

A Framework for  
Quantifying Diasporic Media Markets:  
Exploring the Cabo Verdean U.S. Diaspora

by

Luke Daniel Cross

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Digital Journalism and Design  
Department of Digital Communication  
College of Arts and Sciences  
University of South Florida St. Petersburg

Major Professor: Bernardo Motta, Ph.D.  
Monica Ancu, Ph.D.  
Casey Frechette, Ph.D.

Date of Approval:  
March 27, 2020

Keywords: immigration, politics, expatriate, voting, consumption

Copyright © 2020, Luke Daniel Cross

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                |     |
|------------------------------------------------|-----|
| LIST OF FIGURES .....                          | ii  |
| GLOSSARY OF TERMS .....                        | iii |
| ABSTRACT .....                                 | vi  |
| INTRODUCTION .....                             | 1   |
| Research Questions.....                        | 5   |
| LITERATURE REVIEW .....                        | 6   |
| METHODS AND VARIABLES .....                    | 11  |
| How Markets are Geographically Defined .....   | 12  |
| How Variables are Measured .....               | 13  |
| Age/Size of Diaspora.....                      | 14  |
| Expatriate Rights.....                         | 15  |
| Linguistic Capability and Diversity.....       | 15  |
| Domestic Socioeconomics.....                   | 17  |
| Driver of Diaspora .....                       | 18  |
| Relations to Home Country .....                | 19  |
| PROFILING THE CABO VERDEAN U.S. DIASPORA ..... | 20  |
| Expatriate Voting .....                        | 21  |
| Age/Size of Diaspora .....                     | 22  |
| Linguistic Capability and Diversity .....      | 25  |
| Domestic Socioeconomics .....                  | 28  |
| Driver of Diaspora.....                        | 29  |
| Relations to Home Country.....                 | 30  |
| Circulating Media .....                        | 32  |
| DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS .....                   | 33  |
| APPLICATIONS OF THE FRAMEWORK .....            | 38  |
| Academic.....                                  | 38  |
| Industry .....                                 | 39  |
| CONCLUSION .....                               | 40  |
| WORKS CITED .....                              | 42  |

**LIST OF FIGURES**

|                                                  |    |
|--------------------------------------------------|----|
| Chapter 4.2: Age/Size of the Diaspora            |    |
| FIG 1: Diasporic Distribution .....              | 23 |
| FIG 2: Foreign Born Cabo Verdeans .....          | 24 |
| Chapter 4.3: Linguistic Capability and Diversity |    |
| FIG 3: Linguistic Diversity .....                | 26 |
| FIG 4: Linguistic Ability.....                   | 27 |
| Chapter 4.4: Domestic Socioeconomics             |    |
| FIG 5: Boston Socioeconomics.....                | 28 |
| FIG 6: Providence Socioeconomics .....           | 28 |
| Chapter 4.6: Relations to Home Country           |    |
| FIG 7: Foreign Aid.....                          | 31 |

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The following is a reference of how I define the technical terms and references used throughout the manuscript.

**Home Country:** The country where a migrant was born and holds citizenship.

**Host Country:** The country where a migrant currently resides, regardless of citizenship status.

**Expatriate:** The status of living, or a person who lives, outside their home country.

**Dual Citizen(ship)/ Dual National(ity):** The status of having, or a person who has, citizenship and voting rights in their home *and* host country.

**Compulsory Voting:** The legal compulsion of eligible citizens to vote in elections, typically backed by legal sanctions.

**Electoral Roll/ Electoral Register/ Poll Book:** The list of individuals eligible or registered to vote within a defined jurisdiction.

**Post-Westphalian:** Refers to the period after the end of Westphalian Sovereignty, when a state had exclusive control over its territory. The establishment of multilateral organization where sovereignty is

sacrificed for cooperation, such as the UN, and the growing number of expatriate and dual citizens are traits of the post-westphalian political system.

**Nielsen Designated Market Areas (DMAs):** Geographic regions designated by Nielsen Media Research as having similar media offerings. They often coincide with Metropolitan Statistical Areas, though regions of notable high or low population density are often subdivided or merged, respectively.

**Media Market:** The mass-information ecosystem within a purposefully bounded geographic area (i.e. the Los Angeles television market).

**Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs):** A Census defined geographic region containing at least one urban cluster of *at least 50,000 population*, together with adjacent communities having a high degree of economic and social integration with that core.

**Micropolitan Statistical Areas ( $\mu$ SAs):** A Census defined geographic region containing at least one urban cluster of *at least 10,000 but less than 50,000 population*, together with adjacent communities having a high degree of economic and social integration with that core.

**International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Certification (IFABC):** A global federation of organizations responsible for auditing the circulation numbers and permeation of local multimedia properties.

**Alliance for Audited Media (AAM):** The United States' and Canada's IFABC member.

**Circulation:** Synonymous with exposure. Physical media such as newspapers and magazines are defined by copy count and distribution, digital media is tracked by web traffic and views, and television and radio are measured by airtime and household permeation.

## **ABSTRACT**

Immigrant populations within the United States are a burgeoning interest for communication studies, but few resources exist for gauging the media resources available to these populations. This study aims to explore the literature on migrant media consumption and expatriate voting in order to develop an analytical model of media markets surrounding diasporic populations. The goal of this study was to identify relevant tools and data, to code them as variables, and to apply them to the Cabo Verdean diaspora within the U.S. in order to test the strengths and weaknesses of existing resources for analyzing diasporic media markets.

## INTRODUCTION

The most recent census data (2017-2018) on the United States' foreign-born population reports that immigrants comprise 13.7% of the U.S. population, the highest proportion recorded since 1910 (U.S. Census Bureau). Many of these migrants live in ethnically, linguistically, or nationality-based clusters across the country, whether through personal choice due to familiarity, or ghettoization due to economic disparity (Raphael & Smolensky, 2009; Suro et al., 2011). These communities occupy a unique niche within communication research, as immigrant communities have ties to at least two distinct media markets in both their home and host nation.

As populations with cultural and political connections to both their homelands and their countries of residence, immigrant communities have access to media produced within their home countries, as well as the media produced within their current country of residence — in this case, the United States. For this study, and to differentiate between these two markets, media produced within the immigrants' home country will be referred to as "home country media," and media produced within the U.S. will be referred to as "host country media."



The dichotomy between home and host country media is especially important when considering diasporas. The International Organization for Migration defines diasporas as “migrants or descendants of migrants, whose identity and sense of belonging have been shaped by their migration experience and background” (International Organization for Migration, 2004, p. 19). The diaspora’s reason for migration is typically what shapes this identity: a diaspora might migrate from its home country to escape conflict, oppression, or economic strife; these are some of the drivers which could influence the type of media that is relevant and very well could determine engagement with this media.

As an illustrative example of diasporas and their media environment, this study will examine the Cabo Verdean diaspora in the U.S. and the surrounding media market. A small west-African archipelago, Cabo Verde is a former Portuguese colony which achieved independence in 1975. Cabo Verde established a stable, long standing democracy in 1990 largely free from political oppression and conflict, but in perpetual economic struggle due to barren natural resources and a reliance on foreign aid and remittances (money sent home from citizens working abroad) (Åkesson, 2011; Bourdet & Falck, 2006). As Cabo Verdeans born on the archipelago can vote in Cabo Verdean

elections while living abroad, the media available to them has an impact beyond entertainment. While the study of media availability and use is important in and of itself, political media available to diasporas with expatriate voting rights, such as the Cabo Verdean diaspora, carries the potential to inform and persuade voters, thus directly impacting international elections.

In addition to the dichotomy between home and host country media, communities such as the Cabo Verdean diaspora in the U.S. are also distinguished socioeconomically and linguistically from their native-born peers. Journalistically, diasporic populations have specialized needs that require linguistic resources and grassroots reporting skills not typically found within mainstream domestic media; a considerable portion of Cabo Verdean immigrants in the U.S. speak English “less than very well,” and represent one of the many minority communities so often under-served by mainstream journalism (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017, Table B06007). Language barriers and media deserts that result from a lack of economic and infrastructural resources have the potential to prevent immigrants from engaging with host country media and thus rely on media from their home country (Christiansen, 2004; Yoon, et al., 2011). This, however, assumes that such home country media is available, which is not

necessarily the case for smaller or impoverished countries such as Cabo Verde, not to mention the assumption regarding technological savvy and connectedness.

Considering the numerous untapped opportunities for studying diasporic mass communication, this research aims to help establish a groundwork for surveying media landscapes surrounding diasporic communities by aggregating and analyzing the factors relevant to media availability and consumption. As little research on diasporic media markets exist, this study will examine what variables are most relevant to diasporic media consumption and availability and will evaluate the available data for these variables.

The purpose of establishing an overview of the media markets that surround transnational communities is to clarify what political influences, both actual and possible, are occurring through these media markets. According to the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2007), 115 of 214 countries globally allow their citizens to vote from beyond the country's borders; a small minority enforcing compulsory voting for citizens abroad (IDEA, 2007). While the ratio of voting-eligible populations abroad to home country population means that diasporic voting are not necessarily a deciding factor in most elections, some examples are more extreme. For example: domestic

votes in the 2006 Cabo Verdean presidential election were close enough to warrant a runoff; however, diasporic voters tipped the scale by more than 3,000 votes, eliminating the need for a runoff (National Elections Commission, 2006). Consumption of political media and news coverage of elections have long been a bellwether for communication scholars for studying and predicting political engagement. However, without knowing the media resources available to diasporic communities, the field of political communication is missing a key resource for studying transnational elections and immigrant voting.

### **Research Questions**

1. What analytical elements in the literature and media market analysis resources that are currently available are most useful for building an analytical model of diasporic media markets to measure their political influence?
2. What role will these resources serve and how will the subsequent variables be weighed in the media market analysis?

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Expatriate voting rights and transnational media consumption is a fairly new field, but a burgeoning body of literature has begun to form around the influencers of diasporic political engagement as well as the drivers behind countries' provision of voting rights abroad. Expatriate voting preferences and motivations differ greatly from their domestic counterparts in the home country as well as the surrounding communities of the host country (Escobar et al., 2014; Hutcheson & Arrighi, 2015; Lawson, 2003; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2005). The greatest difference between diasporic voters and voters in the home country is party allegiance; a geopolitical disconnect produces diasporas that are less politically-motivated by party allegiance than the average voter still in the home country (Collyer, 2013; Waterbury, 2006). As party allegiance and partisanship are removed from the variables that influence diasporic voting, and other factors such as media engagement and logistical barriers (i.e. language ability) are the strongest predictors of voting preference (Goldberg & Lanz, 2019; Ihedru, 2011). Transnational voting and media consumption contribute toward a strengthening of soft diplomacy channels between home and host countries, while simultaneously building a media

environment in both locations that can empower community ties and political engagement (Nisbet, 2008; Seib, 2010; Skjerdal, 2011).

These overlapping media environments also boost the perceived political legitimacy of the expatriate voting abilities in a self-perpetuating cycle of bolstered media and bolstered community ties (Fraser, 2007; Friedman & Kampf, 2014; Nanz & Steffek, 2004; Payne, 2008).

On an individual level, expatriate voters contend with unique motivators and political influences. As immigrants, the personal conceptualization of "citizenship" has been frequently self-reported as a large motivator for participation in home country elections (Bocagni & Ramirez, 2013; Marcelli & Cornelius, 2005; Mencütek, 2015). The symbolic patriotism and reassertion of national identity afforded by expatriate voting is more often utilized by immigrants who are less integrated within the host country (Marcelli & Cornelius, 2005). Similarly, a diaspora with a strong history of political remittances, meaning its members participate and contribute to the public sphere of home country politics beyond voting, are more likely to engage in home country electoral processes (Tabar, 2014). The sense of citizenship and national belonging which motivates electoral participation are also found as drivers of home country media

consumption. Diasporic populations' consumption of home country media is influenced by their integration into the host country whether or not they feel ignored by host country media (Berg, 2020; Shi, 2005).

While patriotism and belonging can be strong endogenous factors, their political rallying effect can be drowned out by a lack of resources and social capital. Logistical issues which often plague expatriate voting methods, financial hardship, and unfamiliarity with the election(s) at hand due to scarce political information, often supersede personal motivators (Escobar et al., 2014; Shumow, 2015).

In the broader international context, an understanding of the influence that geopolitical relations has on diasporic voting and engagement is vital to understanding if and how the diaspora will interact with politics. Economic ties between states, most notably a continuous flow of remittances from host to home country, is seen as both a sign of positive bilateral relations, as well as a strong motivator for the provision or expansion of expatriate rights (Erlingsson & Tuman, 2017; Szabolcs, 2014). While the presence of expatriate voting rights typically denotes amicable relations between home and host country, it is not uncommon to see procedural restrictions placed on a diaspora in an attempt to mitigate a perceived anti-incumbent

population abroad (Hutcheson & Arrighi, 2015; Lafleur, 2015). As levels of enfranchisement vary from diaspora to diaspora, rates of political media engagement must be considered in light of home country policy. Demographic determinants of media consumption broadly have been of particular interest to academics attempting to categorize markets and political engagement rates. Rising immigration rates and the ghettoization of diasporic populations have led to a great number of first and second generation dual citizens, creating a unique demographic profile where the culture and length of residence of the diaspora play a greater role in determining political preferences than typical identifiers (Gezduci & D'haenens, 2007; Koinova, 2012; Wasserman, 2013).

While attempts at identifying aggregate trends, size and diversity of media markets have traditionally been conducted by private interests, some scholars have specialized in the methodology of media market research (Althaus, et al., 2009; Shehata & Strömbäck, 2011). A concept known as complementary consumption is of particular interest for understanding diasporic media consumption: as media sources specialize to better meet consumer interest, intersections and synergies between media, such as between home and host media, inevitably arise (McLeod et. al., 1996; Tewksbury,



2005). As immigration rates continue to grow nationally and globally, the integration of new, foreign media entities into the established domestic markets will become an influence on the institutions of the host country's media (Dutta-Bergman, 2004).

Though there has been research into transnational media's effects on diasporic voting patterns and political integration within the U.S., they are few and isolated in nature (Brand, 2013; Leal et al., 2012). This is due, in part, to the idiosyncrasies inherent within each diaspora making them difficult to group together for mass study, but also due to a dearth of landscape analysis regarding what media is available to these diasporas and what factors are inhibiting them from accessing this media, a problem this research hopes to contribute to by creating a replicable approach for understanding a diaspora's media resources and socioeconomic or linguistic barriers to engaging with media.

## **METHODS AND VARIABLES**

The foundation of this analytical model is found in existing media market analysis tools. While the idiosyncrasies of diasporic media require a different approach than traditional efforts, the basic elements of media market analysis still apply. Data analytics companies such as Nielsen Media have long since established norms for geographically defining market areas, and U.S. Census data has long been a staple for demographers and communication scholars studying mass media.

Where this analytical model deviates from established norms is its approach to the variables that are unique to diasporic media markets. Linguistic barriers, socioeconomic disparity, and relations to home country are potential influencers of media consumption and availability in diasporic markets, and which are not necessarily present in traditional media market analyses. The resources available for traditional analyses have grown and have been made more robust over decades of use. Therefore, they will be relied on where possible within this model. Some variables, such as international relations between home and host country, are not within the scope of traditional resources, and must be found elsewhere. Based on the most influential factors found in the literature, and the established resources for

traditional market analysis, the following is a list of the model's variables, an explanation of their source and measurement, and a description of how media markets will be geographically measured.

### **How Markets are Geographically Defined**

While the county is the smallest geographic unit currently utilized by the American Community Survey, the Census Bureau branch that deals in community level demographics such as ancestry, ethnicity, and place of foreign birth, I will instead be using the Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas, or MSAs and  $\mu$ SAs. MSAs and  $\mu$ SAs are the same units used by Nielsen Designated Market Areas, or DMAs, the geographic measurement standard for media market evaluation. Nielsen DMA boundaries are drawn by the same criteria as Census Statistical Areas, but further merge or subdivide areas according to relative market size; densely populated, more affluent areas are subdivided for easier management, while rural areas are often merged according to market similarity.

Census estimates offer three measurement options, each striking a different balance between novelty and accuracy: ACS 1-Year, 3-Year, and 5-Year estimates are available for most Census measures,

referring to the length of data collection that comprised the estimate. As the Cabo Verdean U.S. diaspora, much like most diasporas, is a small minority within a host country, 5-year estimates will be used for greater accuracy. Estimate length options are invaluable for this framework, as they provide a means of accounting for waves and spikes in immigration which so many diasporas experience.

## **How Variables are Measured**

### *Media Circulation*

Data on media circulation is drawn from the Alliance for Audited Media, the U.S. and Canadian member of the International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations, an international federation of industry-sponsored auditors who collect, record, and analyze the circulation of print media and their digital counterparts. AAM data is intended for advertisers and media investors, but nonetheless offer granularity in areas important for the functionality of this framework as well. The media properties tracked include information on the city of publication, circulation numbers both inside and outside of the market chosen for analysis, the number of digital reproductions of a publication, and the percentage of households within the chosen market reached by that publication.

Both AAM and Census data remain comprehensive only back to 2015; it was around this time that the AAM reformatted a large portion of their records and the Census introduced new measurements to some of the variables used in this framework. Utilizing data published prior to 2015 is possible, and in the case of some diasporas is necessary, but early testing of the framework will utilize data between 2015 and 2017, the latest release of Census ACS 5-Year Estimates, for simplicity's sake.

#### *Age/Size of Diaspora*

U.S. Census data is comprehensive where foreign birth and ancestry records are concerned; both are relevant to the concept of diaspora. Similarly, population numbers are given each year, allowing for growth to be measured over time. When the growth of a diasporic population within multiple nearby DMAs is measured, these populations can be knit together into a measurement of the overall growth of a diaspora within a locale. Differentiating between ancestry and foreign birth is vital for linguistic purposes, as foreign language ability drops with each successive generation, and for political purposes, the expatriate voting rights of a population may hinge on being a native-born citizen of the home country (Alba et al., 2002; Portes & Hao, 1998; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Rumbat et al., 2006).

### *Expatriate Rights*

While the prevalence and scope of expatriate voting laws has been steadily increasing, many diasporas still lack access to democratic participation in their home country (Bauböck, 2009; Caramani & Grotz, 2015; Pogonyi, 2014). Understanding if and how a diasporic community may engage with home country politics can contextualize the media influences available to them. Expatriate rights may also have an influence on the variety of media surrounding a diasporic population; if a population abroad cannot participate in an election, political parties in the home country are less likely to expend the resources necessary to advertise transnationally.

No centralized repository for cataloging the expatriate rights of every recognized country currently exists. During the analysis of a diasporic media market, a search of the home country's constitution or electoral guidelines is necessary to uncover the scope and breadth of rights offered.

### *Linguistic Capability/Diversity*

Media can only function when its consumers can understand it. Most diasporic communities are inherently multilingual to some extent; the points of relevance for understanding a diasporic community's

engagement with media are the diversity of, and skill with, those languages in which the local media is produced.

Linguistic diversity within a Designated Market Area is just as important as linguistic diversity within the diasporic community itself. Since the consumption of media is dependent upon language comprehension, a population's opportunity to engage with any given media is commensurate with that population's proportion of relevant language users. This also means that a diversity of languages within a market area results in a more fractured consumer base, as most producers have little interest in spending the resources to translate their work for marginal audience gain.

Linguistic capability is more often a limiting reagent within a diasporic media environment. The average newspaper is written at an advanced high school reading level, a degree not attained by every immigrant (Johns & Wheat, 1984; Wasike, 2018). Comprehension difficulties can be a limiting factor for diasporic engagement with local media, discouraging or preventing readership.

Both linguistic diversity and linguistic capability are measured by census data on Place of Birth by Language Spoken at Home, and Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak English, respectively.

The former table differentiates between native and foreign born populations while specifying their ability to speak English, while the latter specifies the English abilities of populations who predominantly speak a different language.

### *Domestic Socioeconomics*

Consuming media is also a matter of having the time to do so, which is often a corollary of comfortable income; the socioeconomics of a diasporic community plays a considerable role in predicting media engagement, as income is typically one of the strongest indicators of regular news consumption (Ksiazek et al., 2010; Shehata & Strömbäck, 2011). Similar to linguistic diversity, socio-economic status is also a variable in which the difference between native and diasporic populations is of note; even when controlled for human capital and demographic characteristics, so as to account for immigrants from countries nearly or as economically-developed as the U.S., the average immigrant makes less than their native peers (Duleep & Dowhan, 2008; le Grand & Szulkin, 2002; Lubotsky, 2009). As this research is primarily concerned with diasporas, i.e. those populations driven away by hostile governments, conflict, or poverty, it can be inferred that the relevant communities suffer an income gap.



Census Selected Population Profiles specify per capita income for both foreign-born and native populations, as well as comparable measurements of average household income.

### *Driver of Diaspora*

A population can be driven from their home country for numerous reasons including: armed conflict, political oppression, and severe poverty. The reason for a diaspora's emigration is important due to its influence on prospective media flows. While an autocratic state locked in conflict may be more likely to restrict their cultural imports and exports, one wracked with economic strife may not even possess the resources to contribute to transnational media exchange. Similarly, the severity of the driver could influence diasporic involvement in local media: A population that has escaped the atrocities of armed conflict, but still has connections to the victims of that conflict has reason to advertise, petition, and persuade their host country to intervene and assist.

Many potential drivers exist across a spectrum of severity, but for the purpose of this study, differentiating between political, economic, and violent drivers will be of the most benefit. The type of driver can be determined by correlating surges in migration to recent political

shifts toward authoritarianism in the home country, notable downturns in economic indicators, or domestic conflict.

### *Relations to Home Country*

Similar to Driver of Diaspora, Relations to Home Country establishes a context for the media environment and flows. To call international relations a difficult concept to measure effectively is an understatement, but for the purposes of this model only a broad acknowledgement is necessary – an overall picture of transnational relations is of more use to this framework than a vast, nuanced analysis. Most indicators of bilateral diplomacy have little impact on the low level media environments being measured here; UN voting patterns, for example, are unlikely to directly impact diasporic grassroots journalism. Instead, this framework leverages general economic indicators, namely foreign aid and investment, as a means of gauging how a diasporic media environment may coalesce and grow. A history of economic aid given to a home country, for instance, could indicate a diasporic culture that is more engaged with home country politics or a diasporic community more likely to create media pushing for more aid and assistance.

The United States Agency for International Development hosts a digital repository of foreign aid provided by the U.S., and World Bank

records remittances sent and received by every internationally-recognized country. For the purpose of normalization when comparing diasporas or countries, foreign aid can be expressed as both a raw number or a ratio comparing the amount of actual aid in a year to the annual GDP of that country.

## **PROFILING THE MEDIA ENVIRONMENT SURROUNDING THE CABO VERDEAN DIASPORA**

### **Expatriate Voting**

Cabo Verde is a country with well-established expatriate voting rights, established soon after democratization in 1997 as a means of stimulating reciprocity with other states, especially lusophone ones. Cabo Verdean expatriate voting rights have been enshrined in the Cabo Verdean Constitution, Article 24, reading as follows:

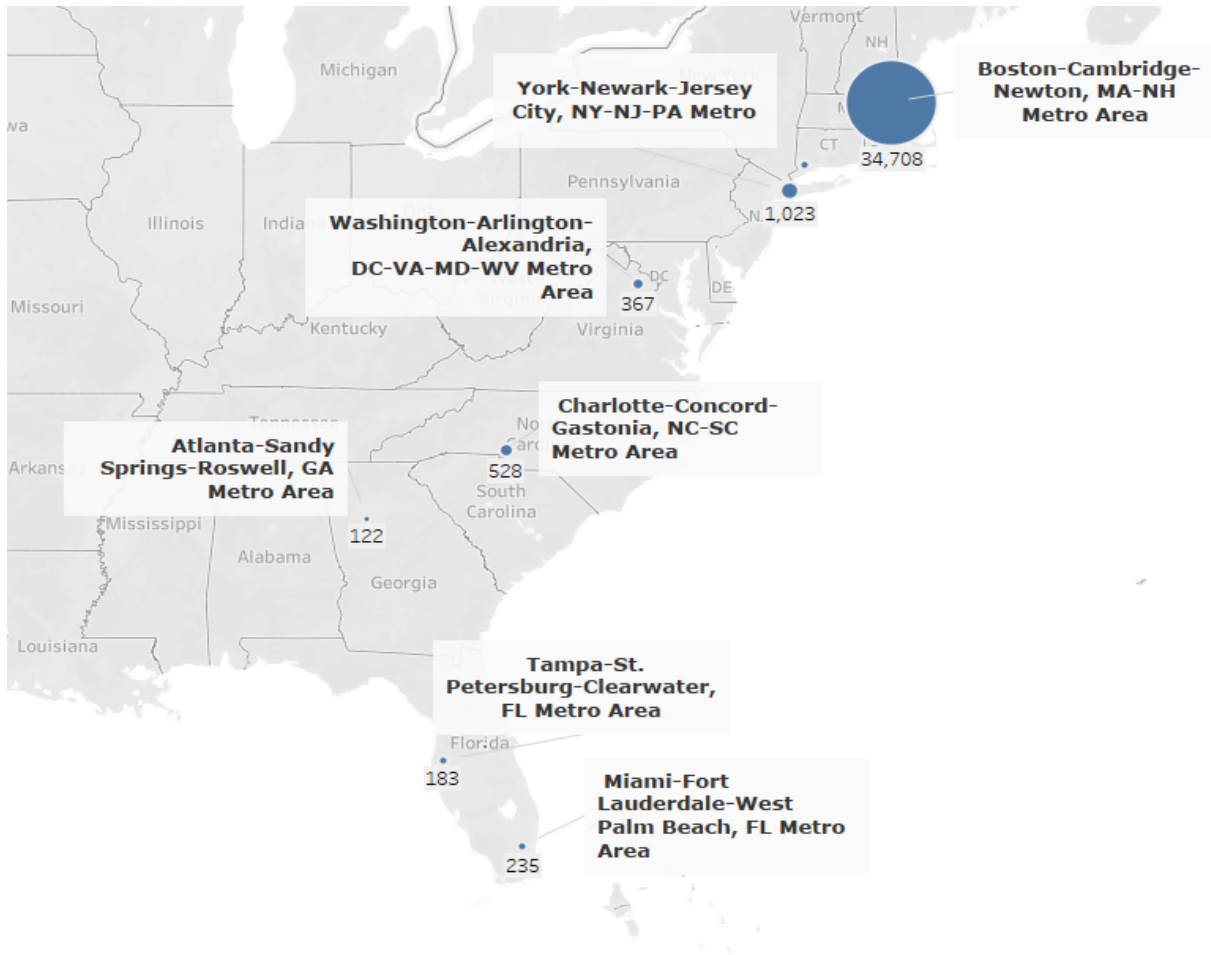
*Line 3: "Rights not conferred to foreigners and apatrids may be attributed to citizens of countries with Portuguese as an official language, except for access to functions of sovereignty organs, service in the armed forces or in the diplomatic career."*

*Line 4: "Active and passive electoral capacity can be attributed by law to foreigners and apatrids residents on the national territory for the elections of the members of the organs of the local municipalities."*

As such, this analysis will be looking at the foreign-born population within the Cabo Verdean diaspora, as they are inherently able to participate in home country elections.

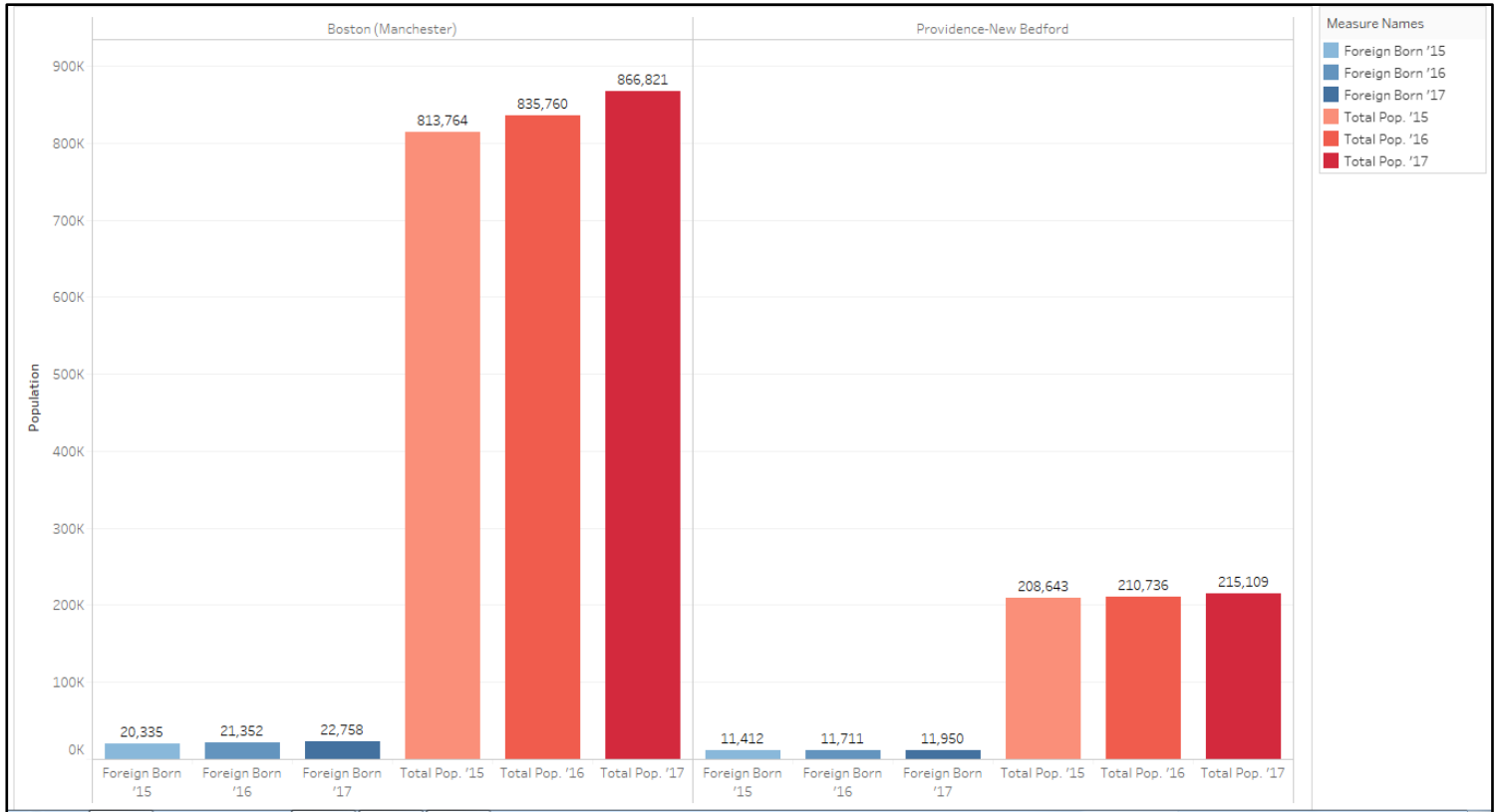
**Age/Size of the Diaspora**

The Cabo Verdean diaspora has roots in the U.S. that are as long lived as the country itself, with modern estimates of the numbers of Cabo Verdean immigrants and their descendants between 450,000 and 700,000, a diasporic population rivalling that of the archipelago (Batalha & Carling, 2008; Carling, 1997). A strong history of immigration, both long and short term, has created a strong and storied community in and around the New England area. Cabo Verde's eligible voting population in the U.S., comprised of just over 40,000 individuals born in Cabo Verde, can be found spread along most of the east coast, with a strong concentration found in the Boston-Manchester and Providence-New Bedford DMAs.



**FIGURE 1:** Diasporic Distribution. The Cabo Verdean diaspora within the U.S. is found primarily along the East Coast, with a large concentration in the New England area.

These Massachusetts DMAs are home to over 30,000 foreign born Cabo Verdeans between them, and have experienced an average growth of 6.58% between 2015 and 2017.



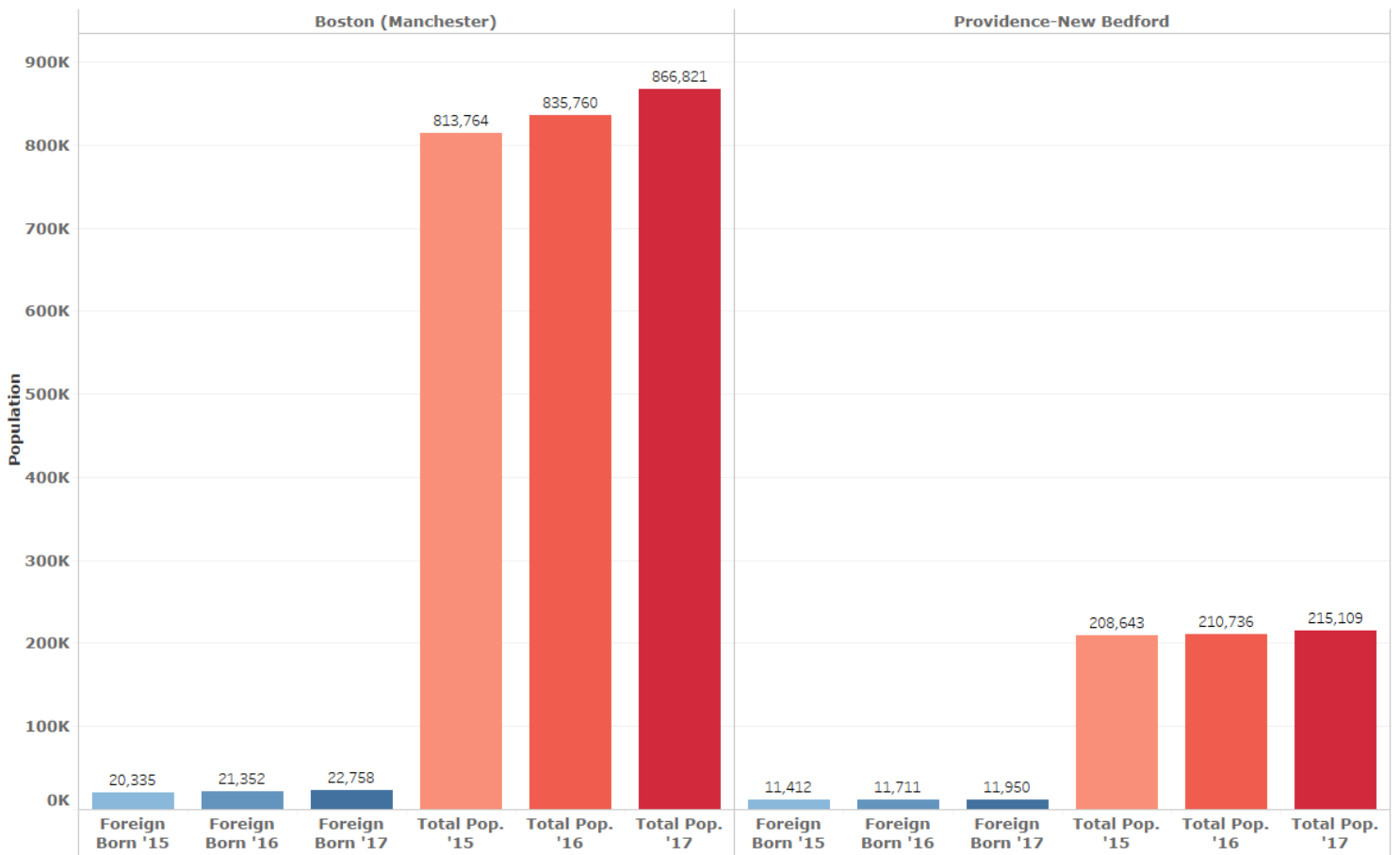
**FIGURE 2:** Foreign Born Cabo Verdeans. The foreign born Cabo Verdean population in the New England area comprise a small fraction of the overall population.

The concentration of Cabo Verdean expatriate voters in this area means these two DMAs will be the focus of the remaining variables.

### **Linguistic Capability and Diversity**

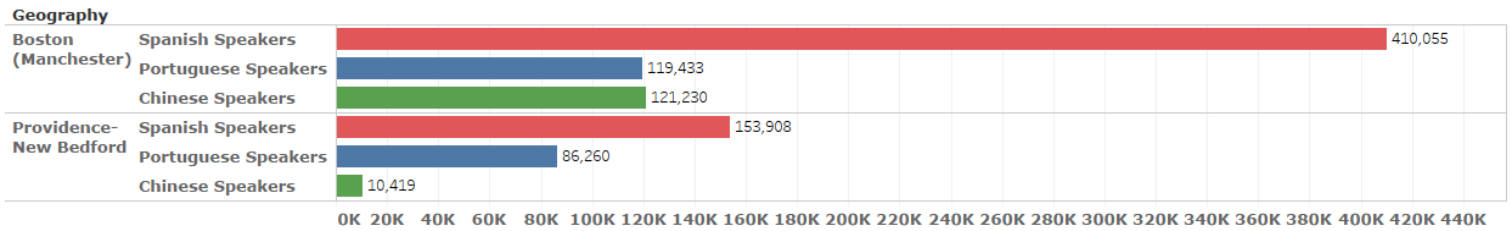
The Boston and Providence DMAs host a strong representation of Portuguese speakers, the official language of Cabo Verde, but a lower than average representation of linguistic integration. As of 2017, there are roughly 205,000 Portuguese speakers between the two markets, more than half of whom speak English less than “very well.” At 3.5% of the overall population, the total number of Portuguese speakers is the third largest foreign language population between the markets, trailing behind Spanish and narrowly edged out by Mandarin.





**FIGURE 3:** Linguistic Diversity. The Boston and Providence markets prominently feature other non-English languages besides Portuguese, the official language of Cabo Verde.

While the diversity and amount of foreign language speakers in each market is roughly on par with other major east-coast cities, the Boston and Providence areas are home to a larger than average number of foreign language speakers who speak English less than “very well.”

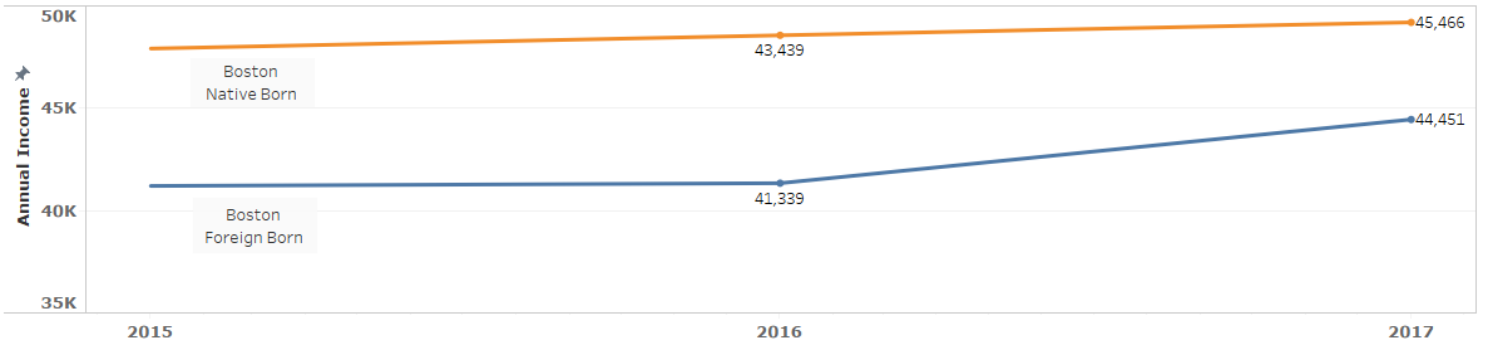


**FIGURE 4:** Linguistic Ability. Portuguese speakers within the Boston and Providence markets commonly self report the ability to speak English less than “very well.”

### Domestic Socioeconomics

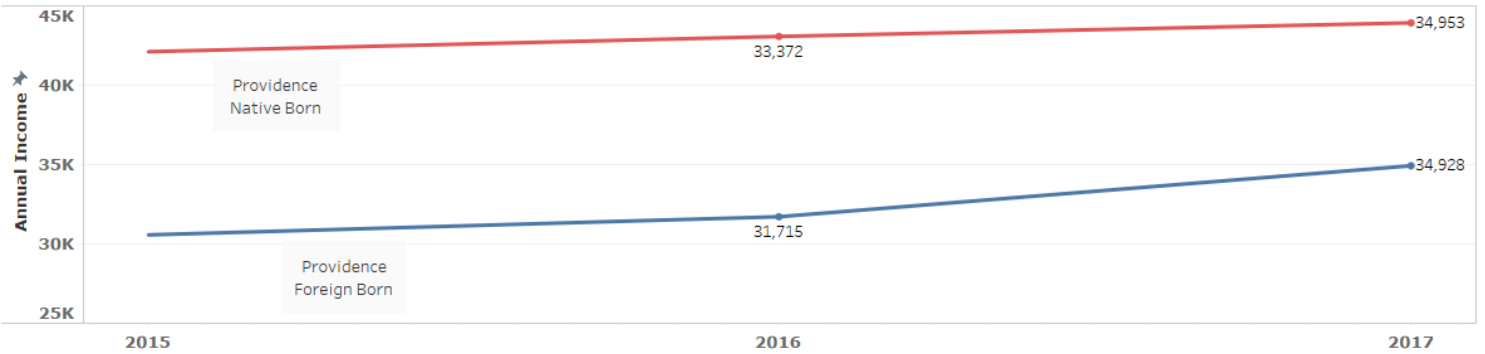
Wealth disparity between native and foreign-born populations in both markets is less drastic than what is typically found, even accounting for margin of error (Duleep & Dowhan, 2008; Lubotsky, 2009). The income of foreign-born residents in the Boston market is, on average, roughly \$1,000 less per year than those who are native to the U.S., while that of the foreign-born population residing in and around Providence is on par with their native-born peers. This relative equality has remained constant over the period of analysis, with native-born residents never earning more than \$1000 more than their foreign-born counterparts.

**Boston Market Area**



**FIGURE 5:** Boston Socioeconomics. Foreign born Cabo Verdeans draw annual incomes comparable to their native born peers.

**Providence Market Area**



**FIGURE 6:** Providence Socioeconomics. Foreign born Cabo Verdeans draw annual incomes comparable to their native born peers.

## **Driver of Diaspora**

Cabo Verde was the only Portuguese colony to gain independence without domestic bloodshed, and has maintained a history largely free of armed conflict. The country democratized in 1990 and, in spite of consistent famines and the precarious instability of newly formed democratic institutions, has maintained these democratic norms with surprising consistency. Freedom House has given Cabo Verdean democracy consistently high ratings for transparency, safety, and liberties, an uncommon recognition for states within sub-Saharan Africa (FreedomHouse, 2019).

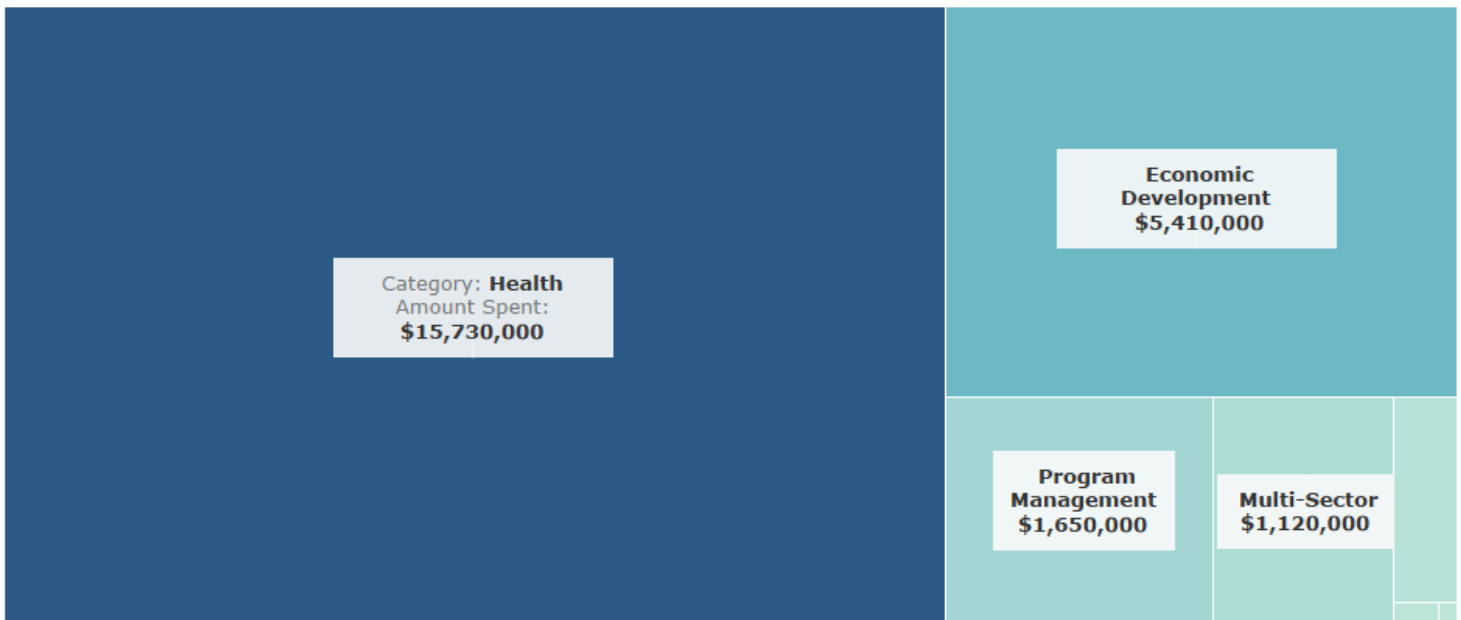
While the archipelago lacks widespread violence, political corruption or oppression, its citizens do struggle with economic strife. Cabo Verde is mostly barren where natural resources are concerned, leaving the country to rely upon remittances, foreign aid and a bustling tourism industry to stay afloat (Åkesson, 2011; Bourdet & Falck, 2006; Canizares et al., 2014). Cabo Verdean citizens survive with a per capita GDP on par with other sub-Saharan African states, a status which has contributed to the pervasive ideal of emigration as a path to success. The largest driver of Cabo Verdean migration is a nationally-recognized rite of passage where those with

the means and capability to travel to southern Europe or the New England area for work, transfer remittances back home for two to three decades, and then return to a home built from paychecks abroad (Carling & Åkesson, 2009).

### **Relations to Home Country**

Having received \$25 million in aid during the 2017 fiscal year, Cabo Verde is the 36<sup>th</sup> largest recipient of foreign aid in the sub-Saharan region, comprised of 49 recipients (USAID). As the country has a developing economy with a thriving tourism industry, a majority of the aid is spent on sanitation and water infrastructure, with little spent on military, agriculture, or safety.

### U.S. Aid to Cabo Verde, 2017



**FIGURE 7:** Foreign Aid. The United States Agency for International Development provided \$25 million in aid to Cabo Verde in 2017.

As mentioned in the section entitled Driver of Diaspora, a large percentage of the Cabo Verdean economy consists of remittances. In 2017, remittances sent to Cabo Verde were responsible for 12.7% of the country's GDP, an economic flow which establishes a transnational relationship similar to foreign aid (World Bank).

## **Circulating Media**

Nielsen ranks Designated Market Areas according to their population size and density of media. Of the 210 DMAs, the Boston and Providence markets place at nine and fifty-three, respectively. These high rankings are reflected in the prevalence of print media: 124 unique physical publications exist when both markets are combined, as accounted by the AAM. As highly-ranked DMAs, much of the print media circulating is produced locally; only eight publications with considerable circulation in the markets are printed outside the Boston-Providence market area.

Eighty-five of the 124 publications are hyper local, featuring minimal, consolidated proliferation within the market and printing only once a week. Seventy-seven publications also reach fewer than 1,000 households, reflecting the linguistic diversity and media density of the markets.

## **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

Some of the unique aspects of the Cabo Verdean diaspora are reflected in the variables. For instance, the Cabo Verdean diaspora experiences less socioeconomic disparity compared to their native peers than other migrant populations, but live in a linguistically-diverse area. These unexpected outcomes highlight a unique trait of the model: Each variable's weight is best determined on an ad hoc basis. This is a trait endemic to most media market analyses, as every market hosts unique idiosyncrasies that influence the market in unique ways. The Cabo Verdean diasporic media market is home to more linguistic diversity than, for instance, the Cuban diaspora in Florida, meaning this variable is of more importance to understanding the former (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017, Table S0504).

When taken in aggregate, each variable contributed to an illustration of the largest influences of media availability and consumption within a given diasporic media market. The Cabo Verdean analysis demonstrates the strength and diversity of the Boston and Providence media markets as compared to the media available from Cabo Verde itself. A dense host country market with numerous local publications is a more robust media ecosystem than the burgeoning,



economically-deprived private media of the home country. The low ratio of first generation migrants to those of Cabo Verdean descent within the diaspora hint at higher levels of integration into the U.S.; while this represents a mitigator of involvement in home country politics, lower English ability among the population indicates the population is more able to consume home country media.

This form of encompassing analysis, where the variables are considered in relation to each other and in relation to the existing literature on migrant media consumption and voting, demonstrates how the model is to be used for understanding the media landscape and the influences impacting a diasporic population. A successful implementation of the model is one where a holistic picture of a diaspora's socioeconomic, linguistic, migratory, and media market traits are made clear. The absence of any individual variable indicates a gap in the analysis.

The variables touched upon encompass elements which lie at the heart of media engagement and comparative media analysis, but nonetheless miss some key aspects of diasporic media environments

Granularity is a common struggle for demography. Traits attributed to one group do not necessarily apply to neighboring groups, and estimated polling methods utilized by the census do

not accurately define the boundary between them. In a broad sense, refining the already existing variables, and/or their sources, to better discriminate between native and diasporic populations within a given area would bring universal benefits for the framework.

The more qualitative, subjective variables, namely the Driver of Diaspora and Political Relations between Home and Host Country, are in need of stratification. There is never one singular driver behind a diaspora; conflict, oppression and economic strife are intimately intertwined with no unilateral influences between them. The methodology currently employed recognizes variations in severity, but does nothing to address them. This is due to the largely subjective nature of "severity" as it is used here. Classifying the type of driver is still valuable and necessary, but establishing some means of concretely relating one diaspora's driver to that of a different diaspora would prove invaluable for measurement.

Similarly, the measurements for Political Relations between Home and Host Country were chosen for efficiency *and* inclusiveness, but the Cabo Verdean example showcases the inherent complexity when attempting to measure even one variable such as economic factors. This is an area of the framework in need of retooling, or

possible full substitution with a more relevant and easier to measure variable.

The media included within this iteration of the framework is limited to print news media and their digital counterparts, where applicable. This limitation is one of costs; Nielsen Audio and Scarborough measurements are the de facto standard for measuring radio and television engagement respectively, but Nielsen services did not offer free access to their media audit data. Without free access, the plan rates for access to the relevant Nielsen data would be prohibitive and thus will be implemented at a later stage. These measurement services capture data along many of the same measurements as AAM and utilize the same units of measure, meaning the eventual integration of Nielsen data will fit into the framework almost exactly as AAM data, but applied to television and radio.

Similarly to the inclusion of radio and television consumption, specialized media from the home country as well as niche, grassroots media produced within the diasporic community is not taken into account by AAM data. As was explained in the methods section, furthering the study of diasporic media broadly, and the development of this framework specifically, establishes demonstrated interest and

showcases the academic and industry opportunities to develop formal means of tracking transnational media flows.

All weaknesses, recognized or not, could be alleviated with repeated testing of the framework. Numerous diasporas exist within the United States, each assuming an amorphous form prone to rapid changes every year. This rich environment of samples will be integral to refining and reapplying the framework beyond the single use demonstrated here. Further use will not only test how robust and complete the available datasets are, but also allow for comparison. Potential inadequacies or gaps within the framework not seen in one iteration may become apparent when multiple diasporas are directly compared.

## **APPLICATIONS OF THE FRAMEWORK**

This framework is constructed for broad yet comprehensive applicability to a number of academic and industry uses. Effective and replicable means of analyzing the media available to diasporic communities within the U.S. represents a gap in the existing academic literature also represents well as a powerful opportunity to expand domestic media engagement and advertising and possible avenues for strengthening transnational media ties.

### **Academic**

Rising tides of nationalism across the world have been a point of interest for many political communication scholars, who have largely relied on media effects studies, rhetorical analyses, and ethnographic methods as means of contextualizing political messaging pertaining to immigration, nationalism, and globalist policy. In contrast, quantitative and broadly applicable means of contextualizing these forms of media belong to a more nascent sub-field, one that could benefit from the landscape analysis data this framework can provide. A comprehensive understanding of the media environments surrounding diasporic

communities is useful for orienting and interpreting the findings of social network analysis, message and sentiment contagion, political campaign studies, and other high level investigations of media.

## **Industry**

Despite being a unified partnership of institutions dedicated to auditing the media circulation of their home countries, members of the International Federation of Audit Bureaus of Circulations (IFABC) are geographically insulated in their methods to track media circulation. This is largely due to their origins as tools for advertisers; domestic media rarely reaches foreign shores, audiences abroad have little use for the products and services located in another country, and the language and cultural barriers typically smother what little incentive there is to advertise in such a manner.

There is an opportunity, however, to overcome these barriers with publicly-funded interest. The tools, legitimacy, and international connections established by the IFABC have reduced the legwork required to establish a means of collecting transnational media data; now there is only the challenge of integrating Bureaus as needed.

## **CONCLUSION**

The study of political communication as applied to expatriate voting is still a burgeoning field, but one that becomes more important as immigration continues to rise and transnational elections become more normalized. Due to their idiosyncratic nature and recency as a global phenomena, diasporic populations with expatriate voting rights are a difficult and often ephemeral subject to study; the already complex ecosystem of media influences is further complicated by dual nationality, and the political and economic upheaval that feeds diasporic migration is turbulent and rarely expected.

In spite of these challenges, or perhaps because of them, communication researchers and industry auditors need to begin laying the groundwork and establishing the tools needed to effectively gauge diasporic media influences. As a possible player in transnational elections and a growing part of many communities across the U.S., ascertaining how diasporic media ecosystems function and what role they play in democratic governance is important for understanding the novel, and often influential, role of diasporic political participation.

The early development of an analytical model achieved by this study is a firm demonstration that the tools for diasporic media market

analysis do exist. The uniqueness of every diaspora poses a challenge to creating a widely applicable model, but the flexible approach to market analysis espoused in this research is promising in its adaptability. The usefulness and coverage of the available tools occasionally falter when applied to smaller populations such as diasporas, but the underpinnings of an effective model are available. The longstanding challenges of international politics and communication, such as quantifying international relations or holistically tracking migrant populations, have the potential to challenge the applicability of the model to some diasporas.

In response to these obstacles, further research that tests novel methods for understanding international relations and bolstering the existing resources for media market analysis would pay dividends in understanding diasporic media markets. Smaller scale, ethnographic studies of individuals' media consumption within a diaspora also have the potential to reveal variables and influences currently unaccounted for by the analytical model. Lastly, the tracking and study of diasporic participation in home country elections revealed itself as a largely untapped field during the development of this model; further research in the area would prove beneficial to both this model and diasporic political science as a whole.



## WORKS CITED

- Åkesson, L. (2011) Remittances and Relationships: Exchange in Cape Verdean Transnational Families, *Ethnos*, 76:3, 326-347, DOI: 10.1080/00141844.2011.577229
- Alba, R., Logan, J., Lutz, A., & Stults, B. (2002). Only English by the Third Generation? Loss and Preservation of the Mother Tongue Among the Grandchildren of Contemporary Immigrants. *Demography*. 39. 467-84. 10.1353/dem.2002.0023.
- Althaus, S. L., Cizmar, A. M., & Gimpel, J. G. (2009). Media Supply, Audience Demand, and the Geography of News Consumption in the United States. *Political Communication*, 26(3), 249-277. doi:10.1080/10584600903053361
- Batalha, L., & Carling, J. (2008) *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, Amsterdam University Press, 741 / 763, ISBN: 978 90 5356 994 8
- Bauböck, R. (2009) Expansive Citizenship: Voting beyond Territory and Membership, *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 38, No. 4 Oct., 2005), pp. 683-687
- Bourdet, Y., & Falck, H. (2006) Emigrants' remittances and Dutch Disease in Cape Verde, *International Economic Journal*, 20:3, 267-284, DOI: 10.1080/10168730600879323
- Cañizares, S., Tabales, J., & García, F. (2014). Local residents' attitudes towards the impact of tourism development in Cape Verde. *Tourism & Management Studies*, 10(1), 87-96.
- Caramani, D. & Grotz, F. (2015) Beyond citizenship and residence? Exploring the extension of voting rights in the age of globalization, *Democratization*, 22:5, 799-819, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2014.981668
- Carling, J. (1997). Figuring out the cape verdean diaspora. *Cimboa*, 4(2), 3. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/274723782?>

- Carling, J., & Åkesson, L. (2009) Mobility at the Heart of a Nation: Patterns and Meanings of Cape Verdean Migration, *International Migration*, 47(3), DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00526.x
- Collyer, M. (2013). A geography of extra-territorial citizenship: Explanations of external voting †. *Migration Studies*, 2(1), 55-72. doi:10.1093/migration/mns008
- Christiansen, C. C. (2004). News Media Consumption among Immigrants in Europe: The Relevance of Diaspora. *Ethnicities*, 4(2), 185–207. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796804042603>
- Duleep, H. & Dowhan, D. (2008) Research on Immigrant Earning, *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. 68, No. 1
- Dutta-Bergman, M. J. (2004). Complementarity in Consumption of News Types Across Traditional and New Media. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 48(1), 41-60. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4801\_3
- Escobar, C., Arana, R., & McCann, J. (2014). Assessing Candidates at Home and Abroad: A Comparative Analysis of Colombian Expatriates in the 2010 Presidential Elections. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 56(2), 115-140. doi:10.1111/j.1548-2456.2014.00228.x
- Fraser, N. (2007). Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 24(4): 7–30. Doi: 10.1177/0263276407080090
- FreedomHouse Cape Verde (2019, July 25). Retrieved from <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2019/cape-verde>
- FreedomHouse World Data (2019) Retrieved from <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2019/map>

- Friedman, E., & Kampf, Z. (2014). Politically speaking at home and abroad: A typology of message gap strategies. *Discourse & Society*, 25(6), 706-724. doi:10.1177/0957926514536836
- Gezduci, H., & D'haenens, L. (2007). Culture-specific features as determinants of news media use. *Communications*, 32(2). doi:10.1515/commun.2007.012
- Goldberg, A. C., & Lanz, S. (2019). Living abroad, voting as if at home? Electoral motivations of expatriates. *Migration Studies*.doi:10.1093/migration/mnz018
- Hutcheson, D. S., & Arrighi, J. (2015). "Keeping Pandora's (ballot) box half-shut": A comparative inquiry into the institutional limits of external voting in EU Member States. *Democratization*, 22(5), 884-905. doi:10.1080/13510347.2014.979161
- Iheduru, O. C. (2011). African states, global migration, and transformations in citizenship politics. *Citizenship Studies*, 15(2), 181-203. doi:10.1080/13621025.2011.549707
- International Organization for Migration. (2004) *International Migration Law: Glossary on Migration*.
- Johns, J. & Wheat, T. (1984). Newspaper Readability: Two Crucial Factors. *Journal of Reading*, 27(5), 432-434.
- Koinova, M. (2012). Autonomy and Positionality in Diaspora Politics. *International Political Sociology*, 6(1), 99-103. doi:10.1111/j.1749-5687.2011.00152\_3.x
- Książek, T. B., Malthouse, E. C., & Webster, J. G. (2010). News-seekers and Avoiders: Exploring Patterns of Total News Consumption Across Media and the Relationship to Civic Participation. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 54(4), 551-568. doi:10.1080/08838151.2010.519808
- Lawson, C. (2003). Voting Preference and Political Socialization among Mexican Americans and Mexicans Living in the United States. *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 19(1), 65-79. doi:10.1525/msem.2003.19.1.65

- Lafleur, J. (2015). The enfranchisement of citizens abroad: Variations and explanations. *Democratization*, 22(5), 840-860. doi:10.1080/13510347.2014.979163
- Lee, A. M. (2013). News Audiences Revisited: Theorizing the Link Between Audience Motivations and News Consumption. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 57(3), 300-317. doi:10.1080/08838151.2013.816712
- le Grand, C., & Szulkin, R. (2002) Permanent Disadvantage or Gradual Integration: Explaining the Immigrant-Native Earnings Gap in Sweden, *LABOUR*, 16(1), 37-64, DOI: 10.1111/1467-9914.00186
- Lubotsky, D. (2009) "Chutes or Ladders? A Longitudinal Analysis of Immigrant Earnings," *Journal of Political Economy* 115, no. 5 (October 2007): 820-867. <https://doi.org/10.1086/522871>
- Luo, S. & Wiseman, R. (2000). Ethnic Language Maintenance Among Chinese Immigrant Children in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 24. 307-324. 10.1016/S0147-1767(00)00003-1.
- Marcelli, E., & Cornelius, W. (2005). Immigrant Voting in Home-Country Elections: Potential Consequences of Extending the Franchise to Expatriate Mexicans Residing in the United States. *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 21(2), 429-460. doi:10.1525/msem.2005.21.2.429
- Mcleod, J. M., Daily, K., Guo, Z., Eveland, W. P., Bayer, J., Yang, S., & Wang, H. (1996). Community Integration, Local Media Use, and Democratic Processes. *Communication Research*, 23(2), 179-209. doi:10.1177/009365096023002002
- Nanz, P. and Steffek, J. (2004). Global Governance, Participation and the Public Sphere. *Government and Opposition*, 39(2), 314-339. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00125.x>
- Nisbet, E. C. (2008). Media Use, Democratic Citizenship, and Communication Gaps in a Developing Democracy. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 20(4), 454-482. doi:10.1093/ijpor/edn043

- Payne, G. (2008). Mediated Communication and Integration of Diasporic Communities: Toward a Theoretical Model. Paper Presented at the International Association for Media and Communication Research
- Pogonyi, S. (2014) Four Patterns of Non-resident Voting Rights, *Ethnopolitics*, 13:2, 122-140, DOI: 10.1080/17449057.2013.846041
- Portes, A., & Hao, L. (1998) E Pluribus Unum: Bilingualism and Language Loss in the Second Generation (March 1998). Levy Economics Institute Working Paper No. 229. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=121374> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.121374>
- Raphael, S., & Smolensky, E. (2009). Immigration And Poverty In The United States. *American Economic Review*, 99(2), 41-44. doi:10.1257/aer.99.2.41
- Rumbaut, R., Massey, D., & Bean, F., (2006), Linguistic Life Expectancies: Immigrant Language Retention in Southern California, *Population and Development Review*, 32, issue 3, p. 447-460
- Seib, P. (2010). Transnational Journalism, Public Diplomacy, And Virtual States. *Journalism Studies*, 11(5), 734-744. doi:10.1080/1461670x.2010.503023
- Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. (2011). A Matter of Context: A Comparative Study of Media Environments and News Consumption Gaps in Europe. *Political Communication*, 28(1), 110-134. doi:10.1080/10584609.2010.543006
- Shumow, Moses & Pinto, Juliet. (2014). Spanish-language immigrant media in Miami-Dade County, Florida: Discursive arenas for transnational civil societies. *The Latin Americanist*. 58. 10.1111/tla.12041.
- Shumow, Moses & Vigon, Mercedes. (2015). News Diversity and Minority Audiences. *Journalism Practice*. 10. 1-19. 10.1080/17512786.2015.1014668.

- Skjerdal, T. S. (2011). Journalists or activists? Self-identity in the Ethiopian diaspora online community. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 12(6), 727-744.  
doi:10.1177/1464884911405471
- Suro, R., Wilson, J., & Singer, A. (2011) Immigration and Poverty in America's Suburbs. Metropolitan Policy Program, Brookings Institution, *METROPOLITAN OPPORTUNITY SERIES*
- Tewksbury, D. (2005). The Seeds of Audience Fragmentation: Specialization in the Use of Online News Sites. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49(3), 332-348.  
doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4903\_5
- USAID, Foerign Assistance in Cabo Verde, retrieved from <https://www.foreignassistance.gov/explore/country/Cabo-Verde>
- US Census Bureau. (2019, July 02). About the Foreign-Born Population. Retrieved from [www.census.gov/topics/population/foreign-born/about.html](http://www.census.gov/topics/population/foreign-born/about.html)
- Wasike, B. (2018). Preaching to the choir? An analysis of newspaper readability vis-a-vis public literacy. *Journalism*, 19(11), 1570-1587. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916673387>
- Wasserman, H. (2013). Journalism in a new democracy: The ethics of listening. *Communication*, 39(1), 67-84.  
doi:10.1080/02500167.2013.772217
- Waterbury, M. A. (2006). Internal Exclusion, External Inclusion: Diaspora Politics and Party-Building Strategies in Post-Communist Hungary. *East European Politics and Societies: And Cultures*, 20(3), 483-515. doi:10.1177/0888325405280897
- World Bank, Remittance Inflows to GDP for Cape Verde [DDOI11CVA156NWDB], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis;  
<https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/DDOI11CVA156NWDB>

Yoon, T.-I., Kim, K.-H., & Eom, H.-J. (2011). The border-crossing of habitus: media consumption, motives, and reading strategies among Asian immigrant women in South Korea. *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(3), 415–431.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443710394901>