

# Lusophone Media in the U.S.: Differences between the Florida and the Northeast Corridor Regions

## *Mídia lusófona nos EUA: entre a Flórida e a Região Nordeste*

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## ABSTRACT

In this paper, we present a discussion of the ethnic media targeting the more than 2 million immigrants from Portugal and its former colonies (particularly Brazil, Cape Verde, and Azores) living in the United States. These groups compose what we refer to as the lusophone. The goal is to understand how media targeting the lusophone diaspora negotiates a landscape where consumers' national origin is distinct, but different patterns of assimilation exist. In particular, we uncovered two interesting patterns of geographical distinction in the media. The first serves the northeastern portion of the United States, with a larger and more culturally diverse Portuguese population and the second in Florida, which serves a more recent community of Brazilian immigrants. New media, the Internet in particular, also plays a vital role in both regions. We found that radio stations and newspapers targeting these populations have a limited online presence, but seem to remain a vital source of information and possibly still aid in immigrant integration and assimilation, which has been historically documented in ethnic media.

**Keywords:** Lusophone media. Ethnic media. Journalism.

## RESUMO

Neste artigo, apresentamos uma análise da mídia étnica enfocada aos mais de dois milhões de imigrantes de países de língua portuguesa (principalmente Portugal, Brasil, Cabo Verde e Açores) vivendo nos Estados Unidos. Esses grupos formam parte do que chamamos da diáspora lusofônica. O objetivo é compreender como a mídia focada nessa diáspora negocia a diversidade de origens e padrões de assimilação. Observamos uma distinção geográfica que cria duas áreas de acesso à mídia em português. A primeira atende o nordeste dos Estados Unidos, com uma população de vários países de língua portuguesa e uma segunda área, localizada na Flórida, atende principalmente a migração mais recente de brasileiros. Novas tecnologias de *media*, principalmente a Internet, tem um papel importante nas duas regiões. Rádios e jornais continuam exercendo funções como a disseminação de informação e auxiliando no processo de integração e assimilação de imigrantes, funções importantes da mídia étnica

**Palavras-chave:** Mídia lusófona. Mídia étnica. Jornalismo.

## Introduction

There are an estimated 2 to 2.4 million immigrants<sup>1</sup> in the U.S. who originated in Portuguese-speaking nations. Hailing from diverse countries such as Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde, Azores and Portugal<sup>2</sup>, these immigrants most importantly *share a language*, along with a common history and to some extent, cultural traditions (food, religion, art, similar familial kinship structures, and attitudes towards sex and gender). However, immigration for members of the lusophone has occurred in several waves and in turn, has resulted in distinct settlement patterns. While the Northeast is composed predominantly of older immigrants from Portugal, Azores and Cape Verde, Florida has become home to a more recent population of immigrants from Brazil. The media targeting these populations has adjusted to this distinction.

The limited literature available on Portuguese-language media in the United States and its consumption points to a gap in the knowledge about this body of ethnic media. We know some about the consumption of Portuguese language media abroad and some about the changes in types of content presented. But, we do not have a clear picture of the mediascape available to those immigrants. This is particularly relevant when we consider group vitality perspective (Abrams, Eveland and Giles, 2003; Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977), which argues that when minorities view positive media portrayals of their own group, it can have a positive impact on their perceptions on themselves, especially their assessment of their own position in society and a consequent increase in group self-esteem.

What we are proposing to do here is to understand the general landscape of the current lusophone media in the US and how this range of media, particularly its online presence, is mapped to the broader and complex Lusophone community in the United States.

We begin this essay with a brief discussion of the current demographic information of the lusophone population in the United States. We follow this introduction with a review of the literature on ethnic media and Portuguese immigrant media, in particular. We then analyze the types of media currently

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1 Today there are approximately 1.2 million Brazilians in United States (Marcus, 2013, Marcus, 2009); according to the US 2000 census, there are approximately 1,100,000 Portuguese and 75,000 Cape Verdeans who claim their single or multiple ancestry as either one (Fisher & Model, 2012, Ortman and Shin, 2011, US Census, 2008, 2009, 2011). The US states that have the highest concentration of Portuguese speakers are Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Florida, and California.

2 Portuguese speaking countries: Brazil, Portugal, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Macau, East Timor, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Guinea-Bissau. Portuguese is the 6<sup>th</sup> most spoken language in the world.

targeting U.S. residents who trace their roots to Portuguese-speaking nations. Finally, we end the essay by drawing some conclusions on the reasons why such patterns of media distribution, as well as type of media and type of content, exist in the ethnic media in the lusophone diaspora.

The next section delves into the ethnic diversity within this community to demonstrate how the making of this lusophone market is complex and that while sharing many characteristics, is also divided by results of unique patterns of historical colonization, and ethnic diversity in their country of origin. The diversity within this community has created a complexity when we begin to think about the media produced and consumed by this lusophone cultural and linguistic market (Rodriguez, 1999; Wilkinson, 2003; La Pastina & Straubhaar, 2005).

### **The Lusophone Community in the United States**

Portuguese nationals<sup>3</sup> started immigrating to the United States in the 1850s, during the height of the New England whaling industry (Morrison and James, 2009; Williams, 1982; Williams, 2007). From the 1860s to 1870s, immigration from the Azores<sup>4</sup> was at an all time high and again accelerated in the early 1900s, as established social networks of Azoreans in the U.S. encouraged further immigration (Williams, 2007). By 1900, Massachusetts surpassed California in having the largest Portuguese population in the U.S. (Williams, 2007). By the 1920s, due to US restrictions on immigration, Portuguese and Cape Verdean immigration came to a halt.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 again encouraged immigration and the Azoreans and Cape Verdeans continued immigrating well into the 1980s, many of them working in the textile manufacturing and fishing industries (Morrison and James, 2009). In addition, Portuguese-speaking immigrants settled in Southern New England (RI, CT, & MA), New Jersey, and also worked in the agricultural areas of Central California and Hawaii (Helzer and Machado, 2011; Jouet-Pastre and Braga, 2005). Most of these immigrants left their country of origin because of limited economic and education opportunities. Brazilian immigration arrived later, starting more intensely in the 1980s and ebbing and flowing since. Presently there are large Brazilian communities is

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3 During this same time period (1850s) many Azoreans were sent also to Hawaii to work as indentured laborers on the pineapple plantations (Williams, 2007).

4 The Azores are located approximately 2,000 miles west of Portugal and Morocco. The Azores are a group of 9 islands that were colonized by Portuguese immigrants during the 15<sup>th</sup> Century. Many other immigrants also settled there: freed African slaves, Dutch, French, and English (Williams, 1982).

most metropolitan cities in the United States, with a larger concentration in the south Florida.

The U.S. racial and ethnic classification system has added some confusion in terms of how to classify Portuguese-speaking immigrants (Laversuch, 2007; Perez and Hirschman, 2009). Brazilians are most often classified as Latino and/or as African-American (Beserra, 2005; Marcus, 2013; McDonnell and de Lourenço, 2009; Torres-Saillant, 2008), while Cape Verdeans and Angolans, because of their African heritage (Marcus, 2013), can also be classified as African-American (Fisher and Model, 2012). Portuguese immigrants, depending where in the US they reside, are either classified as White or as Latino (Morrison and James, 2009). This racial and ethnic classificatory confusion is carried to other areas within the US system. For example, both the Republican and Democratic Congressional Hispanic Caucus include those who claim Latin American, Spanish, and Portuguese ancestry as part of their membership (Sangillo, 2002). The Library of Congress utilizes the most expansive definitions of what is meant by "Hispanic." The Hispanic Division Reading Room includes archival materials from geographical areas of the Caribbean, Latin America, and Iberia; the indigenous cultures of those areas and peoples throughout the world are historically influenced by Luso-Hispanic contact and colonization, including Latinos in the U.S., and peoples of Portuguese or Spanish heritage (Sangillo, 2002).

The ambiguous position that Portuguese speakers occupy within the U.S. racial and ethnic system complicates any analysis of media targeting that population.

### **Ethnic Media and the Lusophone**

Ethnic media in the United States developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century to help immigrants transition to a new country, while maintaining a connection to their motherland (Subervi-Vélez, 1986). With the rise of the Internet in the last couple of decades, question of the longevity and sustainability of ethnic media arose. An increasing number of studies have investigated the ways in which ethnic media conforms to ideas of community journalism, providing a space for community formation, integration and contestation.

Viswanath and Arora (2000) discuss how the changing media landscape has created new ways for immigrants to maintain their links to their homeland relatively easier than former waves of immigrants could. In this study, we found a limited presence of ethnic media serving the lusophone, but uncovered the possibility that many recent immigrants might be compensating with media

from their homeland. This is most likely the case for larger countries like Brazil and Portugal, both of which have a strong media infrastructure and an even stronger online presence. This is especially true for Brazil, which is currently seen as one of the countries with the fastest expansion of social media penetration.

When thinking about ethnic media for a group that is connected by language, but comes from a diverse range of nations, as the case of the lusophone, several matters arise. An important complexity raised by this study is the length of migration and the origin of immigrants during each phase, as well as the impacts of these distinctions on the media that serves the diverse lusophone communities in the Northeast and Florida. The Portuguese arrived first, followed by Azoreans and Cape Verdes, and only recently by Brazilians. The needs of new arrivals and settled immigrants tend to differ, but they also differ in other variables such as age. So, the challenge for media producers is to understand the complexity of the lusophone and make a commercial decision on which segments to target and where.

Laureano (2011), in her study of Radio Alfa, a Portuguese radio station in Paris, found that the first generation immigrants were more closely associated with the radio, while the subsequent generations found it less relevant to their identity and to maintain close links with Portugal through media consumption. In her interviews with both media producers and consumers, she determined that one of the key factors for the consumption of this radio station was a link with their homeland. Carvalheiro (2005) found that young Portuguese descendants in Paris only occasionally consumed the transnational TV stations SIC and RTP from Portugal and the local radio station Alfa. For these young immigrants the consumption of these media, as well as Portuguese music, does not seem to be used to reinforce their condition as a minority group in France.

Cunha and Mota (2013) conducted a comparative longitudinal analysis of the content of Brazilian Times, a New England newspaper which, since 1988, has served the Brazilian immigrant community. They found that the content from 2006 to 2013 has shifted in tone, moving from a focus of maintaining and promoting the national identity to content that seems to reinforce a plural identity, more global, more political.

In a study analyzing online radio accessing by immigrants, Vianna (2005) investigated a radio station broadcasting only Brazilian Popular Music (MPB). The radio station she chose to study, Radio Inconfidencia, is located in Minas Gerais, a state traditionally described as a main point of origin for a large percentage of Brazilian immigrants coming to the United States. She concluded that many of the foreign listeners in the United States access that station to create a

sensorial link with their homeland, a connection that is reinforced by the music broadcasted, saturated with artists from that region of Brazil, the accent and regional speech patterns of the presenter, as well as news from that region.

### Demographics of Lusophone Media in the United States

Despite a significant population of individuals in the United States who trace their origin to Portuguese-speaking nations, the general presence of lusophone media is somewhat limited, and clearly understudied. It gets even more complicated because of the substantial distinctions, in terms of patterns of migration and settlement, made between those immigrants from Brazil and those from Portugal, Azores and the former Portuguese African colonies. If one considers the list of media available for Brazilians in the United States, the sheer number of media outlets targeting that population alone would present a myopic view of the range of content offered. That list includes 58 newspapers, magazines or broadsheets; 22 radio stations or programs; 12 television station or programs; and 22 websites (Brasileiros no Mundo, n.d.). In our own research, however, we found that many of those venues have ceased operations and that most offer extremely narrow services, focusing mostly on a limited type of content or audience. A good example is the list of radio stations and programs. Of those listed, 19 are weekly, one or two-hour programs, broadcasting mostly Brazilian music, with a couple also including news and/or religious messages.

Many of these radio programs are exemplar of the complexity of investigating media targeting Portuguese-language immigrants. These programs airing music serve not only the immigrant population, but more often are targeting non-immigrants with music originating in that country. A good example is the show *Horizontes*, broadcasted by National Public Radio, in Austin, Texas every Friday afternoon since 1974 (*Horizontes, Music of Latin America on KUT-FM*, n.d.). It begins with one hour of Brazilian music, followed by one hour of music from other parts of Latin America. We found similar programs presenting music from Portugal and lusophone Africa, as well. These programs seem to mix a desire to ease the longing to be exposed to the music of the home country for immigrants, with the desire of exposing locals to music from other parts of the world. But even the radio stations that provide news tend to rely heavily on music, as is the case of *Radio Brazuca*, which specializes in the *sertanejo* music of Brazil, a style akin to country music in the United States. As we will discuss later, this preponderance of radio stations in the Northeast, might be another indication of the distinct characteristics of the two markets and the needs these media are trying to serve.

We will focus our analysis mostly on media venues that have a presence online, partly for the limitations of recording TV and radio programs and collecting printed newspaper editions distributed in the Northeast and Florida, but also because we believe that the venues that are actively targeting their audience are most likely also using the available potential of online media.

As Paulina Arruda, the director of WJFD 97.3, a Luso-American radio station in New Bedford, MA, explained, without adapting to new audiences, technological advancements and the changing interests of listeners, a media outlet cannot expect to survive. Arruda also stressed how essential this is for immigrant media channels, in particular. As their original immigrant audiences, originally from Portugal and the Azores, continue to age and dwindle, Portuguese language radio stations, newspapers and television networks need to learn how to target younger audiences and newer immigrants coming mostly from Brazil. She cites this as the reason so few Luso-American media outlets still exist. Too few outlets have had the resources or interests to adapt to changing audiences

During this study, we identified 14 newspapers and magazines, 9 radio stations, and 2 local television stations in the United States. However, it is entirely possible that other Lusophone media outlets exist; yet, after extensive online research, only 25 were found to be operational. If other outlets exist, the lack of an online presence, or trace of its existence, would be clearly detrimental to their future success in the digital age. Figure 1 provides a list of all outlets investigated with information on type of media, location, target population and language used.

■ **Figure 1: Lusophone Media in the United States**

	Location	Media Type.	Media US Target Population	Language
Luso Americano	NJ	Newspaper	Portuguese, Brazilians	Portuguese
Portuguese Times	MA	Newspaper	Portuguese, Brazilians, Cape Verdeans	Portuguese
The Brasilians	NY	Monthly Newspaper	Brazilians	Portuguese & English
O Jornal	MA	Newspaper	Portuguese, Brazilians, Cape Verdeans	Portuguese & English
The Portuguese Tribune	CA	Newspaper	Portuguese	Portuguese & English

Brazilian Times	MA	Newspaper	Brazilians	Portuguese
Brazilian Voice	NJ	Weekly Newspaper	Brazilians	Portuguese
Brazilian Press	NJ	Weekly Newspaper	Brazilians	Portuguese
Florida Gazeta News	FL	Weekly Newspaper	Brazilians	Portuguese
Journal Brasileiros e Brasileiras	FL	Monthly Newspaper	Brazilians	Portuguese
Achei USA	FL	Weekly Newspaper	Brazilians	Portuguese
Expressao	FL	Bi-Monthly Newspaper	Brazilians	Portuguese
Florida Review Magazine	FL	Monthly Magazine	Brazilians	English
Jornal Nossa Gente	FL	Newspaper Online Portal	Brazilians	Portuguese
WFHL 88.1 FM	MA	Radio	Portuguese, Brazilians	Portuguese, Spanish
KLBS 1330 AM	CA	Radio	Portuguese	Portuguese
Radio Comunidade 87.9 FM	CA	Radio	Portuguese	Portuguese
KSQQ 96.1 FM	CA	Radio	Portuguese	Portuguese
Cabo Video	MA	TV	Cape Verdeans	Portuguese, English
Channel 20	MA	TV	Portuguese, Brazilians	Portuguese
Radio Bazuka	MA	Radio	Brazilians	Portuguese
Radio 650 AM WSRO News	MA	Radio	Portuguese, Brazilians	Portuguese
Nossa Radio	FL	Radio	Brazilians	Portuguese
Radio Brasil Internacional	Brazil	Radio	Brazilians	Portuguese
Radio Brasil	FL	Radio	Brazilians	Portuguese

Fonte: Os autores

When national origin is considered, subtle differences can be found in the functions and types of content that individual media outlets cover. Ten of



the 25 outlets studied cited Portugal as their focus (4 newspapers, 1 television station and 5 radio stations), while another 14 identified themselves as focusing on Brazilian consumers (10 newspapers and magazines, 4 radio stations). There is one television station focusing on Cape Verdean population in the Northeast United States. But a geographical distinction also must be made. Those media outlets in the northeast United States are more likely to have content targeting broader populations within the diaspora including Brazilians, while those in Florida where clearly focused on Brazilians alone.

This study's intent was not to provide a detailed analysis of the content of these distinct media outlets, but rather to map the available media targeting Portuguese speakers and their descendants. We present an impressionistic overview of the major types of content available in these media. In most of those cases we used content available online. In the case of the newspapers this was easily accomplished, since their sites had a greater presence and availability of content. This was not the case for the monthly or bimonthly publications that had a much more limited online presence. For the radio stations, we are not able to provide a detailed analysis of the content broadcasted, but rather surmise patterns based on the types of programs by time slot. We contacted the stations requesting content information but were not successful in collecting that information.

While immigrants from Portugal and Brazil are targeted by media products serving the lusophone diaspora, users that identify themselves as having Angolan or Cape Verdean descent are more likely to be underrepresented and have to rely simply on media outlets that market to *all* groups. There is also a strong possibility that each of these media outlets are reaching individual consumers outside of the target populations because they share geographical spaces within the media landscape that have been settled by immigrants from different lusophone communities.

Geographically speaking, the presence of Portuguese-language media outposts correlates with areas within the United States with established concentrations of lusophone populations. Twelve of these media outlets (7 newspapers, 3 radio stations and 2 television stations) are located in the Northeast region of the United States (specifically Massachusetts and New Jersey), along with Florida, which has 8 media outlets (6 newspapers and 2 radio stations) and California with 4 (1 newspaper and 3 radio stations).

As the work of Vianna (2005) demonstrated, media from Brazil and Portugal might provide an emotional connection to their homeland, as well as a form of entertainment. However, it does not fulfill traditional functions of

ethnic media, such as integration and assimilation, or even more immediate, information dissemination about functioning in the local community. We are focusing only on media that is produced and distributed within the continental United States. With increased access to media sites from their country of origin through satellite services and online providers, a larger study investigating consumption patterns among these groups will be important to understand how the global, Portuguese-language mediascape is actually entering the lives of those immigrants and their descendants.

Immigrant media plays an integral role in the assimilation of foreign newcomers to the United States. It allows ethnic groups to actively establish their own unique institutions and helps to “ease their transition into American society with varying degrees of success. The ethnic media are a product of these groups attempts to organize, communicate, and facilitate their transition into American society” (Viswanath and Arora, 2000, p. 39). While the media markets of some immigrant groups have flourished, others have struggled to keep a contemporary foothold. What we find in the current analysis is that there are marked distinctions in terms of type of media content, quantity available and perceived functions of media targeting immigrants from Brazil, from those who came from Portugal, Azores and its former African colonies. The current economic boom in Brazil might also have impacted the development of a particular type of ethnic media in regions that attracted a large number of visitors from that nation.

## What kind of content are these media outlets delivering?

### The Northeast

There are four newspapers in the New England area that target mostly Portuguese immigrants and their descendants. These newspapers provide a greater emphasis in covering the local, regional and national events relevant to the local community and to a lesser extent the homeland. These four newspapers have been in operation for several decades. The *Luso-Americano* was founded in 1928. Its focus is predominantly Portugal and its diaspora. Even stories about the other Portuguese-speaking nations had a connection to Portugal. The other three newspapers, *O Jornal*, *The Portuguese Tribune* and *The Portuguese Times* were all founded in the 1970s. This contrasts markedly with the case of most of the newspapers targeting the Brazilian diaspora. Of the 10 newspapers and magazines identified with a visible online presence, *The Brazilians*, a bimonthly tabloid published in English and Portuguese began its

circulation in 1972, serving mostly the New York area but circulating through the mail nationwide. Several other newspapers were created in the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as *Brazilian Times* (1988), and *Brazilian Voice* (1988). The other seven publications appeared in the last few years.

There is also an interesting distinction in terms of the coverage encountered among the Brazilian newspapers originating in the Northeast and those in Florida. In the Northeast, the more established papers, such as the *Brazilian Times*, the *Brazilian Voice* and the *Brazilian Press* presented greater coverage of national issues affecting immigrants and local community events. There was an emphasis in hard news. Only the *Florida Gazette*, of those publications in the Florida region, seems to have that emphasis.

### Florida

Most of these publications circulate freely, in distribution points around the region they are serving, as well as through mail delivery in case of a few tabloids and magazines, such as *The Brasilians* and the *Journal B&B*. But, this points to another characteristic of many of these publications and particularly of those magazines and smaller periodicals in the Florida region. They have a very high level of advertisements. The *Brazilian Voice*, although based in New Jersey has a strong reach in Florida with content and advertisement. It makes it explicit in its webpage that “it is in our pages and our site that our community gets to know, from a reliable source, were to acquire goods and services in Portuguese” (Brazilian Voice, n.d. para. 8).

It seems that in large part these publications in Florida aim to teach immigrants, especially on publications such as *AcheiUSA*, *O Jornal Nossa Gente*, *Expressão*, and *Jornal B&B* how to be good consumers. They provide information on opportunities to find bargains and to explore the region. *Jornal Nossa Gente*, for instance, provided detailed guides for attractions and shopping in Orlando. An extreme case of this connection between language, nationality and consumption is found in the *Florida Magazine Review*. This is one of the very few publications found targeting Portuguese speakers in English. This slick magazine, with a solid presence online, discusses the financial opportunities for Brazilians to invest in Florida and provides examples of current opportunities. It discusses immigration issues and visa types for those intended to invest in the United States.

What the larger number of newsmagazines and publications targeting the Brazilian community in Florida seems to demonstrate is not only that there is a large number of local Portuguese speakers residing in the region, but also

that Miami and Orlando are important touristic and commercial destinations for Brazilians. And these publications are providing a distinct function from conventional ethnic media, such as the radio stations and newspapers found in the Northeast that target both Brazilian, Portuguese and other lusophone diasporic subjects. They work to bridge the gap for those visiting Miami, Orlando or other parts of Southern Florida, but most likely still residing in Brazil. This is possible speculation, since we are not conducting an audience analysis, but the touristic data on Brazilians visiting the United States and particularly Florida, estimated to be in 2010 alone more than 500 thousand visitors to Miami-Dade area alone spending more than US\$1 billion (Whitefield, 2011) as well as those investing in the region indicates that this indeed is a likely explanation for this pattern of emergent ethnic media in the last few years in that region of the United States. These media are not functioning as a venue to facilitate assimilation, but rather informing visiting and potential investors of where to enter society in ways that one's "Brazilianness" will be an asset and not a detriment.

### Commonalities

The newspapers with greater periodicity tend to have active online presence particularly through their websites but also through social media. These are also the newspapers that will provide a substantial coverage of hard news affecting directly or indirectly the community. This coverage could be an intense look at new immigration policies or economic developments in the home country that might impact exchange rates. Unlike the newspapers targeting the Portuguese population that often will include coverage of issues that might pertain to the immigrants from Brazil, the Azores, etc., the Brazilian news media tended to focus mostly on Brazil and issues pertaining to that nation's immigrant population. This was particularly true in the case of the news outlets in Florida, but a pattern was also observed in venues located in New York. This was less often the case among the media produced in the New England area, the region with the largest concentration of non-Brazilian, Portuguese speakers in the U.S..

Even evaluating the content of the newspapers in the middle of November 2014, most of the sites that had weekly or greater periodicity were highly attuned to the national discussions on immigration policy. Those targeting the Brazilian population were particularly active in providing very clear information on the kinds of documentation most likely needed for any individual attempting to file for immigration status change. These stories, as well as others that provide information about everyday life in the community (such as upcoming religious festivals in *O Jornal* or honors received by local residents in *The Portuguese*

*Times*), demonstrate how they maintain a role in the process of assimilation and facilitation of the lives of these immigrants in their new homeland.

### **Determinants of the Effectiveness of Immigrant Media**

The effectiveness of lusophone media outlets is dependent on several factors. The popularity and ease of the Internet, access to cable and satellite television, and the demographics of ethnic media audiences all contribute to the success of these markets.

The exponential growth of the Internet's accessibility around the world is making it easier for migrants to remain connected to their home culture. Although this is beneficial to Internet users, lusophone media markets in the United States are not taking full advantage of these technological developments. The Internet acts "as a platform for information retrieval and a vehicle for communication. [It] has the potential of enhancing interpersonal relationships and information 'richness,' and hence facilitating the adaptation of immigrants" (Chen, 2010, p. 387). Accessing second-hand information through ethnic media outlets in the United States becomes obsolete when ethnic audiences can just as easily access newspapers, radio stations and television stations being broadcast directly from their home countries. However, ethnic media in the United States can still be beneficial for those immigrants who wish to receive local news in their native languages.

Cable and satellite television might have had a similar effect on lusophone media outposts. Only two local, Portuguese-language news stations were identified during this study and the popularity of and easy access to cable and satellite television can be a possible reason for the lack of these television stations across the United States, particularly in Florida with its growing Brazilian population. The invention of cable and satellite television "has given rise to new research questions concerning the role of television in the lives. Satellite television has broken down territorial boundaries; giving immigrants the opportunity to select from a wide range of local, national and international television channels, some targeting specific ethnic groups. They can maintain contact with the television culture of their homelands" (Bakoy, 2006, p.30). Because international channels are easily accessed through cable and satellite packages, immigrants can stream news stations directly from their home countries, no longer having to rely on local channels within the U.S.

Audiences of lusophone media outlets represent a limited population. Ethnic media promotes assimilation because "the greatest struggle of an immigrant is survival in a new country and a new culture that is alien. It is here

that the ethnic press may play a critical role. Coverage could focus on such stories as the community's involvement in local politics, promotion of positive feelings between ethnic groups' homelands and their adopted country, and the demonstration of patriotism by the ethnic group members" (Viswanath and Arora, 2000, p. 50). First-generation and second-generation Americans raised in the United States do not face the same integration issues and therefore, rely on ethnic media significantly less. Plus, their growing reliance on the Internet makes local news even more archaic. As immigration decreases, the content originally disseminated by these media outlets to help newcomers assimilate within the United States is no longer current. Therefore, Portuguese-language outlets need to adapt their content to attract first, second and third-generation Americans from immigrant families. As Paulina Arruda of WJFD 97.3 also revealed, there seems to be a new pattern of cultural reclamation by third-generation Portuguese and Brazilian-Americans. They are using Luso-American media outlets to learn more about their heritage, reclaiming it and adding their own modern influences. However, few outlets are taking advantage of these potentially lucrative, younger audiences by modifying their content and Arruda deems this as the beginning of their end

### **Social Media and the Portuguese language media in the United States**

In the last decade, the importance of social media has been firmly established in the U.S. media landscape. It has become an important tool in interacting with readers, listeners and viewers. In a study investigating the relationship between traditional media and social media, Stefanone et al. (2010) explain, "the explosion in popularity of social networking sites (SNSs) represents one of the fastest uptakes of a communication technology since the web was developed in the early 1990s. As of March 2009, 2 of the Top 10 most popular websites worldwide were SNSs" (Stefanone, Lackaff, and Rosen, 2010, p. 511). However, according to our findings, social media's role in lusophone media within the United States is not nearly as prominent.

Of the 25 Portuguese-language media outlets accounted for in this study, only 13 (52%) have functioning Facebook pages updated regularly or semi-regularly. While some of the identified media outlets update their Facebook pages multiple times a day, such as WJFD 97.3 and The Portuguese Tribune, others only update their pages a couple times a month. The number of "likes" for these pages averages 1,590, ranging from 180 to 5354. Surprisingly, the number of "likes" a page has received does not correlate with the frequency in which a page is updated, as would be expected.

The average age of readers, listeners and viewers targeted by these lusophone media channels exceeds 35 years of age, as was reported by the site statistics of the identified media outlets. However, a lack of social media presence may not be as large of a detriment to the success of these companies. The majority of social media and Facebook users (<60%) are between the ages of 18 and 25 (*Social Times*, 2008), an age bracket significantly younger than most lusophone media followers.

If national origin were being considered, lusophone media markets targeted to Brazilian audiences would benefit most from social media. In 2013, Forbes Magazine cited Brazil as the future of social media, not the United States. Brazil's vast population (second in population in the Americas, after the U.S.) is notoriously "social-media savvy and all signs indicate that Brazil is just hitting its social stride" (Holmes, 2013). If Internet and social media use continues to grow in this vast nation, "Brazil suddenly seems poised to hold an unlikely distinction: social media capital of the universe" (Holmes, 2013). In contrast, Portugal is among the countries who utilize social media the least. Despite a low usage of social media in Portugal, Portuguese-Americans most likely have greater exposure to the Internet in the United States and it would be beneficial for Portuguese-American media outlets targeting these groups to increase their use of social media.

## Conclusion

This study presented a portrait of the media targeting a specific ethnic linguistic group. In doing so, it addressed important questions about the future of ethnic media in an increasingly globally interconnected space. The number of Portuguese speaking immigrants from Brazil, Portugal and its former colonies in the US has grown to more than two million. A large number of the recent migrants are coming from Brazil rather than Portugal, Cape Verde, Azores and the former African colonies, changing a pattern of settlement and media use. What we found is that a vibrant Portuguese language media still exists, mostly divided between the northeastern United States, where earlier migrant flows originating from Portugal, Cape Verde and the Azores made their home, and more recent Brazilian migrants settled to benefit from existing Portuguese language infrastructure, and Florida with an increasing Brazilian presence.

What we found is that media targeting lusophone immigrants still serves traditional immigrant media functions, such as integration and assimilation by providing information on local events and opportunities to participate in the social and political life of the region. But some media targeting Brazilians,

particularly in Florida seems to be moving away from focusing on immigrants and becoming more attuned to the needs of Brazilian tourists who come to Florida for entertainment, shopping and possible investment.

Another finding of this study is the limited use of social media by many of these outlets, which might indicate a potential challenge for these media to remain relevant to younger generations of migrants and second or third generation of Americans descendants of lusophone nations hoping to reclaim their heritage.

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