Homeland and ethnic news consumption among Ghanaians in the Washington Metropolitan Area

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Homeland news consumption: The Ghanaian diaspora in the United States

Michael Bediako

A thesis submitted to the
Reed College of Media
at West Virginia University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in
Journalism

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Reed College of Media

Morgantown, West Virginia
2019

Keywords: ethnic, immigrant, media, homeland, diaspora, news, consumption

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ABSTRACT

Homeland news consumption: The Ghanaian diaspora in the United States

Michael Boateng Bediako

Among the many applications of the Internet is its use for news. Ghanaian immigrants, like others living away from their country of birth, use the Web to access news from home via ethnic media in their host country or homeland media or both. Employing online surveys and telephone interviews, this study explores the daily use of online media by Ghanaians resident in the Washington metropolitan area to obtain news about their native country. It assesses how factors like demography, length of stay abroad and devices used affect time spent daily on the Internet looking for news as well as the news sources and categories usually patronized. The use of social media to access news daily was also investigated. Descriptive analysis of the data obtained was carried out. Across all the online media types accessed – radio, TV, and website/ newspaper – homeland media was the preference of Ghanaian immigrants while ethnic media was hardly mentioned, most of these news accessed via mobile. Most Ghanaians prefer to read the news online than to listen or watch. Social media was also a very important medium of news, being an essential source for more than 8 out of every 10 respondents surveyed. In addition to being a platform with mass subscription where users read and share news, social media also streams radio and television news programs, replacing the need to visit the websites of the specific news organizations for their news. The advantages the Internet offers including unrestricted access to news across the world and the speed of delivery of such information were also mentioned.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks be to God for seeing me reach another milestone – a degree in journalism I had for so long desired.

My gratitude also goes to WVU’s Reed College of Media for offering me funding to make this feat possible after many years of trying to secure financial support for my education in the United States.

Most importantly, I would like to thank Dr. Steve Urbanski, Director of Graduate Studies at the Reed College of Media. He encouraged me to consider applying to WVU and made me believe the school would be a good fit for me academically. As head of my thesis committee, I benefitted massively from his advice and directions.

Another note of appreciation goes to Dr. Elizabeth Oppe, who agreed to serve on my committee and under whom I worked as a teaching assistant for the entire two years of my study. Thank you, Dr. Oppe, I have developed a better work ethic from that close association with you, which will be so useful in my career.

Also I wish to express my appreciation to the other committee members, Dr. Tamba M’Bayo and Prof. Raimondo, for their suggestions and patience with me.

And to Jones my dad and the rest of the family, thanks for your words of support during all these years I have been away from home.
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1. Introduction

According to the United Nations (2017, p. 3), an international migrant is “a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth.” From an estimated population of 153 million in 1990, international migrants made up 258 million in 2017 (UN, 2017), with the majority residing in Asia (80 million), Europe (78 million) and North America (58 million). The United States alone is host to 50 million, making it the country with the single largest number of foreign-born individuals (Pew Research Center, 2018; UN, 2017).

Such persons who have left their countries of birth and continue to maintain contact with the homeland have come to be known as the diaspora, a term originally used in reference to Jews and their dispersion across the world (Safran, 1991). A common term that has become associated with the diaspora is transnationalism – an umbrella definition for cross-border exchanges, connections and activities involving migrants. These interactions or exchanges have mostly been with migrants’ countries of origin. Transnational acts may include regular trips to one’s native country or frequent remittances to relatives and friends back home (Levitt, 1997). It also may be political, including a greater push for representation back home, such as the right to vote or dual citizenship (Forner, 1997) or regular telephone conversations and emails, investing in properties and businesses back home and being a member of an ethnic association (Owusu, 2003). Transnationalism can assume a cultural dimension through the patronage of native foods, music, movies (Shivers, 2010), tourism, academic exchange programs or the use of traditional medicine while abroad (IOM, 2017; Barimah & van Teijlingen, 2008). Increased transnationalism has been helped by globalization, brought about by improvements in technology, particularly in
transportation and communication, ensuring that air travel, telephony, and exchange of information can be carried out faster and at minimal cost (Faist, 2000, as cited in Owusu, 2003; IOM, 2017).

One area where migrants exercise transnationalism and keep touch with the homeland is their mass media consumption. Far away from home and now minorities in a new land, diasporans are left without direct access to radio, television, newspaper, magazine or other media content from home. The isolation is even greater for immigrants with limited language abilities in their host countries as they are unable to grasp local media content (Caroe & Sell, 2000, as cited in Christiansen, 2004). Racism and the negative portrayal or non-coverage of immigrants in mainstream news have also been a factor for diasporans feeling more excluded from host country media and to look for news elsewhere (Caroe & Sell, 2000, as cited in Christiansen, 2004).

Desiring to stay connected, immigrants have leaned towards forming their own media or employing a number of avenues to obtain news from beyond their country. Often, the void has been filled by ethnic media, defined by Matsaganis, Katz, and Ball-Rokeach as “media produced by and for immigrants, racial, ethnic and linguistic minorities, as well as indigenous populations living across different countries” (2011, p. 6).

A number of studies has been conducted on the roles of ethnic media in places with significant representation of particular foreign nationals. These include media use among Ethiopian refugees in London (Georgiou, 2003), Pakistani immigrants in Denmark and Turks living in Western Europe (Caroe & Sell, 2000, as cited in Christiansen, 2004), Korean mothers (Jinah & Kwangho, 2017) and Hong Kong nationals (Lee & Tse, 1994) in Canada, Romanians in Ireland (Macri, 2011), the Malayalee diaspora in Qatar (Jacob & Venkataramagan, 2018) and
Iranian-Australians in Australia (Budarick, 2011). In the United States, more than 60 million adults of African, African-American, Asian, European, indigenous, Latino and Middle Eastern origin patronize content from some 3,000 print, electronic and online ethnic media outlets often in languages other than English (Waldman, 2011, as cited in Katz, Matsaganis, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Very notable ones include Telemundo, Univision and La Opinion, which primarily serve the Spanish-language community in the United States.

In addition to ethnic media, immigrants now enjoy another alternative to news and information: online homeland media. These media, produced in the immigrant’s country of birth, can be accessed abroad via streaming on the Internet and provide information in real time. Previously, little information, usually through back issues of newspapers or other publications from the homeland reached the diaspora and these took a long time to deliver (Ip, 2006, as cited in Yin, 2015). Satellite television has also brought some information from home to migrants, those in Europe especially (Christiansen, 2004; Caroe & Sell, 2003), leading Roald (2001) in a study of immigrants in one part of Sweden with more than its fair share of satellite dishes to describe the devices as “the immigrants’ ear to the homeland.” (2001, p.6). However, majority of the homeland television content migrants accessed was in partnership with local ethnic TV stations for selected programs rather than the entire channel (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000). Further, the cost of satellite TV subscriptions was a financial burden for some migrants (Sun, 2006, as cited in Yin, 2015). However, Internet technology offers easier, more affordable and unrestricted access to online homeland media which migrants use to supplement what they obtain from local ethnic media (Ip, 2006, as cited in Yin, 2015).
Thus, in studying media use among immigrants, the increasing importance of homeland mainstream media in their daily lives needs to be examined in addition to what they receive from ethnic media in the countries they are domiciled. This research, therefore, will survey U.S.-based Ghanaians’ daily news consumption patterns of Ghanaian-owned, U.S.-based media and homeland-based media online to assess which medium plays a greater role in their daily source of information. No study yet on how the Ghanaian diaspora in the United States or North America accesses news from homeland and ethnic newspapers/magazines, radio, television and news websites has been identified.

The study asks the following research questions:

RQ 1: What are the Ghanaian diaspora’s preferences for news from ethnic and homeland media across online radio, television, and newspapers/news websites?

RQ 2: To what extent do demographic factors and length of stay of Ghanaian immigrants influence the frequency, medium and type of news they access online from homeland and ethnic media?

RQ 3: What advantages and challenges with the Internet do Ghanaian immigrants encounter with accessing news from online ethnic and homeland media?
2. Literature Review

2.1 Ethnic media

Budarick (2011) defines ethnic media as “media aimed at and consumed by, or produced by, a diasporic group” (p. 5). However, according to Katz, Matsaganis and Ball-Rokeach (2011), producers of such media may not necessarily be members of the very diaspora they serve, citing such examples as the Korea Times, produced for South Koreans in major U.S. cities like New York City and Washington, D.C., but with most of its writers living in South Korea; Antenna Satellite, a radio and television station based in Athens, Greece, that targets Greeks in the U.S. and Canada, as well as SAT-7, broadcasting to the Middle East and North Africa but located in Nicosia, Cyprus. They thus define ethnic media as those representing and produced by and for immigrants, racial, ethnic and language minorities and even indigenes. Thus, ethnic media may sometimes be known as international media, immigrant media, or minority media (Georgiou, 2003). Georgiou (ibid) also notes that “diasporic media” is a commoner term in Europe in ethnic media research.

Ethnic media usually come in several forms including print, television, radio and online. Movies, television soap operas, and dramas from one’s native country are also considered ethnic media due to their role in helping consumers connect with their cultural identity (Desai, 2006, as cited in Ramasubramanian, Doshi, & Saleem, 2017; Shivers, 2010). Most immigrant media are small outfits which make little revenue and profit (Riggins, 1992, as cited in Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011), and therefore keep a skeletal staff, a mix of volunteers and part-time staff, to produce programs and write stories. Such volunteers include professionals in other disciplines who have useful media skills such as writing or presentation which they put at the disposal of such organizations (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Some are also trained on the job.
while others join as qualified journalists or media personnel and use ethnic media as a launchpad to a bigger job in mainstream media. Immigrant media are sometimes joined by vastly experienced personnel who have quit their positions in mainstream media owing to some family or private reason or burning desire to fulfil some needs of their migrant community (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). And there are yet others who work for mainstream media and still make time for smaller, immigrant media probably out of their deep attachment to their ethnic community (Mediam’Rad, 2006, as cited in Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

Browne (2005, as cited in Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011) said most of these staff earn low wages yet put in longer hours and carry out multiple roles to ensure stories and/or programs are brought to their audiences.

Given that they serve a mainly foreign-born population whose first language may not be the same as their host country, most ethnic media are produced in languages other than English (Katz, Matsaganis, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). However, recent research points to a rise in English-language content from ethnic media producers to accommodate new audiences, an example being Vietnamese newspaper Nguoi Viet’s decision to run two separate websites – one version in Vietnamese, the other in English – to cater to the news needs of second- and third-generation Vietnamese in Southern California (Ramasubramanian, Doshi, & Saleem, 2017). The Pew Research Center (2011) also notes how most Arab-American newspapers now offer news in both Arabic and English to accommodate younger, bilingual Arabs and to address revenue shortfalls.

More than 150 electronic media outlets serve minorities in the Netherlands (Bink, 2002) while Raiser (2002, as cited in Katz, Matsaganis, & Ball-Rokeach) identified 90 print and broadcast media in Germany dedicated to Asian and Eastern European audiences alone. The United Kingdom boasts Europe’s largest source of diasporic media with hundreds of print,
electronic and online content available in a variety of languages including Arabic, Chinese, Polish, Greek, Turkish, and Italian (Georgiou, 2003).

The U.S. hosts a large number of ethnic media. In New York alone, those of Hispanic, Chinese, African American and Haitian-descent dominate. Katz, Matsaganis, and Ball-Rokeach (2011) cite a Ford Foundation report that mentions the rise in circulation of Chinese-language newspapers in the state from less than 200,000 in 1990 to more than 500,000 in 2006. Univision and Telemundo are among the most prominent Spanish-language television stations in the United States while *La Opinion* leads in print for Hispanics.

### 2.2 Roles of ethnic media

Adoni, Caspi, and Cohen (2006) observe that ethnic media play two broad roles: 1) connection and 2) orientation. The connective function involves offering the immigrant access to news back home. According to Viswanath and Arora (2000), ethnic media may also do this by connecting the immigrant to international news, especially when there is a dearth of news about their country in the mainstream news. Further, for migrants who cannot grasp the language of the country they have arrived to settle in, reliance on ethnic media becomes necessary to access programs in the language they understand (Adoni, Caspi, & Cohen, 2006; Christiansen, 2004). Such media, including those publishing or broadcasting from the homeland, may be used by immigrants to help teach their children the native tongue, as observed by Lee (2017) of the Korean diaspora in Canada who regard the need for their offspring to learn the Korean language for the maintenance of their ethnic identity. Hiller and Franz (2004, as cited in Mustapha & Wok, 2015) identified that some transnationals, finding themselves away from their countries of birth, experience some “social void” read homeland newspaper daily to not just keep up with happenings back home but to cure their homesickness.
Orientation encompasses introducing the immigrant to their new society and generally educating them about how to settle in their new environment (Adoni, Caspi, & Cohen, 2006). To help newly arrived immigrants to settle, ethnic media may play such roles as offering information on how to get their children registered in school or get a bank account (Katz, Matsaganis, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011) or access healthcare and social support (Wilson & Ball-Rokeach, 2006). Georgiou (2003) also mentioned how an ethnic media outlet in London assists Ethiopian asylum seekers in London with helpful information on where to find employment while publishing the successes of these refugees or their offspring on their website. Ethnic media’s role of assimilation also involves carrying stories of the immigrant group’s involvement in the politics of the host country or inculcation of patriotism in new members (Viswanath & Arora, 2000).

Yet there are even more roles ethnic media play. Viswanath and Arora (2000, pp. 45-46) say these include such media acting as a “sentinel” of sorts, sounding alarms about possible “threats” to the community such as discrimination from people of a different race who may be opposed to the cultural practices of the ethnic group and violations of their rights as immigrants. Hristova (2011) found that in Bulgaria, amidst stereotyping of the Gypsies as violent criminals, illiterates and jobless indigents in mainstream media, Roma ethnic media adopted the “defensive” approach, offering an alternative representation of the Roma as “educated” and “professionals” with lawyers, doctors, etc. in their ranks. Similarly, depictions in the traditional press in Vancouver, Canada, of men of South Asian origin, particularly Punjabis, as “backward” and subsequent linking to domestic violence, have been fought by the minority Asian-Canadian media who have called for a decoupling of South Asians with violence (Bhamra & Fontaine,
2011). Subsequently, Bhamra and Fontaine (2011) mention the role of some Canada-based South Asian media houses providing a counter story on culture and domestic abuse. In Denmark, racism in mainstream news was mentioned by immigrants as one factor for their resort to satellite TV broadcasts from their homelands.

2.3 Ethnic media and the Internet

Changes in information and communication technology, particularly the advent of the Internet, have led to a revolution in the way people interact and obtain information. Interpersonal relations have become easier with the development of apps and software that make it easy to contact relations, acquaintances, colleagues and others and get responses instantly. In mass media, the Internet allows the streaming of programs hitherto available only via radio and/or television and print, giving rise to new media forms such as Internet TV and online newspapers and radios.

Also profiting from the revolutions in technology have been diasporic media, many of whom have gone digital the last 20 years, enabling immigrants and sojourners access to information from their homelands despite physically finding themselves in another country (Ogunyemi, 2012). Andersen & Thoresen (as cited in Eide, Knudesen, & Krovel, 2014) cite works that show that the Web now leads in the provision of information and entertainment by native media for different immigrant groups.

The Internet’s advantage of not being constrained by distance and censorship is one feature that is latched on to by diasporans to meet their desire for instant news. Halperin (2015) said the emergence of multiple news websites of Palestinian origin has offered diaspora Palestinians access to news from home, unlike in previous years when the conflict in Palestine cut them off
from events in the country due to censorship of local media reports on the West Bank and Gaza. A similar advantage of digital media is mentioned by Bozdag (2014, p. 169) who says by bypassing “spatial and temporal constraints”, Turkish online media enable Turks living in Germany to plug in to news and popular culture from their homeland, with migrants now enjoying more varied media content than before the birth of the Web. Halperin (2015) further mentions low cost, availability and interactivity as factors driving Internet use.

The Internet, by connecting migrants to homeland and ethnic media, enables them to entrench their connection to native and cultural values. Yin (2015, p. 561) assessed the consumption of online homeland media by Chinese immigrants in New Zealand and concluded that this cultivated a strong sense of being “authentic Chinese” among them. Similarly, Melkote and Liu (2000) observed that the Internet offered a platform for recent and long-term Chinese immigrants to bond and exchange ideas. With the help of their compatriots who have lived longer in their host country, newly-arrived persons are able to select the appropriate online resources to negotiate the culture shock in their new environment while the more established ones use it to obtain information about their home country and strengthen their Chinese connections. But Ye (2005, as cited in Zhang, 2007) found in his study that students from Eastern Asia in the United States who use the Internet for news consumption, preferred English-language media than those that publish or broadcast in local languages.

The Internet has also been a medium for expression of the political sentiments of persons in the diaspora towards events in their home country. Often, such descriptions are to rail against political events back home. A typical example is the establishment of online newspapers by Zimbabweans living outside the country in order for them to express their strongest views on the political and economic crises the country has faced in the last 20 years and to call for change of government.
However, inasmuch as the Internet has broadened media options for immigrants and
reduced reliance on local ethnic media for news from the homeland, there are fears it may
decimate traditional ethnic media. Ogunyemi (2012) suggests that ethnic newspapers are under
threat of folding up since there will be little reason for diasporans to hold on to subscriptions
when they can obtain the same or even more information from websites. Ball-Rokeach, Cheong,
Wilkin, and Matsaganis (2004), however, have found that traditional ethnic media remain more
important to some immigrants than online media. Investigating Hispanics’ ethnic media use
habits in Los Angeles, they found that the Internet ranked below ethnic radio, TV, and
newspapers for local community news.
Producers

- Members of an ethnic community in a particular geographical area of a country (e.g. city/region)
- A media firm/firms in a home country with production units located in the ethnic communities of a host country/countries
- One/more media organizations based in an ethnic community’s country of origin
- A collaborative effort of one/more media organizations located in a home country and organizations based in ethnic communities outside the home

Funders

- Entrepreneurs of the ethnic community in one or more countries of settlement
- Entrepreneurs from a home country
- Entrepreneurs from a home country and entrepreneurs of ethnic communities in host countries

Size of organization

- Small, family-owned, “mom-and-pop” type businesses
- Large corporations, organizations resembling major publishing organizations and broadcast networks
- Multinational organizations

Location

- A neighborhood where many members of an ethnic community live
- In a home country
- In a “home” country or a country of settlement but with offices in more than one place around the world. They target audiences in more than one country
- Anywhere in a host country with a significant number of people who self-identified as members of a particular ethnic community
**Target Audience**

- An ethnic community in a particular geographic space (i.e. city/region)
- Distinct ethnic communities residing in multiple locations within a particular country or across different countries
- Ethnic communities outside a home country and audiences within the home country
- People who may not have origins in the same home country but who share a variety of cultural characteristics (e.g. language, religion)

**Distribution of content**

- Print media may be distributed door-to-door or to news stands by the owners, journalists or employees of the media
- Local distribution agencies
  - Mail Service
  - Independently owned or public radio and TV broadcasting networks
  - Cable, satellite and Internet-based networks

**Language used**

- • Language or dialect is spoken in the home country
- • Language in the host country
- • Both

**Source:** (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011)

*Figure 1* Ethnic media summarized
2.4 The African diaspora in the U.S

African migration to the United States dates back to the 16th century Transatlantic Slave Trade when many Africans were ferried from the continent as slaves. For a period spanning three centuries, 10 million Africans were shipped to work largely on plantations and mines in the New World – North, Central and South America and the Caribbean (Curtin, 1969, as cited in Akyeampong, 2000), with 360,000 of them being brought to the United States (Capps, McCabe, & Fix, 2012). Following the abolition of the slave trade, the first documented unforced migration from Africa to the United States was a whaling trip that began off the coast of Cape Verde in the early 1800s (Halter, 1993, as cited in Capps, McCabe, & Fix, 2012).

However, the United States restricted migrant inflows with the introduction of the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 (Immigration Restriction Act), a law which prescribed a maximum number of entrants from every nation or region into the United States. This act favored migration from western and northern European nations and curbed arrivals from other parts of the world, including Africa. The Nationality Act of 1965 (also known as the Hart-Celler Act) repealed the quota system though a somewhat expanded per-country visa allocation system took its place. Priority was given to skilled immigrants while restrictions on relatives of U.S. citizens and residents seeking family reunion were lifted (Gambino, Trevelyan, & Fitzwater, 2014). Thus, migration from Africa to the United States picked up again, and African immigrant numbers saw further increase with the passing of the Refugee Act of 1980 to provide asylum for persons fleeing wars mainly in Ethiopia, Eritrea, DR Congo, The Sudan and Somalia.

Yet more Africans have arrived through the Diversity Immigrant Visa Program. Birthed by the Immigration Act of 1990, the program was established to allow up to 50,000 visas per year to be issued to people from lowly represented countries to relocate to the United States in
order to diversify the American immigrant population (American Immigration Council, 2017). The program accounts for only 5% of all immigrants entering the US each year but has boosted African arrivals, with the lion’s share (39%) of successful diversity visa applicants since 2006 coming from the continent (Wilson, 2018).

African outmigration to other parts of the world including the United States was also influenced in the past by conflicts in the years immediately following independence from colonial powers as many of the continent’s finest brains were forced to leave to pursue greener pastures (Ogunyemi, 2012). Tettey and Puplampu (2005) further identified such push factors as poor working conditions, victimization, cronyism, limited employment opportunities, substandard healthcare, public sector corruption and sabotage, among others, for continued exodus from the continent. According to the Pew Research Center (2017), although Africans still make up a small proportion (4.8%) of the immigration population in the States, their numbers have been rising steadily, increasing two-fold every decade since 1970. From the start of the ’70s when Africans in the U.S. numbered only about 80,000 (less than 1% of immigrants), their population rose to more than 2 million in 2015 (Pew Research Center, 2017) (Figure 2).

![Figure 2 African-born population in the U.S 1970-2015, (in 1000s)](image)

Source: Pew Research Center
Africa also led in immigrant arrivals (41%) to the United States from 2000 to 2013; Nigeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, and South Africa are Africa’s most represented states as shown in Table 1. Most African immigrants have settled in Texas, New York, California, Maryland, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Virginia, each of these states home to a minimum of 100,000 of them (Pew Research Center, 2017). Minnesota also hosts a large number of Africans, largely of Somali and Ethiopian origin, settled there by the U.S. government as refugees in the ’80s (Gambino, Trevelyan, & Fitzwater, 2014).
Table 1
African-born immigrants in the U.S. by country of origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>327,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>222,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>192,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>155,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>136,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>92,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>76,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>74,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>51,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>49,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>44,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>37,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>DR Congo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 The media of African diaspora in the U.S

Like other groups of immigrants, Africans abroad have set up media to serve their various needs as they increased in number in host countries. According to Ogunyemi (2006), print was the earliest medium by African immigrants, coming at the start of the 20th century. Radio and television followed before online media arrived in subsequent years. Ogunyemi (2012) found that television is the most patronized medium among Africans in the diaspora, followed by the Web. He observed that most African diaspora media, however, are now online and, like many media owned by immigrants, are micro businesses manned by a small staff of three or a little more, mostly with little to no training in journalism undertaking multiple roles and who work for short periods and quit.

There is scanty official information and research on African immigrant media in the United States. However, some search on the Internet reveals the existence of a handful of African media in a few U.S. states and cities where the immigrant population from the continent is substantial. Minnesota, where a large number of Somali and Ethiopian refugees were resettled in the 1980s, is a notable example and has a number of ethnic Somali publications. In the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, there are notably the Somali American and Somalida Maanta (Somalis Today) newspapers and the Mogadishu Times and Tusmo Times serving mainly immigrants from the Horn of Africa nation (Hirsi, 2018; Minnesota Department of Health, 2017). Most of these publications are now bilingual as they target the larger African immigrant community in Minnesota. With the exception of Ze Habesha, which publishes in Amharic exclusively for the Ethiopian community in the metropolitan area, all other African print outlets in the Minnesota area (African News Journal, the AfricaPaper, the Liberian Journal, Mshale, and Pepper Soup) offer news in English (Minnesota Department of Health, 2017). By publishing in
English in addition to content from countries across Africa, they serve the needs of their kinsmen and women from the continent.

This approach is necessary given the relatively low number of Africans in the United States, which would make it difficult to turn a good profit if a publication produced and circulated to people from only one African country. Similarly, The Trumpet newspaper has said its focus is to provide information “oriented towards readers from Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, DR Congo, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Somalia, and South Africa” in the United Kingdom. Chama (2015) also identifies a composite African ethnic media situation in Canada involving African Immigrant Magazine, Planet Africa Magazine & Television, Africentric Magazine, among others. In other parts of the U.S., African-owned newspapers like African Spectrum and USAfricaonline, follow a similar approach.

Like African-produced newspapers and magazines, there is little official information on the number of ethnic radio stations and television of African descent in the U.S. However, assessing the profile of the few sampled for this paper, it was found that most of such broadcast stations focus on the larger African population within their frequency range as the target audience, and, therefore, broadcast in English. As an example, of the nine registered African-owned radio stations in Minnesota, six (African Rhythms, African Roots Connection, Eritrean Community Radio, Somali American Radio, TMZ Radio & Somali Public Radio) target the general African community and produce in English and have special programs produced in African languages. In northern Chicago, WGHC FM, priding itself as “the first African immigrant-owned and operated terrestrial radio station in North America” broadcasts to “underserved African and Afro-descendant communities” mainly in English but has talk shows and songs in Eastern African languages and German (wghcfm.com, 2018). Somalida Maanta (Somalis Today), Voice of Ethiopia and Voice of Oromiyaa, however, broadcast exclusively to
Somalis and Ethiopians in the native tongue (Minnesota Department of Health, 2017). Some notable TV stations serving the African diaspora include Africa Today TV, St. Paul Neighborhood Network (SPNN), Geel TV, AU Diaspora TV and Minneapolis Television Network (MTN). Oromo TV and Somali respectively serve the Ethiopian and Somali migrant community in Minnesota, broadcasting in native languages (Minnesota Department of Health, 2017).

However, by far, the Internet is the most popular ethnic medium among African immigrants, an observation Ogunyemi (2012) also made in a similar study of Black Africans in the UK. In times past when nationals living abroad had to call relatives back home or rely on returning friends to bring them past issues of newspapers from home to catch up on what was happening in their countries of origin, the Internet now ensures that they can obtain such information almost instantly. The advent of the Internet and proliferation of news websites has led to increased online news habits. Traditional media like newspapers now have web versions of news they carry in print that can be updated many times daily, while radio and television stations stream audio video content and more on their websites. This means it is now possible to also watch or listen to live TV and radio programs on the Internet.

These changes to news access occasioned by the coming of the Internet offer immigrants multiple sources of information from home and across the world and reduce their reliance on local ethnic media. According to Ogunyemi, most African diasporic media are now online and the Internet is the second most patronized medium for news after television among immigrants from the continent living in the U.K. Now, diasporic Africans can read, watch and listen to ethnic media content online, with a number of these web radio and TV stations linking up with media stations from the homeland to broadcast some live programs. Many online radio and TV stations of African origin in the diaspora broadcast in English to target a wide audience of
African immigrants, but a plethora of local-language diasporic electronic media have emerged ensuring more options and diversity in the ethnic media market.

Yet, thanks to the Internet, even more options are available to Africans in the diaspora as they can now directly access media from home and other parts of the world and obtain information instantly.

2.6 Roles of African immigrant media

African media in the diaspora also play the connective and orientation role mentioned by Adoni, Caspi, and Cohen (2006). According to Ogunyemi (2012), these media combine the two roles by relaying news from the home country and host nation in their quest to bring their audiences up to speed with happenings on the motherland while educating them on the politics and economics within their countries of residence. This dual function is more beneficial as audiences fed only homeland stories tend to not integrate well in their host communities (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

Africans across the world treasure and connect with their origins through their media and, thus, in the early days of an African’s life abroad, he seeks an avenue to remain in touch with events happening home by connecting with ethnic media (Ogunyemi, 2013). For those who read, watch or listen to ethnic media programs in their local languages, such media plays a strong connective role by enabling them to sustain their culture and native tongue (Geissler & Weber-Menges, 2009, as cited in Ramasubramanian, Doshi, & Saleem, 2017). Mainsah (2009), in his study of Cameroonians in Oslo, said ethnic media, while enabling immigrants to catch up with news back home, immigrant media brought back nostalgia about home through music and a reconnection to their cultural identity from time to time in the midst of Western influence.

Orientation functions played by African media include offering information on host country policies on immigration, employment, and health care among others while offering
career advice and local news (Ogunyemi, 2012). An example is the African Voice newspaper’s motivational column which not only provides information on educational opportunities to young black immigrants in Britain but also encourages them to access such openings and avoid bad influences (ibid).

Beyond these, African ethnic media project the positives from within the immigrant community by celebrating the achievements of fellow immigrants. The African media in Britain highlighted the story of Tidjane Thiam after he was named the first black CEO of a Financial Times Stock Exchange (FTSE) 100 company, one publication describing him as the coolest man in insurance (Ogunyemi, 2012). African media have had to play the role of defending the continent and its people against their sometimes negative representation in foreign media. Characterizations of Africa as a “Dark Continent” infected with HIV/AIDS and malaria (and most-recently Ebola) and always at the mercy of Western support are common (Hauer-Nussbaumer, 2014). African media usually counter these by offering positive alternatives in the news.

2.7 The Ghanaian diaspora in the U.S.

The earliest recorded voluntary migration from Ghana to the United States and North America predates World War I (WWI), during which period fewer than 1,000 Ghanaians emigrated (Arthur, 2008). The period following the end of the war saw slightly more Ghanaians, mainly civil servants, employees of foreign services and international firms, being sponsored abroad on capacity-building programs by the British colonial administration, though these trips were mainly to the UK and the rest of Europe (Arthur, 2008). By the end of World War II (WWII), there were yet more Ghanaians travelling to mainly Anglophone nations, including the United States, for further civil service training, business or studies and returning home shortly after (Arthur, 2008).
However, according to Anarfi (1982), Ghanaian outmigration was minimal during the period due to a prosperous economy but became a common fixture in the late 1960s after the overthrow of the country’s first post-independence government led by Kwame Nkrumah. Economic hardship in Ghana and a period of migration of Ghanaians initially to neighboring West African states, particularly Nigeria and Côte d’Ivoire, ensued (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000). The 1970s and ’80s witnessed “a phase of large-scale emigration” during which a depressing economy led to more educated Ghanaians leaving home for neighboring countries while most of the nation’s professionals and students in the U.S. remained after their studies or training to seek employment (Anarfi et al., 2000). This was also a period of numerous military coups and political instability, forcing many Ghanaians to flee from the insecurity in the country (Arthur, 2008).

Ghanaian migration to the U.S. got a boost with the Hart-Celler Act of 1965, enabling skilled nationals and close relations of Ghanaians with US citizenship to move abroad and work as permanent residents. Following this was the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, also known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Act, which offered amnesty to about 27 million undocumented immigrants, allowing them to apply for legal status. This enabled many Ghanaians living in the U.S. illegally to regularize their stay, become permanent residents and later citizens and to be later joined by their relatives from back home (Arthur, 2008).

Upwards of 40,000 Ghanaians alone relocated to the United States through the Diversity Visa lottery between 1995 and 2000 (Arthur, 2008). From less than 400,000 applicants in 2007, Ghanaian “green card” lottery applications increased markedly to 1.73 million in 2015, making it the country with the highest number of applicants for that year (U.S. State Department, 2017). An exact count of Ghanaians living in the United States is not known but according to the
Migration Policy Institute (2015), there are approximately 235,000 of them and their children, 56% of them arriving after the turn of the millennium.

Orozco (2005) estimates the number could be as high as 300,000. Ghanaian immigrants make up less than 1% of the U.S. population but are the fourth most represented Africans in the United States (Arthur, 2008). The U.S. Embassy in Ghana (2017) said there were 3,111 Ghanaians studying in over 630 schools in America as of 2017 – the third largest contingent from Africa, behind Nigeria and Kenya – 38 percent of them in undergraduate courses and 45 percent in graduate programs while the rest are in either non-degree courses or optional practical training. The majority of Ghanaian immigrants in the United States live in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Worcester, MA (Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

2.8 The Ghanaian diaspora and media use
Going by official estimates, the Ghanaian-born immigrant population of 235,000 makes up less than 1% of all people living in the United States. Their number means they are not among the most represented immigrant groups in the country: Mexico (11.6 million), China (2.7 million), India (2.4 million), Philippines (1.9 million) and El Salvador (1.4 million) top America’s foreign-born population (Pew Research Center, 2016). Like many underrepresented minorities, Ghanaians abroad do not enjoy the luxury of direct access to print and broadcast media from home as their counterparts from major migrant nations do. The first Ghanaian radio station to be established in the diaspora was the Weekend Black Listeners (WBLS) in London in the 1990s, the culmination of a desire by immigrants from the West African country to be abreast of events from the homeland. It offered mainly news and Ghanaian-Caribbean music on weekends and now operates as a web-only radio station (Ghanaweb, 2015). WBLS is now an online-only radio station.
One of the earliest newspapers for Ghanaians abroad was Trumpet, which started out in 1995 in the UK as a community publication for Africans. In addition to print, it also runs a digital edition, but the publication now offers news on all of Africa, thereby targeting the larger African readers and subscribers (Trumpet Media Group, 2018). Few television programs from Ghana are available to Ghanaians abroad, the most notable being ABN Television and recently GNTV, both operating on the Sky TV platform in the UK. Be sure to check the formal name of this. I think it’s just “Sky,” so you’d probably be more accurate to write “Sky television” on first reference and simply “Sky” on subsequent references.

However, with the exception of these few channels, most Ghanaian diasporic media are online. Modernghana.com lists 493 Ghanaian-owned online radio stations across North America, Europe and Oceania, with some 40 of them in the United States alone (Table 2). The website about 20 Ghanaian-owned Internet TV stations that broadcast from different countries across the world with eight of them in the US: Apple68FM TV, Sankofa TV, FPM TV, and Hope 4 Life TV, all in Virginia; El Shaddai TV, Elohim TV, and Gift TV in Maryland as well as KBBA TV in Massachusetts.
Table 2  
*Ghanaian radio stations in the U.S (online)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radio Station</th>
<th>State/Territory</th>
<th>Radio Station</th>
<th>State/Territory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abrempong Radio</td>
<td>VA, PA</td>
<td>Hope of Glory Network Radio</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activist Power Radio</td>
<td>OH</td>
<td>King of Peace Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adinkra Radio</td>
<td>NY</td>
<td>Klasik Radio</td>
<td>IA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikka Radio</td>
<td>OH</td>
<td>KTI Radio</td>
<td>DC, MD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahenfie Radio</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Maranatha Deliverance Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akwaaba Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
<td>Mighty FM</td>
<td>VA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amansan Radio</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Norvinyo Radio</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenado Radio</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Obimanso Radio</td>
<td>GA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apple 68 FM Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
<td>Sahara Radio</td>
<td>OH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aseda Radio</td>
<td>OH</td>
<td>Sankofa Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asomdwe Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
<td>Sunlight Radio</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compassion Radio</td>
<td>NY</td>
<td>Trinity Radio</td>
<td>MD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fawohodie Radio</td>
<td>TX</td>
<td>Wisdom Radio</td>
<td>MD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Radio</td>
<td>OH</td>
<td>Word Radio</td>
<td>MD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPM Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
<td>Zango FM</td>
<td>NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Africa Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
<td>Ghana Radio</td>
<td>NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentlemen Radio</td>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Ghana Top Radio</td>
<td>MD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gh Voice Radio</td>
<td>OH</td>
<td>Ghana Webnet</td>
<td>NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana for Christ</td>
<td>OH</td>
<td>Ghanaba Radio</td>
<td>NE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlife Radio</td>
<td>VA</td>
<td>Ghana Lipz Radio</td>
<td>OH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Hills Radio</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Naspa Radio USA</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (modernghana.com, 2018)
2.9 The mainstream media in Ghana

According to the GeoPoll survey of 2017, there are 135 registered newspapers in Ghana with a total daily reach of only 20% of the population. State-owned media command 72% of newspaper sales, with the Daily Graphic alone taking up 57.6% of the readership, a circulation of 1.5 million copies daily. The next most patronized news publication is the Daily Guide, a private newspaper with 726,000 copies sold per issue, a share of 18.9% (Wangari, 2017). There are 471 radio stations, but only 392 were operational as of the end of the third quarter of 2017 (NCA, 2018). In the Greater Accra Region, the most listened-to radio stations are Peace FM, Citi FM, Joy FM and Adom FM, in that order, all private radio stations. Both Joy FM and Adom FM belong to the Multimedia Group and respectively broadcast in English and the local Twi language. Also, there are 128 TV stations licensed to operate in Ghana (NCA, 2018) and only 53 run transmissions, with Adom TV (662,000), TV3 (554,000), and UTV (519,000) having the most viewers.

Most newspapers and radio and television stations also have websites and social media pages to further reach their audiences. Online, the most visited news websites are ghanaweb.com, myjoyonline.com, peacefmonline.com, and graphic.com.gh (buzzghana.com, 2017).

2.10 News consumption trends in Ghana

Some 67% of Ghanaians access news daily (Bentley, Han, & Okuru, 2015) and, like the rest of Africa, obtain most of their news via radio. In a Pew Research Center survey (2007), radio accounted for 89% of news use, followed by television (73%), newspaper (16%). Only 1% went online for news, although Internet use in Ghana was at only 20% that year. According to a subsequent survey of five countries by Pew Research Centre in 2016, 15% of Ghanaians make multiple visits online to get news, of which 21% access news via social media, notably Facebook.
Most of the online traffic, according to GeoPoll (2017), involves Ghanaians between 18 and 35 years (millennials) who have reduced their reliance on TV (22%) and radio (10%) for digital news: Up to 64% of millennials surveyed go to social media for news. A similar survey by Pew Global (2017) concluded that Ghanaians younger than 30 years old get 40% of their news from social media in comparison to their compatriots who are 50 or older.

The changing media news use patterns has in part been attributed to the proliferation of smartphones on the continent, and by extension Ghana, and wider Internet availability (Balancing Act, 2004). Internet penetration in Ghana in 2017 was at 36%, with 10.1 million Ghanaians using the Internet (WAN-IFRA, 2017; Statista, 2017; We Are Social, 2018). Patterns in media news use along demographic characteristics have also been observed. A greater number of higher-income earners in Ghana accessed news on social media compared to those who earned less (Pew Research Center, 2018). A GeoPoll survey (2017) said newspapers were becoming less popular among Ghanaians due to rising costs as the current price of one equals the cost of an average meal for the urban working class. Ogilvy (2015) also observed in a study in Ghana that although accessing news via television was a popular activity, persons living in the capital did so more often than those in the poor and mainly rural parts of northern Ghana where television reception is weak. And in a country where the literacy rate hovers around 71.5% (Ogilvy, 2015), persons with university education were observed to get their news from television relative to those who had not been to college.
3. Methodology

This study employed the survey method for data collection. Surveys enable measurement of audience preferences or characteristics. Also, responses can be assigned numerical values and analyzed. An online questionnaire with 18 questions requiring 10-15 minutes to complete was designed and posted on the WVU Qualtrics website used for data collection. The anonymous link to the survey was then sent out to participants. The questionnaire spelt out to respondents what the purpose of the research was, the requirements for participation and the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity.

The questionnaire collected information on the following:

Demographics – This asked about participants’ ages, gender, highest level of education, marital status, annual income and length of stay in the U.S. Daily news consumption patterns from U.S.-based and homeland media – Respondents were asked to state the average time they spent daily on news from Ghana, what ethnic and homeland news media they obtained news on Ghana from and the devices used to access such information. Respondents were also asked to rank radio, TV, and websites according to their preferences for news access. Respondents also selected the news categories they often access.

Reasons for and challenges with accessing news on the Internet – To identify why respondents use the Internet as a medium for news from Ghana and the inconveniences that come with online news and also what problems they experienced with online news access.
3.1 Pretesting

The questionnaire was pretested with 10 Ghanaian students at Pennsylvania State and Michigan State universities over the Internet. The feedback received allowed for amendments to be made to the questionnaire, with the inclusion of questions on length of stay in the U.S. and participants’ use of social media for news. This brought the total number of questions for the survey to 18.

3.2 Sampling

Following pretesting, it was determined that administering questionnaires solely by online means would be the most convenient as a lot of participants could be accessed within a shorter period to partake in the responses. Further, it was deemed that respondents would be more open and honest with their responses if they had to partake in the survey via an anonymous link than a face-to-face approach.

The study targeted the Ghanaian community in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, which holds up to 15,000 Ghanaian-born immigrants, the second largest number of Ghanaians living in the United States after New York State (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Also, the study area is close to where the researcher is based, offering the convenience to travel to meet respondents in quick time if that need arose.

Specifically targeted was the Council of Ghanaian Associations, a group of ethnic-affiliated bodies formed in 1988 comprising the Asanteman Association, Asante Kotoko Association, Brong Ahafo Association, Ebusua Inc., Ga Dangme Association, Kwahu Community Association and the Volta Association. Respondents had to be first-generation Ghanaians above 18 years old currently residing in the United States of America and who use the Internet to access news from their homeland.
Contact was made with the executives of COGA in November 2018 to inform members of an upcoming survey. In February 2019, the anonymous link to the questionnaire was sent to COGA executives who forwarded it to the organization’s WhatsApp platforms for members to take the survey. However, only 28 responses were obtained from the COGA platform. Thus, other Ghanaians on the researcher’s contact list resident in the study area were contacted to partake in the poll. They also forwarded the link to other Ghanaians living in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. For this reason, the sample size was expanded from 50 to 100 to allow for more participants. In all, 115 respondents submitted their questionnaires, and after cleaning 101 were used for analysis using SPSS software.

Cross tabulations were used to compare demographics with choice of media, length of daily or weekly media use, category of news, etc. Comparisons were also made between time spent by Ghanaian immigrants on U.S.-based ethnic media and homeland media to determine which is more patronized for news from and about Ghana. Chi-square tests were also carried out to determine the degree of association between specific parameters measured.
4. Results & Discussion

4.1 Results

4.1.1 Sociodemographic characteristics of participants.

The 101 participants in the survey were mostly between ages 31 and 40 (57%). Combined with the age group with the next highest number of participants, 18-30 (30%), nearly nine out of every 10 respondents were 40 years old or younger, reflecting a relatively young sample. Only one participant was older than 65 years. For ease of analysis, this sole participant was added to the 51-60 age group and the group reclassified as 51-60+.

![Table 3](#)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60+</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents were made up of 59 males and 42 females, and the disparity in numbers can be attributed partly to the random sampling technique employed in reaching respondents in the primary sampling group made up of COGA members. This technique left little chance for an equal number of persons of each gender to be targeted as anticipated during data collection. Also, the researcher had little control over whom the anonymous survey link was forwarded to by the original contacts on his list in the second group surveyed, beyond instructions to have these links...
Majority (96%) of respondents had an associate, bachelor’s or graduate degree; only four had not been to college, meaning the educational levels of Ghanaians in the United States is very high. On annual incomes, 13.5% earn not more than $20,000 while just over a quarter (26%) make between $21,000 and $40,000. The single largest group of income earners rake in more than $60,000 annually (37.5%). The median income group was $51,000- $60,000, a figure above the $44,000 quoted by the Migration Policy Institute (2015) as the median income for Ghanaian immigrants in the United States. Most respondents were also married (73%), with about a quarter (24%) being single or never married and three divorced.

Respondents’ time spent in the United States was, for the purposes of this study, divided into three: short-term (less than five years), medium-term (six to 10 years) and long term (more than 10 years). Non-immigrant, study visas issued to international students coming to the United States, which typically do not go beyond five years, (US Department of State, 2019) was used as a guide for the classifications. From the results, 39% have been resident for five years or less, 35% for six to 10 years while over a quarter (26%) have been in the U.S. for more than a decade, 35 years being the longest recorded stay among participants; the shortest, four months.

4.1.2 Media use patterns.
The study assessed how much time immigrants spend each day online accessing news on or from Ghana across radio, television and news websites/web newspapers based in the United States and their country of birth. News was taken as that consumed by watching or listening to news bulletins on television or radio, as well as information obtained from reading an online newspaper or news website. The total time spent by all respondents daily was 3,840 minutes, an
average of 38 minutes per person per day, reflecting a moderate time spent by Ghanaians abroad accessing news about their country of birth. The majority of participants (60%), however, used no more than a half-hour of their day for that purpose.

**Table 4**

*Daily average times for online news consumption from Ghana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time used daily to access news</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimal (0-15 minutes)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very moderate (16-30 minutes)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate (31 minutes to 1 hour)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High (1-2 hours)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very high (More than 2 hours)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Joy FM, an English-language broadcaster, is the most patronized news source for online radio. Peace FM and Adom FM, local Twi-language stations, also enjoy prominent listenership among the Ghanaian diaspora. Other popular stations mentioned were Luv FM, Angel FM, Kessben FM and Fox FM (all in Kumasi, Ghana’s second city). Joy FM, Luv FM and Adom FM form part of the Multimedia Group.
Television was not as popular a news source as radio, with only 35 respondents (34.7%) regularly accessing it on the Internet for news daily (Figure 4). Even then, most said they accessed it via livestream on social media rather than directly from the websites of the TV stations. Multi TV’s Joy News (also part of the Multimedia Group) was the most preferred by respondents (17.8%) with UTV following closely (12.9%). UTV is owned by the Despite Group, which also owns Peace FM. Other notable news channels mentioned were TV3, GhOne TV and national broadcaster GTV (Ghana Television).

Figure 4 Immigrants’ news consumption from homeland TV
News portal Ghanaweb.com is the leading website for news from Ghana for most respondents (34.5%) while myjoyonline.com (28.9%), peacefmonline.com (16%) and citinewsroom.com (8.8%) also registered strongly for digital news. Only 4.1% of web news sources was associated with a newspaper, in this case Graphic Online (graphic.com.gh), the website of Ghana’s leading daily, The Daily Graphic (Figure 5).

The most popular news categories accessed on these news websites were general/local news (25%), politics (23%) and entertainment (15%).

However, ethnic media as a news source was not so popular for transnational Ghanaians. For each medium under consideration in this study – radio, television, and newspaper/news websites – there were far more respondents accessing news daily from homeland media than from ethnic media in their host country (Table 5). For ethnic newspapers/news websites in particular, no respondent mentioned ever accessing news from an ethnic source, while only one mentioned
accessing news from an ethnic television source, Sankofa TV. This reflects a general lack of popularity of ethnic media among Ghanaian immigrants in the U.S. Ethnic television and newspaper sources may have been particularly hit the more due to their limited presence in the United States compared to ethnic radio stations. The relative popularity of ethnic radio stations to other ethnic media could also be explained as a continuation or extension of the entrenched culture of radio in the homeland.

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Ethnic Media</th>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website/newspaper</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6, which conveys respondents’ ranking of the frequency of use of each medium to access news daily, buttresses this observation. Television ranks as the least likely (indicated as “hardly”) source Ghanaian immigrants go to for news from their country of birth daily (75%). Online newspapers/websites were the most popular medium respondents accessed for news, with 63 immigrants (62%) using it quite regularly to most regularly. Radio followed with 46 (45%) respondents, with 55 hardly relying on it for news.
Table 6
Respondents’ preference for news media for daily news

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Hardly</th>
<th>Quite regularly</th>
<th>Regularly</th>
<th>Very regularly</th>
<th>Most regularly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper/News Website</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.3 Devices used to access media.

It was common for participants to mention they use more than one device to access news on a typical day. The mobile phone was the most popular device for news access (59%), ahead of the laptop computer (22%), desktop computer (9.5%) and tablet (8%).

4.1.4 Social media as a news source.

Social media was also a very popular medium for accessing news from Ghana, with 85% of participants saying it forms part of their daily source of information for happenings back home. News on social media may be in the form of posts by individuals or links to stories directly from news organizations or that shared or retweeted by users. Of the lot, Facebook (50%), WhatsApp (31%), Instagram (12%) and Twitter (5%) were the most popular for news and respondents said they often used a mix of these social media applications in obtaining news from Ghana. From interviews conducted it was found that social media was an important component of respondents, daily access to news from Ghana, especially as most of this news is accessed by mobile.

I use social media for news [more]. Because with social media when I am in public I can just read, but with online radio if I have no headphones, I cannot listen to it because I am in public and I don’t want to be disturbing others. The other reason is that with reading on [news websites], it can be done at any time, but with social media, like Facebook, if I have to listen to Adom FM, sometimes I have to listen to it live. If it’s like 9 o’clock and I am sleeping, they are still having their news at 8 o’clock. They are not waiting for me to wake up. But when I wake up and there is
breaking news at 6 o’clock, even if I wake up at nine, 10 o’clock I can still read it (Victoria).

Another interviewee mentioned that livestreams on social media had replaced his need to watch online TV stations for news from Ghana.

For television I don’t watch Ghanaian news programs. Maybe Facebook Live, if things are happening I love to watch Ghanaian live news program there. These are usually the general news in the evenings (Kwaku).

But despite the many advantages social media offers for news access, some also mentioned that it is fertile grounds for the planting and propagation of false information, and its large subscriber base helps spread it in quicker time.

Some news are fake. They just want people to read their blogs or something like that. One such story is when they said right now U.S. visas are free for all Ghanaians with no criminal records, which was not accurate (Kwaku).

A second participant shared similar sentiments:

With Facebook and Instagram, you access the site and sometimes you read the comments below and you see that … people are even saying things not related to the news. Like they are making unnecessary comments, some people are also advertising their own personal stuff (Abena).

Respondents who accessed news from Ghana prior to the advent of the Internet said telephone conversations with friends and family back in Ghana (35%) had been their most important means of accessing regular news from Ghana while others relied on word of mouth from those returning from the motherland (23%) or Ghanaian-owned media in the United States (15.5%).
For most Ghanaians in the US who access news from the Internet, the medium’s advantage of offering unlimited access to news was the leading reason for resorting to the medium for news (33%) while its ability to deliver such information in quick time was the next most cited appeal (30%). The relatively low cost of accessing information via the Internet (15%) and the possibility to send a feedback and/or interact with the news source (9%) were also mentioned.

As soon as the news happens, you get it right away. Social media is convenient. With my phone anywhere anytime I can still access news. I don’t have to come home just to watch the TV for breaking news and listen to details of it. With my phone I can do it anywhere anytime. And my Internet is very fast (Victoria).

These attributes are reiterated by another respondent who, in addition, touts the unlimited news options offered by the Internet.

It’s very convenient. Like, you have internet, you have your phone, very portable you just pick up your phone. You can just browse any news you want to read compared to someone who has no Internet. The person would have to resort to a radio or something. Also, you can access a huge amount of information compared to someone using radio. If you are tuned to a particular station, then that’s the only that station you are going to get news. So it [Internet] gives you a huge amount of information that you want. … And it’s cost efficient (Tutu).

Also, majority of respondents said they faced no challenges with using the Internet to obtain news, though others mentioned unreliable or unstable connection to the Web (18%) and delayed transmission of information (10%) sometimes as niggling issues. There was also a mention of inadequate data sometimes.

If there is a video I want to watch, like if there is breaking news and it’s a video, my limitation is that when I am not home I cannot watch it because of data. I have a specific amount of data to use within a month, so if it’s like a live video on Facebook, I cannot watch everything right away. I have to watch it in bits and pieces until I get home, so that I can watch the full thing (Victoria).
4.1.5 Cross tabulations.

A cross tabulation of age and devices for accessing news reveals mobile use for news access was generally high among the different age groups, but the highest figures were recorded among the youngest respondents (18- to 30-year-olds), with almost a prevalence of 97%, while more than 85% of the next youngest group of Ghanaian immigrants surveyed (31-40) also used a mobile phone to obtain news from Ghana. Tablet and desktop use were more popular among older groups of respondents: 41- to 50-year-olds and 51- to 60+-year-olds, respectively.

Table 7
Age of respondents and devices used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Mobile</th>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Laptop</th>
<th>Desktop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>29 (96.7%)</td>
<td>4 (13.3%)</td>
<td>7 (23.3%)</td>
<td>5 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>51 (87.9%)</td>
<td>5 (8.6%)</td>
<td>22 (37.9%)</td>
<td>4 (6.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>5 (55.6%)</td>
<td>3 (33.3%)</td>
<td>3 (33.3%)</td>
<td>3 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60+</td>
<td>3 (75.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (25.0%)</td>
<td>2 (50.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages obtained from dividing by individual group totals

A cross tabulation of age and time spent daily on the Internet reading news from Ghana reveals that of the total of 3,840 minutes recorded, 31- to 40-year-olds had the most (2,160) with 18- to 30-year-olds accounting for 990 minutes while the oldest. While 41- to 50-year-olds’ daily news consumption totaled 480 minutes, those over 50 years old recorded 210 minutes overall. Per person, 41-50-year-olds spent the most time on news from Ghana daily (53 minutes), with those in the 51-60+ age bracket following very closely (52.5 minutes) while 31-40 and 18- to 30-year-olds spent 37 and 33 minutes respectively per head, revealing that the youngest groups of Ghanaian
immigrants spend the least time obtaining news from the Internet while the oldest spend the most per capita.

Also, there was a greater percentage of 18- to 40-year-olds that consumed “minimal” and “very moderate” minutes of news daily than older respondents did while there were more persons above 40 consuming a “high” and “very high” amount of media than those less than or up to 40.

Table 8
Age groups and average daily media use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Minimal (0-15 mins.)</th>
<th>Very Moderate (16-30 mins.)</th>
<th>Moderate (About 1 hour)</th>
<th>High (1-2 hours)</th>
<th>Very high (&gt; 2 hours)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>11 (36.7%)</td>
<td>11 (36.7%)</td>
<td>3 (10.0%)</td>
<td>3 (10.0%)</td>
<td>2 (6.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>18 (31.0%)</td>
<td>17 (29.3%)</td>
<td>12 (20.7%)</td>
<td>5 (8.6%)</td>
<td>6 (10.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>3 (33.3%)</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60+</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>3 (75.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31 (30.7%)</td>
<td>29 (28.8%)</td>
<td>17 (16.9%)</td>
<td>14 (14.0%)</td>
<td>10 (9.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages obtained from dividing by individual group totals

General, political, and entertainment news are the most patronized categories daily by respondents in that order. Politics is the most accessed news category for the youngest group of participants while general news was the favorite of all the other age groups, including being accessed by all respondents in the oldest age group. By proportion, entertainment news was accessed by 31- to 40-year-olds, business by 18- to 30-year-olds while 51-60+ year-olds patronized sports the most. A greater percentage of persons 31-40 years old accessed health news than any other group.
Table 9  
Age and news category preferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Entertainment/Lifestyle</th>
<th>Business/Economics</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Sports</th>
<th>Health/Science</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>19 (63.3%)</td>
<td>14 (46.7%)</td>
<td>14 (46.7%)</td>
<td>17 (56.7%)</td>
<td>7 (23.3%)</td>
<td>5 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>32 (55.2%)</td>
<td>30 (51.7%)</td>
<td>20 (34.5%)</td>
<td>35 (60.3%)</td>
<td>13 (22.4%)</td>
<td>12 (20.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>5 (55.6%)</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>3 (33.3%)</td>
<td>7 (77.8%)</td>
<td>4 (44.4%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60+</td>
<td>3 (75.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>1 (25.0%)</td>
<td>4 (100.0%)</td>
<td>2 (50.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
<td>62.4%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages obtained from dividing by individual group totals

A similar pattern of news consumption on social media is observed across the different age groups. By proportion, Facebook is most popular with 18- to 30-year-olds and least accessed by 51- to 60+-year-olds. The two youngest age groups also access daily news the most from WhatsApp, with a combined use of nearly 40%. It is also observed that although Twitter, Snapchat and Instagram are less important social media sites for news for participants in this study, respondents above 40 hardly or never use these platforms. Proportionally, a greater percentage of 18- to 30-year-olds use Facebook and Instagram the most to access news, followed by the next youngest age group, 31-40. Conversely, a greater percentage of older respondents obtain news via WhatsApp than do younger Ghanaians. Twitter as a news source is proportionally most popular among 41- to 50-year-olds. It was also observed that no persons above 50 years used Twitter, Instagram or Snapchat for news, though it must be noted that Snapchat was used by only the youngest group of participants in the survey.
Table 10

Age groups and social media platforms accessed for news

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Facebook</th>
<th>Twitter</th>
<th>Instagram</th>
<th>Snapchat</th>
<th>WhatsApp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>24 (80.0%)</td>
<td>3 (10.0%)</td>
<td>8 (26.7%)</td>
<td>2 (6.7%)</td>
<td>13 (43.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>41 (70.7%)</td>
<td>3 (5.2%)</td>
<td>9 (15.5%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>25 (43.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>7 (77.8%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>6 (66.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60+</td>
<td>2 (50.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>3 (75.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages obtained from dividing by individual group totals

A cross tabulation of gender with daily media use revealed that of the 3,840 minutes spent by both sexes in a day searching for news from Ghana, males spent 2,595 minutes against 1,245 by females. Per capita, males also spent more minutes (44 minutes) accessing news daily than did females (29 minutes). Females spent shorter times on the Internet obtaining news from Ghana, with a greater percentage of them using fewer minutes for news daily than men did. For both sexes, however, time spent consuming news generally declines with increasing minutes, with less than 20% of respondents spending more than an hour consuming news on Ghana.

Examining news preferences by gender, political news is males’ favorite news category, but only 40.5% of females spend their time daily accessing such news from Ghana, majority of them accessing entertainment/lifestyle news. Sports is the least patronized news category for females while for males it is health (Table 11).

Also, a greater percentage of females (86.4%) accessed news via social media than males (83.3%), with proportionally more females using Facebook (56%), Instagram (38%), Snapchat
(6%) and WhatsApp (56%) than males, whose news access via social media exceeded that of females only on Twitter (10%).

Table 11

Gender vs news category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Entertainment</th>
<th>Business/Economics</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Sports</th>
<th>Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17 (40.5%)</td>
<td>25 (59.5%)</td>
<td>12 (28.6%)</td>
<td>23 (54.8%)</td>
<td>3 (7.14%)</td>
<td>7 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42 (71.2%)</td>
<td>21 (35.6%)</td>
<td>26 (44.1%)</td>
<td>40 (67.8%)</td>
<td>23 (39.0%)</td>
<td>11 (18.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages obtained from dividing by individual group totals

A chi-square test of gender and news category (Table 12) shows dependence between gender and preference for politics, entertainment and sports news. The tests for business/economics, general/local and health/science news show no dependence of news category on gender.

Table 12

Pearson correlation between gender and news categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>9.526</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>5.665</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business/Economics</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>2.510</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General/Local</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1.776</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>13.102</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health/Science</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.798</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Also, in analyzing time spent in the media daily according to length of stay in the U.S., those resident the shortest (up to five years) spent the most minutes (1,530) obtaining news from Ghana ahead of those who have been abroad for six to 10 years (1,230). The group who have lived the longest in the United States were observed to have the least number of minutes, 1,080.

A similar pattern is observed with their social media use. Of the three groups, a greater proportion of persons who have been in the United States the shortest use social media for news the most (94.9%) for news from Ghana, with those who have been abroad the longest recording the least (70.4%). While Ghanaian immigrants who have stayed for six to 10 years by proportion use Facebook and WhatsApp the most to access news daily, a greater percentage of Ghanaians who have lived for not more than five years lead in news access via Twitter and Snapchat. Long-term residents led in the use of Instagram for news.

Persons who have spent the most years in the United States have proportionally the lowest consumption per news category, except for sports, supporting the finding that they spend the least minutes on accessing news from Ghana. Ghanaians who have lived in the U.S. for six to 10 years by proportion dominate news access for every category in this study.
Table 13

Length of stay in the United States and news category preferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Entertainment</th>
<th>Business/Economics</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Sports</th>
<th>Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long term</td>
<td>15(41.7%)</td>
<td>13(36.11%)</td>
<td>10(27.8%)</td>
<td>17(47.22%)</td>
<td>8(22.2%)</td>
<td>6(16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium term</td>
<td>20(76.9%)</td>
<td>18(69.2%)</td>
<td>16(88.9%)</td>
<td>22(84.6%)</td>
<td>10(38.5%)</td>
<td>5(19.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short term</td>
<td>24(61.5%)</td>
<td>15(38.5%)</td>
<td>12(30.8%)</td>
<td>24(61.5%)</td>
<td>8(20.5%)</td>
<td>7(18.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>62.4%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages obtained from dividing by individual group totals

The Mann-Whitney U test was run to determine if there were differences in daily average news consumption from Ghana between males and females. Distributions of the daily news consumption scores for males and females were not similar. Daily news consumption scores for males (mean rank = 57.81) and females (mean rank = 41.43) were thus statistically significantly different, with \( p = 0.004 \).

The test was also performed to determine if differences existed among the different age groups and their consumption of news from social media. For the age groups in this study, there are no statistically significant differences between those who access news from social media daily (\( U = 50.72 \)) and those who do not (\( U = 52.63 \)), with \( p = 0.792 \).
4.2 Discussion

RQ1. What are the preferences of Ghanaian immigrants for news from online radio, television, newspapers/websites between ethnic and homeland media?

The study shows clearly that majority of Ghanaians in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area consume very little ethnic media, opting for news directly from homeland media outlets on the Web. Most had little to no knowledge of the activities of ethnic media in dissemination of news from Ghana or about Ghanaians in the United States. The overreliance on homeland media for news from the motherland by participants could also be pinned to most of these immigrants arriving in the U.S. within the last decade, during which time the Internet was firmly established as a news medium. This meant unrestricted access to news from media outlets in Ghana and the rest of the world, rather than having to rely solely on information supplied by ethnic media as happened in earlier times for news from the homeland. There is, however, no known prior study of Ghanaian immigrants’ news consumption habits to compare to in order to conclude if ethnic media use vis-à-vis homeland media is on the rise or decline currently.

Homeland media was more popular with Ghanaian immigrants for all media types examined under this study: radio, television and news websites/online newspapers. Most immigrants obtained their news from news websites/online newspapers, with radio and television following in that order. Ghanaweb’s position as the go-to news website for Ghanaians home and abroad is well documented. It is the third most visited website overall in Ghana and the leading page for news online in Ghana (Alexa.com, 2019; buzzghana, 2018). The top three news websites mentioned in this study, ghanaweb.com, myjoyonline.com, and peacefmonline.com, are consistent with findings by alexa.com and buzzghana. That news from websites or online newspapers is the
most preferred by Ghanaians abroad in the United States contradicts studies on news consumption patterns among Ghanaians back home that mention the radio as the most popular means of news access followed by television and digital news (GeoPoll, 2018; Reporters Without Borders, 2019). These studies, though, do not involve digital radio and digital TV, which this research investigated. With this study, online radio was the second most important medium for Ghanaians in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. The greater preference for news from news websites/online newspapers over other media could be linked to the convenience it offers people to obtain news more quickly on the go, often on portable devices, rather than to listen or watch a whole news bulletin from online radio or television sources, which may take a longer time and may not be readily available.

Joy FM being the most-listened-to homeland radio station ahead of Peace FM is the reverse situation back home in Ghana. A GeoPoll (2018) survey had Peace FM as the leading radio station in the Greater Accra region, where the capital Accra is located, followed by Citi FM, Joy FM and Adom FM in that order. A possible reason for Joy FM being more popular than Peace FM among Ghanaian immigrants may be due to the latter broadcasting solely in English, which appeals more to the highly educated and middle class in Ghana as has been found about most of those surveyed. The patronage of local language or mass-market radio news programs, though, was still high among the Ghanaian diaspora in this study, with Peace FM and Adom FM in particular having a strong showing.

Homeland television news preferences rank Multi TV as the leading news source, which prides itself as “Ghana’s first direct-to-home satellite television station that covers every hamlet, village and city of the country and is also enjoyed in over 26 African countries” (The Multimedia Group, 2018). Multi TV is owned by Multimedia Group Limited and includes two news channels,
Joy News and Adom TV, which serves audiences with news and other programs. Joy News broadcasts in English while Adom TV uses Twi.

Despite the generally low figures recorded for ethnic media, online radio stood out as its most patronized medium, though it paled in significance compared to the numbers that listened to news from native media. Audience preferences were almost nonexistent for ethnic television channels, with only one participant mentioning ever obtaining news from ethnic television on the Internet. No ethnic news website or newspaper was part of any immigrant’s use of media, indicating possibly the absence of existence of such a medium serving Ghanaians in the United States or at least within the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area.

As the results reveal the limited use of ethnic media in the daily news use of immigrants and the importance of homeland media, also notable is the role of social media as a news outlet for what is happening on the motherland. Through friends back home posting information to their social media pages, news stories with social media handles for readers to click and read more, links circulated in chat groups to stories, live news broadcasts and programs and more, social media is now an active source of news that keeps immigrants informed without having to rely on traditional sources for news.

Social media was also an important outlet Ghanaians abroad accessed information from about their country. Facebook, owned by Mark Zuckerberg, as the most popular social network for obtaining news was less surprising given it is the biggest social media platform with almost 2.3 billion users currently (Statista, 2019). That study also mentions the number of users for other social media networks including WhatsApp (1.5 billion), Instagram (1 billion users), Twitter (326
million) and Snapchat (287 million). A parallel can be drawn between the numbers for these media and the popularity of social media platforms for news among Ghanaians in the U.S in this paper.

RQ2. What factors influence the frequency, medium and type of news Ghanaian immigrants access online from homeland and ethnic media daily?

Though there was no correlation between device use and age, mobile phone use was the most popular means of news access especially among the youngest Ghanaian immigrants (18-40). The mobile enjoys the advantage of portability and has apps to enable quick access to news as well as breaking news notifications among a host of other conveniences that make it an appeal for obtaining up-to-date news. This finding agrees with a Pew Research Center study (2017) which showed that more than 85% of adults in the United States access news from a mobile, up from 72% the previous, with the 50-and-above age group showing the steepest rise in the phenomenon. The report, however, says this is due to most young people already owning mobiles and using that to obtain news, for which reason not much growth is occurring in that age bracket.

Regarding time spent accessing news daily, search for news from Ghana on the Internet showed that younger persons spent less time online on news while older Ghanaians devoted more minutes daily. Though it would be expected that younger persons usually spend more time on devices for several purposes including messaging, calls, and gaming, hence would have the most minutes accessing news from their home country daily, this was not the case in this study. A possible explanation is that a lot of these young persons surveyed are students who may be occupied with a lot of academic work and may not have enough spare time to catch up on news. Older persons would usually be working full time and out of school with little to no assignments
to do after work, thus would have relatively more time to look for information or news on the Internet about Ghana. However, this observation is not unusual as some previous studies found that older persons consume news to a greater extent, with the numbers even widening between old and young (Wadbring, Weibull and Facht 2016; Pew Research Center, 2017). Wadbring (2016) and Antunovic, Parsons, and Cooke (2016) maintain that young people maintain a high interest in news, but their news consumption habit of failing to stick to specific news sources accounts for lower numbers sometimes. Another reason may be because young people tend to consume news only as a by-product of using social media or doing some other activity on the Web (Yadamsuren & Erdelez 2010).

This research also showed that males spend more time online accessing news than females did. This observation is consistent with a Pew Research Center (2008) study, which also found that in addition to radio and newspaper, men accessed news online more than women did. Gender also influenced the type of news accessed in this research, as shown with females showing a greater preference for entertainment news and for males, politics and sport. Previous studies have made similar conclusions. d’Haenens, Jankowski and Heuvelmann (2004), as well as a Pew Research Center survey (2008), showed that male participants were dominant in the consumption of sports as well as business, finance, science, technology and international news while the female audience showed greater interest in entertainment, religion, health and community issues. Generally, the ‘hard’ news preferences of men and women’s inclination to ‘soft’ news is informed by the latter’s desire for “social and interpersonal matters” and the former’s interest in issues relating to attainment (Knobloch-Westerwick and Alter, 2007; Jensen & Haussegger, 2017).
An immigrant’s length of stay also influenced time spent accessing news as the results have showed that persons who had stayed the shortest in the United States invested more time daily for that purpose while the group of Ghanaians who had lived longest spent the fewest minutes on news from Ghana. Following a study of Eastern European, Latin American and North African immigrants in Italy, Miglietta and Tagliarta (2009) found that those who had lived longer in the European country had not only assimilated the host country culture and become fluent in Italian but actually listened less to media from their birth countries. However, language cannot be a major reason for the reduced reliance on homeland media by Ghanaians who have resided in the States for over 10 years as most of those surveyed are graduates whose proficiency in English would not have hinged on following the news in the U.S. This is in addition to the fact that English is Ghana’s only official language and the only medium of instruction in school. A possible explanation for the reduced interest in news from home among Ghanaian immigrants with over a decade’s stay in the U.S. could be the fact that a lot of them have been absorbed into the culture of their host nation given the many years they have been away from home and would consume more of their news from host country media to understand and be abreast of happenings within it.

Age influenced the type of news consumed as the oldest showed the greatest preference for politics, health and business news and the least for entertainment. The youngest persons showed the least interest in political news. The preference for news on social media was influenced by age with younger persons using Facebook and Twitter the most for news while WhatsApp as a medium for news was rather more popular with older immigrants (41 years or older). Choi (2016) found that continued mobile use has a correlation with greater consumption of news on social media.
Between males and females, the latter were dominant in the use of social media for news, outstripping the males on all platforms except Twitter. These findings are corroborated by the Pew Research Center (2009), Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) and also by Volkovich et al. (2014), who found that there were more women than men on social media platforms bar LinkedIn. Other works, rather found the reverse to be true. Bujala (2012) explained that the private and public roles respectively played by females and males offered men more time to have a social media presence. Social media as a news source was also used mostly by Ghanaians who have lived in the U.S. the most while those who have lived abroad the longest use it the least. This is not unusual as persons who have spent a relatively short time abroad would have a strong attachment to the homeland and their search for news to fix the homesickness could include visits to social media for news.

This fits Carey’s (1989) model of ritual communication. An older means of communication, ritual communication differs from the transmission model, which simply concerns the transmission of messages, in this case news, over distance for the “purpose of control” (pg. 12). However, with the ritual view of communication, Carey explains that information access is a “ceremony” that “draws persons together in fellowship and commonality”. Thus, it may be explained that the strong attachment to homeland media among those who have lived the shortest abroad may stem from a desire or habit of “association” with the news from homeland without so much as being interested in the content of the news bulletin. And as Carey notes, this view of communication is more popular in areas with entrenched oral traditions, persons born in Ghana exhibiting a ritual news habit is not unusual.
Perhaps the oral nature of African societies, of which Ghana is a part, may play a role in how these immigrants consume news. According to Ong (1982), orality is an entrenched part of originally low-literacy societies where information was handed down mainly by word of mouth or sound. He argues that this orality is so entrenched not even writing or texts can take its place, to the extent that reading a text, for example in such a case as obtaining news from a newspaper or online news item, requires conversion to sound in the mind or loudly, to make better meaning. Ong adds that radio, television and other modern electronic devices have helped in sustaining this orality, albeit in a different form he refers to as “secondary orality” (pg. 12), of people from such societies to access information.

RQ3. What advantages and challenges with the Internet do Ghanaian immigrants encounter with accessing news from online ethnic and homeland media?

It is expected that the Internet’s ability to offer unrestricted news content would be mentioned as a major reason for online news use by Ghanaians surveyed. As the results of the study have shown, Ghanaian immigrants are more reliant on news outlets from the homeland than on those in the United States for news from their country of birth; hence, it can be inferred that this decision is based on the desire to obtain more than the limited and sometimes timed news content ethnic media offers from home. As well as offering access to more news from Ghana by enabling direct contact to Ghanaian media, the Internet ensures that immigrants can at any time access news from home and even beyond. And these limitless choices come with the option to select the particular news stories the reader wants to read, watch or listen to, thus ensuring time is saved – all at very little cost (weebly.com, 2018).
Further, accessing news on the Internet was preferred for its ability to deliver content in quicker
time than traditional media. A high internet speed delivers content in seconds, faster than would
be obtained from traditional news sources. And, according to the Pew Research Center (2006),
having high-speed internet increases the tendency to go online for news and to access more news
sources. For Ghanaians in the United States, the advantages of having high speed internet could
translate into multiple visits to several websites to read the day’s news from Ghana or stream news
in audio or video from online radio and TV sources while being able to access or share news on
social media too with their friends from all over the world. Problems with connectivity with the
Internet can be a drawback on accessing news online. Usually, in the United States, slow internet
speeds are a more common problem in rural settings. The Federal Communications Commission
(2016) said 39% of rural Americans lack access to high speed Internet compared to 4% of their
compatriots in urban areas. This study, however, did not collect information regarding the specific
addresses of respondents to determine if those who complained of slow internet speeds being an
impediment to access to news from Ghana said so because of their location. Slow internet stalls
news access, frustrating news consumers, so often limited for time, from being able to reach the
content they want. It can be in the form of a web page refusing to load or do so quickly, slow
streaming of audio or video in the form of a radio or TV news broadcast or photos failing to load
on a social media page. It is worth noting though that most Ghanaians surveyed said they had no
issues with accessing news on the Internet, for which reason slow Internet was not a significant
issue with their news access in the United States.
5. Conclusions

This study found that in accessing news from the motherland, Ghanaian immigrants in the United States overwhelmingly resort directly to homeland media: online radio and television and news websites. Ghanaian-owned ethnic media was barely known and much less patronized among those sampled. Among the many roles played by ethnic media is the integration of immigrants into the local culture of the host country. But a decline in patronage of content offered by such media may imply Ghanaian immigrants are getting less acculturated into American life.

Social media was also another important avenue through which Ghanaians abroad get to terms with happenings from home. Social media, arising from the birth of the Internet, is now an alternative to traditional news sources on the Internet with people posting, sharing and commenting on stories, like is done on Facebook, which was the most popular social media platform in this study for news access. On other apps, like WhatsApp, which was the second most popular source of news on social media, people post stories to groups on these platforms to be accessed by others, which can be forwarded to other persons thereby spreading information within the diaspora. This dissemination is also helped by the fact that most immigrants access news via mobile, necessary for checking news quickly and on-the-go.

On average, most of the Ghanaian immigrants in the United States spend a few minutes daily checking the news from their country of birth, with more males devoting more time for that purpose than females. Age also affected how much time people spent online looking for news from Ghana every day, with older people spending more time on the Internet than the young. There was an indirect relationship between length of stay abroad and time spent daily on the Web reading
news from Ghana, as immigrants who had lived in the United States longest spent the least time for that purpose while persons who have been abroad for the shortest period rather spend more minutes online accessing news from the homeland. Gender influenced news types accessed by the Ghanaian diaspora. Females preferred mostly entertainment and health news while males favored sports and politics.

The unlimited and speedy access to news the Internet offers were immigrants’ favorite reason for using the medium to obtain information about home. Most Ghanaians said they did not face a challenge with use of the Internet for news though a few mentioned occasional interruptions in Internet connection which hampered their access to news.

5.1 Limitations to research

There were a few limitations with this research. Participants were recruited online partly through snowball sampling, which did not allow for an ideal number of persons to be surveyed according to age, gender and educational profile. Another shortcoming of this sampling procedure was the data being heavily skewed in the educational profile of respondents. There was also an imbalance in the number of male and female respondents.

As there had been no prior research on the media use habits of Ghanaian immigrants in the United States, results from this study could not be compared to determine which of ethnic and homeland media consumption is rising or falling in order to make a definitive conclusion.

As respondents were not able to tell how much time they spent separately on ethnic and homeland media and on each type of media considered under this study, the total time had to be bulked for all media types consumed daily while a Likert scale was used to rank the media immigrants used every day for news.
Future research will be needed to go into greater detail how social media plays a role in Ghanaian immigrants’ daily news access from the homeland, especially given it is an integral news source for most of them. It would be necessary to know which platforms they use for obtaining such news and what goes into that choice. Also, with ethnic media patronage very minimal, there would be the need to research and find out precisely why such media do not appeal to the larger Ghanaian community and what changes they would need to make to their content and/or programming to become relevant to their target audience.
References


https://www.pewinternet.org/2006/03/22/part-1-growing-consumption-of-online-news/


https://ghana.mom-rsf.org/en/media/


Appendix

Questionnaire
Q1. Age ___________

Q2. Gender
   a. male
   b. female

Q3. What is your highest level of education completed?
   a. no formal education
   b. basic/elementary
   c. high school
   d. tertiary/degree

Q4. What is your annual income? $_____________

Q5. What is your marital status?
   a. single/never married
   b. married/in a domestic partnership
   c. divorced/widowed
   d. separated/estranged

Q6. How long (in years) have you been in the United States? _______
Q7. How would you describe your daily average consumption of news from Ghana?
   a. minimal (0-15 minutes)
   b. very moderate (16-30 minutes)
   c. moderate (31-60 minutes)
   d. high (1-2 hours)
   e. very high (More than 2 hours)

Q8. On what device(s) do you access news from Ghana?
   a. mobile phone
   b. tablet
   c. laptop computer
   d. desktop computer
   e. phablet
   f. other

Q9. From which US-based radio/TV station or newspaper do you obtain news about Ghana on a typical day?

Q10. From which Ghana-based radio or TV station do you obtain news on a typical day?

Q11. On a typical day, from which website do you obtain news about Ghana?

Q12. Which news category do you usually access?
   a. politics
   b. entertainment/lifestyle
   c. business/economics
   d. general/local
   e. sports
   f. health/science/technology
   g. other
Q13. Do you obtain news from social media?
   a. Yes
   b. No

Q14. If yes, from which one(s) do you regularly obtain such news?
   a. Facebook
   b. Twitter
   c. Instagram
   d. Snapchat
   e. WhatsApp
   f. other __________________________

Q15. Before the advent of the Internet, how did you obtain news from Ghana?
   a. satellite
   b. cable
   c. past issues of newspapers/magazines
   d. Ghanaian-owned, US-based media
   e. audio or video recordings from Ghana
   f. telephone chats with Ghanaians back home
   g. word of mouth from Ghanaians returning from home
   h. not applicable to me

Q16. How regularly do you consume news from Ghana from the following sources on the Internet?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>HARDLY</th>
<th>QUITE REGULARLY</th>
<th>REGULARLY</th>
<th>VERY REGULARLY</th>
<th>MOST REGULARLY</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RADIO</td>
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<td>TELEVISION</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER/NEWSWEBSITE</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOCIAL MEDIA</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Q17. Why do you access news on Ghana from the Internet?
   a. speed of delivery
   b. low cost
   c. unlimited access to news
   d. interactivity/ability to offer feedback to news source
   e. possibility of playback/recording
   f. Other ______________

Q18. What challenges do you face with obtaining news from Ghana on the Internet?
   a. high cost of access
   b. slow/unreliable connection
   c. delayed transmission
   d. other _____________
   e. none
Interview Guide

Dear Participant,

This is a request to you to partake in a telephone interview as part of a research project to assess how Ghanaians living in the United States, specifically those in the Greater Washington Metropolitan Area, access news through online homeland and ethnic media. This study is being conducted by Michael Bediako, a graduate student in journalism at WVU under the supervision of Dr. Steve Urbanski, an associate professor in the Reed College of Media, for a Master of Science degree in Journalism. Your participation in this project is greatly appreciated and will take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

Your identity will be kept as confidential as legally possible. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate. Your permission to record the interview would be obtained prior to the start. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may choose to skip or refuse to answer any question or discontinue the interview at any time. You are also free to ask for clarification of any question you are not too clear about from the interviewer. West Virginia University's Institutional Review Board acknowledgement of this project is on file.

Should you have any questions about this letter or the research project, please feel free to contact me (Michael Bediako) on (979) 215-8518 or by e-mail at mbb0020@mix.wvu.edu or Dr. Urbanski at steve.urbanski@mail.wvu.edu.
Interview Guide

1a. Describe how you access news from Ghana on a typical day regarding the times of day, devices you use and apps and pages you use or visit for that purpose, news type, etc.

b. What are the local (US-based) news sources you access information from about Ghana daily (websites/online newspapers, radio, TV)?

c. What are the homeland (Ghana-based) news sources you access from Ghana daily (websites/online newspapers, radio, TV)?

d. Between ethnic and homeland news sources, which do you more often than not obtain your news from? Which ones do you consume more? Or which types do you consume from which?

2a. Why do you access news from Ghana on the Internet via:

i. radio?

ii. TV?

iii. newspapers/news websites?

b. How would you rank these media with respect to the frequency you consume them daily.

c. What informs these rankings?

d. Do you sometimes obtain news from social media? How regularly do you visit social media for news? If yes, kindly explain how you how social media helps you obtain news from Ghana. Which social media sites do you typically use? Are there any challenges or positives with using social media for news?

3a. What conveniences do you enjoy accessing news on the Internet compared to non-Internet sources?

b. Have you encountered any problems accessing news from your country on the Internet?

c. What kind of problems are these, if any?

d. Are there some differences you see between accessing news online and non-Internet sources?