he has absorbed, more or less fully, traits from the American environment” (p. 138).

Kanellos (2007) has studied Hispanic newspapers extensively and offers an outline of the characteristics of such a press (based on Robert E. Park’s model defined in *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, 1922): “(1) the predominant use of the language of the homeland, in (2) serving a population united by that language, irrespective of national origin, and (3) the need to interpret events from their own peculiar racial or nationalistic point of view, and furthering nationalism” (p. 439). He adds one more dimension, that of “defense of the community” as an integral component of the Hispanic immigrant press.

Gutiérrez (1977) offers three predominant roles that the Spanish-language press has played throughout its history in the United States: “(1) institutions of social control, (2) institutions of activism and (3) reflections of Chicano life” (p. 38). To these, Cortes (1983) adds a fourth role, that of “preservers and transmitters of Chicano history and culture” (p. 133).

Others (Kent, & Huntz, 1996) have noted that the history of the Spanish-language press in the U.S. is markedly different from other types of foreign-language newspapers, in that it has proven to have a sustainability that others did not. Starting with the first Spanish-language newspaper in America – *El Misisipi*, published in New Orleans from 1808-1810 – Kent and Huntz analyze the historical geography of Spanish-language newspapers in the U.S. and predict “the continuing and vigorous publication of Spanish-language newspapers in the

United States well into the next century, 'English-Only' movements notwithstanding" (p. 454).

Continued growth for the Spanish-language media is a sentiment echoed by other researchers (Subervi-Vélez, Berg, Constantakis-Valdés, Noriega, Ríos & Wilkinson, 1997) who maintain that as long as it is a profitable venture, it will survive. Veciana-Suarez (1990) adds language retention as a crucial element to the survival of the Spanish-language press, particularly that Hispanics must be able to read, write and speak the language going into third and even fourth generations (p. 73).

In separate research, Goff (1995) and Kanellos (1998) take pains to distinguish the Hispanic immigrant press from the native Hispanic press. Goff notes that the Spanish-language press of California served an audience that included "both native Californios and immigrants from other Spanish-speaking countries ... making it unique among the immigrant/ethnic press in the United States" (p.55). Kanellos says the native Hispanic press developed in the Southwest in the mid-nineteenth century and its "fundamental reason for existence and its point of reference is the life and conditions of its readership in the United States" (p.4). This is in contrast, he says, to the immigrant press which has "one foot in the homeland and one in the United States" (p.4).

In an examination of *La Opinión*, the long-running Spanish-language newspaper based in Los Angeles, Medeiros (1980) expresses how this newspaper in particular can trace its journalistic legacy to the region of the Southwest. In addition, the researcher notes that by the 1930s, *La Opinión* was

being distributed in states other than California – including Texas, Oregon, Kansas and Illinois – which helped to distinguish it from other locally distributed Spanish-language newspapers (p. 68). Furthermore, in her analysis of the newspaper's editorials between 1926 and 1929, Medeiros concluded that the publication purposefully fought against the assimilation of Mexicans into American society, encouraging instead their eventual return to Mexico: "... the newspaper seldom missed an opportunity to emphasize the necessity of raising children as Mexican patriots conscious of their unique position as members of *México de afuera*" (p. 79).

History of the Spanish-language press in Texas and San Antonio.

La Gaceta de Texas, the first newspaper in the state, was printed in 1813 and was actually bilingual, with Spanish on the left and English on the right side of the page (Gutiérrez, 1977). It is interesting to note that the first reported newspaper in Texas relied so heavily on the Spanish language some 33 years before the war between the United States and Mexico which resulted in Mexican land coming under U.S. control. After the Mexican-American war, some Spanish-language newspapers went from a militant, anti-Anglo viewpoint to a more reflective stance in which editors espoused the need to hold on to cultural identity while at the same time schooling their readers on the ways of their new country, the U.S. (Walraven, 1999).

In examining the history of the Spanish-language press in Texas, Kanellos and Martell's *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States – Origins to 1960 – A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography* (2000) is an invaluable resource. The

section on Texas notes not only individual publications, no matter how brief their publication run might have been, but also gives an idea of the newspaper's "personality." Some papers were activists, others culturalists. Furthermore, they show that most of the early newspapers in Texas, particularly between the 1850s through 1930s, were persistent in their dedication to topics such as equality, political participation and justice.

Kanellos and Martell's descriptions of some of the publishers and editors of these small, often radical, papers seem almost folkloric. In describing *El Regidor* founder Pablo Cruz, the authors state that in 1901, Cruz "took on the cause of an unjustly accused and condemned Tejano, Gregorio Cortez – not only in the pages of the paper, but out in the community, raising funds for this man who soon would be elevated to legendary hero status by the Tejano folk" (p. 99). Other papers were described similarly (Gonzales, 1977): "... on February 13, 1855, the San Antonio (Texas) *El Bajareño* protested the attacks on Mexican carreteros by Anglos seeking control of their shipping routes, and asked for action to prevent further attacks" (p. 51).

During the late 1840s through mid-1870s, Brownsville, Texas, was considered a hub for Spanish-language newspapers as it counted seven dailies and weeklies written in Spanish among the city's publications (Kent & Huntz, 1996). Immigration from Mexico sparked a notable increase in new Spanish-language publications in the early twentieth century, especially in Texas. From 1900 to 1929, Kent and Huntz note that "more than twenty newspapers were established in San Antonio, more than fifteen in Brownsville, between five and

nine in Corpus Christi and Del Rio, and a few in several border towns along the lower Rio Grande” (p. 448).

Many researchers (Kanellos, 2007; Rodriguez, 1999; Medeiros, 1980; del Castillo, 1977) have noted the profound influence of Ignacio E. Lozano, a Mexican immigrant who founded both *La Opinión* in Los Angeles and *La Prensa* in San Antonio, two of the largest and longest-running Spanish-language publications in the United States. Under Lozano’s direction during the 1920s through the 1940s, Kanellos (1998) called San Antonio’s *La Prensa* “the most influential Hispanic newspaper in the United States” (p. 8). He cites Lozano’s ability to serve his community’s interests and concerns while at the same time exerting control over the local Spanish-language print media. Another scholar, Bruce-Novoa (1989), attributes Lozano’s success, at least in Texas, to the newspaper’s open stance as a publication “on Mexico for Mexicans written by Mexicans” (p. 150). Rodriguez (1999) noted a change in Lozano’s philosophy, which is voiced in *La Prensa*, following the Great Depression and during World War II, in which he begins to lobby for an increase on the part of Hispanics in participation in U.S. politics.

La Prensa certainly stands out when tracing the different Spanish-language newspapers that surface, some for only a brief time, in San Antonio’s history. Out of the approximately 60 Spanish-language publications (Kanellos & Martell, 2000), which include journals as well as newspapers, that appeared in San Antonio beginning as early as 1838 (*El Eco*), *La Prensa* is one of the most enduring. Under Lozano, the newspaper published from 1913 to 1963, closing for

several years, only to find a rebirth under the leadership of Tino Duran in 1989. In its early days in San Antonio, *La Prensa* succeeded due to its ability to capitalize on a niche market (Mayer, 2001) targeting Mexican-Americans who were interested in the daily affairs of both America and Mexico. In addition to once holding the title of president of the National Association of Hispanic Publications, Duran, according to Rivas-Rodriguez (2003) “has been an outspoken booster of U.S. Latino publications” (p.62).

Today, *La Prensa* fights for San Antonio readers with the bilingual *Conexion*, and with the English-language newspapers, the *San Antonio Express-News* and *The Current*. It currently prints Spanish and English articles in its twice-weekly publishing cycle. *Conexion*, which also publishes in English and Spanish, is in tabloid form and is distributed once a week. The publication is a product of the Hearst Corp. and debuted May 5, 2004, targeting acculturated Hispanics in San Antonio, particularly those who are not first-generation residents, but who nonetheless desire a connection to their culture (Poling, 2004).

From 2004-2009 there also were two other leading Spanish-language tabloids being distributed in San Antonio. Both, however, closed between 2008-2009. The first, *Cancha*, was a partnership between Hearst and Mexican newspaper chain Grupo Reforma. It hit the streets in June 2006 with distribution every Monday and Friday. While *Conexion* targets assimilated Hispanics, *Cancha* “focuses on Hispanics whose dominant language is Spanish” (Monroe, 2006, p. 1E). Meximerica Media was the initial force behind *Rumbo*, the second

Spanish-only tabloid which began in 2004 as a five-day-a-week newspaper, then decreased to publishing weekly. At the time of *Rumbo's* launch in San Antonio, Meximerica also began similar publications in Houston, Austin and the Rio Grande Valley, and unlike *La Prensa* and *Conexion*, the newspaper catered to first-generation Hispanics (Koidin Jaffee, 2005). Meximerica's decision to hit so many major Texas markets at one time caused ripples among the established mainstream press. "In each of the markets *Rumbo* entered in recent months, the dominant English-language newspaper has reacted with pre-emptive attacks, creating or buying newspapers to compete with *Rumbo's* tabloids" (Romero, 2005, 1C). However, despite its promising start, *Rumbo* could not live up to its intended goal of making a daily impact in these markets, and, after decreasing circulation and closing bureaus, the chain was acquired by media giant ImpreMedia in late 2007. In October 2008, ImpreMedia, citing economic conditions as the cause, ended the print edition in San Antonio in order to double its circulation in Houston, Texas.

ImpreMedia, "the largest Spanish-language newspaper publisher" (Fitzgerald, 2007, para. 12) in the U.S., has achieved such status by purchasing already existing local papers. Among its acquisitions are the historical legacies of *El Diario La Prensa*, a long-standing Spanish-language daily newspaper in New York, and the Los Angeles daily, *La Opinión*. By partnering with the U.S. newspaper chain, McClatchy, ImpreMedia has been able to broaden its holdings and market presence even more. According to the ImpreMedia Web site (Jan. 6, 2009), ImpreMedia, through its partnership with McClatchy, reported a

distribution of 13 million and estimate that they reach 10.5 million adults monthly via print and online news products.

The English-language print market is dominated by The (San Antonio) Express-News which first began publishing in the city in 1865. Its storied history includes the decades-long competition with the San Antonio Light, which appeared in 1881. The two papers – with day, afternoon and evening editions – battled for readers by offering everything from sensationalism to straight-line journalism. The fight ended in 1992 when the Hearst Corp., owner of the Light, bought the formerly Rupert Murdoch-owned Express-News, and took the unusual step of closing the Light, leaving the Express-News as the city's only daily newspaper.

The San Antonio Current, currently owned by Times-Shamrock Communications, is the main alternative weekly newspaper. Though it does not market itself as a “Hispanic publication” the ethnicity of the majority of its readers, more than 60 percent, are Hispanic (Media Audit, 2007).

Trends for the Spanish-Language Press

A 2004 report by the Pew Hispanic Center (Suro, 2004) predicted the increasing need for Spanish-language publications in the United States, citing the past growth of this type of media and its ability to grow audience numbers as well. One of the primary reasons this report cites as contributing to the uniqueness of the Spanish-language audience in America is its preference for language switching, specifically, the ability to go back and forth between Spanish and English and even getting some news in both languages. The study also

found that a majority of Hispanics view the Spanish-language media as “an important institution for the economic and political development of the Hispanic population” (p. 1).

The response in the past few years to this growing immigrant group has varied throughout the United States. For example, in southwestern Idaho, a weekly Spanish-language newspaper debuted in October 2006 to reflect the region’s changing demographics. *Registro* New York, a bimonthly Spanish-language newspaper, was started in Troy, New York, in the spring of 2007 to serve the region’s growing Hispanic population (Churchill, 2007). Dallas, Texas, which prior to 2003 had no Spanish-language daily newspapers, saw the introduction by the Dallas Morning News of the Monday-through-Saturday *Al Día* in September 2003 (Porter, 2003). In production for less than five years, *Al Día* expanded its distribution in July 2008 to triple its original size, going from 40,000 to 120,000 copies (Editor & Publisher, 2008). On an even larger scale, part of the Tribune Co.’s response to the growing Hispanic population includes the creation of the daily Spanish-language newspaper *Hoy*, which debuted in March 2004 with the hope of attaining a national identity (Wentz, 2004). Since 2004, *Hoy* has spread to New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Additionally, some youth-oriented media are targeting English-speaking and bilingual Hispanics in hopes of attracting their attention and ad dollars. Offering English-language media options that specifically cater to young Hispanics’ interests and cultural attachments is a growing trend (Prengaman, 2006).

Latino Print Network keeps tabs on the Spanish-language print publication industry in America, offering statistical data on everything from number of publications in existence, to circulation and ad revenue figures. Tracking the years 1970, 1990, 2000 and 2004, LPN data shows that Spanish-language daily newspapers went from eight in 1970 to 14 in 1990 then more than doubling to 34 in 2000, and ending at 42 in 2005. Weekly and less-than-weekly newspapers' numbers were even more impressive in their proliferation: weekly papers rose from 74 in 1970 to 350 in 2005; less-than-weekly newspapers from 150 in 1970 to 343 in 2005 (Whisler, 2006). Comparing just the combined circulation figures for all three types of papers for the years 1970 and 2005, the number increased from 955,000 to 17,637,779. Whisler (2006) sees identifiable trends in these data including that more Hispanic newspapers are making the switch from broadsheet to tabloid, that the number of weekly papers has been increasing (a trend he attributes to three things: new publications starting up, less-than-weeklies becoming weeklies, and some dailies becoming weeklies), and that, although most Hispanic newspapers in the U.S. are owned by Hispanics, "mainstream dailies now own an ever-increasing share of the market" (Whisler, 2006, para. 10).

Comparing individual cities and markets, the 2007 report by The Center for Spanish Language Media at the University of North Texas (2008) cited readership growth at a majority of daily and weekly Spanish newspapers including at the large dailies of *La Opinión* in Los Angeles and *Diario La Prensa* in New York, both owned by ImpreMedia. Regarding an overall picture of

Spanish-language newspapers in the United States, the report states that “The basic trends we can draw until this point is that more and more the dailies are going to be the property of big companies, the family owned dailies are already becoming a minority. ... Also more and more newspapers are going to be distributed for free, and the companies might be included to keep a paid and a free daily in the same market to allow more penetration” (p. 23).

The Foreign-Language Press and Theory

The foreign-language media system in America has sparked studies which have examined how the immigrant groups use the media presented in their homeland language (Greenberg, M. Burgoon, J. Burgoon, & Korzenny, 1983; Shoemaker, Reese & Danielson, 1985; Walker, 1999; & Louie, 2003) and what they extract from this usage (Stroman & Becker, 1979). For example, Walker (1999) studied how recent immigrants from Haiti used the ethnic media in Miami, Florida, and how this media use helped or hindered their adaptation to the United States. His results show that the use of ethnic media assisted in their adjustment in a positive way only when combined with use of American media as well. In other research, Greenberg et al. (1983) discounted some earlier assumptions about Hispanics’ use of the media, notably that Hispanics were more reliant on broadcast news over print.

Assimilation and acculturation are two areas that have attracted multi-disciplinary discussion and research when it comes to immigrant media, particularly the immigrant press. Discussion has included the idea that the immigrant press has historically served a fatalistic role, in that once it has helped

its audience members blend in with their new environment, it is no longer a necessary part of the immigrant's life, thereby leading to its own demise.

Assimilation theory.

With roots that date back to the start of the 20th century, assimilation, in its most basic terms, has been described by Golash-Boza (2006) as “the process by which immigrants are incorporated into the host society” (p. 29). This melting-pot phenomenon is one which has been accepted in academic circles for several decades (Gans, 1979; Gordon, 1964) though it has had its challengers (Blauener, 1982; Alba & Nee, 1997; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). Glazer (2001) talks about the assimilation of immigrants as an obvious conclusion, stating that within two to three generations, immigrants merge into “a common American people” (p. 13). Past that, any outward appearance of ethnicity, he says, is “symbolic” (p. 13).

The relatively modern development of segmented assimilation theory “attempts to explain what determines into which segment of American society a particular group may assimilate” (Zhou, 1997). In applying the theory to Mexican immigrants to the United States, and, in particular, this group's socioeconomic status, Valdez (2006) found that both positive and negative results can occur, the positive being what he termed “Anglo-conformity” and the negative outcome he classified as downward assimilation. He found that low-skilled workers experienced a decline in earnings, and, thus, downward assimilation, yet, high-skilled workers saw the opposite effect to earnings in their Anglo-conformity.

Lamphere (2007) has proposed alternatives to both straight-line assimilation and segmented assimilation. Her research on assimilation and

Navajo women places more emphasis on the cultural aspects of the immigrant identity and how many immigrant groups fight to retain these elements. Though she does not use the phrase “reverse acculturation,” her research on the Navajo population highlights how, despite decades of assimilationist strategies by the government, Native American cultures have not ceased to exist.

Levine (2005) recounts what he calls three major historical migrations to the United States: the Irish, Jews and Italians. For all three groups, “Americanization” came slowly, “from 50 or so years for substantial acceptance to about a century for full assimilation” (p. 95). What makes the Hispanic immigration patterns differ from these is that the flows of immigrants have been virtually continual, so that as some Hispanics do become fully assimilated, others are brand-new to the United States and therefore still unassimilated or, thirdly, somewhere in between, say a second- or third-generation Hispanic.

Acuña (2003) emphasizes the importance of “identity” among U.S. Hispanics, citing this as one reason why assimilation may appear to be happening slower among this ethnic group. He confirms, however, that assimilation has occurred, though often at different rates, and that frequently “second-, third-, and fourth-generation Latinos are the ones resisting total assimilation, or surrender, as some put it” (p. 47).

In her research on “racialized assimilation” and how it affects Hispanics, Golash-Boza (2006) finds that Hispanics who are seen as “white” face less discrimination and follow an assimilatory route similar to European immigrants

such as the Irish or Italians, whereas darker Hispanics who are viewed as black face more discrimination and “develop an oppositional identity” (p. 35).

A study (Macias, 2003) on what role ethnic professional organizations play in the structural assimilation of Mexican-American professionals in the United States found that these professionals were under pressure to conform and ethnic professional groups often helped to ease their networking burdens. Macias found that for some in his study “the lines between their professional and ethnic identities have been to some degree blurred by both their participation in ethnic identity professional organizations and the post-*movimiento* ‘Chicano ethos,’ which allows for the noncontradictory confluence of ethnic consciousness and social integration with mainstream America” (p. 955).

Assimilation theory as applied to the immigrant press.

Zhou and Cai (2002) studied the connection between Chinese-language media in America and its assimilatory role for new immigrants, finding that the media serve a dual role in linking the immigrants to their new environment while also showing them how to meld into U.S. society. However, when it came to the direct question of assimilation, the researchers found mixed results. The Chinese-language media sometimes provided too much of a comfort zone, particularly in the immigrant’s home, and contributed to delaying the immigrant’s adoption of the English language, leading the researchers to ask whether reverse assimilation was at work. Though the study used a content analysis and interviews, little of this information can be found in the published article;

particularly, the content analysis is discussed in very general terms with no specific data reported.

Chinese publications also were the subject of research by Zhang and Xiaoming (1999), specifically looking at the Internet and the ethnic press. The authors cite a history of Chinese immigrants using Chinese mass media to maintain a connection to their culture. They surmise that the Internet, and a rise of Internet publications targeting ethnic communities, will allow ethnic Chinese “to become more resistant to cultural assimilation and to further strengthen their communal ties” (p. 29). Viswanatha and Arora (2000) follow the traditional assimilation path in analyzing the role of the ethnic press, saying that the press can help ensure the successful Americanization of the immigrant, and indeed the immigrant’s entire ethnic community, by focusing newspaper content “on such stories as the community’s involvement in local politics” among other topics (p. 50).

Assimilation theory as applied to the Spanish-language press.

Kanellos (2007) states clearly and firmly his position on the role of the Hispanic newspaper and assimilation. In his viewpoint, the “attitude of not assimilating or melting, however, has characterized Hispanic immigrant culture and its use of the printing press from the nineteenth century to the present” (p. 439). He cites the historical record of Hispanic immigration and how, over the centuries, this group “has shown an unmeltable ethnicity;” a pattern, he says, which will continue into the future (p. 439).

Bruce-Novoa (1989), in his analysis of San Antonio's *La Prensa*, also highlights a resistance mentality by those who directed the newspaper's content. Around the 1920s-1930s, *La Prensa's* editors and owner Ignacio Lozano acknowledged the fact that they may not ever return to Mexico, so they set out to "Mexicanize" the information they gave to their readers. "They pressed for legal rights, while emphasizing self-help. They encouraged the learning of English, yet insisted on maintaining Spanish. They discouraged confrontation with the system, preferring to exploit its opportunities" (p. 155). This paper set a pace for helping readers assimilate to a degree, while at the same time deliberately protecting the Mexican heritage and cultural distinctions of immigrants.

The Spanish-language newspapers of California in the mid-1900s often had a similar blend of sensibilities: assist in the necessary assimilation, yet preserve cultural nuances. Goff (1995) found that the newspapers of this time period helped new immigrants blend the two cultures, thereby becoming "someone who had one foot in each culture while belonging to neither" (p. 57).

Also in the 1920s-1930s, Lozano's other newspaper, *La Opinión* in Los Angeles, took a firmer anti-assimilation stance (Medeiros, 1980). The Spanish-language newspaper used its pages to encourage readers to reject Americanization, emphasizing the need for immigrants to raise their children as "Mexican patriots" (p. 79).

Acculturation theory.

Unlike assimilation theory, acculturation focuses primarily on the immigrant's adaptation to the cultural norms, values and practices of the new

society. Typically, it is the immigrant's use of the new country's media that aids in the adjustment process, but same-language media can play a role as well.

Moon and Park (2007) examined the role of acculturation on Korean immigrants in Los Angeles, looking at their exposure to both American and Korean mass media. The pair found that the U.S. media's influence far outweighed that of the Korean media, leading to a more profound Americanization of the immigrants, rather than any biculturalization. Specifically, they found that the "biculturalism did not take place, perhaps because Korean mass media do not reflect Korean cultural identity exclusively" (p. 339).

Zhang (2007) looked at the role of psychological factors in the acculturation process of immigrants, specifically how these factors drive mass media use. Using the uses and gratifications theory and conducting survey research, Zhang found that "the individuals with the stronger adaptive personality and acculturation motivation exhibit a stronger intention to obtain information about the new society through media usage than others" (p. 56).

Media can help and hinder the acculturation process, according to research conducted by Keshishian (2000). Taking an autobiographical approach to her study, Keshishian examines the role of the mass media in acculturation, adding the emotional element in her findings to provide some balance to the existing body of scientific-oriented research. She concluded that while the mass media can ease an immigrant's adaptation by serving as "social and cultural agents," they "can also impede it by personalizing international relations," in her

case, the international relations she refers to is the 1979 Iran hostage crisis (p. 94).

Barker (1996) studied acculturation and Mexican immigrants in San Antonio, Texas, in the late 1800s to early 1900s, revealing that this particular culture was able to create what he termed a “hybrid Mexican American culture.” He stressed that it was this group’s maintenance of its cultural identity, including the continuance of the Spanish language, which assisted in easing the transition to the American way of life.

More specifically for the Spanish-language media, Shoemaker et al. (1985) studied their role in the acculturation of Hispanics. Using interviews as a basis for their research, they operated on the assumption that the higher the degree of acculturation of an Hispanic individual, the less likely that person is to use Spanish-language print media. They offer a mixed outlook in their conclusions in which they state that there was a decreasing interest in Spanish-language print media among those interviewed, and that may be because of increased acculturation. However, they add that they don’t believe this signals a defining end to the need for Spanish-language media, instead proposing the idea of “reverse acculturation” in which no matter how acculturated Hispanics become, their desire to maintain a connection to their culture and heritage could, in itself, provide a motive for sustaining this type of media.

Previous Research

The decision to conduct both in-depth interviews and a content analysis for this study is an approach used by other media researchers, such as Pritchard

& Stonbely (2007), Nice (2007), Rodgers & Thorson (2003), Hanusch (2008), d'Haenens & Verelst (2002), Lahav & Avraham (2008), and Shen & Toth (2008). In their analysis of how stories were assigned to white and minority journalists at the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, Pritchard and Stonbely chose content analysis and interview research. "Content analysis compared the kinds of local issues minority and white reporters wrote about at the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, and interviews with journalists and editors shed light on differences we found" (p.233). For Nice's (2007) research, she sought to validate her content analysis findings that content in teen magazines had shifted over the years to encapsulate more sensationalistic qualities with interviews with nine teen magazine editors and publishers. The combination of both content analysis and personal interviews allowed Rodgers and Thorson (2003) to conclude in their research that "female reporters not only differ in terms of sourcing and reporting styles, but also provide alternative viewpoints that may be critical to diversifying news definitions ..." (p. 673).

Hanusch (2008) examined how four European newspapers, two German and two Australian, visually depicted death in the pages of their publications. His content analysis covered a two-month time period and looked at all pictorial representations of death; to this, he added in-depth interviews with 32 journalists, eight from each of the four papers being studied. Though the author never states directly why he chose the interview format, it can be reasoned that he did so to add insight into the decision-making process of choosing photographs for publication. This can be surmised by the author's statement that he specifically

selected journalists who “were involved in the production of international news ... editors, sub-editors, foreign desk workers, and photographers” (p. 305). Hanusch conducted “semi-structured” interviews, did not use the names of his subjects, and even conducted an informal study-within-a-study when he had each of the participants look at five photos published during the research time period and then summarized their comments and reactions.

D’Haenens and Verelst (2002) likewise examined European newspapers, this time Dutch, in their analysis of how these publications reflected the standard five news frames (conflict, human interest, economic impact, morality and responsibility) in their coverage of a period of upheaval in Indonesia that lasted from 1998 to 2000. The pair of researchers used content analysis to assess the connection between frames and coverage in the online versions of three Dutch newspapers and one print magazine. The authors stated that “in order to get an insider’s perspective on the news coverage of Indonesia, and complementary to the message analyses conducted, in-depth interviews with journalists and Indonesia experts were held” (p. 184).

Content analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, combined with “semi-standardized” in-depth interviews formed the basis of research for Lahav and Avraham’s (2008) examination of media coverage and the public relations’ patterns of three Israeli towns. The authors looked at how three daily national newspapers covered the three towns, distinguishing between news and lighter topics such as tourism, events and concerts. The study then used information culled from 17 interviews with reporters, photographers, public relations

practitioners and local decision-makers to make connections with the statistics revealed in the content analysis. The purpose, the authors said, was to “highlight several PR tactics that came up in the analysis of the articles and the in-depth interviews conducted, and that influenced the differences found in the three towns’ images” (p. 233).

Looking into the question of what comprises the ideal master’s program in public relations, Shen and Toth (2008) used a qualitative content analysis of the Web sites of 15 leading public relations master’s programs in the United States, looking specifically at their curricula. The in-depth interviews were done by phone with 18 public relations practitioners “considered to be pathfinders in the field” (p. 309). The researchers posed two main questions to the practitioners that were based on their two primary research questions, then summarized their responses along thematic lines.

A combination of content analysis, telephone surveys and interviews made up the foundation of research (Lin, 2004) done on the storytelling function of ethnic media in one Los Angeles, California, community. A dependency on the ethnic media, including newspapers, was found, especially among first-generation immigrants and older Chinese residents. Additionally, the content analysis of articles in the ethnic newspapers showed that most of the news was centered on home countries, rather than on the Los Angeles community, leading Lin to conclude that these papers were not assisting in assimilation functions. Research (Chou, 1997) on the Chinese-language newspapers in San Francisco, California, examined more than 21,000 stories in four separate publications and

combined this information with personal interviews. Looking at acculturation and assimilation patterns as well, Chou concluded that the newspapers played two distinct roles, to help Chinese immigrants assimilate and to ensure cultural preservation.

Mansfield-Richardson's (1999) research of Asian-Americans and the mass media is worth noting as well as it combines the following three areas: an extensive content analysis, a survey of journalism professionals, and a historical look at the Asian-American press in the United States. Though survey results indicated that the content analysis would show a high rate of news stories showing Asian-Americans in stereotypical behavior (such as being associated with gang violence), Mansfield-Richardson did not arrive at that conclusion. One of the main limitations of this research must certainly be the lack of response to the survey. Though 520 Asian-American media professionals were sent the survey, the response rate was only 19.5 percent, a figure the researcher even terms "low."

Research on the Hispanic press.

Examinations of the Spanish-language press in the United States have attracted the attention of a host of social scientists and other researchers, and their approaches to the topic have been inspired by interests ranging from geographical to historical. For the purposes of this study, the focus will be on research involving content analysis and surveys. The limitations of these studies will be noted as well.

One of the most extensive projects that focused on Hispanics and their use of both English- and Spanish-language mass media began as a project by Gannett in the early 1980s (Greenberg, M. Burgoon, J. Burgoon, Korzenny, 1983). It included both surveys and content analysis research that stretched across several cities in the United States.

In the introduction to their study, the authors lament the lack of strong scientific research on Hispanics' media habits, asserting that what has come before them has often been based on anecdotal evidence and merely served to perpetuate false assumptions about Hispanics. Among the group's survey findings were that: (1) data do not show Hispanics to be "distrustful of and uninvolved with English-language media" (p. 145); and (2) Hispanics were interested in a wide range of both hard news and soft news topics. Using questionnaires to gauge the use of media among young Hispanics, the researchers found a higher reliance on print media than they expected along with a desire for Spanish-language media, a trend they attributed to the youngsters' "cultural duality" (p. 199). The researchers' content analysis focused on the perceived readability of different types of news stories in the selected U.S. cities with a notable conclusion that news stories about Hispanics varied, with some being judged hard to read and others assessed as too easy. Overall, the ambitiousness of this project, in its attempt to examine so many areas of the relationships between Hispanics and the media, may have been one of its flaws. A more thorough and detailed analysis of any one, or two, of the topics may have yielded more substantial results.

More recent survey research on Hispanics' preferences for news sources and their corresponding opinions on these news media was conducted by Suro (2004) of the Pew Hispanic Center. Surveying more than 1,300 Hispanics, Suro found a nearly even split in the response to the question of whether the English-language media perpetuate a positive or negative image of them, with a slightly higher percentage (46%) stating that the English-language media contribute a positive image. On the issue of Spanish-language media, 78% of the Hispanics surveyed said this type of news media is very important to their political and economic advancement. However, the study also determined that Hispanic newspaper readers preferred getting their news from the English-language newspapers, rather than the Spanish-language publications (62% to 21%, with 17% saying they got their print news in both languages). It should be noted, though, that a large part of the survey was conducted in Los Angeles, home to the long-running, well-known daily Spanish newspaper, *La Opinion*, which has a history of being an advocacy newspaper.

Latinos were one of the four groups studied in the Bay Area News Media Survey conducted in 2002 which found that a majority of immigrants, including Latinos, regularly turned to the ethnic media for news, even after they began to use U.S. news outlets. The survey-based research also found that: (1) trust affected the use of both ethnic and U.S. media, with the majority of those studied reporting that they relied on ethnic media more for news about their native country; (2) Latinos generally turned to television for news more than print, but that was tied to the group's low literacy rate; and (3) ethnic media "actually impel

their groups into American public life” and not the converse assumption that they fragment them (p. 4).

Online survey research of professionals in Spanish-language and Latino news media was at the heart of a study conducted by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (Subveri, 2004). Respondents voiced a confidence in the growth of Hispanic media and stated that a primary motivation for working in Spanish-language news was the “strong desire to educate and inform their community” (p. 1).

Santana and Smith (2001) used content analysis in their look at how The Orlando (Florida) *Sentinel* represented Hispanics in its news pages. The duo paired the content analysis with focus group research, with contradictory findings. Their examination of two weeks’ worth of *The Sentinel* involved a database search of Hispanic surnames revealed that coverage of Hispanics was balanced and fair, although findings from the focus group showed that some participants believed the newspaper linked Hispanics to an overabundance of crime stories. Santana and Smith suggested that sampling error may be to blame for the discrepancies between the results of the content analysis and the focus groups. However, they said it also could be that the Hispanics in the focus groups were overly sensitive to negative news coverage, and suggested that the “news media may need to reconsider its crime coverage” (p. 103). This conclusion is generally unfounded by the research and oversimplifies the contradictory results. A more thorough analysis of the newspaper’s archives could have helped amplify whether the focus groups’ reaction was valid or not. The researchers’ use of

surnames to determine ethnicity in their study is also a shortcoming, as a person's last name is not always indicative of his or her heritage, particularly in reference to a woman who has adopted her husband's name upon marriage.

Branton and Dunaway (2008) used content analysis of a data set constructed of online articles from 46 English-language and two Spanish-language newspapers to look at the differences in how English-language and Spanish-language newspapers in California covered the topic of immigration. Adding the element of monetary incentive, the researchers argued that "the economic motives of Spanish-language and English-language news organizations are likely to produce significant differences in their news coverage of immigration" (p. 1007).

Earlier research (Tan, 1978) examined how blacks and Mexican-Americans use both television and newspapers and how they believed the media portrays their ethnic groups. For the Mexican-Americans in the study, Tan reported that although the majority surveyed reported that newspapers should include more good news about their group, the respondents still did not have a widespread negative view of the English-language press. Rios (1993) also studied how Mexican-Americans in Austin, Texas, used the mass media, employing the qualitative and quantitative methods of field research and survey research, respectively. Among the studies' participants, Rios found that cultural preservation and assimilation were among their many reasons for using for media. Specifically, she found that respondents said that they used English- and Spanish-language newspapers for different cultural purposes.

Similar research was conducted by Turk, Richard, Bryson and Johnson (1989) when they compared editorial content on Hispanics in San Antonio and Albuquerque, New Mexico. Their content analysis centered on the local news copy (including editorials and photographs) of twenty-seven issues of each newspaper. The researchers used four categories in order to code a story as “Hispanic,” including the use of Hispanic surnames, a technique also employed by Santana and Smith (2001), and found that in the two cities studied, Hispanics and Hispanic issues were “present in the newspaper newshole in proportion to their presence in the population” (p. 113).

News frames were the subject of a content analysis (Dulcan, 2006) of both English- and Spanish-language newspapers. Looking at articles about the Minutemen border enforcement group, Dulcan found some differences in how English and Spanish newspapers framed their coverage. Out of the six newspapers chosen for the study, two were in San Antonio: the *San Antonio Express-News* and *Rumbo*. Except for the newspapers in Los Angeles, Dulcan found that the other four newspapers were more similar in tone and metaphor usage in stories on the Minutemen than had been assumed. She attributes this partly to the fact that objectivity is an ideal stressed not only in Anglo print newsrooms, but also in Hispanic print newsrooms.

Weill and Castañeda (2004) applied agenda-setting theory to their analysis of how the black press in the South portrays Latinos. They concluded that the black press contained very few mentions of Latino issues, but that leaders of the black press showed empathy for Latino causes. These conclusions

led the authors to coin the phrase “empathetic rejectionism” which they define as “editorial empathy for a topic coupled with rejection of press coverage based on fear of social, financial or political consequences” (p. 539).

Medeiros’ (1980) work, also based on content analysis, added a historical perspective to the body of research on Spanish-language newspapers. Focusing on *La Opinión*’s early publishing years of 1926 through 1929, Medeiros stated that the paper was chosen because of its long-running legacy in Los Angeles, California, and because the time frame under study was a time of intense activism among Mexicans in the United States. The content analysis specifically examined 1,034 editorials, assigning them to three major categories and numerous subcategories. One of her main findings was that issues related to Mexico accounted for more than 73% of the editorials, whereas editorials concerning problems of Mexicans in the U.S. accounted for only slightly more than 10%. This led Medeiros to conclude that “the news and editorial priorities of *La Opinión* were Mexicans in Mexico rather than Mexicans in the United States” (p. 74).

Conducting an analysis of Pew Hispanic Center data collected in 2004, McDaniel (2006) examined the correlation between usage of U.S. and Spanish-language media and levels of involvement in local community affairs, particularly politics. While noting the growing presence of the Spanish-language print media in the United States, McDaniel concluded that Hispanics who used English-language media were more invested in their local societies (i.e. social capital) than those who primarily used Spanish-language media.

Hispanics were just one of the groups studied in 2005 research conducted on ethnic media. The other ethnicities under study were African American, Asian American, Native American and Arab American. Among the national survey's findings was the statistic that 45% of "all African American, Hispanic, Asian American, Native American and Arab American adults prefer ethnic television, radio or newspapers to their mainstream counterparts" (p. 8). Additionally, more than 50% of the Hispanics surveyed in the study stated that they were primary users of ethnic media, including newspapers, television and radio. Widening the scope of the results to cover even casual usage of Spanish-language media, the research concluded that 87% of all Hispanic adults use this type of media on a "regular basis" indicating that "Spanish-language radio and newspapers are rapidly increasing their penetration in this market" (p. 15).

Not to ignore the Internet and its place in the Hispanic media landscape, Rivas-Rodriguez (2003) did a content analysis that compared three days worth of news stories posted on the online editions of a Spanish-language newspaper, *La Prensa San Diego*, and its local English-language counterpart, the San Diego Union-Tribune. She found that despite being hampered by a limited staff and resources, *La Prensa San Diego's* Web site offered more news stories of interest to Hispanics than the mainstream paper's site. This research, while interesting in that it explored Web content versus print content, particularly at a time when the Internet's use as a news source for Spanish-language media was still fairly new, suffers from a low sample size of only three days worth of news. A larger sample could have helped to substantiate the author's findings.

Johnson (2000) used both qualitative and quantitative content analysis to explore the functions of English-language and bilingual Latina magazines in the United States. The author herself admits to flaws in the research, mainly a too small sample size and too few research questions. Additionally, although she acknowledges the importance of images, even stating that “ethnicity as a symbolic function is a critical features of ethnic media models,” she does not include photographs in her content analysis (p. 245). However, her proposition of a new model detailing the nine functions of the ethnic media offers an important roadmap for future research.

Research Questions

A large portion of the research involving Hispanics and the media has focused on either how this population uses Spanish-language media and/or English-language media, or how Hispanics are portrayed by the media (typically, mainstream English-language). However, recent research on Spanish-language or bilingual newspapers involving assimilation theory is scarce. An exception is Johnson’s 2000 examination of Latina magazines and the resulting modified model of ethnic media functions. Taking into account the projected growth of the Hispanic population, this culture’s continued maintenance and fostering of cultural ties, and the Hispanic population’s loyalty to Spanish-language and bilingual media in its various forms, it is regretful that more research has not sought to clarify the functions of the bilingual press.

It is important to understand the intentions of the Spanish-language and bilingual media when it comes to assimilation, and, likewise to discern how much

of a role Hispanic cultural preservation plays in their publications' mission. Specifically, how do the bilingual media in San Antonio assist in assimilating their Spanish-speaking readers? Research (Suro, 2004) has shown that whether or not Hispanics rely on English-language newspapers for the bulk of their news, this population still maintains a separate usage for Spanish-language newspapers and media. This attention and loyalty to the Spanish-language and bilingual press – even in small, but consistent numbers – is helping to fuel the increasing ad revenue seen for these media. As the Spanish-language/bilingual print media continue to cement a solid connection to new immigrants as well as to existing generations of Hispanics, they are facilitating the chance for future growth.

This study will be unique from previous research in that it combines the following primary elements into one focused exploration of Hispanic print media: (1) a newer model of functionality of the ethnic media devised by Johnson (2000), (2) theories of assimilation and cultural pluralism, and (3) two leading bilingual publications in the eighth-largest U.S. with one of the highest populations of Hispanics. Approximately 10-12 in-depth interviews were used to examine the intended role of assimilation and/or pluralism on the part of the two local bilingual print publications, *La Prensa* and *Conexion*.

The following three research questions apply to both the quantitative and qualitative analysis, as suggested by Creswell (2003), and are designed to determine: (1) to what extent the people responsible for the content and direction of the two publications consider their goal to be assimilatory, pluralistic, or a

mixture of both, and (2) how these individuals rank the functions of ethnic media regarding their own publication, the results of which will be compared to the data derived from the content analysis and its categories based on Johnson's (2000) nine functions.

RQ1: To what extent are *La Prensa* and *Conexion* assimilationist as measured by the four categories of assimilation functions?

RQ2: To what extent are *La Prensa* and *Conexion* pluralist as measured by the five categories of pluralism functions?

RQ3: What functions of ethnic media do the journalists, editors and publishers perceive as predominant in *La Prensa* and *Conexion*?

Johnson's revision of the functions of ethnic media include her recommendation that language no longer be a focus since it "is no longer a constant in all ethnic media" (p.244). Her determination is based on her review of Latina magazines that were either bilingual or written solely in English. This research will examine language use, particularly what type of content is printed in Spanish and what topics are covered in English, since it is important to determine how and why distinctions are made regarding language. Suro (2004) found that Latinos seek news and information in both English and Spanish. "Getting the news could be the single most extensive cross-cultural experience for the Hispanic population. This language switching not only characterizes an important media market; it is also a critical factor in shaping Latino identities and the behavior of Latino voters" (p.1). The following research questions pertain to language choices:

RQ4: To what extent do *La Prensa* and *Conexion* publish content in Spanish?

RQ5: To what extent do *La Prensa* and *Conexion* publish content in English?

The inclusion of politics in models of ethnic media functions is fairly standard (Viswanath & Arora, 2000; Zhou & Cai, 2002), being perceived as an important measure of assimilation. The role of the bilingual print media in relaying information of a political nature, whether of U.S. or of homeland politics, is particularly important to examine when the publications serve a distinct community such as San Antonio's Hispanic population. For those reasons, the following research question will address the role of politics.

RQ6: To what extent do *La Prensa* and *Conexion* include political content?

The qualitative portion of the study involves in-depth interviews of journalists, editors and publishers of *La Prensa* and *Conexion*. The information obtained in these interviews will be used to add explanation and context to the approaches and methods employed by the "distributors" of the information, i.e. the reporters and editors who assign, write and edit the stories for publication. As Kvale (2007) states regarding the analysis of data collected from the in-depth interview process, "no standard method exists, no *via regia*, to arrive at essential meanings and deeper implications of what is said in an interview" (p. 103). He further states that the quality of the analysis is dependent upon how skilled the research is, how well he or she knows the research topic, and how sensitive and knowledgeable the researcher is about the use of language and its inherent

meanings. Therefore, the following research question, adapted from one devised by Pritchard and Stonbely (2007) in their study on newsroom reporters' use of racial profiling, will address the qualitative interviews:

RQ7: What rationale did the journalists at *La Prensa* and *Conexion* give for their individual roles in assisting their publications in being assimilationist, pluralist or both?

The important role of advertising in *La Prensa* and *Conexion* require that this content is categorized, analyzed and addressed by way of its own research question. Question #8 refers specifically to the message/event/product being promoted in the publications' advertisements.

RQ8: To what extent are the advertisements in *La Prensa* and *Conexion* assimilationist and/or pluralist as measured by the nine categories of functions of assimilation and pluralism?

This chapter included a literature review that covered the research pertaining to the subject areas under study, particularly in the areas of methodology, history and theory. Chapter 3 discusses the methods used in this research and the findings of the pilot study.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This chapter will provide the framework for the study which examined the research objectives outlined in previous chapters. It includes a description of the research design and an analysis of the results from the pilot study. The first form of research was a content analysis of each of the publications to assess factors such as: to what extent are each of the publications assimilationist, pluralistic or both; to what extent do the publications rely on the Spanish and English languages; and how predominant is political news in each of the publications. The two main unit of analysis are the story – which includes articles, briefs and calendar items – and advertisements. A random number table was used to select twenty-four issues (twelve from each publication, one of which is a weekly and the other a biweekly) published between January 2008-December 2008. This range was sufficient to gauge the publications' inclusion of and reaction to a wide variety of topics and news events. Both the sample size and the utilization of random sampling are preferences suggested by Lacy et al. (1995).

As Neuendorf (2002) points out, “there is no universally accepted set of criteria for selecting the size of a sample” (p.88). However, some studies have hampered their results by selecting extremely small sample sizes. For example, Rivas-Rodriguez (1998) analyzed three days worth of two newspapers' content when comparing that content to its Web counterparts. Furthermore, Santana and Smith (2001) ascertained that a random sample of two weeks' worth of *The*

Orlando Sentinel was an adequate period of time on which to base their content analysis on how the newspaper portrayed Hispanics. This study utilized a larger sampling of content to ensure a smaller confidence interval.

Content analysis provided the central core for the media-related research done by Branton and Dunaway (2008); Fahmy and Kim (2008); and Schwalbe, Silcock and Keith (2008). Looking at the economic motivation behind the play given to the topic of immigration by both English and Spanish-language news organizations, Branton and Dunaway did a content analysis that drew from one year's worth of news items in an online archive. Though the data set constituted more than 1,700 articles, the stories were disproportionately drawn from the California newspapers selected for the study. Because the researchers were relying on online access to the newspapers, they were able to use the news generated from 46 different English-language papers but only two Spanish-language newspapers.

Research Design

The content analysis was based on the random sampling of 24 issues (12 from each publication, one of which is a weekly and the other a biweekly) published between January 2008-December 2008. This generated a total of 1,729 individual items for coding: 906 articles, briefs and calendar items (photographs were also counted in this number as coders would select options 1, 2, or 3 for Variable 4 Content Type and then select what type of photo in their response to Variable 5 Photo Type); 797 advertisements; and 26 items coded as "other." For the purposes of this study, it was relevant to include calendar items

and briefs as these items can be indicators of cultural communication. For example, a brief on an upcoming political rally or a *Cinco de Mayo* celebration would be pertinent items for coding. This study followed Riffe, Lacy and Fico's definition of operationalization, being the "process of defining concepts in terms of the actual, measured variables" (p.26).

Some of the coding categories (Tables B5 and B6) were derived from previous research on ethnic media functions, particularly that of Johnson (2000) and Viswanath and Arora (2000). Other coding categories looked at individual characteristics of the content such as its type (article, brief, calendar, photo, etc.), Table B1; source of content (staff, wire, etc.), Table B2; geographical topic (setting is local, national, international, etc.); topic categories, Table B3; and language.

In addition to the story, photographs also were coded and analyzed based on established variables. The need to analyze photo content derived from the fact that it can serve as a source of news, particularly when it is a standalone item with no news story attached, and help to set the look, tone and direction for a newspaper. Examining photographs through content analysis is a method that has been employed by researchers looking for the effects of photographic content (Hanusch, 2008; Fahmy, S. & Kim, D, 2008; Schwalbe, C., Silcock, B., & Keith, S, 2008). For example, both Fahmy and Kim (2008) and the research trio of Schwalbe, Silcock and Keith (2008) used images of the Iraq war as a basis for their content analysis-based studies. Both projects analyzed more than 1,000

images and both relied on two coders and a 10-percent sample for inter-coder reliability.

Table B4 contains the categories for determining the ethnicity of the subject or subjects in the photo contained in either *La Prensa* or *Conexion*. The coding of race and ethnicity has been tackled in various ways by mass media researchers. Poindexter, Smith and Heider (2003) coded individuals as far as race and ethnicity as “White, African American, Latino/a, Asian American, Native American, unable to determine, and ‘other’” (p.529) in their content analysis of local television newscasts. Hung and Li (2006) used even more general coding categories – Asian, non-Asian, or hard to determine – in content analysis research on images of modern women in Chinese magazine advertising. A similar study by Karan (2008), this one involving women from India, categorized ethnicity as either Caucasian or Indian. Categories of Chinese, Caucasian, Other Asian and Other made up the ethnicity component of Frith’s (2008) research of magazine advertising in Singapore. Operational definitions included “all Chinese women” for the Chinese category and “Caucasians, Hispanics, and Europeans” for Caucasian (p.89).

Smith and Santana (2001), in their quantitative and qualitative analysis of the portrayal of Hispanics in the daily newspaper of Orlando, Florida, admitted that identifying Hispanics in news text and photographs was problematic. Their solution was to use surnames and factor into their analysis the certainty that this method will mean that some Hispanics will be excluded and that other subjects will be counted as Hispanic when in fact they are not. The categories are in line

with the type of research being conducted. Noting whether the photo subject is Hispanic, Anglo, other, or a mixture will help illuminate the assimilation or pluralistic tendencies of the publications. "Ethnicity as a symbolic function" is an area explored by Johnson (2000) in her determination of a new model of ethnic media functions. "The shift from words to images assists in this function, as images and icons create a symbolic presence that is more accessible to an ethnic group's nonmembers than foreign words" (p. 245). This visual assessment or comprehension of a person's race is a subject discussed by Montalvo and Codina (2001) in their research on Latino phenotypes. Noting that "perception is key in determining the extent to which the public regards a combination of selected anatomical features as characteristics of a specific group," (p.321) the pair urged continued research in this area particularly due to the increasing numbers of Hispanics in America. Montalvo and Codina stressed that challenges to ethnic identity will continue, and "the white community's reaction to the growing Latino presence will test its traditional attitudes toward skin color and immigration of dark-skinned people as it adapts to a new multicultural and multiracial reality" (p.337).

Though this study focused primarily on editorial content, advertising was a category of analysis due to the crucial role it plays in not only helping to sustain the publications, but as an information source for the often distinct events, organizations and businesses that form a community such as San Antonio. Others (Nice, 2007; Feng & Karan, 2009) have noted the importance of including a publication's advertisements in their content analysis-based studies on

magazines, even when editorial content was the central focus of the research. Table B7 includes operational definitions for coding advertising content for *La Prensa* and *Conexion*.

Appendix C contains tables that detail categories and operational definitions that were used in the content analysis. Three bilingual coders were used to code all articles, photographs and advertisements found in the 24 selected issues. Regarding inter-coder reliability, a fourth coder coded 10 percent, or 173 of the total items generated from the issues of *La Prensa* and *Conexion*.

By noting the topics of each editorial item (article, brief, calendar item and photograph) contained in the selected issues of *La Prensa* and *Conexion*, connections were made to the nine functions of the ethnic media devised by Johnson (2000) and will be discussed in Chapter 6. For example, by examining how many articles were about self-improvement shows how strong the publication is linked to the assimilation function of focusing on individual change (as per Johnson's nine-step ethnic media functions model). This method is based on the research design Johnson used when studying the content of Latina magazines in which she coded content as belonging to one of 23 topic categories that were created in line with six previously established ethnic media functions.

Qualitative interviews.

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative research was conducted. The mixed-methods approach has been used in recent media research (Santana & Smith, 2001; Pritchard & Stonbely, 2007; Rodgers & Thorson, 2003; Kim,

Scheufele & Shanahan, 2002; Nice, 2007; Negrine, 2005; Lahav, 2008) with the combination of a quantitative approach, such as content analysis, with a qualitative approach such as surveys or focus groups. In the research examples cited in the previous sentence, results from the in-depth interviews were not entered into software for analysis; instead, the resulting information was used to provide perspective, elaboration or, even, explanation. The qualitative aspect is cited as a valuable added layer to the numerical data, with Santana & Smith (2001) calling the use of focus groups in their study a way “to obtain insights” (p. 97), and Pritchard & Stonbely citing interviews with journalists a way to “shed light on differences we found” (p. 233).

For this study, the qualitative portion consists of in-depth interviews with seven journalists and editors of *La Prensa* (three interviews) and *Conexion* (four interviews). These publications have been identified as the leading bilingual publications in San Antonio based on circulation sizes and overall presence in the city.

Here are short informational sketches of both publications:

La Prensa: 62,538 biweekly circulation (Echo Media); Tino and Amelia Duran, owners and publishers. This is the second time around for *La Prensa*, which was originally based in San Antonio from 1913 until 1963 and which was produced primarily for the Mexican-American elite. Tino Duran restarted production of *La Prensa* in 1989 with a new mindset and new audience. “Marketing materials for the

paper aim for a linguistically diverse San Antonio readership, while niche marketing to middle-class Hispanic consumers” (Mayer, p. 299).

Conexion: 42,000 weekly circulation (Echo Media); Dino Chiecchi, head of Hispanic Publications; Hearst Corp., owner. The publication prints in both Spanish and English, however, the reported mix of languages is 85 percent English, 15 percent Spanish (Koidin Jaffee, 2005). The newspaper began publishing on May 5, 2004, (*Cinco de Mayo*) with a circulation goal of 50,000 a week. The target audience “are acculturated Latinos who may be predominantly English-speaking but that editors like to say still breathe in Spanish” (Ayala, 2005).

These in-depth interviews helped to personalize and put into proper context some of the information gathered in this research. The three editors from *La Prensa* and the four staff members from *Conexion* were interviewed at each publication’s offices, in a private room, with just the author of this study and the interview subject present. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, with the results thematically organized. A list of questions can be found in Appendix E.

Kvale (2007) defines the technique of in-depth interviewing as follows: “The qualitative interview seeks qualitative knowledge as expressed in normal language, it does not aim at quantification. The interview aims at nuanced accounts of different aspects of the interviewee’s life world; it works with words and not with numbers” (p. 11). Kvale outlines what he calls “Seven Stages of an Interview Inquiry,” a format that will be followed in this study. The seven stages

are: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying, and reporting.

As far as the interviewing approach itself, the style developed by H. Rubin and I. Rubin (2005) termed “responsive interviewing” was utilized for the one-on-one sessions. Rubin and Rubin define responsive interviewing as having three characteristics: (1) that the interviewer and the subject are both human beings and will form some sort of relationship during the course of the interview, (2) that the purpose of the study is to create depth of understanding, not breadth, and (3) the research design stays adaptable for the duration of the study (p. 30).

Furthermore, the authors refer to qualitative interviews as “conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion” (p. 4). In comparing this technique to survey research, the authors state that the in-depth approach dictates that “each conversation is unique, as researchers match their questions to what each interviewee knows and is willing to share” (p. 4).

Research by Suro (2004) has provided partial direction for the line of questioning the in-depth interviews took. Two of the questions were modeled after Suro’s (2004) research: 1) How important is the Spanish-language or bilingual media in San Antonio to the development of the city’s Hispanic population?, and 2) How would you rate the job the Spanish-language and bilingual print media in San Antonio has done in covering news specifically relevant to the city’s Hispanic population?

Previous research involving qualitative interview research includes Kim (2008), who used in-depth interviews of 22 Iraqi journalists in his examination of how the media in Iraq have changed since the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in 2003. The interviews were conducted using telephones and e-mail, though the majority of the respondents, 18, replied through e-mail. Kim states that he chose the in-depth interview approach so that the journalists could “talk candidly and realistically about their experiences as journalists working for the post-Saddam era Iraqi news media” (p. 583).

Lee (2004) also interviewed journalists, this time American, when analyzing the role of journalistic deception. The researcher talked to 20 journalists with various professional backgrounds whom he found through an ethics survey of Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE), seeking out explanations for why they at one point or another used deception in journalistic practices and how they felt about it. When discussing why in-depth interviews were used as the primary source of information-gathering, Lee says that these types of interviews are “useful” when “understanding phenomena that cannot be easily observed directly” (p. 99). The information Lee obtained from the recorded conversations revealed “a rich if rather unwieldy tapestry of anecdotes, ideas, metaphors and pontifications ...” (p. 100).

Couldry (2005) also relied on in-depth interviews, coupled with panel responses, in researching the connection people feel to public space via consumption of the media. Couldry compares the two types of methodology used in his research by saying the written responses offered “brief self-reported

summary of media use and access” while the personal interviews “allowed much more scope for exploring the implications of and context for a subject’s reflections on the complex and open-ended questions in which we were interested” (p. 245).

Pilot Study

A pilot study of two weeks’ worth of articles from *La Prensa*, *Conexion* and *Cancha* was conducted to test operational definitions and coding procedures (see Appendix A). When the pilot study began, *Cancha* was still being published twice a week as a joint effort between the Hearst Corp. and Grupo Reforma. Publication of the Spanish-only *Cancha*, which debuted in San Antonio in 2006, was suspended shortly after the completion of the pilot study. During its nearly three-year run, the tabloid focused its news, features and heavy sports coverage on “Hispanics whose dominant language is Spanish” (Monroe, 2006, p. 1E).

Each story was coded as to origin as reflected in the story’s dateline to help differentiate between stories on local topics and events and those based in other countries. Stories also were coded as to byline (local reporter, wire copy, miscellaneous submissions) to get an indication of how much copy is generated by the publication itself. The geographical topic was coded as far as local, state, national, world (non-Latin America), Latin America, and Mexico. Overall news categories were coded as news, features and entertainment, sports, and editorial (briefs and events calendars were included). More specific categories were coded as well: general local news (particularly event-based articles), politics, education, health and medicine, crime, and business. The language the article

was written in was coded as English, Spanish or both (for an article to be termed “both” the use of both languages must be substantive and not just a reference to a person, composition title or event). The page placement of each story was coded and it was noted whether the story had any accompanying art (in the form of a photograph or graphic).

The number of articles coded for each publication was: *Conexion*, 61; *Cancha*, 102, and *La Prensa*, 129 (see Table A1). *Conexion*'s number was lower as it is a weekly publication versus the biweekly schedule of the other two tabloids. A total of 292 articles were coded by the first coder with 59% (or 174) being written in Spanish, 37% (or 108) in English and 4% (or 10) using both languages (see Table A2). Regarding bylines, 75% (or 220) were local reporters, 14% (or 41) were coded as “other,” 9% (27) of the articles originated from wire services and 1% (4) was from contributors (see Table A3). When it came to geographic topic of the article, 43% (or 125) were locally based, 27% (78) were about Mexico, 15% (45) were national, 4% (13) were topics that discussed state issues, 4% (13) were international (non-Latin America), 4% (13) were Latin America (excluding Mexico), and 1% (5) was coded as “other” or “none” (see Table A4). When it came to type of article, the two categories of general news and sports each had 37% (109 and 110, respectively), with features/entertainment getting 21% (62) and op/ed with 3% (9) (see Table A5). News categories revealed that 49% (143) were about general news topics, 27% (85) were about topics coded as “other” or “none,” 6% (17) were on health, 5% (16) dealt with politics, 5% (14) were on education, 4% (12) were on business,

and 2% (5) concerned crime (see Table A6). In general, the picture revealed by the pilot study showed that, among the three publications, the majority of the articles were written in Spanish by local reporters, and were about local topics (mostly news or sports).

Following the design and testing of the pilot study, it was revealed that several areas of the project were in need of refinement. Some of the original research questions guiding the content analysis coding were more suited for an agenda-setting or framing study. These questions have been eliminated and new questions, more suitable and applicable for content analysis and in-depth interviewing, now guide the quantitative study. The new research questions include one specifically referring to the qualitative research (RQ7) and one on the added inclusion of advertisements (RQ8). It also was determined that photo and ad content should be included in the content analysis so variables, operational definitions and coding categories were developed for these two areas. The addition of coding categories rooted in Johnson's (2000) content analysis research and Viswanath & Arora's five functions of the ethnic media were put to use in the full study. Additionally, these new categories more specifically tested for assimilation and pluralism in the content of *La Prensa* and *Conexion*. Finally, a list of 17 questions was devised and used in the qualitative portion of the study which consisted of interviews with journalists at the two publications.

The coder for the pilot study was a bilingual undergraduate student who was responsible for coding 240 articles. A second coder, a bilingual professor, coded 20 percent of the articles to test for inter-coder reliability. The resulting

data were entered into SPSS. Using Cohen's Kappa, levels of inter-coder reliability ranged from a low of 78.8% regarding coding of article type to a high of 93.9% for language coding.

The following chapter discusses the results from the quantitative portion of the study. Results of the in-depth interviews are presented separately in Chapter 5. Conclusions for both parts of the study are in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 4

QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results of the content analysis portion of the study. In this chapter, a summary of the quantitative project is given first with general descriptive statistics derived from the SPSS analysis. SPSS was used only on the content analysis data utilizing the following tests: descriptive statistics, cross-tabulations, chi-square, and percentages. Results then are offered in direct relation to the research questions that pertain to the quantitative portion of the study.

Content Analysis of *La Prensa* and *Conexion*

Twelve issues each of *La Prensa* and *Conexion* published within the time frame of January 2008-December 2008 were randomly selected. *La Prensa* publishes every Wednesday and Sunday and *Conexion* comes out every Thursday. All issue dates between January 2008 and December 2008 were highlighted on a 2008 calendar, and a list of the dates was assembled with each issue date being assigned a number. The numbers then were put in an online random number generator and the resulting selections were used in the content analysis. Hard copies of all 24 issues were gathered from the two publications so that coding of all articles, photographs and advertisements could begin. Three bilingual coders were trained on the process, code book and operational definitions. Two of the three coders were professors at Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, Texas. Of the two, one is fluent in Spanish and English

and teaches in the English and Mexican-American Studies programs. The other professor is fluent in Spanish and English and has produced award-winning television news productions in Spanish and serves on the board of the National Association for Hispanic Journalists. The third coder was a recent graduate of the Communication Arts program at Our Lady of the Lake University who also was awarded a certificate in the biliterate (Spanish/English) program offered at the university. The third coder was fluent in Spanish and English and held an internship at the San Antonio Univision television station which produces content in Spanish.

Findings from the content analysis.

Results are presented by category, with descriptive statistics listed for each newspaper, comparing these results to the overall total number of items coded for both publications and then to the overall total number of items coded per publication. The numbers are presented in percentage form first with numeric tables to visually present the results second. In this way, the results compare the publications as one unit, representing the content presented by the leading bilingual print publications in San Antonio. On an individual basis, comparing the results of each category to the overall numbers each publication had allows the opportunity to compare *La Prensa's* results directly to those of *Conexion*. Additionally, each variable was analyzed for reliability using Cohen's Kappa with the results showing that the majority of them were reliable. Table 1 displays the measures of agreement for variables 2-12.

TABLE 1

Variable name	Kappa
V2 -- newspaper name	.974
V3 -- language	.985
V4 -- content type	.896
V5 -- photo type	.587
V6 -- ad type	.891
V7 -- source of content	.908
V8 -- geographic topic	.818
V9 -- topic categories	.810
V10 -- photo ethnicity	.867
V11 -- assimilation	.764
V12 -- pluralism	.799

Content type (V4).

Beginning with the number of items coded for the 12 issues of each publication, there were 1,109 coded items for *La Prensa* and 620 for *Conexion* for a total of 1,729. Keep in mind that *La Prensa* is published twice a week, once as a tabloid and then as a multi-section broadsheet averaging 38 to 40 pages per week, compared to the weekly *Conexion* which is typically a 28-to-32-page tabloid with considerably less overall printable space. As seen in Table 2, out of the 1,109 items in *La Prensa*, 41.1% of the total coded items, were articles

(including calendar items and briefs) compared to 67.1%, articles (again, including calendar items and briefs) in *Conexion*. *La Prensa* contained 295 total photographs and *Conexion* had 319. Computing the percentages was problematic due to the way that the coding sheet and corresponding coding book were set up. Consequently, coders counted the photographs along with the articles (see Variable 5) rather than as separate items. For example, a story was coded as “1” for “article” for Variable 4 Content Type, and then as “1” for “photo accompanies an article” for Variable 5 Photo Type. As a result, the photo was counted at the same time as the article and was only one entry on the coding log, not two. Regardless, the data are still available by utilizing the category of Photo Type. Advertisements accounted for 53.7% of *La Prensa*’s content, compared to 32.4% of *Conexion*’s content.

Looking at the variable Content Type with *La Prensa* and *Conexion*’s numbers combined, articles (briefs, calendar items) accounted for 52.4% of the publications’ content. Advertisements were 46.1% of the total content.

Table 2**Percentages of Content Categories for Each Publication**

Content type	La Prensa N=1,109	Conexion N = 620	Total N = 1, 729
Article	31.1%	43.2%	37.2%
Brief	0.0%	10.8%	3.9%
Calendar item	10.3%	13.1%	11.3%
Photograph*	2.4%	0.1%	0.2%
Advertisement	53.7%	32.4%	46.1%
Other	2.3%	0.0%	0.2%
Total	99.8%**	99.6%**	98.9%**

$$\chi^2 = 197.80, df = 5, p < .001$$

* The numbers for "photograph" are not representative of the total number of photographs coded in both publications.

** Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

Language (V3) and geographic topic (V8).

Table 3 documents that out of the 1,109 coded items for *La Prensa*, 46.2% were in Spanish compared to 53.7% English items. For the items in *Conexion*, 13.9%, were in Spanish and 86.1% were in English. The percentages shift a bit when looking at the two publications together – 34.6% of their combined content is in Spanish, compared to 65.3% in English.

TABLE 3**Percentages of Language Use Categories for Each Publication**

Language	La Prensa N = 1,109	Conexion N = 620	Total N = 1, 729
Spanish	46.2%	13.9%	34.6%
English	53.7%	86.1%	65.3%
Other	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 184.32, df = 2, p < .001$$

Regarding geographic topic – that is the setting for the content item – the majority of coded items were locally based with 91.3% local items for *La Prensa* and 72.7% for *Conexion*. Table 4 shows that the next largest segment is “national” with 3.3% in *La Prensa* and 19.2% in *Conexion*. The category of “state” saw only .05% for *La Prensa*, but 3.7% for *Conexion*. The only non-U.S. geographic area to see reportable results was “Mexico” with .3% for *La Prensa*, and 1.5% for *Conexion*. Collectively, the two publications produced 84.7% local items, 8.9% national, 1.7% state, and 0.7% Mexico.

TABLE 4

Percentages of Geographic Topic Categories for Each Publication

Geographic topic	La Prensa N = 1,109	Conexion N = 620	Total N = 1, 729
Local	91.3%	72.7%	84.7%
State	0.5%	3.7%	1.7%
National	3.3%	19.2%	8.9%
International	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%
Latin America	0.0%	0.5%	0.2%
Mexico	0.3%	1.5%	0.7%
Other	4.6%	1.6%	3.4%
Total	100.0%	99.5%*	99.7%*

$$\chi^2 = 190.52, df = 10, p < .001$$

* Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

Advertisements (V6).

For the category of ad type, there were a total of 606 categorized items for *La Prensa*, and 176 for *Conexion* (combining for 782 entries), as seen in Table 5. The category classifications that are reported here offered individual results of 10 coded items or more. The most frequently occurring ad classification for both publications was “commercial business” with 51.3% for *La Prensa* and 50% for *Conexion*. “Entertainment” was second with 11.7% for *La Prensa* and 12.5% for *Conexion*. At this point, the rankings split with the third most popular ad type for *La Prensa* being “community” with 7.4%, and “self-improvement” for *Conexion*

with 11.9%. The fourth-highest ad type for *La Prensa* was “medical” at 6.4% of the items, and for *Conexion* it was “religious” with 6.3% of its coded items. “Self-improvement” ranked as the fifth most-occurring ad type for *La Prensa* with 5.9% coded entries. *Conexion*’s fifth-ranked spot was a tie with 5.7% entries in “house ad” and 5.7% in “medical.” There were 5.3% “house ads” coded for *La Prensa* to earn its sixth ranking and 5.1% items under “professional services” to take the seventh-ranked spot. The remaining 7% of the coded items for both publications were split among several categories, with very few coded responses.

Comparing the publications’ results together, the most frequently occurring ad type is still “commercial business” with 50% and the second most-often coded category remains “entertainment” with 11.9% items. Collectively, “self-improvement” earned 7.3% responses, with the fourth most-common response being “community” with 6.4%. “Medical” ranked fifth with 6.2%, and “house ad” was sixth with 5.4% of combined responses. The category of “professional services” was next with 4.6%, followed by “religion” with 4.5%.

TABLE 5

Percentages of Ad Type Categories for Each Publication

Ad type	La Prensa N = 606	Conexion N = 176	Total N = 782
Self-improvement	5.9%	11.9%	7.3%
Religious	3.7%	6.3%	4.5%
Commercial business	51.3%	50.0%	50.0%
House ad	5.3%	5.7%	5.4%
Community	7.4%	2.8%	6.4%
Entertainment	11.7%	12.5%	11.9%
Sports	0.2%	0.6%	0.3%
Government	2.6%	1.7%	2.4%
Medical	6.4%	5.7%	6.2%
Professional services	5.1%	2.8%	4.6%
Total	99.6%*	100.0%	99.0%*

$$\chi^2 = 219.60, df = 15, p < .001$$

* Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

Photo type (V5) and photo ethnicity (V10).

The variable of photo type resulted in 584 coded items, 268 for *La Prensa* and 316 for *Conexion*. As seen in Table 6, the most frequently coded classification for both publications was “photo with article” with 61.2% items in *La Prensa* and 63.6% in *Conexion*. The classification which ranked second for *La Prensa* was “other” with 17.2%, but for *Conexion* it was “mugshot with story” with

24.4% of items. There were 11.9% of the photo items coded in *La Prensa* as “photo spread with story,” compared to 8.5% for *Conexion*. The fourth most-occurring classification for *La Prensa* was “standalone photo no story” with 5.2% and “other” with 2.5% for *Conexion*. Taken together, “photo with article” was the most frequently occurring type of photograph for both publications with 62.5%, followed by “mugshot with story” with 13.7%, “photo spread with story” with 10.1%, and “other” with 9.3%.

TABLE 6

Percentages of Photo Type Categories for Each Publication

Photo type	La Prensa N = 268	Conexion N = 316	Total N = 584
Photo w/ article	61.2%	63.6%	62.5%
Standalone photo no story	5.2%	0.6%	2.7%
Photo spread w/ story	11.9%	8.5%	10.1%
Photo spread no story	3.4%	0.3%	1.7%
Mugshot w/ story	1.1%	24.4%	13.7%
Other	17.2%	2.5%	9.3%
Total	100.0%	99.9%*	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 264.19, df = 8, p < .001$$

* Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

The variable of photo ethnicity resulted in 582 coded entries, 265 for *La Prensa* and 317 for *Conexion*, as noted in Table 7. The classification of “Hispanic” saw the largest number of responses with 42.2% for *La Prensa* and 71.2% for *Conexion*. “No people are in the photo” was the second most-

frequently occurring classification for 27.6% of the items in *La Prensa* and 11.7% in *Conexion*. The third ranking for *La Prensa* was for “combination of Hispanic and Anglo” with 16.4%, however, “other” was the third most-coded classification for *Conexion* with 7.9%. The classification of “unable to determine (ethnicity)” had 5.6% of the coded responses in *La Prensa* for its fourth ranking, with “Anglo” occupying the same spot for *Conexion* with 5.4%. The remaining 4% of coded items were for classifications with extremely few responses. Examining the combined totals for both publications, the three highest-coded classifications were “Hispanic” with 57.9%, followed by “no people are in the photo” with 19%, and “combination of Hispanic and Anglo” with 8.7%.

TABLE 7**Percentages of Photo Ethnicity Categories for Each Publication**

Photo ethnicity	La Prensa N = 268	Conexion N = 316	TOTAL N = 584
Hispanic	42.2%	71.2%	57.9%
Anglo	3.1%	5.4%	4.3%
Other	1.1%	7.9%	4.8%
Combo Hispanic, Anglo	16.4%	2.0%	8.7%
Combo Hispanic, other	3.1%	0.9%	1.9%
Unable to determine	5.6%	0.9%	3.1%
No people are in photo	27.6%	11.7%	19.0%
TOTAL	99.1%*	100%	99.7%*

$$\chi^2 = 282.56, df = 8, p < .001$$

* Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

Topic categories (V9).

The variable “topic categories” had 20 individual classifications, ranging from “police” to “travel” to “sports,” as seen in Table 8. For this category, the “topics” that were coded were all articles, briefs, calendar items, advertisements and photographs. In the following chapter, this variable is analyzed by separating the text content from the visuals in order to get a clearer representation of the topics presented in articles in comparison to the topics presented through photographs and advertisements. For now, however, these results are examined as representative of the topics presented as a whole in each of the publications, and then in unison when combining *La Prensa* and *Conexion*’s numbers.

For Variable 9 there were 1,019 coded responses for *La Prensa* and 620 for *Conexion* for a total of 1, 639. Looking at only the top 10 rankings for each publication, only twice do the topics of the rankings correspond: ranking #4 for both publications was “sports” and #8 was “food.” All other rankings are for different topics. Starting with the top ranking, “business” was the topic coded 18.5% of the time for *La Prensa*, while “arts & entertainment” was in the highest spot for *Conexion* with 24.5%. “Other” occupied second place for *La Prensa* with 16.5% and “business” was second for *Conexion* with 15.6%. “Arts & entertainment” was third for *La Prensa* with 11.4%, while “personality/celebrity features” ranked third for *Conexion*, 13.4%. “Sports” was the fourth most-often occurring topic for both publications, 8.9% for *La Prensa*, though it shares that spot in *Conexion* with “other,” both at 9.7% apiece. The fifth spot for *La Prensa* was “health” with 8.2% of the coded items. Rankings 6-10 for *La Prensa* are as

follows: “social services” with 7.7%, “education/career” with 5.9%, “food” with 5.6%, “politics” with 4.9%, and “religion” with 4.6%. Rankings 6-9 (#9 was also a tie for *Conexion*) regarding *Conexion* were as follows: “education/career” with 7.7%, “health” with 4%, “food” with 3.5%, and “politics” and “religion” each with 2.3%.

Combining the results for both publications revealed that the most common topic was “business” with 17.5%, followed by “arts & entertainment” with 16.4%, and “other” with 13.9%. Rankings 4-10 are as follows: “sports” with 9.2%, “health” with 6.7%, “education/career” with 6.6%, “personality/celebrity features” with 6.1%, “social services with 5.2%, “food” with 4.8%, and “politics” with 3.9%.

TABLE 8
Percentages of Topic Categories for Each Publication

Topic categories	La Prensa N = 1019	Conexion N = 620	Total N = 1639
Police	0.9%	0.0%	0.5%
Arts & entertainment	11.4%	24.5%	16.4%
Personality/celebrity	1.7%	13.4%	6.1%
Self-improvement	0.5%	0.8%	0.6%
Fashion & beauty	1.6%	1.9%	1.7%
Travel	0.5%	0.6%	0.5%
Home & garden	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Food	5.6%	3.5%	4.8%
Business	18.5%	15.6%	17.5%
Sports	8.9%	9.7%	9.2%
Politics	4.9%	2.3%	3.9%
Education/career	5.9%	7.7%	6.6%
Other	16.5%	9.7%	13.9%
Health	8.2%	4.0%	6.7%
Social services	7.7%	1.3%	5.2%
Municipal	0.6%	0.0%	0.4%
Environmental	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
Fire/accident	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%
Religion	4.6%	2.3%	3.7%
Cultural diversity/diversity issues	1.2%	1.9%	1.5%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 276.76$, $df = 21$, $p < .001$

Assimilation function categories (V11).

Variable 11 tested specifically for the six assimilation functions as outlined by Johnson (2000). Again, all content, including stories, photographs and advertisements, were coded for these categories. There were a total of 1,108 responses for *La Prensa* and 620 for *Conexion*, combining to produce 1,728 total results (see Table 9). There were no shared rankings for this category. For *La Prensa*, the top-ranked response was “promotion of U.S. consumption” with 49.6% of the coded entries, compared to “other” for *Conexion* with 48.7% of the results. The high number of “other” results was not seen as problematic, in that it was expected that coders would often pick that response when then selecting an option in the pluralism functions contained in Variable 12. The reverse situation was expected as well with high results for “other” in Variable 12 when the coder made a categorical selection in Variable 11 containing the assimilation categories.

The classification which received the second-highest number of coding responses for *La Prensa* was “other” with 31.3%, whereas “focus on individual change” was the choice in *Conexion* with 22.9%. “Focus on individual change” was selected 10.6% of the time in *La Prensa* and “promotion of U.S. consumption” was chosen 140 times, or 23%, in *Conexion*. For rankings 4-6 in *La Prensa*, “socializing to ‘the modern’” had 5.4%, “focus on the future” had 2.5%, and “unknown” had .05%. The same rankings in *Conexion* had the following results: “focus on the future,” 3.2%; “socializing to ‘the modern’,” 2.4%; and “unknown, 0.2%. Looking at the two newspapers together, the most-often

selected classification was “promotion of U.S. consumption” with 39.9%, followed by “other” with 37.6%, “focus on individual change” with 15%, “socializing to ‘the modern’” with 4.3%, “focus on the future” with 2.8%, and “unknown” with 0.3%.

TABLE 9

Percentages of Assimilation Categories for Each Publication

Assimilation	La Prensa N = 1108	Conexion N = 620	Total N = 1728
Promotion of U.S. consumption	49.6%	22.6%	39.9%
Focus on individual change	10.6%	22.9%	15.0%
Focus on the future	2.5%	3.2%	2.8%
Socializing to the “modern”	5.4%	2.4%	4.3%
Other	31.3%	48.7%	37.6%
Unknown	0.5%	0.2%	0.3%
TOTAL	99.9%*	100.0%	99.9%*

$$\chi^2 = 154.46, df = 5, p < .001$$

* Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

Pluralism function categories (V12).

The five pluralism functions as outlined by Johnson (2000) resulted in 1,109 entries for La Prensa and 620 for *Conexion*. By quite a large margin, “other” was coded more often than any other response, with 85% of the entries for *La Prensa* and 77.7% for *Conexion* as seen in Table 10. The two publications were divided as to their second rankings, with *La Prensa* having 8.2% of the

responses for “respite from general market media” and *Conexion* having 14.7% of its responses for “preservation & transmission of ethnic culture.” The third spot was occupied by “promotion of ethnic pride” for *La Prensa*, 2.3%, and *Conexion*, 3.5%. The remaining categories of “symbolic ethnicity & unification of subgroups,” “culture transmission to non-ethnic groups” and “unknown” accounted for only 21 total coded items. Combined, the publications had 82.4% “other” entries, 7.3% for “preservation & transmission of ethnic culture,” 6.2% for “respite from general market media,” and 2.8% for “promotion of ethnic pride.”

TABLE 10**Percentages of Pluralism Categories for Each Publication**

Pluralism	La Prensa N = 1109	Conexion N = 620	Total N = 1729
Preservation & transmission of ethnic culture	3.2%	14.7%	7.3%
Promotion of ethnic pride	2.3%	3.5%	2.8%
Symbolic ethnicity & unification of subgroups	0.7%	0.3%	0.6%
Respite from general market media	8.2%	2.5%	6.2%
Culture transmission to non-ethnic groups	0.3%	1.3%	0.5%
Other	85.0%	77.7%	82.4%
Unknown	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 101.86, df = 6, p < .001$$

Research Questions and Results

The first two research questions apply to the quantitative analysis, and are designed to determine to what extent the content of the two publications fits the categories of the functions of the ethnic media in the areas of assimilation and pluralism. The first research question concentrates on assimilation, the second on pluralism.

RQ1: To what extent are La Prensa and Conexion assimilationist as measured by the four categories of assimilation functions?

This section specifically examines the research question in relation to text – articles, briefs and calendar items. Advertisements are addressed in a separate research question. The assimilationist function “focus on individual change” was coded in both publications more times than the other three functions (see Table 11). For *La Prensa*, it was selected 46.3% of the time, compared to 24% for “socializing to ‘the modern’,” 20.4% for “promotion of U.S. consumption,” and 9.3% for “focus on the future.” All four functions were coded a total of 216 times. *Conexion* had a total of 173 coded entries for text, with 67% for “focus on individual change,” 15% for “promotion of U.S. consumption,” 11.6% for “focus on the future,” and 6.4% for “socializing to ‘the modern’.”

TABLE 11**Percentages of Assimilation Categories for Each Publication for Text Only**

Assimilation*	La Prensa N = 216	Conexion N = 173	Total N = 389
Promotion of U.S. consumption	20.4%	15.0%	18.0%
Focus on individual change	46.3%	67.0%	55.5%
Focus on the future	9.3%	11.6%	10.3%
Socializing to the “modern”	24.0%	6.4%	16.2%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Text only – articles, briefs, calendar items

RQ2: To what extent are La Prensa and Conexion pluralist as measured by the five categories of pluralism functions?

Again, only looking at text, Table 12 shows that the category “respite from general market media” was coded 51.2% of the time in *La Prensa*, followed by “promotion of ethnic pride,” 24.4%; “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture,” 16.3%; “symbolic ethnicity and unification of subgroups,” 5.8%; and “culture transmission to non-ethnic groups,” 2.3%. In *Conexion*, the leading category out of a total of 117 was “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture” with 63.2% of the responses. The remaining results were: “promotion of ethnic pride,” 17.1%; “respite from general market media,” 13.7%; “culture transmission to non-ethnic groups,” 4.3%; and “symbolic ethnicity and unification of subgroups,” 1.7%.

TABLE 12**Percentages of Pluralism Categories for Each Publication for Text Only**

Pluralism*	La Prensa N = 86	Conexion N = 117	Total N = 203
Preservation & transmission of ethnic culture	16.3%	63.2%	43.3%
Promotion of ethnic pride	24.4%	17.1%	20.2%
Symbolic ethnicity & unification of subgroups	5.8%	1.7%	3.4%
Respite from general market media	51.2%	13.7%	29.6%
Culture transmission to non-ethnic groups	2.3%	4.3%	3.4%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%**

*Text only – articles, briefs, calendar items

** Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

RQ4: To what extent do La Prensa and Conexion publish content in Spanish?

RQ5: To what extent do La Prensa and Conexion publish content in English?

Research questions 4 and 5 are discussed jointly as the topic of language is common to both. The “content” referred to in the research questions is presented on a general scale first, then broken down by content type (text or advertisement). Both categories were examined further to distinguish the use of language by article or advertisement topic.

Overall, Table 13 shows that the category of “language” was coded as Spanish 46.2% of the time in *La Prensa* and 13.9% of the time in *Conexion*. English was counted 53.8% of the time in *La Prensa*, and 86.1% of the time in

Conexion. Examining the two publications together, 65.4% of the items were in English, compared to 34.6% in Spanish.

TABLE 13**Percentages of Total Content for Each Publication by Language**

Language	La Prensa N = 1108	Conexion N = 620	Total N = 1728
English	53.8%	86.1%	65.4%
Spanish	46.2%	13.9%	34.6%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 14 examines the publications by content type – text and advertisements separately – and by language. *La Prensa* had 49.4% of coded text items in Spanish, compared to 50.6% of its advertisements in Spanish. For English, Table 15 demonstrates that the percentages are 39.3% for text and 60.7% for advertisements. *Conexion* had 23.3% of its text items in Spanish, and 76.7% Spanish advertisements. For English, the percentages were 74.7% for text, and 25.3% for advertisements.

TABLE 14**Percentages of Text and Ads for Each Publication in Spanish**

Spanish	La Prensa N = 512	Conexion N = 86	Total N = 598
Text	49.4%	23.3%	45.7%
Advertisements	50.6%	76.7%	54.3%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 15**Percentages of Text and Ads for Each Publication in English**

English	La Prensa N = 596	Conexion N = 534	Total N = 1130
Text	39.3%	74.7%	56.0%
Advertisements	60.7%	25.3%	44.0%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 16 shows that in *La Prensa*, the top five topics printed in Spanish were: business, 17.1%; sports, 16.6%; arts and entertainment, 13%; health, 10.6%; and social services, 8.8%. The top five for *Conexion* were: business, 48.7%; arts and entertainment, 9.2%; fashion and beauty, 6.6%; health, 6.6%; and religion, 6.6%. Combining the figures for the two publications (for a total of 462 coded items) revealed that the categories with the highest percentages were business with 22.3%, sports with 14.7%, arts and entertainment with 12.3%, health with 10%, and social services with 7.4%.

TABLE 16**Percentages of Content Topic for Each Publication in Spanish**

Topics in Spanish	La Prensa N = 386	Conexion N = 76	Total N = 462
Police	1.6%	0.0%	1.3%
Arts & entertainment	13.0%	9.2%	12.3%
Personality/celebrity	1.6%	1.3%	1.5%
Self-improvement	0.8%	0.0%	0.6%
Fashion & beauty	1.8%	6.6%	2.6%
Travel	1.0%	1.3%	1.1%
Home & garden	1.3%	0.0%	1.1%
Food	4.7%	1.3%	4.1%
Business	17.1%	48.7%	22.3%
Sports	16.6%	5.3%	14.7%
Politics	5.7%	5.3%	5.7%
Education/career	5.2%	5.3%	5.2%
Health	10.6%	6.6%	10.0%
Social services	8.8%	0.0%	7.4%
Municipal	0.8%	0.0%	0.6%
Environmental	0.5%	0.0%	0.4%
Fire/accident	0.0%	1.3%	0.2%
Religion	6.7%	6.6%	6.7%
Cultural diversity/diversity issues	2.2%	1.2%	2.1%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%*

* Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

For English, Table 17 reveals that the top five categories in *La Prensa* were: business, 26.5%; arts and entertainment, 14.2%; social services, 9.5%; health, 9.3%; and education/career, 8.6%. In *Conexion*, the percentages were: arts and entertainment, 30%; personality/celebrity features, 16.9%; business, 12.4%; sports, 11.6%; and education/career, 9.1%. Combined percentages for both publications showed that the five topic categories in English were arts and entertainment with 22.3%, business with 19.3%, personality/celebrity features with 9.8%, education/career with 8.9%, and sports with 8.8%.

TABLE 17**Percentages of Content Topic for Each Publication in English**

Topics in English	La Prensa N = 464	Conexion N = 484	Total N = 948
Police	0.6%	0.0%	0.3%
Arts & entertainment	14.2%	30.0%	22.3%
Personality/celebrity	2.4%	16.9%	9.8%
Self-improvement	0.4%	1.0%	0.7%
Fashion & beauty	1.9%	1.4%	1.7%
Travel	0.2%	0.6%	0.4%
Home & garden	0.0%	0.6%	0.3%
Food	8.4%	4.3%	6.3%
Business	26.5%	12.4%	19.3%
Sports	5.8%	11.6%	8.8%
Politics	6.0%	2.1%	4.0%
Education/career	8.6%	9.1%	8.9%
Health	9.3%	4.1%	6.7%
Social services	9.5%	1.4%	5.4%
Municipal	0.6%	0.0%	0.3%
Environmental	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%
Fire/accident	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%
Religion	4.5%	1.9%	3.2%
Cultural diversity/diversity issues	0.6%	2.3%	1.4%
TOTAL	99.7%*	99.9%*	100.0%

* Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

The following results were obtained by analyzing the advertisements by language and type. Table 18 shows that, beginning with *La Prensa*, the advertisements that appeared in Spanish most often were classified as “commercial business” and resulted in 51.6% of the 252 total number of Spanish-language advertisements. Rounding out the top five categories for English-language advertisements were: “entertainment” with 11.7%, “professional services” with 7.6%, “community” with 6.7%, and “medical” with 6%. English advertisements (see Table 19) in *La Prensa* were most often found in these five categories: “commercial business” with 151.3% of the ads, entertainment with 11.6%, “community” with 7.6%, “medical” with 6.8%, and “self-improvement” with 6.2%.

TABLE 18**Percentages of Ad Type for Each Publication in Spanish**

Ad type in Spanish	La Prensa N = 252	Conexion N = 54	Total N = 306
Self-improvement	5.6%	5.6%	5.6%
Religious	3.6%	5.6%	3.9%
Commercial business	51.6%	70.4%	54.9%
House ad	5.2%	3.6%	4.9%
Community	6.7%	0.0%	5.6%
Entertainment	11.7%	5.5%	10.8%
Sports	0.4%	0.0%	0.3%
Government	1.6%	1.9%	1.6%
Medical	6.0%	3.7%	5.5%
Professional services	7.6%	3.7%	6.9%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 18 demonstrates that in *Conexion*, the total number of Spanish advertisements was 54 with 70.4% for “commercial business” followed by “self-improvement,” 5.6%; “religious,” 5.6%; and “entertainment,” 5.5%. English-language advertisements, seen below in Table 19, totaled 122 with 41% for “commercial business,” 15.6% for “entertainment,” 14.8% for self-improvement, and 6.6% each for “religious,” “medical” and “house ad.”

TABLE 19

Percentages of Ad Type for Each Publication in English

Ad type in English	La Prensa N = 353	Conexion N = 122	Total N = 475
Self-improvement	6.2%	14.8%	8.4%
Religious	4.2%	6.6%	4.8%
Commercial business	51.3%	41.0%	48.6%
House ad	5.4%	6.6%	5.7%
Community	7.6%	4.1%	6.7%
Entertainment	11.6%	15.6%	12.6%
Sports	0.0%	0.8%	0.2%
Government	3.4%	1.5%	2.9%
Medical	6.8%	6.6%	6.7%
Professional services	3.4%	2.4%	3.2%
TOTAL	99.9%*	100.0%	99.8%*

* Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

Examining the combined percentages for *La Prensa* and *Conexion* revealed that “commercial business” was the most often occurring ad type in both languages with 54.9% in Spanish and 48.6% in English, as seen in both Tables 18 and 19. Likewise, “entertainment” was in the second ranking with 10.8% in Spanish and 12.6% in English. The third position was “professional services” in Spanish with 6.9%, but for English it was “self-improvement” with 8.4%.

RQ6: To what extent do La Prensa and Conexion include political content?

The variable of “topic category” included the category of politics, specifically to address research question 6. In *La Prensa*, out of 851 coded items, 50 (6%) were classified under the category topic “politics.” Looking only at the 50 items in Table 20, 76% were coded as text, 22% were advertisements and the remaining 2% was labeled “other.” For *Conexion*’s 560 coded items in “topic categories,” there were 14 total items, or 3%, coded as “politics.” Of those 14 items, 78.6% were text and 21.4% were advertisements, as seen in Table 20. Combined numbers for both publications showed that 64 of 1,411 coded items (5%) were of political content, 49 (3%) text, 14 (1%) advertisements, one other. Isolating only the 64 total political items for both publications (see Table 20), the amount of political text content was 77% compared to the amount of political advertisements at 21.4%.

TABLE 20

Percentages of Political Content for Each Publication

Politics (topic category)	La Prensa N = 50	Conexion N = 14	Total N = 64
Text*	76.0%	78.6%	77.0%
Advertisements	22.0%	21.4%	21.4%
Other	2.0%	0.0%	1.6%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Text only – articles, briefs, calendar items

RQ8: To what extent are the advertisements in La Prensa and Conexion assimilationist and/or pluralist as measured by the nine categories of functions of assimilation and pluralism?

Cross-tabulations were used to analyze each newspaper's ad count by categories of assimilation and pluralism. Table 21 shows that regarding the functions of assimilation, *La Prensa* had a total of 521 ads, with the largest percentage, 96.2%, for "promotion of U.S. consumption," followed by "focus on individual change," 2.3%; "socializing to 'the modern'," 0.9%; and "focus on the future," 0.6%. For *Conexion's* 144 ads, "promotion of U.S. consumption" was the largest assimilation category with 79.2%; followed by "focus on individual change," 18%; and "socializing to 'the modern'," 2.8%. Looking at the two publications together, the category of "promotion of U.S. consumption," with 92.5% of the coded entries, was the most-coded assimilation function.

TABLE 21

Percentages of Ads With Assimilation Characteristics for Each Publication

Assimilation*	La Prensa N = 521	Conexion N = 144	Total N = 665
Promotion of U.S. consumption	96.2%	79.2%	92.5%
Focus on individual change	2.3%	18.0%	5.7%
Focus on the future	0.6%	0.0%	0.5%
Socializing to the "modern"	0.9%	2.8%	1.3%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Advertisements only

Pluralism functions for *La Prensa*'s advertisements – a total of 64 were coded in this category – had the following results (see Table 22): “respite from general market media,” 65.6%; “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture,” 28.1%; and “promotion of ethnic pride,” 6.3%. There were 20 *Conexion* advertisements coded in the pluralism functions with 80% for “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture,” 15% for “promotion of ethnic pride,” and 5% for “respite from general market media.”

TABLE 22

Percentages of Ads With Pluralism Characteristics for Each Publication

Pluralism*	La Prensa N = 64	Conexion N = 20	Total N = 84
Preservation & transmission of ethnic culture	28.1%	80.0%	40.5%
Promotion of ethnic pride	6.3%	15.0%	8.3%
Symbolic ethnicity & unification of subgroups	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Respite from general market media	65.6%	5.0%	51.2%
Culture transmission to non-ethnic groups	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Advertisements only

Summary of Content Analysis Findings

La Prensa, which is printed twice as often and has more printable space than *Conexion*, had nearly twice as many coded items as *Conexion* in the content analysis. Of those items, *La Prensa*'s content was nearly evenly split

between English- and Spanish-language usage, whereas *Conexion* printed more than three-quarters of its content in English. Regarding the geographic topics of the content, nearly all of *La Prensa*'s content was locally based; *Conexion* had a majority of locally produced content as well, but with a higher percentage of national stories than its counterpart. When it came to the topics of the content, the categories of "business" and "arts and entertainment" were the highest-ranking classifications for both. Likewise, "promotion of U.S. content" and "focus on individual change" were the assimilation functions coded most often for both publications, with "preservation and transmission of ethnic culture" the only pluralistic function that both shared in high percentages. "Respite from general market media" and "promotion of ethnic pride" were the other two pluralism functions that were highly ranked. *La Prensa* had more advertising content than *Conexion*, with both publications' ads classified as "commercial business" most often, followed by "entertainment." In regards to the publications' photo content, *Conexion* had more photographs than *La Prensa*, and both used photographs most often in conjunction with articles. Additionally, the ethnicity represented the majority of the time in both publications' photographs was Hispanic.

Summary of Research Question Findings

When examining the text only (articles, briefs and calendar items) in RQ 1, the assimilation function that dominated both publications is "focus on individual change." The same examination of the pluralism function (RQ 2) showed the predominant function in *La Prensa* was "respite from general market media" and in *Conexion*, "preservation and transmission of ethnic culture."

Research questions 4 and 5 dealt with language use and showed that *La Prensa* printed more text (articles, briefs and calendar items) in Spanish and more advertisements in English. *Conexion* published more of its total content in English. Though the percentages were relatively close for *La Prensa* when comparing its use of language, *Conexion* had nearly half of its ads in Spanish, though the vast majority of its text content is in English. Furthermore, when analyzing the specific content topic breakdown by language, “business” content is the most popular topic in both English and Spanish for *La Prensa*, and in Spanish for *Conexion* (the most popular topic in English in *Conexion* was “arts and entertainment”).

RQ 6 had to do with political content, which was not a significant topic in either publication. However, when comparing the advertising and text content that was coded as political, *La Prensa* had more of this content than *Conexion*.

Finally, RQ 8 examined the assimilation or pluralist functions of the advertisements with “promotion of U.S. consumption” the predominant assimilation response for both publications. The publications differed when it came to pluralist ad functions with *La Prensa* having more ads coded as “respite from general market media” and *Conexion* seeing “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture” at the top ranking.

This chapter contains the results from the quantitative content analysis. The following chapter focuses on data gained from the qualitative in-depth interviews.

CHAPTER 5

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The bulk of the in-depth interview material is found in this chapter where it is used to expound upon and make connections to the central themes that have emerged from the research. In addition, the information obtained from the interviews is directly correlated to the pertinent research questions.

Qualitative Project: In-depth Interviews

Before undertaking the in-depth interviews, permission first was obtained by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. A copy of the approval letter can be found in Appendix F. The top editor for each of the publications was contacted via e-mail and given a brief description of the research project. In addition to the description, permission to contact staff members and request face-to-face interviews with each of them was sought. Once the editor of *La Prensa* and the editor of *Conexion* agreed that the staff could be contacted, an e-mail, approved in advance by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee (see Appendix G), was sent to four journalists at *Conexion* and three at *La Prensa*. Dates were scheduled for conducting all interviews at each publication's office site. A follow-up e-mail reminder was sent out to the staff members three days prior to the agreed-upon meeting dates.

The four sessions at *Conexion* varied in length, with the shortest running approximately 30 minutes and the longest nearly an hour. All interviews were conducted in a conference room and recorded with a digital voice recorder. After

each participant signed the consent form (Appendix H), the interview began with the interviewer taking written notes in addition to the audio recording. The same process was conducted with the three editors at *La Prensa* with sessions lasting approximately the same span the study's author and two English Department work-study employees. Transcriptions were compared in order to find thematic similarities, and contextual support for the quantitative study. General results of the qualitative research are presented below with additional use of the findings located in Chapter 5.

Findings from the in-depth interviews.

The first six questions asked of the interview subjects were designed to gather general biographical information such as the interviewee's name, position at the publication, length of time employed by the publication, years of journalism experience, place of birth, and first language. For years of experience in the journalism field, the range was from a low of two years to a high of 13 years. The average for both publications was nine years, with a median of 10 years. Regarding first language, three of the seven interviewees, or 43%, said that Spanish was their first language, and for the remaining four, English was their first language. All of the journalists who were interviewed were editorial employees and were directly involved in decision-making regarding content in the publications.

General themes.

Regarding the importance of their publication in relation to the development of San Antonio's Hispanic population, the responses from the *La*

Prensa staff were extremely similar, with all three replying that the newspaper plays a vital role for the local Hispanic community. As one editor explained it, “We’re a source of information for the community and we’re special because we come at the coverage from a grassroots, event-oriented, community level.” Another editor pointed out that *La Prensa* is used in several local schools as a tool to help teach Spanish to the students, stressing that “it’s important to educate our culture and that they learn two languages.” Another benefit to being bilingual, one editor said, is that it can be an advantage in today’s job market. Ultimately, however, one of the leading roles of the bilingual print media is to “help keep alive the culture and customs,” one respondent said.

The responses were more mixed from the *Conexion* staff regarding their perceptions of the importance of the publication in the development of the city’s Hispanic populace. One staff member said that overall “I don’t think it really matters,” however, the respondent did extend the statement by saying that *Conexion* is able to report on areas, primarily in business or entertainment, that do not get as much exposure in the mainstream media. Using the example of the large-scale coverage the publication gave to the 20th anniversary of the movie, “La Bamba,” the respondent said that “we understood the significance of that movie” to many people in our city. A second staff member answered the question of importance by saying, “I would like to think so,” adding that “people tell me how much they enjoy reading it and it’s important that they see a Hispanic-g geared publication.” Another staff member commented on how the publication is able to reach a wide variety of Spanish-speaking people in San Antonio, from

those who have been in the city for generations to the upper middle-class Mexicans who recently have moved to the city for business or to escape their country's violence.

When asked about the quality of their publications, the general reaction from all of the journalists was that the product was good, but could be better. For example, the fact that *La Prensa* is “family-owned” and a small operation was mentioned several times. All three interviewees said that staff members of *La Prensa* take on a wide variety of roles, with one editor saying that “everyone has something to bring to the table.” *Conexion* staff members mentioned the recent down-sizing of their staff and resources, with one journalist connecting the loss of staff to diminished “community” coverage. Having to rely more on the staff of The (San Antonio) Express-News and from free-lancers has also impacted the focus of *Conexion*'s coverage, the respondent said. Another *Conexion* journalist said that the publication should do more to emphasize “issues as opposed to people,” stating that the concentration on entertainment may not be the right direction for the paper. Furthermore, the interviewee said, the scope of *Conexion* is “a narrow view of Hispanics as opposed to a larger view of what is important.”

When asked about the effectiveness of the bilingual print media in covering news that is relevant to Hispanics in San Antonio, those interviewed at *La Prensa* saw their effectiveness begin directly tied to two things: their heavy use of the Spanish language and their “local” focus. “Being local makes us relevant,” one editor said. Another pointed out that the printed newspaper does a good job of reaching the “older, Spanish-speaking population” and that their

online site and entertainment guide are connecting with the younger demographic. For *Conexion*, the responses varied with one interviewee saying, “I don’t think bilingual content is important in this community, necessarily,” mainly due to the fact that “the majority of the people in San Antonio are second or third generations and they don’t read Spanish.” However, another *Conexion* staff member responded that the publication is “very effective ... and I think that’s one thing we try to focus on, news (that) is relevant to the population as diverse as it is. We try to pay attention to that diversity in our stories.”

Turning to the research questions, question 3 examines: (1) to what extent the people responsible for the content and direction of the two publications consider their goal to be assimilatory, pluralistic, or a mixture of both, and (2) how these individuals rank the functions of ethnic media regarding their own publication.

RQ3: What functions of ethnic media do the journalists, editors and publishers perceive as predominant in La Prensa and Conexion?

The response to research question 3 is found in the qualitative data, specifically question 14 which asked the interview subjects to review a list of the nine functions of the ethnic media (as stated by Johnson, 2000) and state which function(s) they believed their publication stressed the most and the least. The subjects then were asked which functions they personally believed were the most important.

Starting with *La Prensa*’s staff, the editors all agreed that the publication stresses the function of “promotion of ethnic pride” the most. One editor

explained it this way: “Unfortunately, sometimes being Hispanic, often the statistics you hear are about the negative, so for us we want to re-instill that pride that we have for our culture and our community.” Two of the three (67%) interview subjects saw “symbolic ethnicity and unification of subgroups” as the function stressed the least, with the third stating that “culture transmission to non-ethnic groups” was the ethnic media function which received the least amount of attention by the publication. Regarding how the individuals personally ranked the importance of the ethnic media functions, the interviewees chose a mixture of both assimilation functions and pluralism functions. They all stated that along with “promotion of ethnic pride” and “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture,” two pluralism functions, that “promotion of U.S. consumption” and “focus on individual change,” two assimilation functions, were also important and were elements they personally stressed in one way or another in *La Prensa*. One editor stated that under the category of “focus on individual change,” *La Prensa* does “a lot of stories about Hispanics who have done great things and we hope that other people read it knowing that they, too, can do this.”

For *Conexion*, three out of four (75%) interview subjects rated “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture,” a pluralistic trait, as the ethnic media function they believed their publication stresses the most. The fourth respondent ranked “socializing to ‘the modern’,” a function of assimilation, as number 1. The pluralistic “promotion of ethnic pride” was the second most-stressed function according to three out of four (75%) interviewees. Regarding the functions that *Conexion* stresses the least, two named “culture transmission

to non-ethnic groups,” one responded with “focus on the future” and another with “promotion of U.S. consumption.” Although the four respondents offered mixed opinions as to what functions they personally believed were important, all of the answers fell under the functions of pluralism.

Looking at the two publications together, “promotion of ethnic pride” was the one function that was strongly favored by all interview subjects. This function was ranked either as the most important function or the second-most important function by six out of seven (86%) respondents. Overall, pluralism functions were selected more often than assimilation functions as far as categories that were important to either the publication or to the individual.

RQ7: What rationale did the journalists at La Prensa and Conexion give for their individual roles in assisting their publications in being assimilationist, pluralist or both?

As this question is directed toward individual responses, the data are presented as a summary of the interview subject’s answer to research question 7. Each person’s interview was assigned a number and those are used to indicate the speaker. Interview subjects 1-3 were from *La Prensa*, and 4-7 from *Conexion*.

Interviewee #1 said that she finds herself being both an assimilationist and a pluralist as an employee of *La Prensa*, a publication she referred to as being dedicated to promoting Hispanic traditions, music and culture. She described her pluralist role as follows:

About 90 percent of the entertainment interviews I've done have been conducted in Spanish simply because many of my interviewees don't speak English. I've also had some entertainers that speak perfect English, but prefer a Spanish interview because their fan base is Spanish speakers or bilingual. Although I could translate it to English, many times when writing an entertainment piece, if given the choice I prefer to write it in Spanish. Why? Because when I go to cover these concerts and events I hear Spanish spoken all around me by the attendees. I feel that these are the same people that are going to pick up *La Prensa* to find out more about the artist they went to go see.

In describing her assimilationist role, interviewee #1 said that the situation is more "tricky." She stated that, "although I am one to always promote our heritage, I also understand that to succeed in the U.S. there has to be some assimilation." Adopting the English language and knowing "social norms" and laws are part of this, she said. She said that when she writes informational or civic-minded articles she deems it "imperative to make it meaningful" to her Hispanic readers.

Interviewee #2 also said that she adopts both assimilation and pluralism tendencies at her position at *La Prensa*. She described her philosophy regarding the role of the newspaper and her influence on that role:

We still pride ourselves in thinking that we're different and have something to offer, something that another culture doesn't have to offer.

We both do and don't conform. ... The world is changing and the only way

that our culture can keep up and survive is by also changing, by also adapting to the new ways.

A mixture of assimilation and pluralism was also the characterization of interviewee #3's approach to her job. She described her overall method as "more pluralism" but said that, on certain issues, she encourages more of an assimilationist approach. She used the green movement as an example, stating that "we write stories on this in Spanish because we want to reach people who may not be aware of this movement and its implications." Furthermore, she stated that *La Prensa's* editors have found "that on some issues, our readers are more receptive to the message when it comes from a bilingual newspaper."

Interview subject #4 was not able to specifically respond to the question as his role at *Conexion* involved the visual content of the publication and the majority of the editorial decisions were made by others. He did say, however, that "when I choose visuals, I have to pay very close attention to what the story is about and how do I best visualize that."

Interviewee #5 said that he viewed *Conexion* as a publication motivated by a mixture of pluralistic and assimilationist tendencies. He can identify with the dual role because he is able to relate to being "Hispanic" on a variety of levels. With Spanish as his first language and being a native of Mexico, he stated that he still can feel "like an outsider" in America. If he was new to the area, he said: "I think that *Conexion* would be my preferred publication ... I think that gives me an edge that I am an outsider and I think I understand (the readers)." He added:

“When there is a story in Spanish that I can read in *Conexion* in English, it interests me.”

Interviewee #6 connected her ability to choose editorial topics that appear in *Conexion* as a prime way that she helps the publication assert pluralistic and assimilationist characteristics. She said:

I try to stay on top of things that are going on, events coming up, etc., that relate to the Latino community here and are about Latinos elsewhere that would make interesting stories. So, I think my role in *Conexion* being both pluralist and assimilationist is that much of what is in *Conexion*, at least the locally written material, are stories that I decided to do.

The seventh interview subject stated a somewhat different perspective than the other respondents. Though she agreed that *Conexion's* approach is a mixture of pluralism and assimilation, she said she believed it leaned more toward assimilation in the way that nearly every item published has a “Hispanic” angle, particularly in celebrating the achievements or success of particular Hispanics and holding them up as models to emulate. “I think sometimes it’s almost pandering, like we’re trying too hard to find Hispanic in everything as opposed to just saying Hispanics could be interested in this and just writing about it.”

Summary of Qualitative Research Findings

RQ 3 was directed to the data derived from the in-depth interviews, and revealed that the pluralistic functions of “promotion of ethnic pride” and

“preservation and transmission of ethnic culture” were most important to the majority of the combined editorial staffs of *La Prensa* and *Conexion*. In-depth interviews were used to respond to RQ7 which asked each editorial staff member to state his or her rationale for assisting *La Prensa* or *Conexion* in being assimilationist, pluralist or a combination of both. Thematically speaking, the majority of respondents saw their interaction as a mixture of both assimilation and pluralism in their editorial choices and judgments at their respective publications.

This chapter focuses on the qualitative part of the research project, that of in-depth interviews with editorial members of both *La Prensa* and *Conexion*. Chapter 6 examines the implications of these results, and includes conclusions, study limitations, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to review the significant findings from the data and summaries presented in Chapter 4. Discussion on what makes the findings significant and conclusions drawn by the author are presented as well. This study utilized quantitative content analysis and qualitative in-depth interviews to comprehensively analyze the role of the two leading bilingual newspapers in San Antonio, Texas: *La Prensa* and *Conexion*. Specifically, the research explored whether their role is one with an assimilatory purpose, a pluralistic one, or a mixture of both. By combining the results of the content analysis with the opinions offered by the editorial staffs of both publications, a thorough picture of the newspapers' functions was obtained.

This research is important to: (1) publishers and editors of bilingual and Spanish-language newspapers so that they can better understand how their content and decisions are connected to assimilatory and/or pluralistic functions; (2) advertisers who are using or considering using bilingual or Spanish-language print media. Knowing some of the motivations of these publications regarding what type of content they choose to publish, assists advertisers in determining ad placements; (3) add to the understanding of the functions of the ethnic print media in San Antonio and how those functions are changing as the U.S. Hispanic population expands.

Major Findings and Their Implications – *La Prensa*

Overall, when comparing the responses from the in-depth interviews with the data, the findings show that the journalists who are responsible for the content and editorial direction are very in tune with their readership and are providing the type of content that they say they are. For *La Prensa*, this means a very locally focused publication with a nearly even split between Spanish and English content. As one editor stated, the publication is “100 percent advertising driven” and the content analysis showed that more than half of all its content was advertising. With its emphasis on community, it was not surprising to see that community-themed advertisements were ranked third, behind only commercial business and entertainment ads. In fact, one editor stated that the publication often runs free ads for community or non-profit organizations.

The journalists at *La Prensa* use language as a deliberate tool when deciding which message or information needs to be delivered to either a more-assimilated audience (English language is the choice) or less-assimilated (Spanish). One editor said, “In my opinion, if everybody else has already talked about it (the story) in English, then more than likely we’re going to run that story in Spanish, especially if it’s of high importance. Especially, if it’s affecting the Spanish readers of the Hispanic community.” Another editor put it this way:

The stories that you’re going to see in Spanish are what we call the ‘blockbuster’ stories or your big news stories. For example, when Michael Jackson died there was obviously a lot of coverage in English so one of the only other places people can find it in Spanish is *La Prensa*. So when

it comes to things like that, big news, hard news, we run those stories in Spanish. ... The English stories, we really love to have them community based. For example, when you're hearing about West Side shootings from another newspaper or news channel, in our newspaper, you'll hear about the students who got the scholarship or the students who are in a Head Start program.

All three interview subjects expressed the same philosophy of "big news in Spanish," "positive news in English." Using Spanish primarily for hard news directly relates to the assimilative ethnic media function "socializing to 'the modern'" in that they are assisting those unfamiliar with the environment, or unable to speak in the majority language, by providing information to help them navigate mainstream U.S. society. Likewise, reserving English for mostly positive, local news is also an assimilation ethnic media function, that of "focus on individual change." Therefore, the editors are able to promote good news and good deeds among its highly assimilated readers to reinforce a positive image of Hispanics.

News content that was coded as "business," which was the most popular topic in *La Prensa*, was twice as likely to appear in English than in Spanish. News on "arts and entertainment," "health" and "social services" were presented almost equally in Spanish and in English. If language choice for content is a useful tool in the study of assimilation, then it would appear that by choosing to present more business news in English, the staff at *La Prensa* is expecting that readers of this news are more assimilated to U.S. culture.

Of the coded text items for *La Prensa*, the assimilation function “focus on individual change” appeared almost twice as often as any other assimilation function. Furthermore, the majority of the text items printed in *La Prensa* dealt with business, arts and entertainment, or sports. One editor described how within these categories, particularly business, *La Prensa*’s editorial staff is able to work within the function “focus on individual change.” She said:

We still encounter a large group of people, Hispanics, who don’t have checking accounts ... they’re still what you call ‘mattress babies’ and they’re in their 40s and they haven’t assimilated themselves enough to know about local banking. So we do a lot of stories about finances ... we do try to help them out.

Though fewer text items were coded in the pluralism category than for assimilation, pluralistic traits such as ethnic pride and preservation of ethnic culture were dominant themes in the in-depth interviews. The newspaper’s approach, however, by stressing the positive, “good news” type of story even when writing about a Hispanic individual or business, takes what appears to be a pluralistic function (“promotion of ethnic pride” or “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture”) and makes it more assimilationist by focusing on individual achievement or expressing optimism regarding the future of Hispanics in America. As one editor expressed it:

The main thing is that *La Prensa* focuses on, really focuses on, the stories of the *pueblo*, the community. And we put on our covers heroes that are heroes to us. They may not be heroes to other people but to our

West Side community or the South Side, they are. ...We talk about topics that we think will enhance the community. I guess that's what *La Prensa* does, it gives positive news and positive role models that are similar to you (the reader).

Looking at ethnicity and photographs in *La Prensa*, the vast majority of coded photographs contained Hispanics in the picture. For the most part, photos were mainly used to accompany an article, though photo spreads were common in *La Prensa* as well.

Overall, the findings from the content analysis generally corresponded with the in-depth interviews in the central area of ethnic media functions. Both studies show that the publication exhibits functions that belong to both categories of assimilation and pluralism. The one distinction can be made in the degree of this combination. While the qualitative data found that all interviewees agreed that the publication exhibits a mixture of assimilation and pluralism functions, the edge to pluralism functions occurred when the staff members ranked the pluralistic function "promotion of ethnic pride" as number 1. However, the quantitative data suggest that assimilation functions are slightly more prevalent than pluralism.

Major Findings and Their Implications – *Conexion*

Similar to *La Prensa*, *Conexion* is heavily reliant on advertising with a focus on local news. However, the publication has a broader national scope, and includes U.S. news in about one-third of its text items. More news and information are presented in English than Spanish, however, the gap is narrower

when analyzing the publication's ad content. The data show that *Conexion* features more ad content in Spanish than news content. One editor commented on this difference, stating that either the ad buyers "don't understand what *Conexion* is trying to do or the advertising department doesn't understand what we are doing."

Whereas the staff at *La Prensa* appeared to have a clear understanding of its readers and its advertising base, *Conexion* interviews showed that clarity is lacking. The publication recently began to designate that certain pages contain Spanish-only content, typically about two-four pages per issue. This represents an increase in Spanish content with the focus shifting from using Spanish-language stories as "filler for holes," as one editor stated, to concentrating the content to specific pages. The editor added, "This whole thing with Spanish came from advertising and we're happy to do it, but I am not sure if it's working. I don't know if people are just skipping those pages." Of the content the publication does offer in Spanish, the majority centers on "business" or "arts and entertainment." This contrasts slightly with the leading English-language topic, "arts and entertainment," which is printed in English more than twice as often as business stories. Again, using the same standard as applied to *La Prensa*'s distinction in language choice for news and information, offering more business stories in Spanish indicates the publication may expect that its Spanish readers may not be entirely assimilated, but are of a certain socioeconomic status. One editor said that a portion of *Conexion*'s readership is, "middle-income, high-income Mexicans (who) are coming to San Antonio. A lot of people from northern Mexico

who are very wealthy are moving to San Antonio for many reasons whether it's violence or it's just a business venture for them." Selecting English for business-themed stories can, conversely, be explained for reaching assimilated readers. A *Conexion* interview subject said: "There are a bunch of Hispanics here who probably don't speak any Spanish anymore, or very little, yet our stories deal with people like them. We have business owners, we have *nuestra gente*, which means 'our people'."

When testing specifically for ethnic media functions, more text items were coded as assimilation, though by not as large a margin as for *La Prensa*. Like *La Prensa*, "focus on individual change" was by far the leading assimilation function found in *Conexion's* articles, briefs and calendar items. More surprising, however, was the large total number of items coded as pluralism functions. Though while not as many as assimilation, it was far more than the total number of items coded for *La Prensa* when gauging all of the possible pluralism functions. What makes it interesting is that *La Prensa's* staff was much more vocal about the publication's pluralistic tendencies and even ranked these the highest when picking out the ethnic media functions their publication stresses the most. The staff members' responses were also analogous when expressing their commitment to Hispanic heritage and identity. The majority of *Conexion's* staff, on the other hand, promoted the newspaper's targeting of assimilated Hispanics and did not express a conscious obligation to preserve or show pride in the Hispanic culture, though when ranking individual ethnic media traits, the pluralistic functions rated high. In fact, one interview subject used the word

“pandering” several times in the interview when referring to *Conexion*’s use of Hispanics in stories or photographs. The interviewee gave the following example of “trying to find the Hispanic in everything”:

Sometimes it’s something that is popular in pop culture right now, like say the ‘Harry Potter’ movies. It’s a struggle (for us) to find *the* actress. We found an actress from Spain (who was in the movie), so we put her on the cover. I do feel like it’s pandering instead of just saying Hispanics would be interested in this, let’s write about it, we try too hard to find that Hispanic person (that’s connected with the subject). I don’t necessarily think that that’s important to Hispanics. We want to know what’s going on, (but) it doesn’t necessarily have to be all brown.

One other area of similarity *Conexion* showed with *La Prensa* was in the category of photographs and photo ethnicity. Like *La Prensa*, *Conexion* had most of its photographs appearing along with articles, and, also like *La Prensa*, the majority of those photographs featured a Hispanic person. Once again, the interesting factor was in the degree, for in *La Prensa*, Hispanics were featured just less than 60% of the time, compared to 80% of the time in *Conexion*.

On the whole, there were several instances of divergence when it came to comparing the quantitative and qualitative results for *Conexion*. Though the data indicate a strong mixture of assimilation and pluralism functions, the responses gained from the in-depth interviews were not as clear. Though most of the respondents ranked “preservation and transmission of ethnic culture,” a pluralistic trait, as the predominant function seen in *Conexion*, the assimilation

function of “focus on individual change” was coded most frequently in the publication. Furthermore, in their individual interviews, most saw the publication as having a mixture of assimilative and pluralistic functions, with one saying it was “a combination, but leaning a little heavier towards assimilation.”

Limitations of Study

The weaknesses found in this study reside mainly in the quantitative research. More clarity was needed in defining the distinctions among the ethnic media functions. Even when reviewing these functions in the in-depth interviews, the repeated request to apply the functions or the definitions of assimilation and pluralism, may have caused confusion among the respondents. A more simplified application of the functions would be more suitable.

A disparity in one of the coding categories allowed for photographs to be coded at the same time as articles. This made it difficult to conduct cross-tabulations on the photo category and eliminated the potential for more data regarding photographs to be derived from this study. Additionally, more distinction for the area of photo spreads would have been appropriate to allow for a more accurate reflection of the number of individual photographs appearing in the publications, particularly *La Prensa*.

The category of politics, a characteristic that in the past has been strongly tied to assimilation theory, appeared to be a non-issue in this research. Though staff members at both publications indicated that political content was important to their publications, the numbers gained from the content analysis were extremely small, particularly during a time period that included the 2008

presidential election. Johnson (2000) had stated that political content was not analyzed in her study since the publication format under scrutiny was magazines. The low figures that resulted in this content analysis may indicate that the emphasis placed in the past on this assimilation trait is not necessary, or as necessary, to current assimilation theory.

Finally, the issue of generalizability is a notable limitation of this research. By restricting the focus of the content analysis to two publications in one city, it removes the potential for generalizing the results to other bilingual newspapers in other cities.

Contributions of Study

The findings from the content analysis and the in-depth interviews combine to add to the body of knowledge pertaining to bilingual media and the functions they serve. Scholars such as Johnson (2000, 2003), Alba and Nee (2005), and Valdez (2006) have been formulating new definitions, models and approaches to assimilation theory and pluralism, particularly as it concerns the Hispanic population in America. The expanding Hispanic populace is characterized by its steady stream of newcomers combined with an existing population which often has many familial layers. This has created a need for a type of “foreign-language” press unlike any that preceded it. This press must meet the needs of both unassimilated newcomers and highly assimilated residents alike. Add to this, that the population being served often maintains strong cultural connections or expresses interest in matters related to heritage.

The resulting picture that emerges is of a press that combines both assimilation and pluralistic functions, looking ahead while not forgetting the past.

The strength of this study is that it shows how the bilingual print media in a major American city have adapted the role of their publications to fit the evolving composition of the U.S. Hispanic population, at least as it exists in San Antonio, Texas. Traditionally, Spanish-language or bilingual print media merely sought to assimilate its readers; now, assimilation functions work alongside pluralistic ones. So a publication can include an article on how to file taxes, an assimilation characteristic, next to a profile on a first-generation college graduate, a pluralistic function.

Future Research

Spanish-language and bilingual media in general are areas that will continue to offer ample research opportunities, particularly in relation to theories of assimilation and pluralism. What has occurred within the Hispanic population in America and what is predicted to occur lead to a unique environment for testing traditional theories of how a foreign-language medium functions. Is the key to success for a modern foreign-language medium a combination of the elements of bilingualism, assimilation assistance and cultural preservation? Further studies on the functions of ethnic media, in all of its forms, can help answer that question.

One area that is in particular need of exploration is the impact of the Internet on community-specific bilingual media such as *La Prensa* and *Conexion*. Do publications such as *La Prensa* and *Conexion* need a Web presence or is the

audience they serve more accessible with the traditional print format? One *La Prensa* editor described the commemorative element of the publication and how readers often want to preserve the print copy of the paper because of a particular story or photograph. She said, “Sometimes I’ll ask ‘who cares if this girl is having a *quinceañera*?’ But our readers do and they come and buy extra issues because they’re proud that their daughter’s now turning fifteen ... you don’t see that in other newspapers.”

Finally, as the global media landscape continues to evolve, adapt and transform, there is much that can be learned by studying the functions of the foreign-language press. This press has a long history in the United States in particular, and its proven ability to maintain an important role for its readers is a valuable tool for mainstream newspapers whose leaders continue to seek out ways to preserve and strengthen their connection to readers, current and prospective.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Table 1
Number of Articles Coded for Each Publication

Conexion	61
La Prensa	129
Cancha	102
TOTAL	292

Table 2
Instances of Language Use in Articles

Spanish	174
English	108
Both	10
TOTAL	292

Table 3
Types of Bylines Used in Articles

Local reporters	220
Other	41
Wire	27
Contributors	4
TOTAL	292

Table 4
Geographic Topic of Articles

Local	125
Mexico	78
National	45
State	13
International (non-LA)	13
Latin America	13
Other	5
TOTAL	292

Table 5
Types of Articles for Each Publication

Sports	110
General news	109
Features/entertainment	62
Op/Ed	9
Other	2
TOTAL	292

Table 6
Number of News Categories Used in Each Publication

General news	143
Other	85
Health	17
Politics	16
Education	14
Business	12
Crime	5
TOTAL	292

APPENDIX B

Table 1
Content Categories (Variable 4)

Category	Definition
Article	A printed story that includes a headline and may include additional elements such as graphics or photographs
Brief	A short printed item that stands alone or is compiled in a package of short items; each item in a briefs package will be coded separately
Calendar	A listing (not in story form) of events or important dates
Photograph	A photograph that accompanies articles or stands alone with a cutline; this includes mug shots and column sigs.

Table 2
Source of Content (Variable 6)

Category	Definition
Staff	Content created by staff member
Wire service	Content obtained from wire service
Contributor/guest/courtesy	Contributor of content or a guest writer
Unknown	Not able to determine source of content

Adapted from Rivas-Rodriguez (2003)

Table 3
Topic Categories (Variable 8) for all Articles, Briefs, Calendars, and Photographs

Category	Definition
Police	Police/crime/law/courts/local public safety
Education/career	Education/information about jobs and careers, from assistance in job-seeking to career development
Health	Health/promotion of good health/medical news/ health protection (such as flu shots)
Social services	Social supports/ information on assistance with housing/poverty/social justice/legal assistance
Municipal	Municipal politics/services/budget
Environmental	Environment/weather
Fire/accident	Fire/accident
Religion	Religion
Cultural diversity/diversity issues	Cultural diversity/multiculturalism
Arts & entertainment	
Personality/celebrity features	Arts/entertainment/attractions/events
Self-improvement	Personality/celebrity features/interviews/gossip items
	Self-improvement (betterment of physical self, economic status, emotional/psychological state) with emphasis on achieving a goal
Fashion & beauty	Fashion spread/clothing & accessories/cosmetic/hair/beauty services/personal care
Travel	Travel (regional, state, national and international)
Home & garden	Home decorating, do-it-yourself, household, etc.
Food	Recipes, restaurant reviews, cooking
Business	Business practices/profiles of businesses/stock market
Sports	All levels of sporting events from Little League to professional
Politics	Legislative action/campaigns & elections
Recurring columns	Columns in any section
Other	Any other content

Adapted from Lindgren (2009), Johnson (2000), Feng & Karan (2009)

Table 4
Photo Ethnicity Categories (Variable 9)

Category	Definition
Hispanic	Subject(s) have the predominant physical characteristics of a person of Hispanic origin; use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity
Anglo	Subject(s) have the predominant physical characteristics of a person of Anglo origin; use of surnames in cutline or

	accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity
Other	Ethnicity of subject(s) is other than Hispanic or Anglo: use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity
Combination of Hispanic and Anglo	Photo includes two or more people that are of Hispanic and Anglo origin; use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity
Combination of Hispanic and other	Photo includes two or more people that are of Hispanic and other origin; use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity
Unable to determine	Not able to determine ethnicity of photo subject(s)

Table 5
Assimilation Function Categories (Variable 10)

Category	Definition
Promotion of U.S. consumption	Content promotes the purchase, consumption or adoption of U.S. products or services
Focus on individual change	Content predominantly concentrates on self-improvement in such areas as appearance, career, social standing, finances, etc., as conforming to U.S. culture.
Focus on the future	Content predominantly concentrates on the future achievements of the individual or is optimistic about the future of Hispanics in general in the U.S.
Socializing to “the Modern”	Content predominantly concentrates on assisting readers with navigating in modern-day mainstream U.S. society.

*Adapted from Johnson (2000) *operational definitions are based on a mixture of specific references from Johnson and others inferred by this author.*

Table 6
Pluralism Function Categories (Variable 11)

Category	Definition
Preservation & transmission of ethnic culture	Content predominantly reflects the Hispanic culture in a positive light, emphasizing the preservation of heritage, traditions and values and/or the diffusion of the culture to other Hispanics.
Promotion of ethnic pride	Content predominantly encourages pride in Hispanic culture.
Symbolic ethnicity & unification of subgroups	Content visually relates elements of the Hispanic culture [such as dress, music, etc.] while including at least two members of different pan-Hispanic subgroups in a positive light. For example, this could include Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in a photo. Use of cutline text or accompanying article can be used to help determine ethnicity.
Respite from general market media	Content does not perpetuate marginalization of Hispanics, a trend that is often current in mainstream U.S. media
Culture transmission to non-ethnic groups	Content predominantly centers on the diffusion of the Hispanic culture to non-Hispanics.

*Adapted from Johnson (2000) *operational definitions are based on a mixture of specific references from Johnson and others inferred by this author.*

Table 7
Advertising Categories (Variable 6)

Category	Definition
Self-improvement	Promotion or information on self-improvement [betterment of physical self, economic status, emotional/psychological state] with emphasis on achieving a goal)
Commercial business	Ad is designed to raise awareness of a commercial business such as a restaurant, store; may promote a sale or event, etc.
House advertisement	Promotes or informs about the publication itself, or some venture sponsored by the publication such as a job fair
Community	Ad promotes or informs about a community event, such as a festival, fair, reunion, etc.

Entertainment	Ad promotes or informs about an entertainment source such as a theater production, movie, concert, etc.
Sports	Ad promotes or informs about a team, an event, etc.
Government	Ad promotes or informs about a government-sponsored event or is a published governmental notice, etc.
Medical	Ad promotes or informs about medical studies, health plans, etc.
Professional services	Ad promotes or informs about professional services such as those offered by a lawyer
Religious	Ad promotes or informs about a religion, religious leaders, or events, activities, etc. of a particular church or parish
Other	Any other category

APPENDIX C

Coder ID: name of coder

Issue date: Date of publication being coded; give month, day and year

Page number: indicates the page that the coded item is on

v1. Item number: assign number to the item being coded; on any given page of the publication there could be anywhere from one to 10 items (including stories, photos, ads, etc.). Each item on that page will receive a number and the numbers will progress forward through the publication. For example, one issue might have 55 numbered items from its first page through to its last page.

v2. Newspaper: indicate which San Antonio newspaper is being coded.

1 = La Prensa

2 = Conexion

v3. Language: indicate which language is used predominantly in the content. For example, if the story is mostly in English, but uses a few Spanish words to punctuate or accent a phrase or sentence, then the story should be coded as English.

1 = Spanish

2 = English

3 = Other

v4. Content type: indicate what form the content is in.

1 = Article (a printed story that includes a headline and may include additional elements such as graphics or photographs.)

2 = Brief (A short printed item that stands alone or is compiled in a package of short items; **each item in a briefs package will be coded separately.**)

3 = Calendar (A listing [not in story form] of events or important dates; **each item in a briefs package will be coded separately.**)

4 = Photograph (A photograph that accompanies articles or stands alone with a cutline; this includes mug shots and column sigs.)

5 = Advertisement (An advertisement appearing in the editorial portions of the publications [not classifieds].)

6 = Other

7 = Unknown

v5. Photo type: indicate the category of the photograph or photographs.

1 = Photo accompanies an article

2 = Standalone photograph with no story

3 = Photo spread with story

4 = Photo spread without story

5 = Mugshot with story

6 = Column sig with column

7 = Other

v6. Ad type: indicate the category of the advertisement.

1 = Self-improvement (self-improvement [betterment of physical self, economic status, emotional/psychological state] with emphasis on achieving a goal)

2 = Commercial business (ad is designed to raise awareness of a commercial business such as a restaurant, store; may promote a sale or event, etc.)

3 = House advertisement (promotes or informs about the publication itself, or some venture sponsored by the publication such as a job fair)

4 = Community (ad promotes or informs about a community event, such as a festival, fair, reunion, etc.)

5 = Entertainment (ad promotes or informs about an entertainment source such as a theater production, movie, concert, etc.)

6 = Sports (ad promotes or informs about a team, an event, etc.)

7 = Government (ad promotes or informs about a government-sponsored event or is a published governmental notice, etc.)

8 = Medical (ad promotes or informs about medical studies, health plans, etc.)

9 = Professional services (ad promotes or informs about professional services such as those offered by a lawyer)

10 = Religious (ad promotes or informs about a religion, religious leaders, or events, activities, etc. of a particular church or parish)

11 = Other (any other category)

v7. Source of content: indicate who is credited for the content.

1 = Staff (content created by staff member of the publication)

2 = Wire service (content obtained from a wire service)

3 = Contributor/guest/courtesy (contributor of content or a guest writer)

4 = Other (a source other than the three categories above)

5 = Unknown (not able to determine the source of the content)

v8. Geographic topic: indicate the primary location of the content's subject. For photos, use cutlines to help determine location.

1 = Local

2 = State

3 = National

4 = International (non-Latin America)

5 = Latin America (excluding Mexico)

6 = Mexico

7 = Other

8 = Unknown

v9. Topic categories: indicate what category the content fits under.

1 = Police (police/crime/law/courts/local public safety)

2 = Education/career (education/information about jobs and careers, from assistance in job-seeking to career development)

3 = Health (health/promotion of good health/medical news/ health protection (such as flu shots)

4 = Social services (social supports/ information on assistance with housing/poverty/social justice/legal assistance)

5 = Municipal (municipal politics/services/budget)

6 = Environmental (environment/weather)

7 = Fire/accident (fire/accident)

8 = Religion (religion)

9 = Cultural diversity/diversity issues (cultural diversity/multiculturalism)

10 = Arts & entertainment (arts/entertainment/attractions/events)

11 = Personality/celebrity features (personality/celebrity features/interviews/gossip items)

12 = Self-improvement (self-improvement [betterment of physical self, economic status, emotional/psychological state] with emphasis on achieving a goal)

13 = Fashion & beauty (fashion spread/clothing & accessories/cosmetic/hair/beauty services/personal care)

14 = Travel (travel [regional, state, national and international])

15 = Home & garden (home decorating, do-it-yourself, household, etc.)

16 = Food (recipes, restaurant reviews, cooking)

17 = Business (business practices/profiles of businesses/stock market)

18 = Sports (all levels of sporting events from Little League to professional)

19 = Politics (legislative action/campaigns & elections)

20 = Recurring columns (columns in any section)

21 = Other (any other editorial content)

v10. Photo ethnicity categories: indicate the predominant ethnicity of the photo's main subject(s).

1 = Hispanic (subject[s] have the predominant physical characteristics of a person of Hispanic origin; use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity.)

2 = Anglo (subject[s] have the predominant physical characteristics of a person of Anglo origin; use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity.)

3 = Other (ethnicity of subject[s] is other than Hispanic or Anglo; use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity.)

4 = Combination of Hispanic and Anglo (photo includes two or more people who are of Hispanic and Anglo origin; use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity.)

5 = Combination of Hispanic and other (photo includes two or more people who are of Hispanic and other origin; use of surnames in cutline or accompanying article also can help determine ethnicity.)

6 = Unable to determine (not able to determine ethnicity of photo subject[s])

7 = No people are in the photo

v11. Assimilation function categories: indicate what category the content predominantly fits under.

1 = Promotion of U.S. consumption (content promotes the purchase, consumption or adoption of U.S. products or services)

2 = Focus on individual change (content predominantly concentrates on self-improvement in such areas as appearance, career, social standing, finances, etc. as conforming to U.S. culture)

3 = Focus on the future (content predominantly concentrates on the future achievements of the individual or is optimistic about the future of Hispanics in general in the U.S.)

4 = Socializing to “the Modern” (content predominantly concentrates on assisting readers with navigating in modern-day mainstream U.S. society.)

5 = Other

6 = Unknown

v12. Pluralism function categories: indicate what category the content predominantly fits under.

1 = Preservation & transmission of ethnic culture (content predominantly reflects the Hispanic culture in a positive light, emphasizing the preservation of heritage, traditions and values and/or the diffusion of the culture to other Hispanics.)

2 = Promotion of ethnic pride (content predominantly encourages pride in Hispanic culture)

3 = Symbolic ethnicity & unification of subgroups (content visually relates elements of the Hispanic culture [such as dress, music, etc.] while including at least two members of different pan-Hispanic subgroups in a positive light. For example, this could include Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in a photo. Use of cutline text or accompanying article can be used to help determine ethnicity.)

4 = Respite from general market media (content does not perpetuate marginalization of Hispanics, a trend that is often current in mainstream U.S. media.)

5 = Culture transmission to non-ethnic groups (content predominantly centers on the diffusion of the Hispanic culture to non-Hispanics.)

6 = Other

7 = Unknown

APPENDIX D

CODING SHEET # _____

Coder ID: _____

Issue date: _____

Page number: _____

v1. Item number: _____

v2. Newspaper name

1 = La Prensa

2 = Conexion

v3. Language

1 = Spanish

2 = English

3 = Other

v4. Content type

1 = Article

2 = Brief

3 = Calendar

4 = Photograph

5 = Advertisement

6 = Other

7 = Unknown

v5. Photo type

- 1 = Photo with article
 - 2 = Standalone
 - 3 = Photo spread with story
 - 4 = Photo spread without story
 - 5 = Mugshot with story
 - 6 = Column sig with column
 - 7 = Other
-

v6. Ad type

- 1 = Self-improvement
 - 2 = Commercial business
 - 3 = House advertisement
 - 4 = Community
 - 5 = Entertainment
 - 6 = Sports
 - 7 = Government
 - 8 = Medical
 - 9 = Professional services
 - 10 = Religious
 - 11 = Other
-

v7. Source of content

- 1 = Staff
 - 2 = Wire
 - 3 = Contributor/guest/courtesy
 - 4 = Other
 - 5 = Unknown
-

v8. Geographic topic

- 1 = Local

- 2 = State
 - 3 = National
 - 4 = International (non-Latin America)
 - 5 = Latin America (excluding Mexico)
 - 6 = Mexico
 - 7 = Other
 - 8 = Unknown
-

v9. Topic categories

- 1 = Police
 - 2 = Education/career
 - 3 = Health
 - 4 = Social services
 - 5 = Municipal
 - 6 = Environmental
 - 7 = Fire/accident
 - 8 = Religion
 - 9 = Cultural diversity/diversity issues
 - 10 = Arts & entertainment
 - 11 = Personality/celebrity features
 - 12 = Self-improvement
 - 13 = Fashion & beauty
 - 14 = Travel
 - 15 = Home & garden
 - 16 = Food
 - 17 = Business
 - 18 = Sports
 - 19 = Politics
 - 20 = Recurring columns
 - 21 = Other
 - 22 = Unknown
-

v10. Photo ethnicity categories

- 1 = Hispanic
 - 2 = Anglo
 - 3 = Other
 - 4 = Combination of Hispanic and Anglo
 - 5 = Combination of Hispanic and other
 - 6 = Unable to determine
 - 7 = No people are in the photo
-

v11. Assimilation function categories

- 1 = Promotion of U.S. consumption
 - 2 = Focus on individual change
 - 3 = Focus on the future
 - 4 = Socializing to “the Modern”
 - 5 = Other
 - 6 = Unknown
-

v12. Pluralism function categories

- 1 = Preservation & transmission of ethnic culture
 - 2 = Promotion of ethnic pride
 - 3 = Symbolic ethnicity & unification of subgroups
 - 4 = Respite from general market media
 - 5 = Culture transmission to non-ethnic groups
 - 6 = Other
 - 7 = Unknown
-

APPENDIX E

The first six questions are designed to gather biographical information from the interview subject.

1. Name
2. Position at the publication
3. How long have you been with the publication?
4. How many years of journalism experience do you have?
5. Where are you from?
6. What is your first language?

This line of questioning employs open-ended questions in order to elicit spontaneous and substantive responses. Emphasis was placed on directing individuals to respond for themselves and not to espouse a company mantra.

7. How do you determine if a story will be written in Spanish or English?
8. How would you describe the quality of your publication (as defined by level of writing, editing and design)?
9. What areas of improvement do you believe are needed for your publication?
10. How is advertising revenue related to the perceived quality of your publication?
11. If quality were to improve, how do you believe this would impact advertising?

12. How important are the bilingual print media in San Antonio to the development of the city's Hispanic population? (adapted from Suro's 2004 research)

13. How would you characterize the effectiveness of the bilingual print media in San Antonio when it comes to covering news specifically relevant to the city's Hispanic population? (adapted from Suro's 2004 research)

14. Looking at the list of functions for the ethnic media as provided to you, which do you believe your publication stresses the most? The least? From your own perspective, please rank the order of importance for each of the functions (using 1-9, with 1 being the most important).

15. How would you describe the role your publication plays in the promotion of politics among the city's Hispanic population? For example, in what ways does your publication inform its readers about elections, campaigns, legislative matters, etc.?

16. Looking at the definitions of assimilation and pluralism as provided to you, which do you believe your publication stresses (or is it both)? In what ways is this stressed to readers?

17. What is your role in assisting your publication in being assimilationist, pluralist or both?

APPENDIX F

From: Kay O'Donnell
Subject: Research Request
Dear *Conexion* staff members:

I am a student in the School of Journalism at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Your e-mail was obtained from the contact list of your publication's Web site. A blind copy format will be used so that the list of recipients will not appear in the header.

I am contacting you to request your permission to schedule an interview with you on the topic of the role your publication plays in the community. I have a prepared list of 15 questions to ask and I will be recording (audio only) the session.

You were selected to participate in this study because you are a staff member of *Conexion*.

The interview session will take 30 to 40 minutes to complete. All your responses will be kept confidential within reasonable limits. Only people directly involved with this project will have access to the recorded interview sessions.

Questions about this study can be directed to me or to my supervising professor, Dr. Dennis Lowry, School of Journalism, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-6601

If you do not respond to this e-mail request or return the opt-out message, you will be contacted again with this request three times during the next two weeks.

Thank you for taking the time to assist me in this research.

Kay O'Donnell

210-434-6711 Ext. 2112

modonnell@lake.ollusa.edu

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Committee chairperson, Office of Research Development and Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail: siuhsc@siu.edu

APPENDIX G

I _____
agree to participate in the research project being conducted by Kay O'Donnell as part of her doctoral research at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

I understand that she is conducting research on the role of the bilingual press in San Antonio and has requested my participation in an in-depth interview.

I understand that she will conduct the interviews at my publication's site, and the one-on-one interviews are expected to last approximately 30 minutes. The interviews will be recorded with a digital voice recorder.

I understand that I was selected to participate in this research because of the role I play at a bilingual newspaper in San Antonio. My participation in this study is voluntary.

I understand that the information obtained in the interview will be confidential. Each participant will be given a code number, assigned starting with the first interview subject being Subject #1 and progressing forward. The researcher (Kay O'Donnell) will be the only person with access to the code list that will contain the names and coding numbers of each participant. The list will be kept in a secure folder in her office computer files. The list will be destroyed at the completion of the study.

I understand that my name will not be used, however, quotes will be used from the transcripts of the recorded interviews. I give my consent for the researcher to use quotes from the interview session in her study.

I understand that she will take all reasonable steps to protect my identity.

I understand that if I have any questions about this study, I may contact the researcher's dissertation chair: Dr. Dennis Lowry, 618-536-3361, School of Journalism, Carbondale, IL 62901. The researcher can be reached at 210-434-6711, Ext. 2112, Our Lady of the Lake University, 411 S.W. 24th St., San Antonio, TX 78207.

Signature _____ Date _____

“This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Research Development and Administration, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail siuhsc@siu.edu”

VITA

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University

Kay O'Donnell

Date of Birth: March 8, 1966

201 Arvin Drive, San Antonio, Texas 78209

jprofk@yahoo.com

University of Southwestern Louisiana
Bachelor of Arts, English/Journalism, December 1987

University of New Orleans
Master of Arts, Drama and Communication, May 1992

Dissertation Title:

ASSIMILATION, REJECTION OR CONVERGENCE?
THE ROLE OF THE BILINGUAL PRESS IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

Major Professor: Dr. Dennis T. Lowry