

## Preferences Expressed By Asian-Indian Subjects for American Versus Asian Indian Print Advertisements

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### Abstract

*Marketing studies have demonstrated that Asian-Indians tend to patronize those marketers who develop culturally sensitive advertising campaigns to reach the Indian immigrants in the U.S. Based on this contention, the aim of this study was to gain insights regarding cultural differences that the Indian subjects of this study saw in terms of the general appearance, lifestyle, and personality of the models portrayed in selected American magazine advertisements versus the Indian magazine advertisements of the same product class. The study also investigates whether the religious, caste, and regional differences among the Indian respondents in the U.S. has an impact on how they felt towards the Indian advertisements. The results and implications of the study are discussed.*

**Key Words:** Asian-Indian Preferences, Magazine Advertisements, Advertising, Projective Technique, Asian-Indian Culture

### Introduction

United States (U.S.) has become a multicultural society consisting of several ethnic subcultures. Ethnic subcultures are defined as those whose members' unique shared behaviors are based on common racial, language, or national background (Hawkins and Mothersbaugh, 2010, p. 158). Ethnic groups do not just differ in the languages they speak or their skin color but they differ in cultural values, attitudes, and experiences, where they shop, and what advertising appeals they pay attention to, which intertwine to shape differences in buying behavior (Perrault, Cannon, and McCarthy, 2011). Ethnicity affects consumer behavior through clothes, taste in music, leisure pursuits, and food and drink consumption (Bocock, 1993). As U.S. becomes more diverse an understanding of these differences offer growth opportunity to marketers to effectively cater to different ethnic subcultures (Perrault, Cannon, and McCarthy, 2011). Verhelst (1990, p.17) defined culture as "every aspect of life: know-how, technical knowledge, customs of food and dress, religion, mentality, values, languages, symbols, socio-political and economic behavior, indigenous methods of making decisions and exercising power, methods of production and economic relations, and so on". Furthermore, national culture is shared by individuals from a particular nation that is different from other nations (Hofstede, 1983).

Advertising is considered a form of social communication that is particularly reflective of a society's culture. Cultural values are reproduced in an idealized manner through advertising so that the audience can find similarity between themselves and the subjects of the advertisements (Hong, Muderrissoglu, and Zinkhan, 1987; McCracken, 1986). The use of local cultural values to understand the media effectiveness has been researched since the early 1960s (Fam and Grohs, 2007). According to Professor Schmit of the Columbia Business School, "A consumer is exposed to hundreds of logos, he is constantly bombarded and overwhelmed by these, but ethnocentered advertisements catch his or her attention more easily." He further added that there was a time when Westerners would consider Asian subculture as one people, but now they have recognized that the Chinese, Japanese, Indians and others are all very different and these differences have been recognized in advertising media (reported by Krishna, 1997, p. 24). The effectiveness of ethnic marketing has inspired a few U.S. marketers to develop culturally sensitive campaigns to reach Asian-Indian immigrants residing in the U.S. These marketers include long-distance telephone companies, airlines, insurance, Indian restaurants, and matchmaking/dating services (Mogelonsky, 1995; Krishna, 1997).

These authors have noted that Asian-Indians tend to patronize those marketers who develop culturally sensitive advertising campaigns to reach them. Recently some banking, financial services, and cosmetic companies have included Asian-Indian models in their advertisements. The recent population growth of Asian-Indian coming from the Asian subcontinent of India in the U.S. presents a great opportunity to marketers. There are approximately 2.25 million Asian Indians in the U.S. This segment is growing rapidly as a result of immigration (Gitlin, 2005; Hawkins and Mothersbaugh, 2011; Joseph, 2006). The Asian Indian population in the U.S. grew 38 percent from 2000 to 2005, the highest growth rate among Asian subcultures followed by the Vietnamese (27 percent) and Filipinos (23 percent) (Joseph, 2006). This growing population has a very strong purchasing power. They are the wealthiest ethnic group in the U.S. with a median household income of \$73,575 in 2005 compared with the national median household income of \$46,242 nationwide in 2005 (*U.S. Census Bureau*, 2006). Asian-Indians are also well-educated and fluent in English (Hataway, 2001; Gitlin, 2005; Mogolensky, 1995) yet most retain cultural ties to their Indian background (Pavri, 2011, Mogolensky, 1995). Several studies have reported that most of the Indian immigrants in the U.S. sampled in their study were married, younger, highly educated, well-to-do individuals coming from urban areas of India (Dasgupta, 1988; Khairullah and Khairullah, 1999; Leonard-Spark, Saran, and Ginsberg, 1980; Sodowsky and Carey, 1988; Mehta and Belk, 1991).

Past research has examined the social and cultural values of Indian immigrants in the U.S. and found that most retain the cultural values of their Indian heritage (e.g., Dasgupta, 1989; Desai and Coelho, 1980; Gandhi, 1970; Gibson, 1988; Gupta, 1975; Mehta and Belk, 1989; Sodowsky and Carey, 1987). India is a diverse nation consisting of 28 states, 7 union territories, 15 official languages, and dozens of other languages and dialects. There are a number of different religions practiced such as Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and Sikhism (Blackwell, 2004; *CIA-World FactBook-India*, 2011; Cox and Daniel, 2000; Dutt and Noble, 1982; Pavri, 2011). In several studies the Indian respondents who participated came from different religious and regional backgrounds (e.g., Gandhi, 1970; Gupta, 1975; Khairullah and Khairullah, 1999). The Hindu sacred texts depict a society divided into four castes: Brahman (priest), Kshtriya (warrior), Vaishya (merchant), and Shudra (servant), with the Brahman having the highest social order. Each caste depicts a separate distinct set of values and obligations. India's social structure is much more inflexible and individuals find harder to move up in the class system (Blackwell, 2004; Heitzman and Worden, 1996, Perrault, Cannon, and McCarthy, 2011). In several studies Indian immigrant respondents who were Hindus were found to belong to different castes (e.g., Dasgupta, 1985; Gandhi, 1970; Gupta, 1975; Khairullah and Khairullah, 1999). Although language, regional, and religious differences may divide Indians, they share a large number of common underlying cultural values (Cox and Daniel, 2000; Dutt and Noble, 1982; Ross, 1960; Mogolensky, 1995).

### ***Objective of the Present Study***

Based on the findings of the earlier studies, the aim of this exploratory research was threefold. The first was to gain insights regarding cultural differences that the Indian subjects of this study saw in terms of the general appearance, lifestyle, and personality of the models appearing in selected American magazine advertisements versus the Indian magazine advertisements of the same product class. The second was to find out if the religious, caste, and regional differences among the Indian respondents in the U.S. would have an impact on how they felt towards the Indian advertisements. These interpersonal interpretations of participants were obtained through indirect means-projective techniques one of the qualitative research methods. And finally was to ask respondents whether they preferred the American advertisements or the Indian advertisements. The results of such studies enable marketers to evaluate the feasibility of developing a culturally sensitive advertising campaign aimed at the growing affluent Indian immigrant market in the U.S.

### ***Asian-Indian Culture***

Dasgupta (1989) in her study found that Indian immigrants see Americans as extroverts, practical, honest, technology oriented, self-confident, self-sufficient, hard working, assertive, lonely, self-centered, and less attached to their families. On the other hand, Indians consider themselves as introverts, emotional, knowledgeable but not practical, less confident, and very much oriented towards the family and society. A study found significant differences in wife's decision making role in Indian women versus western women. Wives in western society would take credit or be given credit whenever they made decisions, but Indian wives always gave credit to their husbands (Ramu, 1987).

Indian cultural identity in terms of her arts and crafts such as household shrine, ancestors photographs, heirloom, furniture, embroidery, carpentry, wood and metal works, tapes of Indian movies and songs, and religious objects such as deities of India were found in the homes of the Indian immigrants in the U.S. by several researchers (e.g., Desai and Coelho, 1980; Gandhi, 1970; Mehta and Belk, 1991; Saran and Leonard-Spark, 1980). Mehta and Belk (1991) in their study found that although several Indian women in the U.S. did not wear a traditional Indian dress (saris) on a routine basis, they did make it a point to wear them along with their wedding jewelry on special occasions such as parties, holidays, and evenings out. However, men did not cite Indian clothing as favorite possessions and did not wear their ethnic clothes very often. According to Desai and Coelho (1980), Indian women also were seen wearing their colorful saris in shopping centers and hospitals.

The notion of purity was displayed in religious rituals especially among the Hindus where females prayed before their deities every morning after their bath and prior to cooking their meals (Mehta and Belk, 1991). Hindu men also prayed before the pictures of their deities in the mornings and in the evenings by lighting a lamp and burning incense (Gandhi, 1970). Sadowsky and Carey (1987) noted that, the first-generation Indian in the U.S. despite their western education and training in modern scientific thinking, have still retained their religious beliefs that their family happiness and prosperity will continue to increase if they light incense daily to the images of their household gods. Several of the subjects in Dasgupta's (1989) study and Gandhi's (1970) study said that they were very active in their own ethnic organizations. For instance, they organized religious festivals, cultural shows, and 'India Day.'

According to Vaidyanathan (1989), compared to the western societies the Indians are perceived to be less individualist and more family oriented. The Indian immigrants place a great value on education, financial security, and family. They feel that they have moral and financial obligation, responsibility, and commitment not only to their spouses and their children but also to the members of their extended families in terms of bearing most of the educational expenses of their children, providing monetary support to the members of the extended family, and providing strong emotional support to the children even as they grow to be adults and also to their extended family members (Dasgupta, 1989; Krishna, 1997; Mehta and Belk, 1989; Mogolensky, 1995; Sadowsky and Carey, 1987).

Indians see the institution of marriage as a life-long relationship and maintenance of the traditional nature of the conjugal relationships. The husbands' and wives' roles are perceived as division of labor. Men are responsible for providing financial support and general directions in family matters. Women are responsible for cooking, taking care of the house and children, and are less career-oriented than their western counterparts. In the presence of others, an Indian couple is not expected to display their affection for each other (Dasgupta, 1989; Ross, 1960).

## ***Methodology***

### **Sample**

Sixty-six first-generation Indians residing in the upstate western New York and Pennsylvania states were contacted over telephone. Fifty-nine Indians adults (18 years and older) out of the sixty-six contacted agreed to participate. The sample consisted of both males (32=54%) and females (27=46%). Most of them were married (54=91%) with Indian spouses (52=96% of those who were married). The majority of the Indians sampled had been living in the U.S. for more than ten years (49=83%). The majority (51=86%) were over twenty-five years of age; well-educated (Bachelors' degree from India 23=40% and Graduate degree from the U.S. 26=44%); well-to-do (37=63% had yearly family income of > \$80,000); and professionals (39=66%). The respondents came from different religious backgrounds (33=56% Hindus; 19=32% Muslims; 3 Sikhs; 2 Jain; 1 Christian; and 1 Zoroastrian). A majority of the subjects originally came from large cities in India (48=81%).

### **Procedure**

To test cultural, religious, caste, and regional differences in responses of Indians for American versus the Indian magazine advertisements, one of the qualitative research methods of in-depth personal interviews using the indirect means-projective technique was used. The underlying premise of projective tests is that respondents' inner feelings influence how they perceive the given stimuli. Their responses are actually projections of their inner thoughts, even though they may ascribe their responses to something or someone else. In projective techniques instead of asking subjects to directly report their feelings and behavior about the situation, they are asked to interpret the behavior of others in the same situation. In doing so, the subjects indirectly are projecting their own underlying motives, beliefs, and feelings into that situation.

Projective techniques are sometimes used as part of a focus group but are more commonly used during in-depth interviews. They consist of a variety of disguised “tests” that contain ambiguous stimuli, such as incomplete sentences, untitled pictures or cartoons, ink blots, word-association tests, and other-person characterizations (Schiffman, Kanuk, and Wisenblit, 2010). Color American magazine advertisements of coffee, cooking oil, man's suit, refrigerator, shampoo, and tea and corresponding Indian magazine advertisements of the same products were shown to the fifty-nine respondents. These products were selected because they are common consumer products and the advertisements for these products frequently appear in American and Indian magazines. Magazine advertisements were selected because they were easy to obtain and administer. The data collected through personal interviews took place in each of the participants' homes and lasted for approximately one hour. The interviews were conducted in English and the advertisements shown to the respondents were in English. Since India was under British rule for nearly 200 hundred years, English is still one of the official languages used in India to conduct official business and commercial transactions (*CIA-The World FactBook-India*, 2011). Indian immigrants, particularly those coming from India's urban areas to the U.S., are proficient in both spoken and written English language (Dasgupta, 1989; Mehta and Belk, 1991).

Each one of fifty-nine respondents was shown the six pairs of American and corresponding Indian advertisements of the same products one after the other. Using a semi-structured, open-ended questionnaire, respondents were first asked to describe the background of the advertisements and give their opinion regarding the general appearance, life style, and personality of the models shown in the American versus the Indian advertisements. Then they were asked questions regarding the Indian models' religion, caste, region, or the state of India they come from, and the role of "bindi" (the colored dot that many Indian females wear on their foreheads). They were also asked if the models' perceived religion, caste, region, or the use of 'bindi' on the female models' forehead would have an impact on how they felt towards the Indian advertisements.

The procedure of data collection and analysis in qualitative research as proposed by Creswell (2003) and Delpechitre and DeVaney (2007) was followed. The researchers of the present study transcribed the interviews of each of the fifty-nine respondents. After the researchers finished the interview with each of the respondents, the researchers shared the transcripts with each of the respondents regarding their responses to confirm the content. Upon completion of all the interviews, the researcher reviewed the transcripts, the responses were pooled, and common themes emerging from these responses are reported in the next section. Internal validity was developed by spending a good amount of time with the participants to understand their responses and by verifying that the transcripts were correct (Mantzoukas, 2004). The respondents also were asked to indicate whether they preferred the American versus the Indian advertisements. Frequencies, percentages, and Statistical sign tests were used to report their preferences and appear in the following section. Lastly, the respondents had to fill out a questionnaire pertaining to their own demographics.

### ***Results and Discussion***

Exhibit-1 summarizes the reasons given by respondents for their perceptions of cultural differences in the six pairs of the American versus the Indian advertisements that were shown to them. It also summarizes common comments given by the respondents describing in their own words the models' personality, appearance, and life style. The results of Exhibit-1 indicate that the Indian respondents saw clear cultural differences in terms of the description of the background, general appearance of the model(s), personality, and life-style in both the American as well as in the Indian advertisements. Indians in the U.S. see themselves as being more family-oriented and conservative than their American counterparts who were seen as more out-going, sophisticated, and career-oriented.

#### **Insert Exhibit (1) about here**

The remarks of the respondents mentioned in Exhibit-1 are consistent with the findings of the earlier studies that the first-generation Indians in the U.S. remain committed to their cultural values and the Americans are perceived to be different than themselves in terms of their values and behaviors (e.g., Dasgupta, 1989; Mehta and Belk, 1991; Mogolensky, 1995; Saran and Leonard-Spark, 1980; Sodowsky and Carey, 1987). The results from Exhibit-1 also reveal that the Indians see themselves as young, married, educated, and affluent individuals. These observations reinforce the socio-economic characteristics of the Indian immigrants in the U.S. of being young, married, well-educated, and affluent individuals as reported in several prior studies (e.g., Dasgupta, 1989; Khairullah and Khairullah, 1999; Mehta and Belk, 1991; Sodowsky and Carey, 1988).

These perceptions also reflect the bias in the U.S. Immigration Laws which give preference to those Indians who are professionals for permanent resident status in the U.S., and the tendency of Indian immigrants to come to the U.S. for career and educational advancements. Regarding the questions about which religion and caste the models in the Indian magazine advertisements belonged to, both Hindus as well as non-Hindus said that the models belonged to the Hindu religion. However, this is not surprising because Hinduism is the predominant religion of India (*CIA-The World Factbook-India*, 2011). This response seems to indicate that non-Hindus are not sensitive about those advertisements that portray the mainstream Indian religion. Furthermore, all the respondents said that it was very difficult to tell by looking at the models which caste they belonged to. They also said which caste the models belonged to would not have any impact on how they felt toward the advertisements. Gandhi (1970, p. 98) in his study quoted the remarks of one Indian student coming from the state of Gujarat in India to clarify that caste was not important to Hindu Indians once they came to the U.S. These remarks are as follows: “back in India my father is a carpenter and even though he makes an average monthly income, I felt that people did assign us “low” status because of my father’s caste. I even got a “Backward caste” scholarship once when I was in high school ---- When I came here, nobody asked me what my father’s occupation was and what caste I came from, even though people from Gujarat did know my caste from my last name.”

In their study Khairullah and Khairullah (1999) found that caste or which social group the sample of Indian immigrants in the U.S. belonged to did not have an impact on behavioral acculturation of the respondents. The authors of the present study found that a majority of the respondents did not answer the question on caste and those who answered this question said that they either belonged to the two upper social castes or that the caste did not apply to them. Caste system is prevalent among Hindus in rural areas of India and is not as evident in urban areas where modernization and westernization has weakened the influence of caste system (Mehta and Belk, 1991). Malik (1986) is of the opinion that perhaps the western ethnographers of India have previously over-emphasized the importance of caste system, particularly for urban populations. Past studies on Indian immigrants have indicated that a majority of them came from the urban areas of India that is true of the majority of respondents in the present study also.

With respect to the question regarding which region or state in India the models came from, some participants said that it was difficult to tell just by looking at the models in the Indian advertisements. Some participants said they were guessing that they came from a very popular state of India-Maharashtra since the Indian cinema industry is situated in Mumbai, a large cosmopolitan city in the state of Maharashtra. All of the respondents said that even if they thought that the models appearing in the Indian advertisements came from regional areas other than the ones they came from, this difference would not have any impact on how they felt towards the advertisements. Gandhi (1970) in his study observed that the more homogeneous the Indian students were in their regional background, the stronger were their social bonds. He nevertheless, concluded that despite these regional ties, there were common cultural forms shared by the entire Indian student community in Minnesota. They all were united and considered themselves as one Indian Group. The overall findings of this study are consistent with past research, which has shown that in spite of regional, linguistic, and caste differences, people from India have the same basic moral code and outlook on life.

As for the question about the significance of “bindi” (the red dot appearing on the foreheads of the female models in the Indian advertisements), both Hindus and non-Hindus in our study overwhelmingly said that it is a tradition especially among the married Hindu females to wear “bindi” to show that they are married. They also said that the presence of “bindi” would not have any impact on how they felt towards the advertisements. This response seems to indicate that non-Hindus are not sensitive about the advertisements that portray the symbolic value of the mainstream Indian religion.

Table-1 shows the frequencies and percentages of the preferences expressed for the six pairs of American and Asian-Indian print advertisements shown to the fifty-nine male and female respondents. Table-2 provides the frequencies and percentages of preferences for the same six pairs of advertisements separately for the twenty-seven female and the thirty-two male respondents. Statistical sign tests indicate that there is a significant difference at the 95% confidence level that the Asian-Indian print advertisements are preferred over the American advertisements by the majority of both male as well as female respondents.

**Insert Table (1) about here**

**Insert Table (2) about here**

## **Implications**

While interpreting the findings of this study, we must keep in mind that the sample of the fifty-nine respondents in this study was from the upstate western New York and Pennsylvania states. This limits the generalizability of the study. All of the American and the Indian print magazine advertisements used in this study were selected in such a way that they reflected the cultural differences between them. Hence, the results of this study must be considered as exploratory. Nevertheless, the findings of this study have potential implications for advertisers. Indian immigrants with their growing numbers and favorable socio-economic characteristics provide a lucrative market. As evident from the earlier reports that those advertisers who take the initiative in developing culturally attuned advertisements to reach Indians are most likely to win their loyalty and thus develop a niche in this affluent market. The results of this study together with those of earlier studies imply that Indian immigrants through their cultural values, rituals, clothing, furnishings, religion, etc. see themselves as a distinct group within the U.S.

A majority of the Indian respondents in the present study, including both females as well as males considered separately, preferred Asian-Indian advertisements over the American advertisements. Marketers who wish to advertise successfully to U.S. Asian-Indian immigrants should develop advertisements that reflect the cultural values of India. For example, appeals in Indian advertisements should focus on family bonds, husband/wife relationships, religious rituals, Indian arts and crafts. The female Indian models should be shown wearing traditional Indian dress and jewelry and also be shown as young conservative housewives where appropriate. Similarly, the male Indian models should be shown as young, educated, well-to-do individuals. Marketers should ensure that Indian advertisements are either prepared or screened by those individuals who are familiar with the cultural values of Indians. Marketers can reach Asian-Indians through several media specifically catering to Asian-Indians in the U.S. For example Asian-Indians have their own newsgroup available on the internet, newspapers, and magazines. There are many FM and AM radio programs broadcast in Hindi across the U.S. Asian-Indian programs are common on cable channels in U.S. cities with large communities. There are a number of Indian organizations and associations which organize religious and cultural events (Pavri, 2011). Participating in such events is a good avenue for marketers to expose their products and get recognized for their efforts in reaching out to the Asian-Indians.

The results of this study together with what has been found in other studies of Indian immigrants imply that religion, caste, and regional diversity were not important considerations with respect to advertisements among U.S. Indian immigrants. This is good news to marketers in that they do not have to develop separate Indian advertisements based on Indian immigrants' diverse religious, regional, and social backgrounds. Furthermore, most of the Indians immigrants coming to the U.S. are proficient in both spoken and written English language (Dasgupta, 1989; Mehta and Belk, 1989). It is also a language that unifies diverse groups of Asian-Indians who have migrated to the U.S. (Gitlin, 2005). Therefore marketers need not incur the added cost of developing advertisements in different Indian languages. However, it is a form of spoken language which is more formal and more precise than standard American usage (Gitlin, 2005). Therefore, caution must be used so that words and phrases used in English by mainstream America are not offensive to Indian immigrants' cultural values.

## **Conclusion and Future Research**

Some of the limitations of the present study can provide future research directions. A larger and broader sample of first-generation Indians of the U.S. should be used. American versus Indian advertisements appearing in the other media such as broadcast media could be studied. Advertisements of other products and product classes can be investigated. Considering the unique characteristics of this group of immigrants in the U.S., future research with second and third generations of these immigrants would also be of interest. A qualitative study of advertisements using projective techniques would enable marketers to understand cultural differences existing between Asian-Indian immigrants and mainstream U.S. consumers. Such knowledge in turn would facilitate their evaluation of the feasibility of developing culturally attuned Indian advertising campaigns to effectively reach this affluent, and one of the fastest growing groups, of immigrants in the U.S.

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**Exhibit-1**

Ethnicity of the both male and female models (American ads. had Caucasians; Indian ads. had Indians). Clothing worn by the female models (American models in western attire; Indian models in sari). Jewelry worn by female models (simple e.g., ear rings for American females; typical Indian jewelry e.g., gold bangles, chains, rings for Indian females).

Hairstyle of female models (professional style for Americans; simple hair style for Indians).

Background (e.g., bar in American suit ad, wedding pictures in American coffee ad.; e.g., Indian decor, classical Indian dance and instruments, Indian prayer dish, family in Indian ads).

The observed stance/action of the models (e.g., American couple drinking in the bar, female smiling to the audience; e.g., Indian female getting ready for prayers, couple watching an Indian classical dance, female as housewives, extended family).

Both American male and female models appeared young, well educated professionals.

Both Indian male and female models appeared young, married, well-educated, and well-to-do individuals.

American female models perceived to be outgoing career oriented individuals.

Indian female models appeared to be conservative housewives.

**TABLE-1**

**Preferences Indicated For American And Asian-Indian Print Advertisements By Combined Sample Of The Fifty-Nine Female And Male Respondents**

Product Advertised	Preference For American Advertisements		Preference For Asian-Indian Advertisements	
	(Frequency)	%	(Frequency)	%
Coffee	(20)	33.90%	(39)	66.10%
Cooking Oil	(19)	32.20%	(40)	67.80%
Man's Suit	(23)	38.98%	(36)	61.02%
Refrigerator	(10)	16.95%	(49)	83.05%
Shampoo	(16)	27.12%	(43)	72.88%
Tea	( 9)	15.25%	(50)	84.75%

**Note:** Sign Tests indicate a statistically significant difference at a 95% confidence level between preferences for American and Asian-Indian print advertisements

**TABLE-2**

**Comparative Preferences Indicated By Female And Male Respondents For American And Asian-Indian Print Advertisements**

Product Advertised	Advertisement Preferences Female Respondents (N=27)				*	Advertisement Preferences Male Respondents (N=32)			
	American Advertisements		Asian-Indian Advertisements			American Advertisements		Asian-Indian Advertisements	
	(Number)	%	(Number)	%		(Number)	%	(Number)	%
Coffee	(7)	25.93%	(20)	74.07%	*	(13)	40.63%	(19)	59.38%
Cooking Oil	(6)	22.22%	(21)	77.78%	*	(13)	40.63%	(19)	59.38%
Man's Suit	(9)	33.33%	(18)	66.67%	*	(14)	43.75%	(18)	56.25%
Refrigerator	(4)	14.81%	(23)	85.19%	*	( 6)	18.75%	(26)	81.25%
Shampoo	(5)	18.52%	(22)	81.48%	*	(11)	34.38%	(21)	65.63%
Tea	(4)	14.81%	(23)	85.19%	*	( 5)	15.63%	(27)	84.38%

**Note:** Sign Tests indicate a statistically significant difference at a 95% confidence level between preferences for American and Asian-Indian print advertisements for both female as well as male respondents