

HAITIAN COMMUNITY MEDIA IN MIAMI:
Transnational Audiences, Journalists and
Radio Programmers



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A Community Media Working Paper

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This working paper analyzes the uses and practices of Haitian media in greater Miami -- the newspapers, radio shows, television programs and websites that serve people missed, ignored or neglected by the area's mainstream media in English and Spanish.

These Creole- and French-language media are playing important roles fostering societal cohesion and immigrant incorporation among the newest and largest Haitian community in the United States. At the same time, they are a key resource that helps Haitians in Miami keep informed about and participate in what is happening in Haiti. In this way, they have a dual function in the community, supporting a transnational mindset and lifestyle that locate Haitians and Haitian Americans simultaneously within the homeland, new land, and the ethnic community. Rather than confuse or confound, Haitian participants found that the simultaneity of homeland-new land experience facilitated by Haitian community media is emotionally soothing and supporting.

The working paper is based on qualitative interviews and focus groups with a purposeful sample of 91 audience members and 16 journalists, publishers and media producers in greater Miami.¹ Anyone identifying himself or herself as being of Haitian origin was included in the study. Findings drew upon interpretations of the statements of several participants (not just one or two) and were cross-checked by the authors who worked in the field, as well as two reviewers from among our audience study participants who acted as a means of quality control known as "member checking."

Among study findings are that language ability plays a decisive role in how audiences make use of media and interpret content as credible. For Creole-dependent speakers, Haitian media help to regulate emotions related to the immigration experience, provide essential information about what is happening in Haiti as well as how to get by in Miami, and facilitate participation in local and homeland politics through phone-in talk shows. For these Miamians, Creole-language media are useful and credible. Haitian community media are, in varied ways, important to their quality of life.

For bilinguals, use of Haitian media helps them to construct or maintain a Haitian ethnic identity, depending on whether they are a first-generation immigrant or second-generation American of Haitian ancestry. Haitian media help bilinguals stay connected to Haiti and the Haitian community, but they find quality of information lacking. They use a mix of media to stay informed about new land, homeland and ethnic community, as well as incorporate elements of a pan-racial Black American worldview and identity.

English-dependent people of Haitian origin, typically young adults in our study, connect to the Haitian media through their parents. They use them only rarely because of language difficulties and interests specific to age and knowledge of Haiti, to construct and affirm a Haitian-American identity. They yearn for a Haitian-oriented media that target their interests

¹ Purposeful sampling in qualitative research means that the researcher selects individuals for study "because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem" (Creswell 2007: 127-128). Our study was not probabilistic. However, it was stratified so that patterns emerging in responses from subgroups based on variables such as gender, class and language use could be compared. We limited our interviews to Miami-Dade County and southern Broward County.

and age group. Their other uses for media are fairly typical of young adults in wider U.S. society, with the exception of seeking Black American-oriented music and programming, which they describe as part of their identity.

While they play important roles in the Haitian community, Haitian media have a number of interrelated weaknesses that were identified by the audience members, media producers and journalists interviewed for the study. The weaknesses are related to three broad areas participants identified as problematic: 1) quality of content including veracity, variety and standards of technical production, 2) financial sustainability, and 3) commitment to transparency, autonomy and public service.

Creation of a non-profit professional association, perhaps called a Haitian Media Association, could help overcome some weaknesses by developing joint financing and marketing mechanisms, shared gathering of news and information, educational programs targeting sector needs, and an ethics code for journalism and other media content.

The paper also provides contextual background on the Haitian media in Miami, including their origins and links to Haiti and the difficulties overcome by the community in Miami's particular ethnic and economic mix over the past three decades. We agree with scholars and journalists who argue that research without context is at best incomplete and, at worst, misleading. In this case, to deeply understand the Haitian media in Miami, it is important to also understand the differences in language, class, race, and immigration policies that structure social relations in greater Miami. Similarly, it is important to understand those differences in Haiti and how they are reflected in media practices and audiences there and, through immigration of journalists and other linkages, in Miami as well.

In the appendices, readers will find a list of Haitian media in Miami and detailed grids showing the media accessed by participants in the audience study.

The end of the document is a form requesting feedback from the Haitian community so that the report may continue to evolve either online or through readers' mailed in commentary.

I. REZIME EKSEKITIF

Dokiman sa a rapòte ki jan Ayisyen, Ameriken ki gen orijin Ayisyèn, itilize medya nan lang kreyòl la nan Miami, epi kijan medya sa yo fè travay yo – medya tankou journal, estasyon radyo, pwogram televizyon ak sit-entènèt ki bay kominote ayisyèn nan sèvis. Lòt medya ki fonksyone ann anglè ak panyòl fèmen je yo totalman sou kominote ayisyèn sa a.

Kominote ayisyèn nan nan Miami se youn nan pi gwo kominote kote Ayisyen abite Ozetazini. Medya ki fonksyone an kreyòl ak fransè jwe yon wòl enpòtan nan kominote sa a. Medya yo fasilite rapwochman imigran ki la depi lontan yo ak sa ki fèk rive nan peyi a.

An plis de sa, medya yo sèvi tou kòm youn nan pi gwo resous Ayisyen ki nan Miami yo genyen pou ede yo jwenn enfòmasyon sou Ayiti e patisipe nan lavi ann Ayiti. Nan sans sa a, medya yo ap jwe 2 wòl: yopèmèt Ayisyen ansanm ak Ayisyen-Ameriken yo viv ozetazini nan kominote etnik yo- tankou *Little Haiti* - e, an menm tan, medya yo pèmèt yo viv avèk Ayiti nan lespri yo.

Ayisyen ki patisipe nan etid sa a pale nou de eksperyans medya kreyòl yo fasilite – eksperyans yo fè ann Ayiti ak sa yo fè isit - eksperyans ki bay kominote Ayisyènnan anpil soulajman, anpil sipò.

Baz etid sa a se 91 entèvyou ki fèt ak yon sèl moun epi entèvyou ki fèt ak gwoup moun; se opinyon Ayisyen ki te reponn apèl pwofesè *School of Communication* nan *University of Miami*, ansanm ak entèvyou ki te fèt ak 16 jounalis ak reyalyatè nan pati sid Eta Florid. Tout moun ki te idantifye tèt yo kòm Ayisyen te kapab patisipe nan etid la. Rezilta etid la baze sou fason pwofesè yo ak lòt ekspèntèprete deklarasyon patisipan yo. An plis de sa, otè etid la ak kèk lòt espesyalis nan kominote a, verifye rezilta yo ak Ayisyen kap viv nan *Little Haiti* epimanm lòt kominote kote Ayisyen abite.

Fasilite langaj jwe yon wòl enpòtan nan fason yon kominote itilize medya ak fason kominote sa a deside ki medya k ap fè yon travay ki merite konfyans li. Sa, se youn nan rezilta etid la.

Pou Ayisyen ki pale kreyòl sèlman, etid la montre medya kreyòl yo ofri yon mwayen pou balanse lavi yo ak emosyon yo. An menm tan, medya kreyòl yo pèmèt imigran Ayisyen yo jwenn enfòmasyon ki esansyèl sou sa k ap pase ann Ayiti - ansanm ak opòtinite pou yo patisipe nan lavi politik e sosyal peyi a, gras ak pwogram radyo ki pèmèt moun rele nan telefòn. An plis de sa, medya yo bay imigran Ayisyen yo enfòmasyon sou fason pou yo konpòte yo nan Miami.

Pou Ayisyen ki pale kreyòl sèlman yo, medya kreyòl yo gen anpil itilite: yo sèvi kòm yon sous ki merite konfyans. Medya kreyòl yo amelyore kalite lavi Ayisyen sa yo nan kominote a.

Pou Ayisyen ki pale 2 lang yo -- tankou kreyòl ak anglè -- medya kreyòl yo ede yo bati, ou byen kenbe, idantite etnik yo, selon ke Ayisyen sa yo se imigran premye generasyon ou byen si yo se ameriken ki gen papa ak manman ki ayisyen.

Medya kreyòl yo ede Ayisyen ki pale 2 lang yo konsève rapò yo ak Ayiti epi kenbèkoneksyon yo nan kominote Ayisyèn nan. Men Ayisyen sa yo pa satisfè ak kalite enfòmasyon yo jwenn nan medya kreyòl yo.

Ayisyen ki nan gwoup sa a itilize plizyè sous medya pou yo jwenn enfòmasyon lokal sou zòn kote y ap viv la, enfòmasyon nasyonal – sètadi sou sa k ap pase a travè Lèzetazini- ak enfòmasyon sou peyi yo kite dèyè a, epitou sou kominote etnik yo a. Medya sa yo ede yo bati yon idantite ki depase yon idantite rasyal oubyen yon idantite totalman nwa-ameriken.

Ayisyen ki pale yon lòt lang anplis anglè, sitou jenn ki patisipe nan etid sa a, kenbe rapò yo ak medya kreyòl yo gras ak paran yo. Jenn sa yo pa itilize medya kreyòl pou yo bati ou byen ranfòse idantite yo, a koz difikilte yo genyen ak lang kreyòl la epi paske yo pa gen menm enterè nan Ayiti, ni menm koneksyon paran yo genyen ak peyi sa a.

Men, jenn yo ta renmen wè yon medya pou Ayisyen ki vize jenn ki gen menm laj ak yo, menm jan lòt medya vize jenn ki gen enterè yo genyen. Jenn sa yo itilize medya ameriken menm jan lòt jenn ki gen laj yo itilize medya nan peyi a. Etid la montre jenn Ayisyen yo gen plis enterè nan mizik nwa-ameriken e yo di mizik sa a fè pati idantite yo.

Pou moun ki te pasisipe nan etid la, medya kreyòl yo jwe yon gwo wòl nan kominote a, men yo di medya yo gen anpil feblès. Feblès sa yo poze pwoblèm pou patisipan yo, paske yo gen rapò ak kalite e ak merit konfyans enfòmasyon ki sòti nan medya kreyòl yo, kalite ak nivo pwodiksyon, kapasite ekonomik medya yo genyen pou yo kontinye travay, an plis de vizyon yo, kwayans nan transparans, otonomi ak sèvis piblik.

Kreyasyon yon asosyasyon pwofesionèl ki pa la pou fè benefis --yon asosyasyon tankou *Haitian Media Association*-- ta kapab pote repons pou pwoblèm sa a. Asosyasyon an ta kapab ede medya kreyòl yo fè fas ak defi sa yo, epi ede yo devlope finansman ak piblisite ansanm, pataje jan yo rasanble nouvèl ak enfòmasyon, epi devlope pwogram edikatif sou pwoblèm ki poze nan kominote a ansanm ak yon kòd etik.

Etid sa a se yon koudèy sou medya kreyòl yo nan Miami, sou jan medya sa yo devlope Ozetazini, ak lyen yo genyen ak Ayiti, mete sou difikilte yo rankontre Ozetazini pandan 30 dènye ane yo. Nou dakò ak tout jounalis e akademisyen ki di rechèch san kontèks se yon travay ki pa konplè, menm jan se yon travay ki kapab bay rezilta ki pa korèk.

Nan sans sa a, pou yon moun byen konprann medya kreyòl k ap opere nan kominote Ayisyèn nan nan Miami, li enpòtan pou moun sa a konprann diferans ki egziste ant diferan lang, diferan klas ak ras epi byen konprann tou lwa imigrasyon ki a la baz anpil rapò Ayisyen genyen ak Ayisyen e ak lot moun k ap viv nan Miami. An menm tan tou, li enpòtan pou moun konprann diferans ki egziste an Ayiti ak fason diferans sa yo reflekte nan fason medya kreyòl yo opere, ak jan piblik la itilize yo.

Nan apandis yo, lektè yo pral jwenn yon lis medya kreyòl nan Miami ak yon lis detaye ki montre ki medya moun ki te patisipe nan etid la di yo itilize.

Nan denye paj dokiman an, lektè yo ap jwenn yon fòm ki kapab pèmèt yo bay otè etid sa a

opinyon yo, yon fason pou ede etid la evolye.

II. INTRODUCTION

The Miami bureau chief of the 24-year-old Miami Haitian newspaper *Haiti en Marche* looked around his family home in north Miami-Dade County in early 2010. Seven people were living in the three-bedroom house where two usually lived.

Like many other Haitians across Miami, Michel Leys' family had offered refuge to relatives from Haiti after the Jan. 12 earthquake - known as *goudoupe goudoupe* - the word Haitians added to their Creole vocabulary to describe the grinding sound they heard when the earth shook that late afternoon.² The earthquake claimed at least 200,000 lives, including that of Leys' mother, while displacing an estimated 700,000 people and disrupting business in Haiti and in South Florida's 300,000-person Diaspora community. Asked about effects on Miami, Leys commented, "It's huge in terms of population displacement and in terms of business... but life has to begin, to start, and we have no idea how it's going to" (personal interview with Michel Leys, Feb. 1, 2010).

Haitians with resources of money, social networks and visas quickly began to arrive in South Florida. By consulting Facebook and other social networking tools, they found charter schools for their children where French was spoken or public schools that already were catering to the region's Haitian children.

Most were not so lucky. Activists pressed unsuccessfully for the federal government to allow the immigration of 55,000 Haitians who already had Homeland Security-approved visa applications (Star Ledger Editorial Board 2010; National Public Radio 2011). Approval stalled even though their families in the United States pledged financial support. Additionally, federal officials initially anticipated that 34,000-68,000 undocumented Haitians who had been residing in South Florida before the earthquake would petition for newly available temporary protection from deportation. But community sources said the 18-month limit on the amnesty kept many from registering. Moreover, no similar protection would be offered to any Haitians who arrived without proper documentation after the earthquake.

Instead, the Obama administration increased U.S. Coast Guard patrols in the Caribbean and warned that any Haitians attempting to enter the United States illegally would be returned. Authorities did not expect a quick mass migration given the paralysis in the country even though the first interdiction, on Feb. 12, 2010, involved a group of 78 people in an overloaded sailboat about halfway between Haiti and Miami (McClatchy Newspapers, 2010; Chardy, 2010). With hundreds of thousands still in makeshift shelters in the Port-au-Prince area, by the beginning of 2011, the U.S. Coast Guard had returned 1,615 people to Haiti (U.S. Coast Guard, 2010). Homeland Security agencies believed the numbers could increase once Haitians recovered enough to try to leave (Wasem, 2010), but successful alternation of political authorities in 2011 calmed those pressures and the likelihood of another big wave of Haitian immigration to Miami.

² Creole is a language that formed among African slaves who borrowed from the French vocabulary of the slave owners on the plantations and combined it with the syntax of their own African languages to form what is heard today in the streets and in homes. See Howe (1993).

Over the past three decades, political instability, economic opportunity and expanding family networks have increased the number of Haitians in the United States more than five-fold, from 92,400 counted in the 1980 U.S. Census to 535,000 estimated in the 2008 American Community Survey (Terrazas 2010).³ Geography, opportunity, and a warmer climate than in the U.S. Northeast drew many to the greater Miami area. It is now home to the largest concentration of Haitians and Haitian Americans in the United States, housing 34 percent of the U.S. Haitian-born population and 32 percent of all people in the United States reporting Haitian ancestry.⁴ Most Haiti-born Miamians today come through family reunification visas or migrate south from older communities in the U.S. Northeast. But many of those who sparked fast community growth in the 1980s came by boat during a political crisis, just as Homeland Security predicted after the earthquake, including a growing entrepreneurial and political base that elected the first Haitian-born Miami-Dade County Commissioner in 2010, Jean Monestime.

Although the origins of the South Florida community date at least to the 1950s, larger numbers arrived beginning in the 1980s and continue today. Table 1 shows growth in the past decade, 22 percent in Miami-Dade County and 44 percent for the two-county metropolitan area that also includes Broward County. Nationally, the Haitian origin population grew 34 percent in the past decade.

Table 1: The Haitian Community in Miami and the United States

	2000	2005	2009
Miami-Dade County	95,669	109,160	122,837
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach Metropolitan Area	158,011	251,728	268,852
United States	548,199	694,123	829,934

Dates Sources: Total for Haitian ancestry, American Community Survey (ACS) 2005, 2009; U.S. Census 2000, Summary File 3. The ACS is a survey and provides estimates based on probability samples while the census strives for complete population counts. For information about community survey method, go to http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?_lang=en&_ts=. See also footnote 3.

Since its growth accelerated three decades ago, greater Miami's Haitian community has created its own civic organizations, advocacy groups and bloc of municipal officials. It is economically diverse, with professional and middle income Haitians more numerous than public conceptions of Haitians often suggest, and the community is described as among the more religious ethnic groups in the United States. The Haitian community in Miami-Dade and Broward counties has set down deep roots and grown to be the largest community in the United States only by overcoming difficult obstacles.

³ Haitian community organizers and others believe the 2000 U.S. Census seriously undercounted Haitians due to difficulties of language, deficient community outreach and distrust of federal authorities. We use the Census and the Census Bureau's American Community Surveys because they offer the only detailed, empirical picture of South Florida's Haitians and ethnic makeup.

⁴ American Community Survey estimates, U.S. Census Bureau, 2009. See also Terrazas (2010).

HAITIAN RECEPTION IN MIAMI – CHALLENGES AND CONTRASTS

No one was sure of the long-term effects of the 2010 earthquake on Miami and South Florida, but U.S. authorities' ambivalence toward Haitians is well known in the region. Although Haitians have been immigrating to Florida since at least the 1950s, Miami's Haitian community remained small until deteriorating conditions in Haiti spawned a mass exodus by boat toward the Bahamas and South Florida in the late 1970s (Brookings Institution, 2004). Between 1977 and 1981, 50,000 to 70,000 Haitians arrived by boat to South Florida. Not only were special programs set up to quickly deport the Haitians, but the Reagan administration ordered the use of the Coast Guard to stop immigrant arrivals at sea for the first time in U.S. history (Charles, 2007: 180; Marcelin, 2005). In a second wave of mass immigration from Haiti to South Florida, between Oct. 1, 1992, and Sept. 30, 1995, during the political instability and violence that characterized the post-dictatorship political transition in Haiti, 67,190 Haitians were intercepted at sea and returned to Haiti (Charles, 2007; U.S. Coast Guard).

Of course, not all Haitians arriving in South Florida in the past quarter century were poor or undocumented. Many were professionals or were related to members of the older Haitian exile community in New York. Yet, Haitians in the 1980s and 1990s met a decidedly cold reception if they made it to South Florida, facing pervasive negative stereotypes, a stagnant economy, and federal government resolve to quickly deport them. Mainstream news media emphasized the drama of the so-called Haitian "boat people" who washed ashore on Florida beaches in dilapidated and overcrowded vessels, sometimes along with the bodies of those who did not survive the journey. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control made being Haitian a risk factor for contracting HIV and quarantined Haitians in hospitals. The phrase "three Hs" was coined to identify those with elevated risk of HIV -- hemophiliac, homosexual and Haitian (Charles, 2008; Marcelin, 2005). Even though they were fleeing a brutal dictatorial regime, of the 22,940 Haitians interdicted at sea between 1981 and 1990, only 11 were considered qualified to apply for asylum by U.S. immigration (Wasem, 2007: 3).

Although Haitian cultural organizations and an emerging group of local Haitian politicians in Miami battled the stereotypes, negative treatment and portrayals continued into the 2000s. Homeland Security officials and Attorney General John Ashcroft implied in 2002 and 2003 that terrorists might pose as Haitian refugees in order to sneak into the country by boat. They ordered Haitians who passed the standard "credible fear threshold" for political asylum to be held in detention until their court hearings rather than to be paroled into the community as typically occurs with other nationalities. Moreover, as they had in the 1980s when the Reagan administration expedited Haitians' deportation, civil rights lawyers protested in the 2000s that restricted visitation hours in the detention centers and lack of visitation space kept them from properly representing Haitian asylum clients (Wasem, 2010).

With about 55,000 Haitians approved for family reunification visas, but still facing up to seven years' wait on the first anniversary of the earthquake, community advocates made the comparison to Cuban émigrés approved for expedited family reunification three years earlier based upon, among other things, urgent humanitarian reasons. "Well, unfortunately

for Haiti, sadly enough, the more things change, the more they remain the same,” activist Marleine Bastien told National Public Radio on the anniversary of the earthquake (National Public Radio 2011, Jan. 13).

Miami’s Haitians find themselves in a social structure that is quite different from most other U.S. cities. In Miami, Cuban immigrants catapulted from refugee status to dominate many arenas of local social and political life. Other groups, including Haitians, faced numerous barriers to successful incorporation into Miami’s cultural, economic and political orders. Their successes have been much more uneven.

Older cohorts of Cuban immigrants in Miami have become the most powerful political group, dominate media coverage of foreign affairs and ethnic politics, and share economic power with Anglos in a city where electoral studies find national origin, ethnicity and race drive political behavior (Portes and Rumbault, 1993; Moreno & Rae, 1992; Warren & Moreno, 2003; Wright Austin, 2008). The reception of Haitians, the second-largest immigrant group in Miami-Dade County, provides the starkest contrast to the welcoming treatment received by the first wave of Cuban immigrants who came to Miami in the 1960s, transformed it politically in the 1980s, and remade the city into a cultural pole of attraction for Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in the 1990s and beyond.

The first “Golden” Cuban exiles reached Miami with education and entrepreneurial experience, and because their success in exile supported U.S. geopolitical strategies during the Cold War, they received unprecedented government assistance. Public support included automatic legal immigration status and quick paths to citizenship; job training; college scholarships and low-interest educational loans; English lessons for healthcare workers and expedited entry into U.S. medical professions; and hundreds of millions of dollars to establish businesses (Pérez, 2003: 254). In contrast to what groups from other countries and Cubans who arrived in later decades received, government support prior to 1980 was designed to encourage Cuban immigration to the United States, with the rationale that this would drain the Fidel Castro regime of human capital and at the same time create a “symbolic showcase” to promote capitalist ideology in the Caribbean (Alberts, 2005; Grosfoguel, 2003; Pedraza, 2004).

Encouragement of skilled Cuban migration worked well until 1980, by which time U.S. relations with Cuba and the socio-political profile of Cuban immigrants had changed. During that year, about 125,000 Cubans arrived via an exile-organized boatlift from the Cuban port of Mariel. For the first time since 1958, Cuban immigrants were not granted automatic legal residency in the United States. Legal status arrangements for Mariel refugees took four years and passage of a new law that created a special immigrant category, the Cuban Adjustment Act. Included in a one-time amnesty were 25,000 Haitians who arrived in or about 1980, in part as a response to African-American politicians and civil rights lawyers who made the contrast with Cubans too politically difficult to ignore (Charles, 2007; Grenier & Castro, 1999; Grenier & Castro, 1999; Nackerud, Spring, Larrison & Issac, 1999; Stepick, Grenier, Castro & Dunn, 2003).

Since 1995, automatic legal status for Cubans has been guaranteed only for a small group of visa seekers selected by lottery in Cuba and for those lucky or ingenious enough to

make it from Cuba to U.S. soil. Public assistance benefits also have been greatly reduced. Over the years, the ethnic solidarity that characterized the first cohorts of Cubans dwindled with the arrival of lower-income, darker-skinned Cubans who had grown up under communism and, while generally opposing Castro, were more likely than earlier cohorts to believe that U.S. relations with Cuba should be relaxed (Alberts, 2005; Eckstein & Barberia, 2002; Nackerud et al., 1999; Pedraza, 1995; Wasem, 2006).

Another point to consider about the context of Haitian community development in Miami is how ethnicity and national origin overlap with race to create yet another hurdle to successful Haitian incorporation in South Florida. As anthropologist Hens Marcelin writes (2005), South Florida's recent history is of racial segregation and discrimination typical of the Southern United States, as well as intense immigration from more than 30 Caribbean and Latin American countries with their own socio-racial cultural patterns. Legally segregated living quarters, schools and even beaches were part of Dade County life until the 1960s (Mohl, 2001). African Americans essentially were disenfranchised by countywide at-large elections until court-ordered, single-member districts were created in 1992 to ensure minority representation on the county commission, soon followed by the City of Miami commission and county school board. As a group, African Americans in Miami continue to have among the lowest levels of income in the county even if they have more formal political representation.

In the Caribbean, skin color, language and class overlap in ways inherited from European colonialization. For example Haitian Creole, derided by critics as a slaves' dialect despite its use in literature and status as an independent language, was not taught in Haitian public schools until the 1980s and only joined French as an official language in 1987 even though Creole is the sole language understood by about 90 percent of Haitians in Haiti (Howe, 1993: 291-293). Jamaican patois is similarly considered by some to be a poor person's language, though used in literature and promoted by advocates as an alternative to higher-status Jamaican English.

For Haitians, multiple legacies of stigmatization and discrimination in Miami have prompted a number of strategies for negotiating *Haitian-ness* that are sometimes reflected in their choice and use of media. The light-skinned economic super elite turn to their European French heritage, often negating their Haitian identity altogether (Marcellin 2005). The darker-skinned middle and professional classes often hide their Haitian heritage as well, but are less attached to the French colonial past. In our study, they criticized Creole-language media, and turned to French-language and English-language media. On the other hand, poorer Creole-dominant immigrants, especially youths, embrace Haitian pop culture and sometimes attempt to place themselves socially above poor African Americans – using cultural pride to leapfrog from the perceived bottom rung of an ethnic hierarchy created by Miami's legacy of U.S.-style racism. Study participants who were Creole-dominant and worked in lower-status jobs tended to be happier with the quality of the Miami-based Haitian media, especially radio commentators who supported the populist former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, but bilingual participants in middle-status jobs tended to criticize Haitian media as unprofessional.

MIAMI'S MULTIETHNIC POPULATION

While the Cuban community has diversified economically, politically and racially since 1980, Miami-Dade County's overall population has become more diversified in other ways. Ecological disasters, political upheavals and economic restructuring in the 1980s and mid-1990s sent unexpected surges along with a steady stream of immigrants toward Miami, enhancing the cultural and ideological diversity of the population. Arrivals include Haitians on and off since the 1970s, Nicaraguans in the late 1980s, Colombians, Peruvians and Argentines in the 1990s, and Venezuelans since the late 1990s. None of these groups obtained automatic residency status.

The percentage of Hispanics from countries other than Cuba increased almost 2.5 times between 1980 and 2008, from 12 percent of the population in 1980 to 29 percent in 2008. The Cuban percentage of the overall population grew from one-quarter of the population to one-third in 2008, while declining in proportion to the totality of other Hispanic groups. Cubans remain a slight proportional majority among Latin American-origin population groups. Anglos, at the same time, accelerated an exodus in the 1980s that lasted two decades. From 48 percent of the population in 1980, they declined to 19 percent in 2008. As this happened, the black community changed. African Americans tended to leave the county, while Haitians and other people of color from the Caribbean moved in. In 2008, Haitians and other non-Hispanic Blacks made up 18 percent of the population. Table 2 summarizes these population shifts.⁵

Thanks to numbers, a path to citizenship and court decisions redrawing electoral districts, Cubans in Miami were able to create a powerful ethnic political machine, turning the former Anglo-dominated political order "on its head" (Portes and Stepick, 1993: 8; Massey and Denton, 1993). Three of five congressional representatives, as well as the most powerful posts in local government, have been solidly Cuban since the early 1990s. Nonwhite, non-Cuban minorities have obtained majority political representation only in a few municipalities.

Table 2: Ethnic Shifts in Miami-Dade County, in Percents

	1980	1990	2000	2008
Cubans	25	29	29	33
Other Hispanics	12	20	28	29
Non-Hispanic Blacks	17	19	19	18
Anglos	48	30	18	19
Cubans as a Percent of all Hispanics	68	59	50	53

Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000; American Community Survey 2008; Miami-Dade County Planning Department

⁵ This figure excludes people of color who also consider themselves Hispanic, such as Afro-Cubans. The Jamaican population in neighboring Broward County boomed during the same period, but their numbers in Miami-Dade County remain relatively small compared to Haitians.

POLITICAL AND MEDIA POWER IN MIAMI

Historically in the United States when there is a rapid and large volume of in-migration, political institutions such as electoral districts or political patronage machines change more slowly than residents' identities, values and underlying cultures. This is because, while each immigrant cohort is different, it generally takes a while for immigrants to gain citizenship, overcome structural disadvantages such as gerrymandering, and develop identities or incentives to naturalization, citizenships and political participation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006: 117-167).

This has been the pattern in Miami-Dade County, where non-Cubans who arrived after U.S. immigration law reform in 1986 have not successfully pressed for an opening of the political system. Non-Cuban immigrant groups have been deterred by a lack of access to citizenship because of their immigration status as well as by a lack of resident alien voting rights, which several municipalities and school boards give to legal residents in other U.S. states.

Cubans, and to a lesser degree, African Americans, have a higher proportion of elected officials of their ethnic or national group in greater Miami than their proportion of the general population. This is largely the result of court-ordered moves to single-member district elections in local government since the 1990s as well as state Republican Party control of congressional district boundaries. Prior to these court decisions, these two groups were seriously underrepresented in local government, to the point of the courts determining that the Miami-Dade County electoral structure violated the U.S. Constitution.

Data presented in Table 3 on the national and ethnic origin of greater Miami's elected officials shows the dominance of Cubans in formal electoral politics in greater Miami, as well as the emerging position, still comparably weak, of Miami's Haitian community. The data cover 110 elected officials on the commissions or councils of the county's 13 largest municipalities, the county commission and mayor's post, the school board, and the county's five congressional representatives.⁶ The table presents numbers and percentages for each ethnic or heritage group's presence within the area's body of elected representatives as well as the percentage of each ethnic or national origin group in county's overall population. It then presents two measures assessing over- or under-representation of ethnic or national origin groups. The first measure of representation is the difference between the percentage of the elected officials in the sample from a particular ethnicity or national origin and the percentage of that group's residents in the county. The weighted representation measure that follows then takes into account the size of the constituency represented by an elected official, as an imperfect proxy for level of political authority wielded by the office, since a small town council member does not have the same level of authority or symbolic power as the county mayor or a congressional representative. The two measures thus provide a comparison of differences in representation calculated as one-to-one representation and representation weighed by

⁶ Cities included were the largest in the 2000 U.S. Census, plus large new post-census municipalities. They are the City of Miami, Hialeah, Miami Gardens, North Miami, Miami Beach, Coral Gables, North Miami Beach, Homestead, Palmetto Bay, Aventura, Miami Lakes, Doral and Hialeah Gardens. Source: Miami-Dade County Planning and Zoning Department. Accessed Dec. 5, 2010. http://www.miamidade.gov/planzone/library_census.asp

size, or level of authority, of the office.

The comparisons show that Cubans not only dominate local political office numerically, but they disproportionately hold the positions that represent the largest constituencies. White non-immigrants have receded to smaller communities, where they hold council seats. Non-Cuban immigrants are the most under-represented, to the point of being disenfranchised. Haitians in Miami-Dade County are the partial exception to the blocked political incorporation of non-Cuban immigrant groups. After three decades of battles in court and the media, they have amassed sufficient numbers of citizen residents to elect co-ethnics to city councils in the smaller Miami-Dade County municipalities of North Miami, El Portal and North Miami Beach. Because of pre-set electoral boundaries, Haitians do not have a sufficiently large voting bloc outside of these cities to win without substantial cross-ethnic support even when they are unified as a community. While Haitian Americans have served in the state legislature, a lack of intra-group solidarity during the 2006 county commission and school board races, as well as the 2010 Democratic congressional primary, resulted in missed opportunities to send Haitians to higher-level office (Marcelin 2005; Mazzei 2010). However, a unified Haitian voting bloc, aided by African Americans dissatisfied by a scandal-plagued incumbent, elected the first Haitian county commissioner, Jean Monestime, in November 2010. Monestime came to Miami on a boat in 1981 and later became a naturalized U.S. citizen. He recalled his journey in a speech when sworn into office, calling his life “as American a story as it gets” (Monestime, 2010).

Few would have dreamed of this moment. This American Dream story. And yes! My story is as American a story as it gets. I was born on the island of La Tortue, Haiti, the sixth of 10 children. My mother and father were peasants, farmers. When I turned 4 we moved to my dad's hometown, Saint-Louis du Nord, in order to prepare me for enrollment in the local parochial school, the best in the region. My dad, who grew up without his parents, was determined to offer his children a life better than his own. When as a teenager life seemed too tough and hopeless, a friend offered my mom a boat ride for me to the USA. She agreed. I arrived here in Miami as a teenager in January 1981. I made my way through school mowing lawns, mopping floors, washing dishes, and driving a taxi. By 1982, I'd already been overwhelmed and enchanted by the democratic values of this great country and engaged myself in the fight for a better community. Nearly 30 years later, here I am standing before you, a Miami-Dade County Commissioner. Who would have thought! My fellow Americans, I'm here to remind you that Miami is still 'The Magic City,' and the United States of America is still the land of opportunity. If you'd like confirmation of this fact: Look at me, I'm the proof.⁷

⁷ To read more: <http://www.miamiherald.com/2010/11/20/1934900/as-american-a-story-as-it-gets.html#ixzz1QydpKGfL>

Table 3: National or Ethnic Heritage of Elected Officials in Greater Miami, October 2010⁸

Ethnic Heritage	# Elected Officials	# Constituents Represented	% Elected Officials	% Total Constituents Represented	% County Population	Representation Gap (% officials to % county pop.)	Weighted Representation Gap (% of constituents represented to % county pop.)
Cuban or Cuban American	45	5832127	41	67	33	+8	+34
African American	16	1695707	15	19.5	12	+4	+7.5
White Non Hispanic	38	990558	35	11.4	19	+26	-7.6
Non-Cubans of Immigrant Origin	11	177970	10	2.1	37	-26	-34.9
Haitian	6	110213	5	1.3	5	0	-3.7
Other West Indian	0	0	0	0	2	-2	-2
Non-Cuban Hispanics	5	67758	5	.8	29	-24	-28.2
Total	110	--	100	100	--	--	--

Culturally if not politically, however, Miami-Dade County is one of the most diverse and vibrant communities in the United States. Part of that diversity is reflected in its smaller media offerings that reach far beyond a Cuban, Anglo and African-American triad. Although less visible outside of their own communities, a plethora of mom-and-pop ethnic publications and radio programs on rented airtime caters to diverse national origin groups from the Caribbean and South America, and as a group attests to the area’s vibrant and diverse culture. For example, one study has identified 15 Venezuelan community media outlets in the county (Shumow, 2010). There are media devoted to almost every national origin community in Miami - Peruvian, Colombian, Jamaican, and more – as well as several with pan-ethnic audiences, such as those targeting audiences with origins in the English-speaking Caribbean.

Because of advances in communication technology and the recent arrival of so many residents, Miami-Dade County has become a regional hub of transnational media outlets and audiences. Both ethnic media producers and their audiences seem to have one foot in the United States and another in their country of origin. This happens in greater Miami even more than in the rest of the country. The 2000 U.S. Census and follow-up American Community Surveys found that more people in Miami-Dade County were born outside of the United States than inside. Because many of the smaller groups are marginalized

⁸ A number of explanations of the data are helpful. First, the number of constituents is higher than the number of people in the county population because people are represented by more than one public official, for example, a city commissioner, a school board member and a congressional representative, and therefore are counted in more than one public official’s constituency. Second, the percent of the total constituency represented by a group of ethnic politicians is the sum of all of the constituents represented by the ethnic group officials as a percentage of the sum of all constituencies considered in the sample. The weighted representation gap then takes into account the size of the public offices held by an ethnic group while the unweighted representation gap measures only the percent of office holders, not the importance of the offices held. Third, constituencies for each office were figured based on 2000 Census population for each city or district. The national average of 647,000 constituents was used for congressional districts.

politically and economically, we believe they are the least understood and most precarious of South Florida's audiences. When language isolation is added to the mix for Creole-dependent Haitians, access to Haitian media in Creole becomes a veritable informational lifeline.

However, Miami's image in popular culture is propelled by large Spanish-language and mainstream English-language media, which also draw the most attention from advertisers and politicians. The growth of large, commercial media in greater Miami has followed the growth of its ethnic economic market and structure of political power. *The Miami Herald* highlights Cuban and Haitian news on its website. It currently has no editors of Haitian heritage, but does have numerous editors of Cuban heritage, and coverage of the Americas generally reflects their interests and ideological orientations (Mondejar 2007; Lundberg & Ojito 2009). Local television in English is overwhelmingly sensationalized and focuses disproportionately on crime and the cross-promotion of entertainment programs on their TV network. English-language media struggle to find an overarching narrative for wider Miami (Portes & Stepick, 1993). They tend to view reality through a lens that is culturally proximate to the three dominant groups in Miami, acculturated Cubans, Anglos and African Americans, the ethnic makeup of their primary target audience as well as their journalists.

Most market research on ethnic media and audiences in South Florida focuses on large-scale Spanish-language media because of their reach. Given the area's particular ethnic makeup, these outlets in many ways are as mainstream as large media producing content in English. Spanish-language television stations in greater Miami typically garner higher ratings than English-language stations. The biggest networks are regularly sought by national advertisers and advertising agencies. They produce commercially oriented news, like English-language TV. However, they tailor content to satisfy particular national-origin groups that hold stronger positions in the market, and import most entertainment programming from Latin America, especially Mexico. National Spanish-language television news caters to Mexicans (Dávila, 2001), who dominate the national TV market, while local TV news in Miami focuses more on news for Cubans and Venezuelans. While they tend to focus on economically and politically dominant communities, they also provide more coverage of general Latin American and Caribbean events than English-language television.

English- and Spanish-language media sometimes frame news events differently, but still are perceived by Haitians we interviewed as reflecting the status and cultures of the two elite groups (Anglos and Cubans) that dominate political and economic power in the county. Our interviews found that Haitians who speak Spanish and consume broadcast media in Spanish and English note differences between media in Spanish and English, but also feel mainstream local news coverage in either language is alienated from their lives and cultural understandings. Mainstream news coverage of Haiti was perceived as either absent or disproportionately focused on disasters and poverty; similarly, perceptions of coverage of the Haitian community were that it was either absent or negative.

The print source of reference for the bilingual and English-dominant Haitians we interviewed, and even for those reporting poor English abilities, was *The Miami Herald*,

the only large daily newspaper in the county. *The Herald* and its Spanish-language sister edition, *El Nuevo Herald*, cover Haitian affairs, but our participants described the coverage as insufficient in quantity and depth.

A number of English-speaking and bilingual Haitians affirm a secondary identity of African-ness by consuming radio programming primarily targeting African Americans. The radio personality-centered programs they mention in interviews are nationally broadcast talk and commentary programs. The African-American press in greater Miami is small compared to mainstream press, but larger and more financially consolidated than the Haitian press, in part due to its deep historical roots.

STUDY JUSTIFICATION AND METHODOLOGY

This study describes Haitian community media through the eyes and experiences of the audiences that utilize them and the journalists and producers who create the information and entertainment content they distribute. We focus on the rarely studied Haitian media in Miami because they serve people not reached by Miami's mainstream media in Spanish and English. They are also playing important roles in fostering societal cohesion and immigrant incorporation among members of the newest and largest Haitian community in the United States. Moreover, they are a key resource for Haitians in Miami to keep informed about and participate in what is happening in Haiti. For Miami Haitians who do not speak English, they have become a vital way to connect to Haiti, the Haitian community in Miami, and to the larger society.

The working paper is based on interviews and focus groups with a purposeful (nonrandom) sample of 91 audience members and also 16 journalists and radio producers, as well as monitoring of Creole-language radio after the 2010 earthquake. This report is the result of a qualitative empirical research project that employed individual interviews and focus groups. Qualitative research uses an inductive strategy, which allows patterns to develop from the ground up, and ensures that the information that is gained emerges from participants' perspectives and experiences rather than a priori - categorization based on previous studies or theories. As such, interviews used both closed- and open-ended questions, as well as the natural rhythm of conversation. Interviewers were trained to probe and follow up for clarification and understanding.

Analysis of the interviews involved interaction between the field, interview guide construction, interview transcript coding, and previous research studies. More specifically, interpretations of interview responses developed through a spiral method of analysis that involved discrete coding of the transcript, combination of discrete codes into coding categories or data patterns, and patterns in the data that were compared to on-the-ground phenomenon as well as previous research. The "constant comparison" among the field, the interviews and other research is akin to grounded theory methodology that is often used for research into less-understood social phenomenon. Researchers Hughes and Santiago acted as "peer checkers" of each other's interpretations, and two members of the study population were asked to review and discuss initial findings as "member checkers." The researchers in this study sought to understand, from the perspective of media users, journalists and producers, the phenomenon of Haitian media use and

production in the Greater Miami area.

For the qualitative study of media audiences, participants were recruited from at least a half dozen starting points, including community churches, parks, universities and relatives of Haitian interviewers. To broaden the base of interviews, the sampling strategy sought sufficient numbers of Creole-speaking participants, male and female participants, younger and older participants, and non-skilled, skilled and professional workers.

The first round of the media audience study was composed of 33 individual semi-structured interviews and five focus groups in which 36 people participated in conversations guided by a moderator from the study team using a pre-set script of open-ended questions designed to promote discussion. The interviews were conducted in greater Miami from August 2008 through June 2009, and asked about immigration life stories, patterns of social integration, and patterns of communication and media use.

The individual interviews, ranging from 30 minutes to one hour, were semi-structured and conducted in the language of choice of the participant, always either Creole or English. The focus interviews were conducted mostly in Creole using open-ended discussion guides. The authors found that the group discussion format of focus groups was much better at eliciting verbalizations from Creole-speakers. The interviews in Creole were conducted by bilingual Haitians who live in South Florida and were trained by Colon and Hughes. One was a college senior, another was a graduate student, and a third was a new Ph.D., Santiago. The fourth interviewer was Colon, who is a journalist and university professor, and native Creole speaker. Interviews in English were conducted by the four above plus English-speaking professors Hughes and Wakhisi. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Colon, who is a bilingual Haitian, reviewed selections of the Creole-to-English translations for accuracy.

Any self-identifying Haitian or first generation Haitian American age 18 or older who had lived at least one year in greater Miami was eligible to be in the sample. Recruitment was done through a snowball method that included more than a half dozen starting points to ensure variation in social networks. Care was taken to ensure sufficient representation of men and women, Creole dominant participants, and variation in occupational status to achieve saturation of the sample, meaning enough participants were interviewed in each segment that no new information would be achieved through additional interviewing. The only segment for which this does not occur is women above working age who are monolingual Creole speakers due to difficulties in soliciting sufficient verbalization during the interview process. It is important to emphasize that the sample is not random and should not be construed as probabilistic; instead, general and overwhelming patterns within or across subgroups were identified.

Almost half of the sample (48 percent) was male. The ages of participants ranged from 18 to 76. About 77 percent of the participants were born in Haiti, with 53 percent having spent at least half their lives in Haiti. The participants were more highly educated compared to the population in Haiti, with only 9 percent reporting less than a completed high school education (no distinction was made between education in Haiti or the United States to avoid confusion or avoidance in responses). The educational distribution was reflected

in the occupational structure, but not perfectly: 25 percent of respondents were college students; 17 percent worked in professions, including teaching, social work and medicine; 7 percent worked in clerical jobs; 19 percent worked as low-skilled laborers; and 12 percent worked in high-skilled labor positions. Another 13 percent stated that they were unemployed or did not want to answer the question about employment. The remaining 7 percent identified themselves as retired, self-employed or homemakers.

Language ability variation revealed important differences in media use. Participants were asked whether they spoke, read and understood Creole, English, French and Spanish “not at all,” “not well,” “well” or “very well.” Twenty-two percent self-identified as speaking Spanish well or very well; 49 percent as speaking French well or very well; 77 percent as speaking English well or very well; and 88 percent as speaking Creole well or very well.

Analysis of audience use and reactions to media revealed the importance of Creole- and English-speaking ability. Only a few Haitians we interviewed reported using Spanish media regularly. Creole usage broke down as such: 23 percent understood well only Creole, 12 percent understood well only English, and 65 percent reported being bilingual, understanding well both Creole and English. Audience members were also asked their primary language at home. More than half (54 percent) stated that their primary language at home was Haitian Creole.

In the 10 days following the Jan. 10 earthquake, the study team returned to the field with a shorter questionnaire. Twenty-two additional interviews were conducted, asking about media accessed, satisfaction, unmet needs and general impressions. These interviews captured a shift in opinions in response to the overwhelming coverage of a major tragedy, but did not seem to harbor long-term change since, for example, English-language media coverage diminished within two weeks. The prestige of Creole-language media may have been enhanced, since their dedication and low resources were repeatedly acknowledged by interviewees and they continued to be the community’s main media link to Haiti.

Sixteen Miami-based journalists and other media producers were interviewed just before and right after the earthquake. They were identified as significant media producers or journalists by audience study participants and their public presence in the community, as well as through snowball sampling, meaning initial first interviews led to recommendations of others to interview. Anyone interviewed before the earthquake was re-interviewed afterward. As with the audience interviews, the interviews were semi-structured and relied upon open- and closed-ended questions as well as natural conversation.

II. FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING

The project was guided by several decades of empirical research on media use and production that provide us with larger frameworks for understanding how audiences use media content, as well as how media makers, including journalists and others, understand their roles in society. These frameworks were compared to interview participants' responses and understandings as a way to deepen the analysis and interpretation of Haitian media and audiences in Miami. Our study of Haitian participants' experiences and understandings extends previous work based largely on studies of mainstream media producers and dominant audience groups in the United States by comparing them to the perspectives and experiences of a relatively young, transnational immigrant community. This study's findings are thus enriched by previous research, and at the same time enrich previous research by incorporating the experiences of a less-studied group whose transnational living experience is one that is more and more frequent. A review of key areas of research that have contributed to our interpretations of data follows.

MEDIA USES AND GRATIFICATIONS

A number of frameworks for understanding media use have developed over 50 years of empirical study and provide the theoretical anchor for this report (Katz, Gurevich & Haas, 1973; A. M. Rubin, 2002). The point of departure for the study of Haitian audiences is work stemming from the tradition of media uses and gratifications research initiated in an essay by Elihu Katz in 1959 (Katz, 1959; Severin & Tankard, 2001).

A primary argument of this perspective is that audience members are not passive receptors of media content, but are active participants in the selection, consumption, processing and interpretation of media sources and content. Each of these processes is not undertaken by socially unencumbered individuals responding solely to individual psychological needs, but instead are actions that may respond to a number of overlapping conditions (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976; A. M. Rubin, 2002; A. M. Rubin & Windahl, 1986).

Media selection, interpretation and effects thus may respond to the following:

- The social and psychological needs and conditions of the individual;
- The economic and linguistic capabilities of the individual;
- The web of cultural understandings and multiple identities through which the individual makes meaning of the world;
- And the patterns of availability of media sources and content in a given time and place, that respond in turn to wider political, economic and linguistic conditions.

In other words, audience uses and interpretations of media, as well as the consequences or effects of media use, are the result of individual traits and capabilities that are embedded within larger social, societal and cultural structures that create opportunities and incentives that privilege the selection of certain media outlets and content over others, certain interpretations of media content over others, and certain media effects over others.

Looking only at any one level of analysis - either the micro-psychological, or the macro-structural of the market - could lead to inaccurate conclusions or faulty interpretations. Both the individual and the larger structures in which an individual operates must be explored to understand how, why and to what possible effect people use the mass media (A. M. Rubin, 2002; A. M. Rubin & Windahl, 1986) (A. M. Rubin & Perse, 1987; A. M. Rubin, 2002).

We know from the decades of study since the 1959 Katz essay that audience members make decisions about using media to meet instrumental needs as well as to pass the time. The media may be needed, for example, to resolve insufficient or conflicting information in order to make decisions, to regulate emotions or moods, or to enhance the feeling of group belonging. Other needs are thought to be associated with a more habitual use of media, such as passing the time, although there may be an originating instrumental component to habitual media use, such as relieving boredom. The motivations for media use and the selection of media to meet them may be explicitly identified, analyzed and undertaken by the individual, or may be experienced as undefined desires and actions taken without critical reflection.

In an early study, researchers identified 35 audience motivations for media use and put them in five categories (Katz et al., 1973), creating a useful typology of the needs people address by using mass media: 1) Cognitive needs – acquiring information, knowledge and understanding; 2) Affective needs – emotional, pleasurable or aesthetic experience; 3) Personal integration – strengthening credibility, confidence, stability and status; 4) Socially integrative needs – strengthening interpersonal contacts, such as with family, friends or other groups; 5) Tension release – escape and diversion.

Some of the common motivations for media use identified in studies over the years include:

- to lessen uncertainty in decision-making,
- to learn things about one's identity or needs,
- to learn about others,
- to forget about work or unpleasant thoughts,
- to have something to do with friends or family,
- to relax,
- to be entertained,
- to pass the time when bored or lonely,
- to feel excited,
- to feel less lonely, and
- to satisfy a habit.

Some researchers link the motives driving media selection and interpretation to the consequences of media use. The consequences may be what the user intended, but not always. For example, a user might feel satisfied at finding the information needed to make an investment decision, or frustrated when the information is either not available or because what was available causes greater uncertainty. Results from media use in a more ritualistic form may include feelings of belonging to an audience or to a cultural group, as

well as alienation from wider society because of reduced interpersonal relations.

Media use can have consequences for societies as well as for individuals. Political participation or alienation, for example, may be stimulated by the consumption of certain kinds of media content. This obviously affects both the individual and the society (Bennett & Entman, 2001; Brants, 1998; Graber, 2004; Sparks & Tulloch, 2000). Similarly, media use can influence whether immigrants adapt successfully to a new land; and immigrant adaptation has psychological, political and economic consequences for the individual immigrant, the immigrant community and the immigrant's new and old societies (Kline & Liu, 2005; Pantoja, Ramirez & Segura, 2001; Portes & Stepick, 1993; Portes, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Ye, 2005).

EMOTIONS, IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION AND TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITIES

Researchers have connected media use to the self-regulation of a variety of emotions as well as to regulation of longer, more diffuse affective states better described as moods (Canary & Spitzberg, 1993a; Fujioka, 2005; Pearlin, 1959; Schramm & Wirth, 2008; Wirth & Schramm, 2005; Zillmann, 1988).⁹ These studies have focused on how immigrants and others use the media to assuage negative emotions and moods or enhance positive ones - in other words, to "regulate" their affective state.

Emotions and moods are affective states in that they are both felt physiologically and psychologically. Also, both emotions and moods communicate internally (intra-personally) and externally to others (interpersonally). However, moods are longer, less intense, and less target-focused than emotions because emotions tend to have a distinct and recognizable cause, while moods usually do not. Finally, emotions tend to be about the demands being placed on us by the outside environment or the benefits to us in the environment, while moods tend to be about our inward ability to cope with the environment as a challenge or in response to something going right. However, many of the differences between moods and emotions are really only matters of degree (Larsen, 2000), and so we synthesize much of the research about the causes, consequences and coping mechanisms for both emotions and moods.

The ability to self-regulate emotions and moods is considered a crucial part of psychological functioning and general well-being. The assumption of much of the research on mood and emotional regulation is that most people most of the time will naturally try to maximize pleasurable emotions and mood states, while alternatively they will try to minimize unpleasant emotions and mood states.¹⁰ However, moods can outlast their functional roles of internal appraisal or social communication and become dysfunctional or maladaptive (Larsen, 2000). Negative emotions, similarly, can lead to behaviors that have

⁹ Much of the research refers to the coping strategies used to ameliorate negative emotions and self-regulation mechanisms for moods. Because Larson points out that the difference between emotions and moods is often of degree, and there is much overlap between regulation strategies and emotion-focused coping (2000: 129-131), we will use the ideas of coping and self-regulation interchangeably.

¹⁰ The exceptions to this are emotions or mood states that produce rumination about a particular problem or communicate one's feelings to a person implicated in the arousal of the emotion or mood. However, even then rumination or communication usually are taken with the purpose of diminishing the unpleasantness or because the unpleasantness itself is somehow enjoyed.

long-term negative consequences. Prolonged anger or extreme sadness, for example, can promote physical violence against another or one's self. On the other hand, happy people perceive themselves as more successful.

Some researchers, such as Zillman, argue that mood regulation is an almost autonomous process stemming naturally from biology and evolutionary processes, while others emphasize that more complex cognitive processes are involved in the recognition and coping mechanisms chosen to address mood and emotion. For example, if fear is an emotion that requires minimal appraisal of the environmental stimulant that produces a bodily response of adrenalin and a quick determination of whether fight or flight is a more adequate response for survival, then more complex emotions such as hope, frustration, sadness, longing, belonging or love require greater involvement of our cognitive processes (Cornelius, 1996).

According to the cognitive approach to the psychology of emotions, emotions are responses to our perceived environments that prepare and mobilize us to cope with whatever harm or benefit we appraise as present. One of the environmental conditions often thought to provoke an emotional upheaval is a change in plans, either because the plan is interrupted, deemed impossible or fulfilled successfully. In a groundbreaking study, Mandler posited that an interruption of plans causes emotional upheaval because it "signals important changes in the environment, which often lead to altered circumstances of living, adapting and surviving" (1975: 153). Among the judgments made that influence emotions are whether an event or situation affects plans or goals in a positive or negative way, whether there is certainty in the outcome, who caused the change, and whether the individual has power over the situation. So, frustration might be caused by a situation inconsistent with one's goals or plans. Pride, on the other hand, may result from a situation consistent with one's goals, when this positive outcome is perceived to have been the result of one's own actions (Cornelius 1996: 143).

The cognitive appraisal branch of emotional psychology distinguishes between primary and secondary appraisals, the first appraisal being to identify the stimulus in the environment that is perceived to effect personal well-being, and the second appraisal to assess one's resources for dealing with this emotion and to choose a coping strategy (Cornelius, 1996; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Coping strategies can address the environmental causes of negative affect or seek diversion or escape from the cause.

Studies have found that people use the media to manage emotions and moods in multiple ways, selecting certain types of content to maintain or change particular emotional or mood states. In Knoblock's life satisfaction study, test subjects who were unsatisfied with their careers or love lives seemed to be using media to seek ways to improve deficient areas that might cause unpleasant affect such as frustration, sadness or boredom. In Bryant and Zillman's study, participants used media content to divert attention from unpleasant affect, boredom or stress (Bryant & Zillmann, 1984).

People who are occasionally lonely were found to successfully ameliorate loneliness by watching soap operas, but media viewing gave less or no relief to the chronically lonely (Canary & Spitzberg, 1993b). Bored test subjects more frequently chose exciting media

content over relaxing content, while stressed subjects equally chose exciting or relaxing content (Bryant & Zillmann, 1984). In another study, shy or lonely students used media for companionship, to pass the time, out of habit, and for escape (Finn & Gorr, 1988).

Acculturative stress is a particular mood state that affects immigrant populations. The process of acculturation is a tricky bridging of at least two cultures. It involves “developing awareness of host country values, norms and behaviors, while managing ethnic loyalty and crafting new social identities” (Kline and Liu: 370), a definition similar to what Portes and Rumbaut call “selective acculturation (2006: 194).” Several studies have found that stress arises from the physical and psychological demands of acculturation, which may also last into the next generation. Second-generation immigrant children with problems defining an identity that transveres the culture of the home and the outside society do worse in school and exhibit poorer health outcomes.

The use of mass and interpersonal media to ameliorate acculturative stress has not been amply studied, however, a study of East Asian students’ use of the Internet found that fearful students tended to use the Internet more for social connections (“to seek companionship,” “to seek social support”), while those who perceived discrimination used the Internet to enhance social connectedness and to relax or be entertained (“to have fun,” “to relieve boredom,” “to find excitement,” “to relax,” “to be entertained”) (Ye, 2005).

Several studies of immigrant or minority groups that lack resources to confront sources of perceived discrimination use television and other activities as passive coping strategies to deal with depression (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou & Rummens, 1999; Noh & Kaspar, 2003). Noh and colleagues found that the beneficial effect of using television as an emotion-focused coping strategy was significantly higher among those holding stronger ethnic identification (Noh et al., 1999).

Another line of research useful to our study assesses the intersection of music, language and emotion. Numerous studies from the psychology of music as well as the media uses and gratifications tradition demonstrate mood amelioration by listening to music (Wirth & Schramm, 2005: 20.) In one of the first big systematic studies about the effect of music on moods, the result of 20,000 “mood reports” was that in most cases music has a positive effect on mood. Numerous other studies show how people use music to successfully maintain positive energy or ameliorate their negative moods in daily life and how they adapt their moods to corresponding activities. Subjects have reported changes from “sad” to “happy,” from “insecure” to “secure,” or from “tense” to “relaxed” (Sloboda, O’Neill & Ivaldi, 2001).

A connection between language use and acquisition and emotional experience has been well documented, but begs further causal exploration. One promising interpretation of accumulating evidence is that it appears that emotions are encoded or “tagged” in the language in which they are first experienced, binding emotional memory to cultural and autobiographical context including language. Recall of an emotion is stronger when expressed in the language in which it was originally experienced, as measured cognitively in factual detail as well as in the power of feelings evoked (Harris, Gleason & Aycicegi, 2006).

For those who learn a language later in life, such as older immigrants, differences in emotional intensity and expression have been documented between a person's first and second language. Bilinguals have been found to be more detached from their second language, which has been described as serving an intellectual function, while the first language clearly expressed emotional content for those who learned the second language later in life (Altarriba, 2002, August).

Another line of research that is deeply connected to media use, but in which media use is rarely explored in any depth, involves the creation of transnational spaces and lifestyles (Aranda, 2007; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). In our case, we are interested in how these lifestyles are created, not only through concrete, tangible ties between home and host societies, as is the focus of most work on this subject (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999), but also through mediated and intrapersonal communication. As Laguerre (1998), Rhodes (2001) and others have discussed, the Haitian media are decidedly transnational, featuring media producers, content and audiences that exist physically or ideationally in both Haiti and Miami, so much so that the Miami bureau chief of *Haiti en Marche* learned of his mother's death in the January 2010 earthquake by listening to his father-in-law's radio station online from Port-au-Prince (personal interview with Michel Leys, Feb. 1, 2010).

The Haitian Diaspora in Miami, as well as its media, are direct participants in political and social events in Haiti. Dense participation in social life across borders, whether physical, ideational or emotional, has caused researchers to describe Haitians as a trans-nation, a single community experiencing events simultaneously across the geographical boundaries of separate nation states (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994; Laguerre, 2006; Parham, 2004).

In particular, our Haitian and Haitian-American interview participants in Miami described multiple forms of communication used to maintain transnational social fields and experience the "simultaneity" of communities linked by global communication technologies. Simultaneous linkages are maintained through direct communication and mediated communication, and take the form of intra-personal and interpersonal communication, as well as through the use of mass media. Based upon participant interviews, not all transnationalism is experienced through exchanges of information and material objects, but also through emotional and ideational connections to the homeland maintained through media use.

For this paper, we conceive of Haiti as a de-territorialized nation-state, [following Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1994), as well as Laguerre (1998)], that is produced and reproduced through the use of communications technology as well as direct communication. As Payne notes (2009), de-territorialized communities arise from "shared emotional connections ... founded on common interests, social relationships and intellectual pursuits" that are maintained across space by transportation and communication technologies. Instead of geography, community members are "bound by a sense of identity, values and interaction requiring a common language or symbol system."

We use these concepts to define Haitian media producers and audiences as transnational. Our interviews show that they engage in forms of *tangible* transnationalism, through trips,

phone calls, remittances, media ownership and media reporting, as well as *intangible* or “ideational transnationalism” such as emotional recreations of the homeland through media use, or transnational conceptualizations of news and information.

The results of our inquiry into the nature of Haitian and Haitian-American media audiences in greater Miami synthesizes these separate lines of research in new and innovative ways because they are grounded in the daily lived experiences of an immigrant community that has been stigmatized for much of its relatively short history in the United States, and particularly in South Florida. Further, its “transnational” nature makes the grounded application of media theories on uses and gratifications, media and emotion, and the effects of language use on emotional and psychological well-being a unique and important study that reaches beyond the confines of this particular immigrant group. Other stigmatized minorities of recent arrival in North America might be living similar experiences.

APPROACHES TO MEDIA PRODUCTION AND JOURNALISM

Most Haitian journalists in the United States were trained as journalists or radio announcers in Haiti and some experienced exile as political refugees or were trained by mentors who were exile journalists. Their ideas about journalism and society reflect a number of differing approaches to journalism and information, including public interest journalism, community journalism, development journalism and politically polarized approaches to journalism.

Journalism in the public interest proscribes for journalism a number of different roles that support democratic participation and accountable government. Attributes of public interest journalism that include diversity, assertiveness, relevancy and veracity, accompanied by media accountability to the public, allow journalism to play crucial and beneficial roles in democratic politics and society (McQuail, 2000, 2003; Communication Initiative, 2007). Roles are a set of expectations governing the collective behavior of journalists and the news media. They entail both values and functions in society. As Norris summarizes (Norris, 2010), the democratic roles of journalism can be stated succinctly as **S**: 1) a watchdog role monitoring government and big business, and setting off alarms when the public good is in jeopardy; 2) an agenda-setting role, helping the public, politicians and policymakers set public priorities and an agenda for action, and successfully make and implement policy; and 3) a gate-keeping role, enhancing the diversity and vibrancy of voices, values, ideas and world views that enter the public sphere. Through these roles, journalism as a politically relevant institution “maximize(s) opportunities for critical reflection and rational deliberation in the public sphere, for inclusive participation in communication processes, and ultimately, for informed choice and human development in society (2010, 15).”

Ideas coming from the normative conceptualizations of development journalism also are relevant. Development journalism has sometimes been shunned by reporters and journalism educators in the U.S. mainstream who equate it with government participation in the mass media that leads to political control. On the other hand, for South Pacific media analyst David Robie, development journalism is similar to investigative journalism, “but it focuses on the condition of developing nations and ways of improving this (Robie, 2008).” Journalists interact with citizens, spotlight government programs, place people at

the center of stories, propose solutions, and highlight what is working as well as failing. For Indian development journalist Ajit Bhattacharjea, development journalism spotlights the process of development by focusing on people in context across time instead of coverage of one-time, de-contextualized events. Development journalism is about the human condition, he writes, and ways to improve it. Its purpose is to “draw attention to situations requiring social change and to factors promoting social change” (Bhattacharjea, 2005).

Finally, Haitian journalists at home and in the Diaspora sometimes reflect community journalism perspectives as well. Community journalism projects are shaped by the distinct economic, historical and cultural environments of the communities from which they arise. Created for social benefit rather than private profit, they are housed in many types of organizational forms outside of government. Key attributes of community media projects include independence from government and commercial organizations, service to particular communities that can be geographical communities or communities of common interest, and program production, ownership, and management that is representational of the community and infused with community participation (Buckley & World Bank Group, 2008).

Researchers for the World Bank Institute’s program supporting civic engagement, empowerment and respect for diversity point out that community nonprofit media perform several of the functions of public interest media at a smaller scale, but in addition facilitate community-level information sharing and input into decision-making. Further, while public interest media at the national level provide a window to the wider world, community media reflect a community’s own knowledge and experience. They allow a community to reflect its indigenous knowledge and experience back on itself, to help the search for solutions, and to develop common agendas for action (Buckley & World Bank Group, 2008, 207). As important, the process of making community media empowers citizens and is in itself a form of political participation (Rodríguez, 2001)

III. MEDIA AND SOCIETY IN HAITI

Haitian journalists and media producers operate not only within the web of networks, standards and incentives of journalism in the mainstream United States and the ethnic community in Miami, but also continue to be profoundly influenced by journalism in Haiti. Many were trained in Haiti and were successful journalists there or had mentors who were leading Haitian journalists. All of them are in daily contact with journalism and media in their homeland. Before moving to the study findings from Miami, we offer background on this influential force on the journalism and media production in Miami's Haitian community.

USES, NORMS AND THE ENVIRONMENT FOR MEDIA IN HAITI

The Haitian media before the 2010 earthquake reflected a number of societal conditions: a still-present authoritarian legacy of repression, political control and self-censorship; a politically polarized population; deep and persistent poverty; centuries of economic dependency; and dense connections to the Diaspora in South Florida and beyond. All of these conditions are structured by overlapping hierarchies of wealth, language and gender generally structured by degrees of whiteness coded through a Eurocentric ideology inherited from colonization.

From about 1958 until 1986, Haiti was run by the dictatorships of Dr. Francois Duvalier, and his son, Jean-Claude Duvalier. Establishing constitutional rule has been difficult since then. A series of short-lived civilian and military governments ensued. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a former priest who worked in the slums and practiced Liberation Theology, has been in the center of much of this turmoil. Loved by the masses, his populist rhetoric, policies and programs evoked fear in the elite and caused a split in his own party. Politics has been played through mob violence and paramilitary assault as much as through legislative and judicial action. Aristide was twice elected (1990, 2000), twice deposed (1991, 2004), and once returned to power through international intervention (1994).

While free expression and the free practice of journalism are enshrined in the 1987 constitution, press laws in Haiti still include criminal penalties; and the constitution obliges journalists to defend their ethical conduct. Moreover, partisan journalism and the political actors' tendency to view journalists as part of the political fray often made them the cannon fodder of tumultuous politics.

Self-censorship remains a legacy of the Duvalier dictatorships. Its contemporary causes include aggressions against journalists, the financial fragility of media companies, journalists' lack of contractual security, and the absence of legal protections for journalists in state-run media (Kadrich, 2002; Pierre, 2006).

Le Nouvelliste and *Le Matin* are the only two daily newspapers (Kadrich, 2002). Both are at times critical of the government, but since they are in French, only those who are educated (the upper 5 percent of the country) have access to them. *Le Nouvelliste* is the country's oldest and largest daily newspaper, dating back to 1898. In addition, three weeklies based in the United States are distributed in Haiti: *the Haiti Observateur*, *Haiti Progrès*, and *Haiti en Marche* (Kadrich, 2002.) While the Haitian press tends to be politicized (Rhodes,

2001), *The Haitian Times*, based in New York, is considered to have a more professional, “objective” style (Kadrich, 2002). Directors of *Haiti en Marche*, based in Miami, have also professed a desire to refrain from partisanship in favor of balanced and neutral reporting.¹¹ The main television network is state-run and often propagandistic, and there are several private networks responding to owners’ prerogatives. However, low television penetration as well as poor credibility is thought to reduce the influence of television (Pierre, 2006).

By far the most important medium in Haiti is radio. This is because 80 percent of the population lives in poverty (54 percent in abject poverty), and because about 40 percent of the population is illiterate. Since the 1970s, most radio broadcasts have been in Creole, the language spoken and understood by all Haitians. Creole as a language was suppressed culturally and politically for centuries, with French being the language of education, administration and social ascendancy. Creole was not taught in schools until the 1980s, and only became an official language equivalent with French in 1987 (Howe, 1993: 291-293). Written Haitian Creole was quickly being standardized through school textbooks and literary production in the early 1990s, but remained erroneously identified as a deformation of French. Instead, it is an autonomous language with a flourishing intellectual life in poetry, literature, political discourse and media production (Howe, 1993: 293-295).

Despite the codification of Haitian Creole as an official language, most newspapers continue to be published in French. Daily newspapers also are priced out of reach for the large majority of Haitians. Weeklies carry some news in Creole, but again illiteracy and price are problematic. Recent estimates are that there are only between five and six television receivers per 1,000 people in Haiti, while there are just more than 59 radio receivers per 1,000 people (Kadrich, 2002). Cell phone penetration is much higher, 321 per 1,000, which is 30 times the landline penetration, according to the International Telecommunications Union. So far, mass media have not used this outlet to reach audiences, but reporters and news sources use cell phones extensively to report political happenings to radio stations of the Diaspora, which then retransmit through the immigrant community as well as back to Haiti via Internet. (In previous crises, this retransmission was done via smuggled audiotapes.) Although the educated, bilingual members of the Diaspora and those in Haiti also used the Internet widely during the 2004 political crisis that toppled Aristide (Laguerre, 2006: 121-129), Internet access is expensive and Internet reporting is usually conducted in English or French, and therefore out of reach for the majority of Haitians.

Because of demand, lack of regulation and lower costs, there were more than 200 independent radio stations before the earthquake. About 50 of the stations were commercial FM broadcast stations located in the capital, Port-au-Prince, thus fragmenting the small commercial audience (Kadrich, 2002). These stations tended to play music and focus disproportionately on politics, which they covered from a partisan perspective (Pierre, 2006). There were also several dozen non-commercial stations that identified themselves as community or religious stations (Regan, 2008). The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters counted 52 community stations in the country (Amarc,

¹¹ Hughes and Santiago interview with Michel Leys, Feb. 1, 2010, El Portal, Florida.

2010). Community participation in the stations reportedly had waned in the past decade (Regan, 2008).

One of the reasons there are so many commercial radio stations in Haiti is that ownership represents the only form of upward mobility for journalists who find themselves locked out of management offices because they are occupied by the owner or the owner's family members. New stations sprung from the original radio stations as journalists opened their own operations. Moreover, once the Duvalier-era repression disappeared, Haitians became ravenous for the freedom to express themselves, many becoming "journalists" through ownership of a recorder that facilitated entry into press conferences and other events (Colon, 2010).

Nearly half a century ago, the capital counted a handful of radio stations, among them Radio Metropole and later Radio Haiti-Inter. Owned by the Widmaiers, a family that traces its origins to Europe, Radio Metropole for many years ruled the airwaves as it targeted the French-speaking elite who control most of the country's economy. Radio Haiti-Inter, founded by Jean Dominique, an agronomist who became the social conscience of Haiti in the 1970s and 1980s, began to broadcast in Haitian Creole, and to address more directly Haiti's social inequalities. He and his reporters were accused of fomenting civil unrest and, like many other journalists, were exiled during the latter years of the Jean-Claude Duvalier dictatorship. They sometimes opened oppositional newspapers and radio programs in the United States (Rhodes, 2002; Colon, 2010).

Many of the exiled journalists who left Metropole and Haiti-Inter went on to open their own stations back in Haiti once the country began its tenuous trek toward peaceful elections and free expression. Among these are journalists Marcus Garcia and Elsie Etheart, who founded the newspaper *Haiti en Marche* 25 years ago while in exile in Miami. After Jean-Claude Duvalier fled, they returned to Haiti and founded Radio Melodie FM in Port-au-Prince. Likewise, Marvel Dandin and Liliane Pierre-Paul, who own Radio Kiskeya, and Rothchild Jean Francois of Radio RFM, moved on from the pioneer stations.

At a time when stations were hiring more and more reporters, journalism had few agreed-upon ethical standards. They became increasingly divided by ideology and class differences as these began to unravel consensus that had been forged through opposition to the Duvaliers. In practice there was little formal ethical regulation of journalism from government or a press council; journalism was viewed as a political tool (Rhodes, 2001). Nor were there widespread standards from peer organizations, although some news organizations became known for more fact-based reporting.¹² Some of the journalists did learn and assimilate norms of objectivity and balance from places such as the Institut Francais in Haiti, the Sorbonne in Paris, or Western news organizations, but these journalists were a minority.¹³

Among other explanations, the intense polarization in society along class, race and more recently political-ideological lines has drummed out norms of objectivity and balance in

¹² Hughes and Santiago interview with journalist and Le Flordien newspaper publisher Dessalines Ferdinand, Feb. 1, 2010.

¹³ Hughes and Santiago interview with journalist Dessalines Ferdinand, Feb. 1, 2010, and Hughes personal communication from Alex Saint Surin, October 2008, North Miami.

favor of partisanship. The policies of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was perceived as radicalizing after his re-election in 2000, provoking intense opposition from wealthy sectors of society. Commercial radio stations aligned with the National Association of Haitian Media, the largest commercial media owners association, joined the oppositional front Group of 184, made up of large business owners and others who worked to overthrow Aristide (Macdonald, 2008). Commercial radio stations covered the anti-Aristide movement favorably, while usually criticizing the pro-government forces (Macdonald, 2008; Pierre, 2006).

Journalists, whether or not openly in the opposition, became the targets of repression. At least two prominent radio station directors were killed, many others received death threats, and there were mob attacks that appeared to be orchestrated (Kadrich, 2002). Radio stations shuttered out of fear during the tumultuous years before the February 2004 coup against Aristide, and almost a dozen journalists reportedly went into exile (Kadrich, 2002). Following the coup, the situation had seemed to stabilize for mainstream outlets, but there was violence against some pro-Aristide community media outlets.

Non-commercial, community radio stations had boomed after the first free and fair elections in Haiti, in 1990, when Aristide was first elected to the presidency. Initially linked to the popular social movements from which Aristide emerged, their original demands for profound change had dulled by the end of the 1990s. Repression of the press during the 1991-1994 military coup, weakened connections to their communities and co-optation by political parties that recruited radio participants as candidates, all purportedly dulled their critical edge (Regan, 2008). The stations were often run by small cliques who distanced themselves from their originating communities. Further, economic circumstances and lack of experience with fundraising made the stations dependent on outside sponsors. A “culture of dependency” influenced community members who viewed the stations as part of a “program” or outside grant, which did not require their support (Regan, 2008).

One of the programs that supported community stations as they began to disappear after 2000 was funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development. From 2003 to 2006, a USAID civic education project run by Creative Associates International, Inc., provided broadcast equipment and programming. One goal of the organization was to educate listeners of community radio through programs on civic engagement and the role of the media in a democratic society; another was to train the community radio operators as journalists to report on issues related to democratic development and advocate for freedom of the press.

As part of its programming, Creative Associates International, Inc., produced and broadcast a 12-part civic education soap opera in Haitian Creole designed to increase citizens’ awareness of their rights and responsibilities. The radio programs developed themes such as the importance and role of civil society, citizen rights and responsibilities, the role of political parties, free and fair elections, the role of police, justice and judicial reform, accountable leadership and government practices and decentralization (USAID, 2007).

These experiences with outside training have been criticized by some analysts as

distancing the stations from their communities, stimulating low-intensity participation instead of mobilization for structural change, and creating a dependency on outside funding. These stations provided an alternative to commercial and propagandist state radio, but some worried that the empowerment and credibility of direct community participation in programming production, funding and management became circumscribed. Said Regan (2008):

In an overwhelming number of stations, the only community participation came in the form of announcements. In many Haitian localities, the stations are most appreciated because they serve as a ‘telephone’ – people could come in with messages about a funeral or a cockfight or a stolen goat, and the radio host would read it on the air... The most successful social movement media projects are always connected to social movement organizations, as many researchers have repeatedly pointed out. As the organizations weakened and even disappeared, so too did the ‘popular’ or ‘community’ aspects of the radio stations.

State media, meanwhile, have never had any structural protection from political control and are run as propagandist outlets for the party in office. Journalists owe their jobs to that party, with no contractual protection. During the lead-up to the 2004 removal of Aristide, state media became the mouthpiece of government and the pro-Aristide forces just as private commercial media agitated for his removal (Pierre, 2006).

To a certain degree, the pattern of media-state relations in Haiti under Aristide is reminiscent of other “neo-populist” political systems in the Americas (Hallward, 2007; Macdonald, 2008; Pierre, 2006). The similarities include media systems embedded in contexts of extreme economic inequality that overlap with race and sometimes language use. The elected leader uses a polarizing, pro-poor, anti-elite political discourse that is replicated in state-based media and allied media to mobilize popular support for redistributive policies that, in turn, alienate the owners of commercial media. Media owners then work against the project and leader, sometimes with the support of compatriots abroad or foreign actors who oppose the policies. The Haitian experience with populism differs from these countries – namely Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia – in that the populist leader – Aristide – was deposed and spirited out of the country.¹⁴

THE IMPACT OF THE 2010 EARTHQUAKE

All but a handful of the radio stations in Port-au-Prince were knocked off the air during the Jan. 12 earthquake, but most of the 21 stations that the media development organization Internews managed to contact five to eight days afterward had managed to come back on the air at least part time. The installations of seven of these stations were destroyed, but four of those had managed to rig makeshift studios and get back on the air at least a few hours a day. Conditions were similar in the cities of Jacmel, Petit Goave and Leogane (Internews, 2010, Feb. 7).

¹⁴ Allegations of U.S. government involvement in the 2004 coup against then President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and the disagreement over whether he resigned before being flown off to exile, are also reminiscent of the failed coup against Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez in 2002. See Hallward 2007.

Internews, which has experience in crisis journalism around the world, identified a number of challenges to its sustained operation, including lack of advertising revenue; lack of transportation, housing and basic necessities for staff; and the cost of fuel for generators, since most stations had no electricity. Indeed, only state-owned Radio Nationale d’Haiti reported access to a regular power source (Internews, 2010, Feb. 7).

Though Haiti’s economy had seen some growth, it had been mostly anemic over the past few decades, which means that the advertising pie was small and had to be shared among a larger and larger number of media outlets. Following the earthquake, advertising disappeared. This made the operation of radio stations extremely difficult. Rothchild Jean-Francois, the owner of RFM in Petion-Ville, for example, had to lay off all 15 of his reporters, keeping only someone to manage the CDs played during the day and a 15-minute program provided by Internews.¹⁵

Early reporting about the earthquake was limited to a listing of damaged buildings and a body count, as well as eyewitness accounts of loss of life. Like most people affected by the quake, the journalists were tending to families who had lost homes and life. In many cases, the community took over the reporting.

Michel Leys, who rushed from Miami to Haiti to bury his mother and then stayed to assist with the family’s radio station, described the station as more credible and necessary than government service providers. People wouldn’t believe someone had really died until they heard his father-in-law Marcus Garcia announce it on the air over Radio Melodie. When the station warned it might go off the air because of lack of gasoline for its generator, people brought buckets of gasoline.

Even though his wife had died, Garcia “never stopped, never went off the air,” Leys said. “And you have people who were coming in at the radio station, different walks of life, regular people, nurses, doctors, you know, people who were grieving, who had their wives killed, it was crazy, like a flood...”¹⁶

All the journalists surveyed by Internews wanted access to more public service information, but reported an initial disconnect with international assistance agencies and the United Nations, which were providing most of the information after the earthquake. International journalists received information from the United Nations, the U.S. government, and international assistance groups at the Port-au-Prince airport, while Haitian journalists received information from the Haitian government at simultaneous press conferences across the city. In addition, the U.N. press conferences were done mostly in English and French, while Haitians speak Creole. On-the-ground observation by the second author and informants in the Haitian media found that humanitarian agencies initially made little effort to work with the local media. The international community “is everywhere, and we don’t know what they are doing,” Leys said.¹⁷

This may be because humanitarian agencies wanted to deliver controlled information

¹⁶ Hughes and Santiago interview with Leys, Feb. 1, 2010, El Portal.

¹⁷ Hughes and Santiago interview with Leys, Feb. 1, 2010, El Portal.

to local media representatives, whom they feared would focus disproportionately on the problems with aid delivery, said Mark Frohardt, vice president for Africa, Health and Humanitarian Media for Internews (Frohardt 2010). The Internews radio station survey supported these views; it found that only six of the 21 stations had received information from humanitarian agencies five to eight days after the earthquake.

Support for media and journalism in a crisis does not hinder humanitarian assistance. Rather, functioning local media quell rumors and misinformation, speed up the delivery of assistance, make sure development plans are culturally and physically viable, tamp down corruption, and contribute to the reconstitution of a functioning society. In large scale disasters, the key is to quickly establish two-way communication between the affected population and those providing assistance so that “those affected by the crisis can become active participants in their own recovery,” Frohardt said.

For instance, in Chad, Internews found that when the government imposed travel restrictions, rumors spread that the government was trying to make life difficult for the refugees to make them go home. Actually, there were serious security problems. Once local radio shared this, people’s attitudes changed. In the immediate aftermath of a natural disaster, Frohardt, a practitioner who has worked in the field for 16 years, also points out that people only know what they can see of their immediate surroundings. Media lift the veil of isolation. “Broadcast media, particularly radio, can provide a critical assessment of the extent and severity of the crisis for the entire community. This helps families to decide whether to pack up and move or hunker down”(Frohardt, 2010). Finally, local media can also play a key role in informing the response and the process of reconstruction. Too often, international aid projects impose models from outside sources that are culturally, geographically, or physically unworkable. Reporters who have been covering the community for years are well placed to create a forum for discussion, giving voice to the community in the reconstruction process (Frohardt, 2010). They also keep foreign and local bureaucrats honest, airing complaints and charges of corruption or malfeasance.

Yves Colon, a journalism professor and participant in the Internews group in Haiti, describes the effort, along with the “humanitarian journalism” values the group attempted to instill. Internews, which had assisted the local media devastated by the 2004 tsunami in Banda Ache, Indonesia, quickly moved to do the same in Haiti. The network gathered journalists from as far away as Indonesia, Sri Lanka, France, Australia and the United States to form a team that would set up a news program to inform the people living in those temporary settlements.

On the ground, the Haitian media were not able to provide the kind of information people needed in times of crises like this one. In Haiti, a week after the disaster, radio stations were disconnected from relief agencies and were still broadcasting mostly testimonials from victims. Temporary settlements were mushrooming all over the capital city and residents of those communities did not have any way of finding out from where their next meal, water, hope would come. The isolation of a communication vacuum seemed to be enhancing desperation, slowing relief efforts, and probably increasing the number of casualties.

The Internews team of international and Haitian journalists collected information about the relief effort and passed it on to Haitian radio listeners in a program named *Enformasyon Nou Dwe Konnen*, the Creole name of the program, which could be translated as “News You Can Use” in English. (The literal translation is “Information You Should Know.”) The content included information about where food and water distribution was taking place, which hospital was treating orthopedic wounds and which focused on children, and information about security in the camps. All of this urgent information was mixed with feature stories about signs of hope. The goal was to tell people when and where help was coming, and also counteract despair.

The program was then recorded in a makeshift studio and burned onto a CD that was distributed to radio stations. A month after the earthquake, 27 radio stations in the capital, and a few more in outlying areas, were carrying the program, some broadcasting it several times a day.

Young Haitian journalists Robenson Sanon and Kettia Marcellus were part of the group that put together the daily news program. Sanon used to work for Magic 9 radio and Marcellus worked for a Canadian cooperative that worked to increase the effectiveness of Haiti’s Parliament. Internews editors hoped that the experience at Internews, and the training being done by its journalists, would be carried on by Sanon and Marcellus.

Another organization that is helping journalism in Haiti is CDAC – Communicating with Disaster-Affected Communities – which provides training to Haitian journalists on disaster reporting and coordinating humanitarian news for Haitian journalists and media organizations.

While Internews and AMARC - the governing body of community radio stations - were focusing on radio stations, a group of journalism organizations in the United States dedicated itself to helping *Le Nouvelliste* and its competitor, *Le Matin*. *Miami Herald* reporters Trenton Daniel and Martin Merzer found that Haiti’s two main newspapers, *Le Nouvelliste* and *Le Matin*, both published in French and were read by less than 10 percent of the population, had served an outsized function in pre-quake Haitian public affairs because they served as seminal sources of news that typically are rebroadcast in Creole on radio, reaching a much wider audience. Both newspapers sustained significant loss of staff, mostly through attrition rather than death and injury. Many of the papers’ journalists either left the country or the Port-au-Prince area in response to the deaths of relatives and/or the loss of their homes. Project members provided equipment, technology and professional training along with temporary housing for journalists who were homeless.

PRINCIPLES OF MEDIA SECTOR (RE) BUILDING

Almost all serious studies of media sector development emphasize that training is not enough to establish long-term organizational capacity. Structural environments that encourage media to focus on the public interest must be built as well (Norris, 2010; Communication Initiative, 2006; Buckley et al., 2008).

In Haiti, training, of course, does not resolve two long-term problems that existed prior to

the earthquake – the lack of a constant revenue stream and of a nurturing environment for independent and citizen-oriented journalism. Months after the earthquake, the inadequate provision of advertising remained a problem, but people were relying more and more on the broadcasts of journalists to tell them where to get help, food and shelter as more than 1.3 million people remained homeless.

A recipe for strengthening the media sector includes a number of steps that should be considered in Haiti over the long-term as governance is reestablished. While cautioning that there is no single policy recipe for all national contexts, the emerging consensus of media development scholarship internationally suggests the following general steps should be considered as Haitians work to re-establish governance:

- creating an independent, non-partisan, transparent board with public participation to oversee regulation of broadcasting, telecommunications and electronic media, while leaving print media unfettered;
- facilitating a mixed regime of public, private, non-commercial and community media by offering special benefits to non-commercial media and creating viable financial mechanisms to sustain them, as well as structurally separating the personnel and budgets of state-run media from political control;
- encouraging wide citizen access to new media production and reception;
- balancing the primordial right to free expression (which in the media means the right to disseminate) with the public's right to information that is truthful, plural and relevant to public affairs;
- encouraging the growth of journalism as a profession with autonomy, critical skills, and public-focused ethical standards regulated by the profession itself;
- empowering citizen media observatories, as well as encouraging news media linkages with progressive civil society.

Given the devastation and the legacies of politicized and polarized journalism, it will take simultaneous work by media, society and government to professionalize journalism, enhance citizen access and include citizens' voices, and to democratize and make transparent media-state relations. It is no small task.

IV. TRANSNATIONAL HAITIAN MEDIA IN MIAMI

Haitian media in the United States arrived soon after the first exiles and have grown with the Haitian immigrant community nationally and in greater Miami. The Haitian media in the United States have always had strong ties to homeland politics and other happenings, but more recent media also focus on the new land as the community has set down roots and second- and even third-generation Haitian Americans create new identities, worldviews and lifestyles that reflect their Haitian heritage as well as a montage of U.S. attitudes, values and experiences. As people of color, this often reflects a special relationship with African Americans and African-American media, sometimes harmonious and other times dissonant.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF HAITIAN MEDIA IN GREATER MIAMI

Modern Haitian immigration to the United States began in the late 1950s and 1960s when Haitian professionals, intellectuals and skilled workers fled under persecution from the first Duvalier regime (Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, 2004; L. Rhodes, 2001b). Beginning in the 1970s, as large segments of the French-reading middle class continued to flee the security police known as the Tonton Macoutes, several newsweeklies in exile tried to catch their attention. Two of those weeklies, *Haiti Observateur* and *Haiti Progrès* still publish out of New York City, which was then home to the largest concentration of Haitian immigrants. *The Observateur*, which began publishing in 1971, estimates it now has a weekly circulation of 75,000. No circulation numbers are available for leftwing *Haiti Progrès*, which advertises that it offers an alternative to the *Observateur* and other more centrist publications. Several younger publications have been trying since to chip away at their circulation base in recent years, including *The Haitian Times*, the only weekly published primarily in English to attract Haitian Americans and Haitians who immigrated as children.

“It was the earlier educated Haitians that became the link between the role of the Haitian media in the United States and in Haiti,” writes Leara Rhodes in her book *Democracy and the Role of the Haitian Media* (2002). Exiled political activists continued to participate in homeland politics, working as columnists, journalists and sometimes owners of exile media. While the newspapers did not have huge circulations by mainstream standards, they were read widely among Haitian community elites. Readers included former government officials, intellectuals, educators and journalists who did not abandon homeland politics when they left Haiti.

While many of the Haitians who came to Miami in the 1980s lacked the occupational status of the Northeastern exiles and the economic enclave that helped propel the economic advancement of Miami’s Cubans, the growing community nevertheless attracted Haitian journalists and radio producers directly from Haiti or as two-step immigrants who first arrived in New York and then headed south. First Haitian newspaper journalists and radio producers and then, more recently, TV program producers and website creators, moved to Miami for different reasons.

Some of the earliest journalists and radio producers in Miami came directly from Haiti as endangered journalists in exile. Others primarily sought economic advancement and a warmer climate. The area's universities now enroll several Haitian-American college students, who may bring a younger perspective to the community's journalist corps. The result is that Creole-speaking Haitians living in South Florida get to keep up with news from back home and in their own community through newspapers, radio, TV and websites in Creole or French that are targeted toward their own interests and tastes.

As the community has grown over the years, so have the media offerings. Haitians can now find a Creole-language radio program on the AM dial anytime of the day. Two Creole-language television companies and the local NBC affiliate broadcast news and other programming daily on three cable channels. In addition to weekly newspapers that are distributed nationally, Haitians also have access to a handful of locally produced newspapers, including *Le Floridien* and the *Haiti en Marche*.

Newspapers, because they are published primarily in French and still consider their print editions as flagships, are elite media. *Le Floridien* and *Haiti en Marche* contain more formal journalistic content than any other Haitian community media available in the Miami community, covering events in Haiti as well as national and local happenings in the United States. Both publications are edited by experienced journalists trained in Haiti. The newspapers do their own reporting about local community events as well as events in Haiti.

Local radio programs in Creole are produced mostly by programmers who mix music with commentary, news and gossip from outside sources. Programmers sell interviews with local service providers in order to heavily commercialize their time, which they must rent. The two most-popular programs with our participants stood out because they provide their own news and informational content, however. Sorbonne-educated journalist Alex Saint Surin does news reporting, interviews, commentary and call-in shows on Radio Mega, a block of time he rents daily. Nelson "Piman Bouk" Voltaire provides fiery political commentary popular with poorer immigrants and the working class in our sample, and also rents his airtime.

Saint Surin's Radio Mega is the biggest Creole-language news operation in Miami, with 15 employees. Saint Surin rents large blocks of time on WJCC-1700 AM. He keeps for himself the prime-time hours and rents out the rest. He said he needs to bring in about \$100,000 a month to keep the business going, including \$67,000 to the station owner. He charges between \$250-\$300 for prime hours on Sundays and will rent for as little as \$50 an hour around midnight. As with other programmers, he said his biggest weakness is advertising. He doesn't have anyone dedicated to selling and, as others programmers state, said that's where he needs the most help.¹⁸

Television in Creole is an expanding medium in Miami, but its reach is limited by the cost of digital cable. "Island TV," which broadcasts several hours a week on cable, has been joined in 2011 by *Nouvèl Ayiti*, a 30-minute newscast weeknights on a 24-hour news

¹⁸ Colon interview with Saint Surin, Coral Gables-North Miami, Oct. 25, 2011.

channel experiment produced by local NBC 6 on a new digital television channel.

In English-language television, there are several Haitian-oriented offerings targeting Haitian Americans and more acculturated Haitian immigrants. Becon TV airs a weekly interview program on cable in English called “The New Haitian Generation” and TeleAmerica, a Haitian-owned local media company, offers several Haiti-oriented news and commentary programs in English on a new digital cable channel. TeleAmerica is owned by Haitian entrepreneurs who moved to South Florida from New York and went first into radio programming as a way to promote their other businesses, while NBC 6 is the first commercially oriented mainstream network to experiment with a Creole-language news program.

Finally, a number of websites offer social and cultural news about Haiti and the Haitian community in the United States for younger Haitians. They provide wire service news, online chat rooms, event announcements and entertainment gossip, but produce very little of their own news and information. Our participants, all younger Haitians and Haitian Americans, mentioned sakapfet.com, kompamagazine.com, and pikliz.com.

Financing is the weak spot of every media outlet in the Haitian community. Haitian media producers told us they have no resources to create their own marketing studies that demonstrate the community’s economic potential or the market reach of their media outlet, and language is a barrier for large advertisers to independently gauge the content and potential of the media in Creole. For these reasons and others, most Haitian outlets remain off the radar of national advertisers and ad agencies. Further, a highly fragmented offering in Creole-language radio programming, with each program host selling his own ads, means that dozens of programs compete against each other in the small local ad market. Radio remains largely the domain of dozens of independent producers even though programmers have known for years that it would be financially advantageous to associate (Mardy, 1999).

Inadequate financing has multiple effects on operations and content. Outlets can’t hire sales staff or reporters for local news of in-depth reporting about Haiti, which could distinguish them from free copy that is available on the Internet. Programmers say that renting airtime from commercial station license holders or middlemen means they have to commercialize every minute of their time to pay their airtime cost. Some also believe this inhibits the creation of an ethnic community economy, which could spur overall economic and political development in the community as it has in other enclaves.¹⁹ Webmasters focus on easily obtained photos of social events and free wire copy rather than hire editorial staff.

WHAT HAITIAN AUDIENCES THINK OF THEIR MEDIA

How audiences use these media and think about content quality and credibility reflects differences in income, age, the portion of their lives spent in the United States, and especially their ability to speak English.

¹⁹ See Portes & Bach (1985: 164-268) for a description of the importance of the original Cuban enclave.

Radio is the medium of choice for bilingual Haitians and Creole-dependent Haitians in greater Miami. For those dependent on Creole, it is their primary source of media entertainment and informational lifeline to the wider world. Only Creole-dependent participants were happy with the quality of information on Creole-language stations, which seems to be related to the greater choice bilingual audiences have as well as differing political orientations of lower income Haitians who like populist talk radio. Younger Haitians who speak Creole very little or not at all do not listen to the stations, calling it their parents' media. They also lament their lack of access to in-depth and varied information about Haiti and their cultural origins.

Haitian newsweeklies in French or Creole primarily are read by participants who had spent less than half of their lives in the United States and are at least middle aged and older. Haitian participants who read in English tended to reference *The Miami Herald* over the primarily French-language weeklies, but criticized *The Herald's* coverage as low in quantity and overly focused on negative aspects of the community or Haiti itself.

Interview questions about Haitian-oriented television programming did not elicit much response from participants, reflecting their marginalized status. Language, availability and quality of production were the reasons offered for lack of knowledge or interest in the programs. At the time of the audience study there was only one TV show in Creole and French, "Island TV." Many of our audience participants said it was hard to access because of limited cable distribution prior to digitalization of the county's cable TV offerings in 2011.

Younger Haitian Americans go to Haitian websites such as Sakapfet.com. They seek entertainment, such as live coverage of carnival, and a chance to meet other young Haitians via chat rooms on the website. They do not rely on the website for news, although news from wire services and Haitian newspapers is available prominently on the website. Younger Haitians complained that it was difficult to find any in-depth news about Haiti, and what can be found was predominantly negative.

What do they seek and receive from Haitian media? Haitians in our study look for information about the homeland and the new home from their media, as well as seek to ameliorate the stress of the immigrant experience by using music, entertainment and religious programming for relaxation, reminiscing, fulfillment, steadfastness and hope. Haitians participate in politics in the homeland and new home by participating in call-in talk shows, which generate vibrant and exciting debate. Some use media to reaffirm or construct a Haitian identity as well as create linkages to African-American experiences and worldviews through affinity with media personalities and talk show participation.

Our participants use English-language media very differently. Other than African- American media, media in English are used for more practical purposes, things that are necessary for daily life, such as information about traffic, weather and general happenings. For information about Haiti, options in English are scarce if one wants to move beyond general news about the earthquake or the 2010 election. English-speaking participants rely on relatives who speak Creole and get news from Diaspora radio or phone calls to Haiti.

The ability of language to provoke or regulate emotion is an extremely important aspect

of media uses and gratifications in the Haitian community. Hearing information in Creole makes participants “happy” and “feel better.” Music make them sweetly reminisce.

What do Haitians in Miami want from their media that they are not getting? Participants want professional, 24-hour, Haitian and Haitian-oriented media, in both Creole and English, and across multiple platforms. This desire arises from perceptions of several deficiencies in news, information and entertainment, including a sense that: 1) Haitian and Haiti-oriented media are scarce or lack the capacity to inform fully and professionally; 2) English-language media either ignore Haiti and the Haitian community, or overwhelmingly portray it negatively; and 3) for young people who speak only English, there are no media that adequately connect with them as Haitian Americans.

How could Haitian media improve? Focusing on news and information about Haiti and the Haitian community in Miami, audience participants repeatedly said they want more news and information and more diversity in the types of topics and events covered. This held for both media in Creole and media in English, both Haitian-oriented and mainstream.

NEWSPAPERS – AN ELITE MEDIUM

Two main newspapers produced locally that serve the Haitian community are *Haiti en Marche* and *Le Floridien*, although a few of our participants said they also read the New York-based newspapers. *Haiti en Marche* was founded 24 years ago by two exiled journalists, Marcus Garcia and Elsie Etheart. It is a weekly with a reported 10,000 circulation in South Florida, New York and Boston. It is also the Diasporic arm of the Port-au-Prince radio station Melodie FM, which Garcia and Etheart founded after returning to Haiti in the late 1990s.²⁰ Although *Haiti en Marche* has been described as illustrative of the partisan Haitian exile press, Miami bureau chief Michel Leys said the country’s political turmoil has reinforced a mission of centralism and balance.

We’re not working for one party or the other. Haiti is very polarized; it’s one way or the other, and we try to be in the center and give both sides a fair share. And that’s been our motto from Day 1. We try to... give the people a voice.

Q: What do you mean by give the people a voice?

I mean, a lot of times in Haiti the media are owned by big businesses, you know, and so, at least at this one, we try to give everybody a fair share of the news.²¹

Haiti en Marche offers some content in Creole, but the majority is in French. Leys said his newspaper was increasing the amount of content in Creole as more and more people learn to read it.

Le Floridien, the bimonthly with a 5,000-10,000 circulation that was founded by Dessalines Ferdinand, publishes in French. Ferdinand, who began his career as a correspondent in Haiti for *Haiti en Marche* in the heady early days of the post Duvalier transition, studied

²⁰ Hughes and Santiago interview with Leys, El Portal, Feb. 1, 2010. All quotes are edited for brevity and clarity.

²¹ Hughes and Santiago interview with Leys, El Portal, Feb. 1, 2010.

journalism for a year in the Institut Francais d’Haiti. However, he said he learned the most about journalism from his editor at *Haiti en Marche*, Marcus Garcia, as well as from reading international newspapers in French and English. Ferdinand said he believes in objectivity and fact-based reporting over partisanship, even though he said his readers believe he is taking sides when he criticizes someone. In the end, even though people like scandals and pictures from social events, he said he believes fact-based reporting keeps readers.

If this is red, I have to say, it’s red. I cannot change it. News is news. There was a time, people on the radio, they spoke a lot about me. Some people said, ‘You need to be careful, they don’t like you.’ Other people are like, ‘Well, I’m waiting for *Le Floridien* and I’m going to know all the facts about that.’ Because they know if I don’t have all the information, I’m not going to say all of that. But if I got all the information, I made the investigation I have to do, I’m going to put it out.²²

Le Floridien offers some articles in English. Ferdinand explained that he believes that Creole is not standardized enough to use as a language of publication.

Leys’ family-owned *Haiti en Marche* emerged in Miami in the mid 1980s just as Miami’s Haitian community began to grow. Several other weeklies that target the Haitian community have appeared in South Florida, including the *Haitian-American Journal* and the *Haitian-American Business News*, but many don’t stay on the scene very long.

In 2000, Ferdinand added *Le Floridien* to the list of publications targeting French-speaking Haitians in South Florida. Ferdinand said he publishes in French because he wants to appeal to a group of Haitians who still have close ties and interest in Haiti.

When he began publishing, Ferdinand said, *Le Floridien* could count on 10,000 readers who picked up the free-circulation paper at grocery stores and other markets. Circulation dropped to 8,000 copies in 2009, according to self-reported figures, a drop he associated with a lack of support from Haitian businesses in South Florida.

Growth in South Florida’s Haitian community has come from two places: immigration and expanding families. Weekly newspapers targeting the Haitian community are helped by neither. The newer immigrants, mostly Creole speakers, continue to get their news about life back home and other information from radio. The children of those immigrants are being schooled in English and do not speak or read French. That’s why Haitian weekly newspapers continue to struggle for readership and relevance. By the time the weekly newspaper is printed, much of the information is already several days old, and the weekly owners say they lack the resources to hire staff to provide the kind of analysis and fresh reporting that would draw additional readers.

The low circulation numbers have not helped Ferdinand attract mainstream advertisers, who he said ignore the Haitian community because of a perception that it is poor and has no buying power.

Politics and the affairs of the powerful have always been at the center of press coverage in

²² Hughes and Santiago interview with *Le Floridien* publisher Dessalines Ferdinand, North Miami, Feb. 1, 2010.

Haiti, and that is reflected in the press serving the Diaspora as well.

In the mid-1980s, as Haitians passionately traded news and virulent criticism over the dictatorship at home, and expressed support for the movement that would dislodge Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier, the three weeklies that most Haitians followed in South Florida were *Haiti-Observateur*, *Haiti Progrès* and *Haiti en Marche*. Each had its own slant and its own group of followers.

Twenty-five years later, South Florida Haitians have to look hard to find any of those newspapers on store shelves, as publications both here and in Haiti are struggling for readership and advertising. Gone are most of the readers they used to count on, older, educated Haitians who immigrated early on to the United States and retired to South Florida seeking sun and proximity to a Haitian community. Their children read primarily in English. New immigrants are using radio to get information about life back home.

A CLOSER LOOK AT LE FLORIDIEN

At the time of our interviews, Ferdinand, 43, had been living in South Florida for the past 14 years. He said he was bit by the journalism bug in Haiti in 1987, one year after the younger Duvalier fled into exile. Radio then had played a large role in mobilizing young Haitians to march and protest against the regime. Once Duvalier and his enforcers left Haiti, journalism became a free-for-all, as young men and women equipped only with a microphone and no reporting experience began calling themselves reporters.

Marcus Garcia, a former radio reporter for Radio Metropole, at that time the most popular station in Port-au-Prince, moved to Miami and started publishing *Haiti en Marche*. “He is the guy who gave me the opportunity,” Ferdinand said.

Ferdinand entered a one-year certificate program in journalism at the French Institute in Haiti, where he learned the basics of radio journalism. He started writing about sports. Garcia encouraged him to write about other news events. He was hooked.

In 1991, Ferdinand was among the thousands who, fearing for their lives, fled Haiti after President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was ousted by the military. He found work as an accountant and studied computer programming. But he wasn’t happy. He kept in touch with Garcia and *Haiti en Marche*. When Garcia decided to return to Haiti in the late 1990s, he encouraged Ferdinand to do his own thing. The result was an entertainment magazine, *Pyramid*. “That was only entertainment until I realized you cannot really serve a community if you stay in one area,” Ferdinand said. “You need to do something where you can address all sectors of the Haitian community.”

Then in 2001 he launched *Le Floridien*, a general news publication about Haiti and the South Florida community. He said the idea came to him after the 2000 Census when he learned there were more than 300,000 Haitians in South Florida. “I said to myself that there was a need to publish a newspaper for the Haitian community. They need to get informed, you know, about what’s going on in their native country, and I needed to go into the environment where they live to do that.”

The front page of a September 2009 edition featured three articles, all in French. The top story was about President Rene Preval picking Haiti's top cop. That story was accompanied by a mug shot of the police commissioner. Below that was a story about the death of former U.S. Sen. Ted Kennedy, also with a photo of the former senator. The third story was about St. Bartholomew Church in Miramar, in southern Broward County, celebrating its 47th anniversary. That story also came with a photo of the priests leaving mass after the ceremony. Inside, readers found pages dedicated to business, health and sports, as well as news about arts and culture of interest to the Haitian community. Toward the back, two pages were in English. Most of the ads were for money transfer companies, cultural events and radio and TV stations. The online edition of lefloridien.com teased readers with some of these stories, then referred them to the print version for the full stories. This, he said, was a way for him to drive people to pick up the paper and not just rely on the web version.

"The best journalism, I can say, is when you write about your community, when you talk to people in your community," Ferdinand said.

Ferdinand said *Le Floridien's* target audience includes "people who came from Haiti, who attended school, university in Haiti. Those people are already accustomed to the French language, so that's my target so far."

Thanks to the Internet, Ferdinand said he could put together an edition with the help of a photographer and a reporter. But that doesn't happen all the time. "I have to say I'm 60 percent to 70 percent of the paper," he said. "If I have to go out to contact people for advertising, meet people, go to a meeting, I do it and write the article sometimes. Unfortunately this is not a good way for a journal to operate, but sometimes I have to do all of that."

In an ideal world, Ferdinand said, he would prefer to keep the advertising separate from the news, not because he's a journalism purist, but just to separate the labor so that each person can do the job better.

In the beginning, he said he used to print 10,000 copies. He would even ship bundles of the paper to Orlando, which has a small, growing Haitian population. But, he said he had to stop that practice because he wasn't making any money from it. "The paper is free of charge," he said. "That's why we try to convince advertisers to advertise with us, because it's most likely you're going to get results because the paper is free of charge. Sometimes you can have one copy of the paper seen by two or three people."

Ferdinand doesn't see journalism as a job but as a vocation. He sees a clear role for journalism in a society where people don't have time to go out and check facts for themselves. "So your job is to go out to look for news, to check for facts, that's a job you give yourself," Ferdinand said. "My job is to inform my readers, to inform my listeners. You have to respect some rules, make sure you got the correct source if someone is involved in an incident so your job is to contact that person. Sometimes you have to try to get both sides of the story, so you make sure you got all those facts and you put them together so the readers or the listeners can sometimes draw their own conclusions or give those two

facts and the listeners themselves can make an opinion.”

He sees journalists as powerful players in society who carry a large burden because they can be trusted. “When you say something on the radio, or you watch something, or read something, people have to trust what you say, so they tell another person what happened,” Ferdinand said. “So in terms of personality, you have to be someone moral, very honest in what you do. In our society sometimes, Haitian journalists don’t have all the tools they need to do that job.”

One of the hardest parts of the job, Ferdinand said, is to get people to talk to him, or to his reporters. “Haitian people are not accustomed to talk to journalists,” he explains. “Let’s say something happened in Little Haiti. You go over there and try to contact some people, talk to some personalities. Well, sometimes they say they don’t want to talk. They don’t want their face to appear on the camera, so they don’t want you to take their picture. So I think it’s very difficult for a Haitian journalist to operate in the Haitian community, unfortunately. It’s not really easy.”

Whether the stories are positive or negative, the editors still face the same hurdles: how to get people to talk and agree to have their pictures in the paper. “They only talk to you when you go to them. You explain to them, ‘I am going to write this article, I’m going to show people how you do this,’ ” he said. “If it’s a positive story, they’re ready to go because you’re going to put their picture on the cover, people are going to call them and tell them, ‘Hey, I see your picture.’ They don’t really pay attention sometimes to the article itself, to the content of the article. They pay attention to the picture, so people can say, ‘Oh, I see your picture on the front page of *Le Floridien*.’ ”

That makes coverage of the public institutions serving the Haitian community especially difficult, he said. The people who benefit from those services refuse to talk. Most times, he said, only the people in charge will speak to him. “But on the other side, you need people who can tell you if they are satisfied, or not, with the service,” he said. “Unfortunately, they don’t want to talk. That’s one of the main barriers.”

It’s not easy to operate as a real journalist in the Haitian community, he said. He recalled the story of a prominent member of the Haitian social service community who ran a foundation. He was arrested and charged with theft. Ferdinand said he wanted to hear the voice of as many Haitians as possible, especially Haitians in charge of social centers that provide similar services to the Haitian community. “I contacted four of them, but just one accepted to talk,” he recalled. “And sometimes they say, ‘I don’t want you to mention this part of the interview.’ ”

He said he understands the source of the fear. In Haiti, during the 30 years of the Duvalier dictatorship, people didn’t dare to criticize anything, or anyone, associated with the government for fear of being killed. In Florida, they’re still living with that mindset. “They know that if I write something unflattering about you, you’re going to get mad,” he said. “Sometimes you’re not mad, but your brother is mad.”

Such was the case when a man came to the office looking for Ferdinand because he had

written what was perceived as an unfavorable article about the man's brother. Ferdinand wasn't there, but the message was that "the man was very mad... this is not a good way to do things," he said.

As the publisher of *Le Floridien*, he said his objective as a weekly newspaper owner is to operate like all other journalists in democratic societies – getting both sides of the story, getting all the facts before writing a story. But unfortunately, he said, Haitian journalists, or those working for media organizations, don't have basic journalism education or experience.

Ferdinand said he wants to change the perception Haitians have of journalists in the South Florida community. He would like to improve the credibility of Creole-language media in the area. "One person cannot make a difference," he said. "If you're on the radio, and say you're a journalist, people can say 'here's someone who's doing something positive in the Haitian community.' But if you're on radio, if you go somewhere and say 'I have a show on the radio,' people most likely don't care. They'll say you're a guy who says things; they don't really see you as a professional in the community. So far, I think I'm going in the right direction because people give credit to *Le Floridien*."

He said he sensed that the newspaper was having an impact in South Florida's Haitian community. In the beginning, he recalled being turned down by Haitian store owners who refused to place copies of the weekly on their shelves. They would tell him his papers "were messing with their displays," Ferdinand said. Things changed after six months, he said. "Now, that same owner calls and tells me he needs the paper because his customers are asking me for it," he said.

Haitians in South Florida have come to appreciate the weekly, he said. "People are always looking for the paper everywhere. When they know the paper is going to come out, they check out to see if the paper is already in distribution. If the paper is supposed to come out today and they don't see the paper tomorrow, they're going to start calling the office." Ferdinand said he connects with the Haitian community through events to know what's happening in politics, sports and entertainment.

There are many improvements he would like to see. One of those is reader participation, which his newspaper lacks. He used to place briefs throughout the paper urging readers to send comments, columns and ideas. He would receive only one or two responses, mostly by phone. "This is very bad," said Ferdinand, who explains that he could never afford to pay for a market study. "Sometimes you don't know where you're going with your Haitian people. The only way you know where you're going is when the person who does the distribution calls you and says, 'Man, they were waiting for the paper. I just pulled up in the car and people say, hey you were late, man, I was waiting for the paper.' That's the only way."

During a recent electoral period in South Florida, supporters of a particular candidate were, he said, "trying to take advantage of the paper to do what they call propaganda," and began to flood the weekly's mailbox with letters and editorials.

“We had to stop that, unfortunately, because you cannot let people use the paper for their own agenda, for political purposes,” he said, adding that he tries to be as even-handed as possible in the news while open to all political ads, which he rarely gets. During the 2008 elections, he said, he was happy to run several ads for the Obama campaign, which brought in much-needed additional income.

Nonetheless, he said he has seen changes in the media in South Florida's Haitian community, including more professionalism on the radio stations.

“People who used to do radio at a certain level in Haiti came here and keep doing it,” he said. “I think there's big change. Also today we have a bunch of young kids who have their own web sites. Even if it's for the purpose of entertainment, they entertain the young Haitian Americans. Before, they didn't really connect with the Haitian community. Today, we say the kids – they are 16, 18, 20 – they're connecting to the Haitian community. There is big change in the Haitian media landscape.”

After eight years, Ferdinand remained the only editor of the publication. Each issue costs about \$3,000 to print and distribute, he said. What he lacks mostly is financial support. “If you don't have advertising you cannot hire the best of the best,” he said. “As an editor, I would like to hire the best of the best, but if you need to hire the best of the best journalist, you need to pay him.”

The money is not there, he said. “As someone who does accounting, I knew I needed money for 10 consecutive issues,” he said. “I put the money there. I said to myself if I don't break in one year, there is no way to keep going. When I started the paper, since I started the magazine, people already knew me in the community. I got support from some friends, not from business people. I went to see them and told them this is what I am doing and I asked them for support. I didn't get it.”

He doesn't have deep pockets, and he fears he may get burned out. “Sometimes I have to do everything: report the story, take the picture, write the article, spend time to edit, and send the paper to press. The only thing I don't really do is the job of distribution. Sometimes you finish at four o'clock in the morning, so it's not easy to wake up at 9 or 10 to do distribution of the paper.”

He vowed to remain steadfast. “If you have an idea and you want to keep going forward, man, in this community, you need to be very, very, strong. I have to admit that if *Le Floridien* was not a free newspaper, it would not be as successful as it is.”

He complained that most Haitians in the South Florida community don't “invest enough in education, buy books, go to the library; they don't really do that,” he said. *Le Floridien*, he said, is different from a radio station where someone buys an hour of airtime to promote a business. Advertisers, he said, pay for the paper.

“I say thanks to the advertisers,” he said. “Support them. And the readers have a responsibility to support the advertisers also because if they don't support them, they don't support me. So I think *Le Floridien* is important because they adopt the newspaper

as their newspaper. Some of them don't have access to the Internet because they're so busy going with school or work. Pick up *Le Floridien* and they will know what is happening in Haiti."

In 2007, he said, the newspaper turned a profit when he grossed nearly \$100,000. He was thinking then of hiring "the best of the best, to hire someone who could write in English to appeal to a Haitian-American audience." But that bubble burst quickly afterward and he realized he couldn't do all he wanted. In 2008, he grossed just \$60,000. In 2009, the worst year for the weekly, Ferdinand brought in less than \$35,000.

"You can count on your fingers how many big companies are in the Haitian community, so when you have three of them pull out, there is no money left," he said. "You can't count on record shops, barber shops, because they can't generate serious money for you."

Like many others in the Creole-language media business, Ferdinand was the only employee of his organization and sometimes works at other jobs for extra income. Sometimes, journalist-entrepreneurs can rely on family members to help out, but few have enough revenue to hire employees.

RADIO – MEDIA FOR THE MASS AUDIENCE

Our interviews with audience members and media workers confirmed that radio is the medium of choice for bilingual or Creole-dependent Haitians in greater Miami. The attraction of spoken Creole, popularity of call-in talk shows, and low cost explain its draw.

Creole-language radio in Miami is a commercial product. The only non-profit broadcasting in Creole consists of weekly *Radyo Lekòl*, a 30-minute program of job postings and announcements from the county's public school system on its NPR affiliate WLRN 91.3 FM. In Washington, D.C., Pacifica Radio WPFW gives free airtime to a Creole-language show produced by a volunteer whose income comes from his work in other fields. In Miami, most radio programmers rely on the income they make from their shows, at the very least, to pay for the airtime. However, while situations vary, a programmer may pay \$150 an hour or more in rent and not even be able cover it with program-generated revenues.²³

Airtime rental, obscurity in national advertising circles, and a highly fragmented offering of radio programs in Creole (some estimate there are more than 200 independent programmers in greater Miami) mean that Creole-language radio has trouble attracting the financing backing necessary to produce quality programming. Most Creole-language radio programming is commentary, music, paid interviews, call-in shows and gossip, which provide pleasure and information to audience members, but which cannot always be relied upon for accuracy or depth.

As with the print media, Haitian radio has grown with the immigrant community and exhibits an interest in both Diaspora and homeland happenings. The first Creole-language

²³ Colon interview with Jean-Claude Cantave, Oct. 25, 2011, by telephone Coral Gables-North Miami.

radio program in greater Miami, “Express Publicite,” was produced for South Florida’s then-tiny Haitian community in March 1978. It was on the AM dial at 1490, WMBM. Since then, Creole-language radio has chronicled the many chapters of Haiti’s stormy political history.

Radio played an important role in the mid-1980s’ grass-roots movement that sent dictator Jean Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier into exile. South Florida Creole-language radio used the airwaves to mobilize people against the dictatorship. As chaos gripped Haiti following Duvalier’s departure, more and more Haitian business owners in South Florida saw radio as an opportunity, albeit a partisan, violent one. In three separate incidents in 1992, three Miami Haitians active in exile politics who also worked as radio broadcasters were gunned down.

One of the more popular on-air commentators today, Nelson “Piman Bouk” Voltaire of WLQY-AM (1320), enjoys a fan base that stretches to the Haitian community in the Bahamas. He is also not afraid to mingle in politics, in 2006 criticizing Haitian candidates for local office who he alleged had supported the ouster of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 2004 (Figueras Negrete and Charles, 2006).

Today, a range of personalities command the airwaves at a handful of South Florida stations catering to Creole speakers. Most tend to be music programmers who intersperse their shows with commentary and paid interviews. Other programmers rely on re-broadcast media from Haiti or translate news from CNN and other U.S. or international newspapers and websites.

The level of professionalism varies, including committed community journalists and entertainers, but there is also opportunity for fraud. Federal authorities in the mid 2000s brought charges and warned license holders across the country of fraudulent radio pitches in many immigrant languages they find difficult to monitor, including Spanish and Creole, but their reach is limited compared to an estimated 500 immigrant-language stations across the country (Levitz, 2006). A U.S. District judge in Miami in 2006, based on Securities and Exchange Commission charges, ordered the programmers of a now-defunct Creole-language radio program on WLQY AM in Miami, called “Focus,” to repay \$5.9 million to investors, who were mostly working class Haitians who said they lost thousands of dollars in a fraudulent scheme. The program seemed like any other religious show, but offered listeners a “unique opportunity” for 15 percent return on investment. The SEC’s trial lawyer told *The Wall Street Journal* it was unlikely the money would be recovered. (See Levitz, 2006).

Two of the largest Creole-language radio operators in greater Miami said they have taken steps to protect listeners against dubious practices on airtime rented to third parties. Manny Cherubin had rented the airtime to the “Focus” programmers while re-selling time on WLQY AM before buying his own license at WSRF AM 1580. Both he and radio journalist Alex Saint Surin said they have taken steps to better screen programmers, monitor programs, and also air a disclaimer warning listeners that the content is not associated with their companies. Cherubin said his employees regularly monitor programming to ensure no false claims are made. Saint Surin said whenever he hears

something that might be deceptive, he calls in the leasee and tells them in person that they cannot make such claims, for example, when a leasee claims a product produces a medical miracle or when a lawyer guarantees a service that is actually dependent upon a court decision.²⁴

In more than three decades, South Florida Haitian radio has evolved into a 24-hour source of news, information and music. Listeners potentially number more than 275,000 in Miami-Dade and parts of Broward. Haitians in South Florida have a wide range of radio programs in Creole to choose from, primarily on the AM band. Listeners can tune in to their favorite commentator on WSRF-AM (1580), WLQY AM (1320) and WJCC AM (1700).

WSRF is owned by Haitian entrepreneurs who moved from New York in the 1990s, Jean and Manny Cherubin, through their company Niche Radio, Inc. The station's website, www.wsrf.com, boasts it is the "first and only Haitian-owned radio station in the nation." The station hosts shows such as *Ed Lozama Live*, *Le Journal du Matin* and *Koze Famn* weekdays, as well as an eclectic offering of religious, musical and advice programs. The Cherubin brothers started like many programmers, by buying blocks of time from a station to promote their own businesses, and then leasing some of that time to other broadcasters and selling ads to finance their own programming.

The other two stations with predominately Creole-language content are owned by national media companies that target immigrant communities by renting time to programmers on radio stations using their homeland language, a commercializing mechanism known as the brokerage system. WJCC is owned by a national media company specializing in ethnic radio, Multicultural Radio Broadcasting, Inc. WLQY is owned by a national company, Entravision Communications Corp., which promotes itself nationally as a Spanish-language media chain.

The brokerage system of selling time to Haitian community radio programmers has similarities with early ethnic radio in 1930s United States, with independent programmers renting airspace. These programmers sometimes came from particular ethno-linguistic communities such as Jewish broadcasting in Yiddish or Mexican Americans broadcasting in Spanish (Rodriguez, 2001). Today, these national media companies aggregate radio stations targeting geographically concentrated ethno-linguistic communities by renting time on their stations to programmers in Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Haitian Creole and other homeland languages.

Haitian programmers have tried and failed at least once to purchase a station license as a group. About 11 years ago the Haitian American Community Broadcasters Association in Miami formed with the purpose of buying a Haitian-owned station in South Florida, said one of its founders and the original director of the group, Raymond Emmanuel. The association included a group of Haitian broadcasters in South Florida who were "tired" of paying license holders from other ethnic groups for leased airtime, he said.

The group hoped to purchase WVCD-1080 AM with help from a minority broadcasting

²⁴ Colon interviews with Saint Surin and Cherubin, by telephone, Oct. 25, 2011, Coral Gables-North Miami.

fund established through the Federal Communications Commission. It was seeking \$13 million.

The goal was to stop Haitians from spending their money on leased time, a process Emmanuel said sends money outside the ethnic community and inhibits the development of the community's broadcasting sector, as well as the ethnic enclave economy that helped Cubans launch themselves economically in the 1960s and 1970s. "A community without a radio or TV station is not a community because you have no medium to pass your information through," he said. "When it is owned by the others, the money does not get to stay in the community."

In a letter to the FCC, Emmanuel wrote in 2000:

"A single low-power station, in or around Dade County, Florida, where a large portion of the Haitian population resides, could provide an invaluable source of news, entertainment, weather, sports and emergency information targeted specifically to the Haitian community. As a result, many citizens who currently have been disenfranchised by their isolation from the mainstream of American culture may become informed and active citizens. In addition, the establishment of a radio station dedicated to the needs of the Haitian community will provide an outlet for voices that currently have none. This is, in the highest sense, consistent with the very core of the First Amendment. In short, the establishment of a low-power radio service will provide Haitian-Americans a real opportunity to participate in the American experiment and to take part in the American dream."

The group is still trying to get the FCC's assistance, said Emmanuel, who is no longer association director but remains on the association's board. "Black people own 0.1 percent of radio stations in South Florida," Emmanuel said, referring to the area's most prominent African American-owned station, WMBM-1490 AM. The station, owned by Bishop Victor T. Curry's New Birth Broadcasting Corp. Inc., features gospel programming and community issues.

While there are many Haitian radio programs in the greater Miami area, all in Creole, a few stand out in our audience study as either more professional journalistically, or as having the most popular commentators, according to our interviews.

Broadcasters of informational programming include Alex Saint Surin, who programs and hosts news shows on Mega Radio 1700 AM; Pierre-Nazon Beauliere, who has a news show on 1700 AM and works for Internet-based Voice of America in Creole; and Hertz Phanord, a talk radio show host on 1580 AM. Talk show host Piman Bouk, on 1320 AM, also has a large following. All four rent airtime for their shows, but Saint Surin rents a block of time on 1700 AM, plans the programming, and markets it as "Mega Radio." Phanord also helps manage 1580 AM, owned by the Cherubin brothers.²⁵ Piman Bouk, whose radio name roughly means "Pepper from the Countryside," is known for fiery commentary. Like many, he also promotes his local businesses through his radio show.

²⁵ Santiago interview with Hertz Phanord, Feb. 3, 2010, North Miami.

The Haitian community in South Florida has gained in numbers and prestige since the late 1970s. More and more Haitians in South Florida are gaining entry into the middle-class. But even with growing numbers and economic status, Haitians remain the least educated among the region's immigrant groups and most of the businesses in the Haitian community are mom-and-pop outfits serving a low-income population.

Creole-language media, and radio in particular, reflect that economic reality. Most of the programmers in the Miami area cannot afford to pay researchers and journalists in South Florida or in Haiti. Many go on-air after cobbling together information from reports gathered on the phone from freelancers, relatives and friends back home. They rely on call-in shows, which allow Haitians to participate in politics by expressing their opinions and helping to form public opinion, but which cannot be counted on as a source of accurate information. National advertisers have shown no interest in selling products in the community, an attitude that limits the opportunities for media owners and broadcasters.

A local programmer said he sometimes gets paid in goods rather than money because it is hard for businesses that advertise on his show to come up with the cash. "I'd much rather get the cash," said Jean-Claude Cantave, "because that's what I need to pay the radio station. They don't take toasters as payment from me or anyone else."²⁶

Freelance broadcasters said they could not afford to pay for reliable news generated by professionally trained correspondents. They lacked the training they need to market their programs both to the Haitian and mainstream business community, they said. Appealing to the English-speaking business community and increasing the credibility of their product in the Haitian community, they said, is essential to their survival.²⁷

Journalist Beauliere said there were 50 Haitian radio programmers in South Florida, but few reported news and none worked together to gather news or commercialize content. Like others, he blamed the brokerage system for creating a need to heavily commercialize programming, with commercialization taking precedence over information-gathering or high-value entertainment.

"We need a radio that is regularized, a media with employees that work (in journalism) and another side that looks for money, such as advertising, grants, etc., but that you have a certain number of professionals that you hire to do the job. So that when the government of Miami-Dade County has a meeting, you send someone to make a report. But when someone (an advertiser) buys time for \$250 per hour for himself to do whatever he wants with it, and he's (the programmer) not receiving money, he's not even interested in giving information. He's not going to give you information on the earthquake because he's not making any money on it. But if someone came in and said I'll give you \$300 for two minutes to say anything, he'll say just about anything, because he has to earn that \$300. That's the problem, that's a big problem."

Haitian media producers who identify themselves as journalists told us that the low level of

²⁶ Colon interview with Cantave, Nov. 7, 2009, North Miami.

²⁷ Santiago interview with Pierre-Nazon Beauliere, Feb. 4, 2010, North Miami.

journalistic production in both radio and Haitian community print publications is due to a lack of stable revenue rather than an inability to find trained journalists. With more revenue and a consistent inflow, they could hire more qualified journalists. For example, radio journalist Harrys Latorture spent hours producing his hourly radio program every week before he had to close it down in January. Unable to sell sufficient advertising, he said he had to pay for half of the airtime himself.²⁸ Ferdinand, as another example, is the publisher of *Le Floridien*, as well as the main reporter, editor, designer and ad salesman. He said that if he had the money to pay two professional journalists, the advertisers would follow.

“I had the experience before, where I got a lot of advertising. I was crazy because I wrote all types of stories, some people were very mad at me... but you know it was very successful in terms of people. Everybody was talking about *Le Floridien*. Since business honors who has got the news, they said, ‘oh man, let me put my ad here because the newspaper is very popular.’ ”²⁹

Ferdinand, Beauliere and others add that there is a small advertising base in the Miami Haitian community to begin with, but beyond that, neither large local Haitian companies nor mainstream advertising agencies are willing to advertise regularly in ethnic media.

A CLOSER LOOK – WSRF OWNERS JEAN AND MANNY CHERUBIN

The growth of the Haitian community in Miami has spurred at least one successful group of entrepreneurs in commercial radio who have embarked on ambitious plans of expansion. The Cherubin brothers, Jean and Manny, are the only Haitian owners of a local AM radio station, 1580 AM, as well as a number of local media ventures incorporated as TeleAmerica. They recently purchased what they say is the first Haitian-owned television broadcast license in the country and have opened 24 hours of programming in Creole and English on two digital cable channels.

Jean Chuberin and his brother Manny moved to Florida from New York 23 years ago.³⁰ They are businessmen who invested in stores, restaurants and other community enterprises such as an art gallery in Little Haiti. Initially, they were paying the previous owners of Radio 1580 AM in North Miami to advertise their businesses. Finding that this venture was costly, they decided to buy airtime to do their own advertisement. From that, they decided that they would like to be able to offer a radio program in that time slot to advertise their businesses as well as other local businesses in the Haitian community. So in 1990, the brothers bought two hours of uninterrupted airtime for Haitian programming and advertisement. Five months later, they bought five hours of airtime. Eventually, they ran a 24-hour radio operation.

In 2004, Jean and Manny bought their first radio station, 1170 AM, the only English-speaking radio station in South Florida focused on the burgeoning English-speaking Caribbean population. Likewise, in 2006, they acquired 1580 AM, a 24-hour, 7-days-

²⁸ Santiago interview with Harrys Latorture, Feb. 4, 2010, North Miami.

²⁹ Hughes and Santiago interview with Ferdinand, Feb. 1, 2010.

³⁰ Santiago interview with interview with Jean Chuberin, Manny Chuberin and Utrice Lead, Feb. 3, 2010, North Miami.

a-week station of Creole-language programs. They decided to keep the best Haitian programs from their earlier years and continued the business in the brokerage format, asking individual program producers to buy airtime to continue their shows on the station.

A few years ago, Jean Cherubin saw the 2000 Census numbers and felt that Haitians were undercounted in Florida. This is a common complaint in the community, and is suspected to be due to language, poor community outreach, and immigration status issues (Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, 2004). In 2010, a Creole-language campaign run by the Census Bureau, Haitian community media, and local municipalities tried to improve the count. Census numbers provide the basis not only for all sorts of government programs, but also market surveys and in some cases corporations' marketing plans. Jean Cherubin believes the Haitian audience is large enough to attract large-scale advertisers to community radio stations and newspapers, and features ads from Walgreens, Workforce One and Calder Race Course and Casino on the company's website www.teleamerica.com.

In mid 2009, the Cherubin brothers bought a TV license and open-air station, purportedly the first Haitian-owned television license in the country. The station's broadcast range is limited, but they have achieved access to Comcast digital cable for a 24-hour station in Creole on channel 81 and the other a station in English for the English-speaking Caribbean on channel 88. The brothers hired a Jamaican journalist from New York, Utrice Leid, to run their news operation. Leid's experience has been with ethnic community newspapers and Pacifica Radio in New York. She also founded an institute to train journalists.

A CLOSER LOOK -- PROGRAMMER JEAN CLAUDE CANTAVE

Jean Claude Cantave, 65, is more typical of the dozens of Haitians in South Florida who supplement their income by buying time on a radio station and launching a program. Only a couple of "radio men," as they are referred to in the community, earn enough to make a living. Those usually broadcast several hours a day and in their free time sell ads and collect money from advertisers.

Cantave was born outside the capital of Port-au-Prince and moved to South Florida in 1970. He attended Dade Junior College (now Miami-Dade College) and briefly attended Florida International University. He then opened an import-export business.³¹

He said his career as a "radio man" in South Florida's Haitian community started by accident. A former teacher who had her own show on WKAT-AM, then another station that was renting time by the hour to Haitians willing to bring in their own ads, approached Cantave for sponsorship. Cantave, who was also a music producer, was eager to find a place to play his music on the radio. So he agreed to sponsor her half-hour show, and later moved into the booth next to her. When she moved back to Haiti, he took control of the show.

By that time, Haitians were no longer newcomers in the region. Radio news, widely

³¹ Colon interview with Cantave, Nov. 7, 2009, North Miami.

popular in Haiti because it could reach the illiterate masses, quickly found a devoted audience in South Florida.

In 2005, Cantave started a show on WSRF-AM (1580). Cantave has few sponsors; he said a doctor pays \$250 a month for some airtime. While he recognizes the need for more ads, he said he doesn't want too many sponsors because that would leave less time for news and other information. However, he would welcome more support.

His target audience, Cantave said, are new immigrants and older Haitians. Most weeks the show, which is broadcast on Saturday mornings, starts with prayer and a reading from the Bible, then Cantave introduces "Geography of Haiti." He then invites callers in South Florida to talk about the problems of their hometowns, and to talk about the business opportunities in those towns.

"As you know, a lot of Haitians are thinking about moving back to Haiti, at least go back and forth between Haiti," he said. "They don't intend to sit down in a rocking chair. They want to still be productive, to do something by giving back to the community. By having guests from different villages in Haiti, these people have the chance to talk about the problems they're having in those different villages, and also the opportunity. Sometimes I feel good when some listeners tell me they went back to Haiti, bought land in their city, opened a business. I feel good about that, and this is one way I contribute to the improvement in the country."

Even though most broadcasters fill their hour with advertising, some attract and keep their audience with a mix of news from back home, local news from South Florida, and a mix of interviews. But Cantave said he doesn't have a news segment in his program because he wants to "talk about positive things, about Haiti.... Sometimes, when there is good news, I do share it with my audience," he said.

Cantave said he believes that journalism, and the media in general, should be used for communicating, to educate and inform. "I give them a chance to enjoy themselves by listening to good music," he said. "We don't need to report news just for the sensation. I think the Haitian community in South Florida and in Haiti does need good information so that they can improve their knowledge."

His objective, Cantave said, is to provide positive information that will contribute to the "intellectual development" of his listeners. "After they listen to my show, they can say, 'I learned something.' That's what I want to achieve. That's why I'm in this business."

He said that some of his radio colleagues are only interested in sensationalism. "This is a way to promote their business, because most of the people who have a radio show, like myself, they are either in business for themselves or they are promoting a business for someone else," he said.

The model he would like to see adopted by Haitian broadcasters in South Florida is the public radio model. "They are not in it for the money," he said. "The aim is to really educate, to inform."

The Haitian community was small at the time Cantave settled in South Florida. “I remember when I saw a Haitian on the street how happy I was because there were none,” he said.

Now the community has grown beyond his wildest dreams. “I think it’s a good thing, and it comes with its problems and opportunities, opportunities for Haitians and non- Haitians,” he said. “I think it’s the only place in the U.S. where you have so many programs, radio programs, newspapers, TV, owned by Haitians.”

Now that he has established himself, his biggest concern as a broadcaster is money, he said. “There are times I have to close the show for lack of money, yes,” he said. He would like to see the Haitian-owned station where he broadcasts, WSRF-AM, do more than survive economically. “They do need the support of the Haitian community. To me they don’t have enough of it yet.” It costs more than \$1,000 a month to produce the show, he said.

He said he earns money by providing services, like selling records or CDs, providing immigration services, doing income tax filings and selling houses. “I talk about all these things in my show,” he said. “It is a way for me to get my name out and let people know all the services I am providing.”

Another business he advertises on the show is a non-profit organization, the Haitian American Center for Economic and Public Affairs, which promotes trade investments between the United States and Haiti.

“This is one way for me to give back to the community,” he said. “As long as we can help a non-Haitian owned business to either open a business in Haiti or to buy goods from businesses in Haiti, this is the way we can either help the business sustain jobs there, or to create jobs over there. We know when someone is working in Haiti how much good they do in Haiti. As long as we do that, I feel good about it.”

His goal is to produce the show in Haiti. “I was a young guy when I came here,” he said. “I hope I can provide my services in Haiti also. I hope that people who are listening to me say ‘this guy needs our support,’ and they come and let their business support the show. I don’t want to just beg for money. I want to be independent. I don’t want someone who says, ‘I am going to pay for the show so you do what I want.’ I don’t want that.”

He said he would keep doing his program because listeners appreciate his service. “I know I’m doing a good job,” he said. “I know other guys who are doing a good job. I can name one, Piman Bouk, a guy who is very intelligent, who didn’t go far academically, but when he’s behind his mike he’s connected. He speaks their language.”

THE CHALLENGE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

When the Jan. 12, 2010, earthquake knocked out communications with Haiti, the weaknesses and strengths of Haitian media in Miami, primarily radio, became apparent. There were Herculean individual efforts to provide information and great audience interest and participation, but the information gathering processes in some radio programs were

weak. Call-in talk shows became a sort of community self-help forum as well as a place to demand government accountability. While journalists informed the public and monitored government and aid efforts, much unverified information caused rumors and anguish.

During the first two weeks after the earthquake, researchers for this project interviewed additional Miami-area Haitians to get a sense of how they were obtaining information and how satisfied they were with the information.³² In addition to the interviews, we kept descriptions of radio programming, monitoring the Miami area's three major Creole-language radio stations two-to-three times daily for 10 days.³³

Haitian radio in Miami responded immediately. Alex Saint Surin began reporting on-air round-the-clock on Mega Radio. Others used journalists in Haiti as contacts once they could be located. Those without contacts tapped into Signal FM in Haiti, which never went off the air, or simply translated CNN. While Saint Surin, Beaulier and Phanord conducted journalistic interviews and attempted to verify information with reporters in Haiti, another broadcaster who specializes in music and cultural affairs used a more haphazard form of information gathering, sharing with his audience information he heard from CNN or from friends and audience members.

We get news from everybody. You know, I tell you, you tell me. They call this word of mouth.

Q: Are you still getting your information that way or have you been able to establish...

No, now I got the correct information.³⁴

University of Miami student Gerard Olivier Mathelier monitored local Creole-language radio stations after the earthquake. On his Jan. 15 log, he reported on the informal reporting network that quickly developed:

4:30 p.m. 1320 AM: People call in to pass information along. They are in the United States, but probably got their news from family members in Haiti. A woman called to say that two schools collapsed. Next caller reported how there is no distribution of medicine in the hospitals. Another caller reports that Delmas 19 is destroyed, and that Delmas 31 has not received any food at all. Host is not named (few announce who they are several times during the show).

Mathelier called Saint Surin "relentless" for his non-stop interviews and commentary. While call-in shows were filled with the voices of anguished listeners and passed on unverified information, they also seemed to become a source for community self-therapy as well as

³² The initial aim was to interview a cross-section of those previously interviewed in the project, but we reached only five who made themselves available so we interviewed another 13 people using the same recruitment criteria as the first sample. In total we interviewed 18 people across 10 days after the earthquake, most three times. Eleven were bilingual (English and Creole), two were Creole-dominant, two were English-dominant and one only spoke English. University of Miami students Gerard Olivier Mathelier and Steve Pierre conducted these short interviews. Mathelier is a bilingual Haitian. Pierre, also Haitian, is fluent in English and understands some Creole.

³³ Mathelier did the monitoring.

³⁴ Santiago interview with radio programmer, North Miami, February, 2010.

the formation of public opinion demanding accountability from government officials, who did not appear in public until days after the earthquake.

Mathelier, who listened in the mornings, afternoons and evenings to 1320, 1580 and 1700 AM, also noted gaps in the information, on-air complaints about the circulation of rumors and faulty information, and large spans in time when religious music or pre-paid advertising (for example, buying and selling gold) was all that was aired.

We have categorized the results of Mathelier's radio monitoring into two periods, the first mostly of re-transmissions, unverified information and speculation, and the second when news-oriented broadcasters were able to expand and verify coverage.

Speculation, Self-Help -- Jan. 13-17:

- Call-ins from Miami; second-hand, unverified information and opinions about looking for loved ones, extent of damage
- Re-transmission of information from Signal FM from Haiti
 - Reporting really only by Saint Surin on Mega Radio
 - Interviews, mostly Haitian government officials, on Signal FM
 - Haitian music and dead time

Verification, Expert Advice, Demands for Accountability -- Jan. 18-22:

- Reporting in Miami, not just call-ins, starts Jan. 16
- Reporting from Haiti directly starts Jan. 18
 - Apparent experts -- such as lawyers on Temporary Protective Status (TPS), geologists and engineers on quake science and building collapse -- give call-in interviews
 - Government officials defend the government's (in)action
 - Call-ins with host commentary continues to be dominant format. The main topics are making donations, distribution of aid, poor work of the government, TPS, and the role of Diaspora
 - Music and some pre-recorded filler and infomercials continue at night and on Sundays
 - Religious programming and prayer are common, even beyond Sundays
 - Shows that stand out for original content are Saint Surin's "Carrefour" and "Bonjour Haiti," both on Mega 1700 AM, and Piman Bouk, with reporters in Haiti, on 1320 AM

Our interviews with 18 Haitians over the first 10 days after the earthquake found they were generally happy with Creole-language radio, but wanted more information about family members. They sporadically complained about unreliable information and rumors, and noted the great gap between the satellite technology used by CNN and the cell phone, texts and rebroadcast radio signals used by Miami-based radio journalists. For Miami's Haitian media, it was very difficult to get verifiable information out of Haiti in the early days, both because of damaged communications infrastructure and because trained journalists were unavailable.

The chat board for the website Sakapfet.com became a forum for people seeking information about missing loved ones. It received more than a thousand hits from immigrants seeking word about family members in the days after the earthquake. Some, asking repeatedly, apparently had no luck; others eventually found their loved ones. *Haiti en Marche* ceased to publish for the first three weeks. Leys' mother (who was Garcia's wife) died in her collapsed home. Leys heard of it via the Internet; Melodie FM had been one of the few stations to keep transmitting. He immediately went to Haiti to bury her, and stayed there to help with rescue efforts and to run the radio station.

In addition to information from Haitian media in South Florida, the immigrant Haitian community had access to Signal FM in Haiti, which never went off the air and was widely rebroadcast on local radio. Additionally, mainstream U.S. commercial media had its full resources in Haiti. A tragedy with high human drama and dramatic visuals put Haiti in the mediated public eye for weeks, until the news cycle moved on. CNN's Anderson Cooper reported live from Port-au-Prince from Jan. 13 to Jan. 30. On Feb. 1, President Obama's budget proposal knocked Haiti off the top "tease" (lead in) slot on Cooper's news show for the first time since the earthquake occurred.

Those interviewed for this project, no matter their level of English proficiency, obtained the major portion of the news from CNN, which, as one participant stated, "was the eye of the people." Being the first on the scene, CNN's early round-the-clock coverage of the earthquake was the most significant to Haitian community audiences. Even the two participants who did not speak English well mentioned that they received their news from CNN. Even for those who did not speak English and did not tune in to the TV network, CNN was likely a referent because so many radio announcers used it in translation as their primary source of information.

Despite the lack of resources for the Haitian media in South Florida, Radio Signal in Haiti never ceased to provide news of the earthquake from Haiti. In fact, some of the news not readily available through CNN because the network focused attention on Port-au-Prince, the city heaviest hit by the earthquake, was provided by Radio Signal FM in Haiti. Signal FM reached Miami via the Internet and live re-transmissions on local Creole-language stations.

Despite interview participants' desire to receive more information from those directly affected by the earthquake, Haitians in Miami appeared satisfied with both mainstream and Creole-language media's performance in the first weeks after the tragedy, in contrast to general dissatisfaction about coverage of Haiti prior to the earthquake. A few also worried from the beginning about what would happen when the big U.S. networks left Haiti, as they did after two weeks of intense, but ultimately transient attention.

Moreover, despite the great audience interest, Creole-language radio and print media in Miami were hurt financially by the earthquake. Because of the connection between community and homeland business operations, advertising revenues quickly dropped. *Haiti en Marche* and Melodie FM, for example, were just about to sign a large advertising agreement with Haitian banks when the earthquake struck, Leys said. Other Miami businesses involved in small-scale trade with Haiti shut down.

Further, journalists, like others in South Florida, were personally devastated by the earthquake. They took in relatives from Haiti, buried dead friends and family, and became the means of support for suddenly jobless or homeless relatives still in Haiti.

TELEVISION – GROWING, BUT EXPENSIVE

Questions to our audience study participants about Haitian-oriented television programming did not elicit strong responses, reflecting its marginalized status on Miami's airwaves. However, at the time of the study there was only one TV show in Creole and French, "Island TV," but many of our audience participants said it was hard to find because of limited cable distribution. Older participants with access to the show could recall it when asked, but its limited production values compared to programming in English was often mentioned. Younger, second-generation Haitians did not find television programming appealing. A previous Haitian television station, called The Haitian Television Network, had folded for financial reasons. It also had problems with production values; up-to-date equipment, for example, was too expensive.³⁵ As of 2010, local cable in South Florida went digital, adding channels including the Manny and Jean Cherubin's TeleAmerica, which features some programming in Creole. Through digitalization, the owners of "Island TV" say they reach all households in the Miami-Dade and Broward county areas.

A simple Google search of Haitian TV stations or programs aired in the United States produces a list of nearly 40 stations in states as distant as Minnesota, including 11 in South Florida. As in the case with Haitian radio programs, TV operations are owned by Haitians who keep programming on the air based on their ability to finance it or find sponsorship.

Radio and TV station owners mostly buy time like independent radio programmers, usually by the hour, said Michael Emeran, one of the owners of Sakapfet.com, a Haitian entertainment and news website based in Miami.³⁶ This makes their existence precarious.

While the list may reflect the many efforts of media entrepreneurs to provide programming to Haitian-American audiences, it does not reflect real-time sustainability. Telephone calls or emails to the majority of the stations found via the Google search revealed several disconnected lines. "It's not true media," Emeran said. "It's all personality programming. Each person is their own media."

The Haitian Television Network of America, for example, formed in Miami in 2002 to broadcast on cable in Miami, North Dade and South Broward. A year later it expanded its limited time from three hours a day (8-11 p.m.) to 24 hours of nonstop programming. But the station was off the air in 2010.

Tele Florida, which promotes itself as "the best Haitian TV on the web," was based in Jacksonville, Fla. But in October 2010, its listed telephone number was not working and its website, www.teleflorida.com, did not exist. Planet Kreyol TV, "Toujours a Votre

³⁵ Santiague interview with former HTN program host Harrys Latorture, Feb. 4, 2010, North Miami.

³⁶ Wakhisi interview with Michael and Guy Emeran, May 2010, Miami.

Service (Always at your service),” also was based in Jacksonville. The phone number is disconnected and the website, www.palnetkreyoltv.com, no longer exists.

The Cherubin brothers, headquartered in Little Haiti in Miami, are trying to break away from the mold that Emeran describes by creating a larger, more diversified, pan-ethnic audience with Haitians being only a part of the mix. The goal is not so much to target the Haitian community alone, but to reach out to a wider range of South Florida immigrant communities, which are growing rapidly but remain underserved by mainstream media in Spanish or English. In Broward County, for example, the Jamaican community has grown enough to control city council seats in Miramar and other midsize municipalities.

TeleAmerica’s network broadcasts a pan-Caribbean lineup on Comcast Channel 88, with inspiration “drawn from the myriad of experiences and cultures of our English, Haitian-Creole, and Hindi populations of the African, Asian & Caribbean Diaspora.”³⁷ On Channel 81, TeleAmerica *en Español* reflects “the myriad of experience and cultures of the Caribbean South American, and European Diaspora.” One of their two radio stations, WAVS AM 1110, targets a pan-Caribbean audience in English and the other, WSRF AM 1580, is a Creole-language station targeting Haitians.

A CLOSER LOOK AT ‘ISLAND TV’

Tamara Philippeaux was still studying broadcast journalism at Florida International University – she graduated in 1998 -- when she decided that the Haitian-American community deserved more than the one-hour program of videos and movies it had access to on the Haitian Television Network. “We wanted to do news stories and features,” Philippeaux said.³⁸

While working as an intern, she shared her feelings with her supervisor. He told her, “Let’s do something for our own community. Let’s cover things in our community.” The two not only started the first Haitian TV show nearly 15 years ago in South Florida, they got married.

Tamara and Robert (Bobby) Philippeaux launched *Island Magazine TV* on Oct. 6, 1996. The one-hour program aired every Sunday from the garage of Tamara Philippeaux’s mother’s home. It offered news, opinion, interviews and cultural information about Haiti and the Haitian Diaspora. One early package focused on the Haitian refugees who were coming to South Florida. “This is good, let’s do more,” Tamara Philippeaux said. “If there was anything happening in the community, we decided let’s go cover it. That’s how this took off.”

Since Haitian TV already existed, the couple said they took a more global approach in naming their station, taking in not only Haiti, but the entire Caribbean. “We all came from the same place, but we were dropped off at different locations,” Bobby Philippeaux said referring to the slave trade that brought Africans to various countries in North America.

³⁷ www.teleamerica.com

³⁸ Wakhisi interview with Tamara and Robert “Bobby” Philippeaux, May 2010, North Miami.

“The issues are similar; we may speak different languages, but the cause is the same. We are an island.”

Bobby Philippeaux had received a technical degree in TV production from the Center for Media Arts in New York in 1989. Having worked on one or two programs in 1988 or 1989 with the Haitian Television Network in New York, he said he felt confident that he could take Haitian TV programming to the next step. However, he said his idea to bring local programming was not accepted by the New York programmers. Instead, he brought his equipment and his ideas to South Florida in 1991.

Both Bobby and Tamara Philippeaux were born in Haiti. They live in Miramar in Broward County. Before the two could launch their news operation, they started the business by recording and editing weddings for clients, then soccer games, to gain enough revenue. Gradually, the station added a daily one-hour program that included local news, education, health, politics and soccer. “We started one hour on Sundays, then we went to one hour on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. The six-hour block came about six years ago,” Tamara Philippeaux said.

Now “Island TV” is a seven-day operation that runs live programming from 6 p.m. to midnight. “The six hours have to be filled with programming such as local news, which we take very seriously,” Tamara Philippeaux said. “If something happens in Little Haiti, you will see one of our cameramen there.” Added her husband: “The community needs representation. We felt we could make a difference. After 15 years, I think that has been felt.”

Partnering with the National Television of Haiti, “Island TV” airs news directly from Haiti and U.S. news gathered by “Island TV” staffers. “Anything of significance that would be of interest to them, they broadcast,” Bobby Philippeaux said. Michèle Duvivier Pierre-Louis, who was prime minister of Haiti from September 2008 to November 2009, gave her first interview abroad to “Island TV”. “When she went to Washington, we went with her,” he said.

And after the earthquake struck Haiti on Jan. 12, Tamara Philippeaux traveled to the country at least four times to report on the devastation, the survivors and the challenges to her viewers in the United States. By coincidence, she was in Port-au Prince when the earthquake struck. After spending two nights in an abandoned car in the prime minister’s parking lot, she found a flight back to Miami through the Dominican Republic. But she returned to the island two days later. Regarding the influence of “Island TV,” Tamara Philippeaux said the station served as “the eyes and ears of Haiti.”

While the Philippeaux and other Haitian-American journalists did their best to bring the news of Haiti to the rest of the world, Haitian Americans mostly were turning to traditional news sources, primarily English-language TV, to find out what was happening in their homeland when the tragedy struck. More than 90 percent of the 400 Haitian-Americans polled by Bendixen & Associates within days of the earthquake said they were following events in Haiti mostly through English-language television.

Although American TV news coverage of Haiti improved considerably, especially by cable stations such as CNN, “Island TV” could do a better, fuller job, Tamara Philippeaux said. When CNN would report for two minutes, “Island TV” would offer 20, she said.

But some Haitian Americans in South Florida, though thankful for the increased coverage of the earthquake, said they were upset that the cable stations kept repeating “Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.” In follow-up interviews conducted for this study, others criticized the U.S. media for waiting for an earthquake to finally start reporting on Haiti. Others urged mainstream media to keep the spotlight on Haiti “even after the earthquake.”

The station’s ability to provide specialty reporting during times of crises in Haiti is just one reason why “Island TV” is respected, said Bobby Philippeaux. “We have credibility and professionalism,” he said. And the station can speak directly to the Haitian-American population. About 70 percent of programming for “Island TV” is in Creole and French.

Broadcasting in Creole is important, he continued, because it is the language of the majority of Haitians who live in South Florida and the United States. To attract an English Caribbean audience in its coverage of news outside of Haiti, “Island TV” offers some programs in English. “Island TV” is seen as an entity that has credibility and that also functions in a professional manner. That, therefore, reflects highly on our community. Comcast counts 1 million households within our digital system,” said Bobby Philippeaux.

Despite their ability to increase the program’s offerings, the Philippeaux say they wish they could do more. While they own the programming, the couple does not own the station on which “Island TV” airs. In the past, they have bought airtime from Storer, AT&T and now Comcast. Nor do they own the spacious studio at 14879 NE 20th Ave., in North Miami. They have to pay rent for the facility and to store the tapes they use in the news programs. Additionally, the downturn in the economy nearly has cut the number of their employees by half, to six. “You need advertisers,” Bobby Philippeaux said. “That’s how we have been able to stay in business. But the advertisers are few; and they buy little airtime. Our budget has been cut to the lowest number you can imagine,” he said.

Advertisers, he added, do not see the necessity of doing business with the Haitian community. Any advertising they do outside of the Hispanic and mainstream market goes to the African-American media, he added. “The day that Madison Avenue recognizes the Haitian community as a community to target aggressively, I will be a smiling man,” Bobby Philippeaux said.

In the fall of 2011 the program faced its biggest challenge, asking on its website for donations from advertisers and users for the first time in its 15-year history. The Philippeaux staved off closure through the support of the community.

The Philippeaux said that despite a challenging economy, advertisers eventually will have to reach out to Haitian media markets. “It’s the same position the Hispanic community was in 10-15 years ago,” he said. “But it’s important for any business to understand that in South Florida we are a tri-lingual community. Anyone who is smart would target this community.”

Small Haitian-American businesses – bakeries, restaurants, barbershops, attorneys, doctor and medical offices -- are the backbone of “Island TV,” Bobby Philippeaux said. Another source of income is the three-day Carnaval in Haiti, whose sponsors bring advertising dollars to the program. “We were the first entity to broadcast the carnival live via satellite,” he said. “For three days, we are live on the air, no sleep. We travel with crew and equipment. But it is something that gives stature and name recognition. We do a seven-hour satellite feed that keeps people glued to their television screens.”

Bobby Philippeaux estimated that from Carnaval alone, “Island TV” generates millions of dollars for the Haitian economy and the Haitian Diaspora in the United States and elsewhere. It’s a good reason, he said, “that businesses in Haiti should reach out to us. They can have specific marketing ads to target the Diaspora.”

Bringing Haitian news and events to local TV screens can have a huge impact on their audience, Tamara Philippeaux said. The soccer games and Carnaval activities that they broadcast live give their audience another chance to feel and experience their homeland.

“Some people cannot travel because of documentation problems or they cannot afford it economically,” she said. “People tell me they have cried to see this. It’s like bringing a piece of home back to them. Those are the things that we live for here.”

If “Island TV” had more funding, the Philippeaux said they first would add more staff and more airtime. Tamara Philippeaux said she would cherish the opportunity to broadcast on a 24-hour block. When there was breaking news such as hurricanes and the recent earthquake, the station had to be off the air at midnight. “We were giving vital information, but we had to turn off,” she said.

Nevertheless, Bobby Philippeaux said, “Island TV” has a set a huge standard in providing quality programming. “I think we were able to do, are able to do a lot,” he said. “Believe me, when people come here and see the sets that are put together, the kind of resources, they can see that we do a lot with a small infrastructure.”

The bottom line, the Philippeaux said, is making sure that the Haitian community is educated. “We are very proud of what we put on the air,” she said. “We believe in what we are doing... We provide the most we can to our community by really showing them what takes place.”

Bobby Philippeaux points to a speech by then-candidate Barack Obama that the station ran during the 2008 presidential campaign. “For us to have the ability to broadcast the entire speech ... The airtime was ours. It’s the kind of power, when you are your own boss, you have a purpose to fulfill; you can broadcast to thousands.”

Although they both own the program, their business cards are devoid of titles. “We don’t give ourselves titles,” Tamara Philippeaux said. “I may be the owner, I may be cleaning the floor.”

SOCIALLY ORIENTED WEBSITES AND SAKAPFET.COM

A few Haitian-oriented informational websites were popular among the educated Diaspora during the 2004 political crisis that led to the removal of President Aristide from power, becoming a place where contesting political groups attempted to influence public opinion in Haiti and within the Diaspora (Laguerre, 2006). However, our audience study suggested that the websites were used only by bilingual Haitian college students for entertainment news once the crisis had passed. These students also complained about their difficulty in finding reliable and sustained news about Haiti.

One of the most popular is Sakapfet.com, which started as an idea from the desire for more positive information on Haiti. The developer of Sakapfet.com, Michael Emeran, saw this need and began, primarily as a hobby, a website dedicated to Haitian culture. After asking his Internet provider to install a counter on his page, he saw several hundred hits grow into thousands.

With longtime business associate Vincent Medina, Emeran set out to develop a website dedicated to providing the Haitian community with updated information about its culture, people and country. Gradually they began to spend more and more time developing interactive applications intending to keep the user informed of activities and events.

Sakapfet.com came about simply because all of the news that founder Emeran heard or read about Haiti from the traditional American press was negatively presented. “The only news is bad news,” Emeran said. “If it’s good news, nobody wants to hear it.”

Ten years ago, there was nothing about Haiti on the Internet, Emeran said. “We wanted to show positive views.” Emeran said he believed that Haitians in America wanted to read and hear about the other side of Haiti – the good side: the beautiful countryside, the colorful people, the artistic and cultural heritage, anything that was not about AIDS, political corruption, starving people and “Haiti being the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.”

One of the first things that Emeran posted when he started up his “Cyber highway to Haiti” in August 1999 was a photo gallery of 50 pictures of different Haitian ruins taken in 1998. “No digital,” Emeran remembered. “We had to scan everything.”

“If it is true that pictures are worth a thousand words,” reads the introductory caption on the site’s photo tab, “Sakapfet Photo Gallery will make you feel like a millionaire ... Browse through colorful images, enchanting sceneries and fascinating happenings for a relaxing escape from the daily struggle of life itself. Let Sakapfet.com take you on an entrancing journey that is sure to please your senses.”

One of the featured photographers wrote about Manolo Inn, a hotel by the ocean in Petite Rivière de Nippes: “The meals were plentiful and tasty. At the inn we were provided with a guide to Saut du Baril. I can say that this area is one of the most beautiful. I found it amazing that this Saut du Baril is virtually unknown or ever talked about.”

The website's Creole name, Sakapfet, means "what's going on?" Based on the beautiful photos posted on the website, the answer seemed to be, "Not the bad stuff." But after about a week, people grew tired of the same photos, Emeran said. "Viewers were asking us, 'Do you have anything new?' We started with the chat room. OK, it works. Then we put in the news, then video."

Today, the chat room has steady participation from about 50 couples who "talk" about all things Haiti. Emeran said the chat room is responsible for some budding relationships among the Haitian-American viewers, including a couple of marriages, among them his own. "It's surprising what can happen," he said.

Run out of a small factory warehouse office, 7829 NW 72nd Ave., in Miami, Sakapfet is co-owned by Emeran, 38, and his brother Guy Emeran, 36. The facility also is the headquarters for their import/export shipping company, Emex, the main source of income for the Emerans.

"I came in 1988 because of problems with elections in Haiti that began in 1987," Michael Emeran recounted. "Schools closed and my parents sent me to come to school here."

His brother followed in 1991, after the military coup d'état that deposed then President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. "I also had been out of school in Haiti for three to four months. My dad would rather send me here," he said.

Guy Emeran attended Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University in Miami where he received a BS degree in aviation management. Michael Emeran attended Florida International University, pursuing a degree in liberal arts, but he did not complete his studies.

While the two brothers work on content, two contractors work on the technical aspects of the website. Two photographers comb South Florida for photos of events – from parties and fundraisers to conferences. For example, Sakapfet provided coverage of the Haitian Diaspora Congress held in Sunny Isles Beach in 2009. The photographers also snap appearances by Haitian and Haitian-American celebrities in the South Florida area.

Sakapfet may not be first and foremost a news site, but news stories are displayed prominently in a yellow navigational bar that runs on the top left-hand side of the home page. Two news categories in French feature news from and about Haiti and news from around the world that would be of interest to Haitian visitors to the site. Another news category is in English.

Sakapfet does not promote itself as a hyper-local information site. Initially there was no concerted effort to cover local news or events.

Increasingly, Sakapfet has added news content to the site. More news, they say, generates more visitors, and consequently, more revenue. Today the website buys the news from AFP (Agence France Press) and HPN (Haiti Press Network), which represents AFP in Haiti.

The Emeran brothers say the news on the website continues to attract more people. Over the years, they became more serious in presenting and covering breaking news. During

national elections, Sakapfet sent reporters to Haiti.

“We were the No. 1 website to have news up. Because of AFP, we got 10 or 15 news articles every day. News would change like almost every five minutes. Every time there was a problem in Haiti, we would get more hits,” Michael Emeran said. “News organizations in Haiti would go to our website – that’s how we became so popular at that time.”

The Emeran brothers say they receive 15,000-20,000 unique hits a month, depending on what’s happening. Overall, the site sees 5 million to 20 million hits a year. “

The website’s initial audience was made up of Haitian-American college students “because they have most access to the Internet,” Michael Emeran said. “When you go to college, the Internet is free.”

Nearly 12 years after Sakapfet’s launch, the majority of viewers are still college students – and for the same reasons: access and knowledge of the Internet. They are mostly in Florida, New York, Boston and Canada. “The website lights up the whole eastern seaboard,” Guy Emeran said.

One of the appeals of the site is that it is designed to be interactive. The Emerans select frequent visitors and assign them limited management rights and privileges. They act as a pipeline to the new and current users’ wants and needs.

“A lot of the photos will go to the web board or chat,” Guy Emeran added. News, web board, chat, pictures. Every week there are parties. We also get hits from people at work during the day. People like to look at themselves. ‘I was at the party, check out my picture on Sakapfet.’ ”

The site, in addition to its popular chat room and web board, strives to get the local Haitian community involved in live events that are happening in South Florida.

“People love the site, so we always get three to four volunteers when we are doing events,” Guy Emeran said of the two or three events or parties Sakapfet sponsors in South Florida each year. “They help us at live events where we need to do interviews. We call someone out of the crowd.”

The site’s youthful viewers also account for the fact that most of the site’s information is in English. News about Haiti is in French and everything else in English. “Nothing is in Creole,” Michael Emeran said. “It’s hard to read. People speak it, but it is hard to read it.”

Revenue comes from advertisers. As with “Island TV,” much advertising comes from Carnival sponsors. Sakapfet.com staff members travel to Haiti to capture the three days of celebrations that take place before the beginning of the Lent season. In 2001, Sakapfet.com became the first website ever to bring live video and audio from the streets of Haiti during Carnival, the Emerans said.

“The broadcast is so overwhelmingly watched that we continue to do it every year,” Michael Emeran said. “Sakapfet.com not only covers Haiti’s Carnival live, but we provide

an array of pre-Carnaval pictures every Sunday from January until Mardi Gras. These pictures capture the essence of the Carnaval spirit with floats, marching bands and stands.” The Emerans pointed out, however, that after the 2010 earthquake, there has been no Carnaval for two years (2010 and 2011).

For additional revenue, Sakapfet.com has a website store that features CDs, clothing, art, books, even coffee.

It took a while – three to four years by their estimate - for the site to begin to make money.

“Out of 10 years, we have been profitable for the last four,” Michael Emeran said in 2009. But with the downturn in the American economy, the website, he said, has been just paying for itself. The two brothers are drawing no salary from the venture.

Because Sakapfet was about life in Haiti rather than life of Haitian Americans in the United States, the Emerans originally sought advertisers from Haiti. They soon learned that advertisers preferred placing their ads with the traditional Haitian media – newspapers and radio.

They had more success with U.S.-based companies whose services Haitian Americans use to connect to Haiti. For example: cell phone and long-distance telephone companies.

From their efforts, the Emerans say the website produced almost \$100,000 in annual income before the earthquake. After the quake, the number was closer to \$50,000. And yet, like other Haitians in the media, the Emerans crave a big-name advertiser.

“It’s crazy that none of them support us,” Michael Emeran said. “We all bank somewhere, but we don’t have anything from Bank of America or any bank, not Publix, Home Depot.”

They actively promote their website, which brings attention from the public and at least a chance for advertisers to take notice. “We’ve done five anniversary parties for the website,” Michael Emeran said. The events have taken place at Bill Baggs State Park on Key Biscayne, and they provide food, music and other entertainment. “It’s good advertising,” Michael Emeran added.

Because they are covering news, the Emerans can no longer guarantee that everything on the website will be positive. “We get bad news all of the time,” Michael Emeran said. “But it’s correct. The news comes from Haiti. It’s not somebody here who is writing it. The articles are written from Haiti.”

After 10 years on the Internet, Sakapfet has something it did not have when the site was launched – competition. In addition to a growing number of websites that focus on Haiti, there are radio stations, newspapers, TV stations and programs that have an Internet presence. Haitian websites have gone from three to four 10 years ago to more than a hundred, Michael Emeran said.

The website, though popular, has received negative comments from the community as well as from other Haitian websites, the Emerans say. Rumors spread, for example, that

Sakapfet was American-owned, not Haitian.

“When we started, there were other Haitian websites. But they were not doing what we were doing,” Michael Emeran said. One or two years after we came, they started doing what we were doing. Still, we were getting the hits.”

Looking ahead, the Emerans would like to continue growing and innovating. “What I would like is to have our own organization, our own writers,” Michael Emeran said. “If you look at the news in Haiti, it’s not journalism, it’s just a report. In Haiti, the new stations report ‘here is what happened today. This is who was in an accident. This is what happened in court.’ ”

If they could get better sponsorship, the Emerans said, they would develop more journalism at the site. And they would do things a little differently. “When I get news from AFP, I would do it in the Haitian way,” Michael Emeran said, adding that the wire service correspondent based in Haiti does not go out and investigate what is happening in the country.

He said he would like to be able to hire more reporters in Miami, as well. “We took pictures of the Haitian Diaspora Congress, but we had no one to cover it,” he said. “We don’t have someone to write about what’s going on here.”

Still, the Emerans said Sakapfet has made a “difference” in the lives of Haitian Americans.

“Sakapfet is important to the Haitian community,” Michael Emeran said. “It’s like their Yahoo. It’s their place to find themselves and their culture online. Even though Haitian people go to Yahoo or Google, they go to Sakapfet for unity.”

VI. EVIDENCE FROM THE AUDIENCE STUDY

The audience study addressed a number of research questions about audience uses of Haitian-oriented and mainstream media as well as the gratifications audience members receive from media. In this section we present the questions, our findings, and some of the support for our interpretations. These interviews were conducted before the January 2010 earthquake temporarily intensified coverage in mainstream media, including 24-hour coverage on CNN for about two weeks.

RQ1: What media do South Florida Haitians have access to?

The biggest obstacle to media access for the Haitian-origin population in South Florida is language. Haitians and Haitian Americans have access to a broad range of information and entertainment media when they understand English or Spanish, although as we have noted, they were unsatisfied with the news and information they received locally about their community and home country. However, a significant portion of the Haitian-origin population is dependent upon the Creole language and cannot access the bulk of media production in South Florida. While no precise area-wide count is available, 29 percent of the 11,207 respondents who spoke Haitian Creole or French in and around Miami's Little Haiti neighborhood told Census 2000 workers that they spoke English "not well" or "not at all." While it is possible the 2000 Census seriously underestimated language isolation for Creole-speakers, the numbers nevertheless suggest that language is a significant barrier to their full access to the mediated public sphere.³⁹ This linguistic isolation is compounded because local options for news, information and media entertainment in Creole are scarce. The cost of accessing local information in Creole and French beyond opinion-oriented radio broadcasts is also important. The only television program in the county that broadcast in Creole and English during the study period was "Island TV," but it was available on paid cable TV and even for those who could afford it not available in all parts of the county. Haitian interview shows in English were likewise only available on cable and not in every part of the county.

RQ2: What media do they actually use? Why?

The media that Haitians and Haitian Americans use vary by their ability to speak English or Creole, their age, their educational or occupation status, and the strength of their emotional, familial or material ties to Haiti.

Appendix Two contains tables listing the media outlets respondents said they use, as well as the respondents' language abilities and the percent of their lives spent in the United States as a rough proxy for continuing ties to Haiti. It is important to remember that the sample is not representative of the general population of South Florida Haitians. However, by looking within and across age groups, language groups, occupational and education categories, and the strength of ties to Haiti, we discern general patterns useful

³⁹ Census data on the Creole language, as well as problems in counting Haitian residents, make this a rough estimate of the percent of Haitians who are Creole-dependent. Figures are based on 2000 Census tract data available for tracts 13.01, 13.02, 14.01, 14.02, 20.1, 20.3 and 20.4 in U.S. Census Bureau "quick tables," for "Tables QT- P16: Language Spoken at Home" and "QT-P17: Ability to Speak English," available online at <http://factfinder.census.gov>.

for understanding how Haitians use community media and mainstream media in South Florida. Here are some of the general patterns:

- Mainstream media outlets in English are used by the majority of respondents in every demographic subgroup except Creole-dominant respondents working in low-skilled labor.
- Creole radio and Haitian-oriented programs on television are predominantly used by participants 50 and older and participants who are dependent on Creole.
- Newspapers targeting the Haitian community primarily are read by participants who come from across occupational categories, are middle aged and older, and have spent less than half of their lives in the United States.
- Media targeting the African-American population in the United States are used by some English-dependent and bilingual participants as part of a larger mix of mainstream media in English.
- Younger participants who are English dependent or bilingual predominantly access media through the Internet.
- Participants who are dependent on Creole and work in lower-skilled jobs generally do not use the Internet.
- The most media-isolated subgroup is made up of older women in low-skilled jobs who do not speak English, although with only three people in this category, more interviews would be needed to establish a clear pattern.

Breaking participants into groups by categories of language ability, the following patterns emerge:

I. *English-Dependent*: Speakers of only English (n=8)

This group consists of young, second-generation Haitian-American college students who have lived 100 percent of their lives in the United States. Based on the media outlets and programs they report using, as well as on focus group discussions or interviews, they:

- read a mainstream English-language newspaper or magazine at least weekly, usually online,
- do not read Haitian-oriented media in English or Creole,
- listen to radio for entertainment, mostly music, both online and through a receiver,
- do not listen to radio in Creole, except when parents are listening in the background,
- watch TV mostly for entertainment, both online and through a receiver,
- do not watch television in Creole, although a few of their parents do,
- use the Internet extensively for email and social networking,
- use the Internet for news, but not all regularly seek news,
- rely on their parents for news about Haiti or, in addition, look online when an important event occurs and is mentioned in mainstream news outlets.

II. *Creole-Dependent*: Creole speakers who report speaking English “not well” or “not at all” (n =16)

This group includes a range of people in terms of education, occupation and age. Educationally, they range from little or no education in Haiti or the United States to a U.S. college graduate who understands English, but reports she can't speak well.⁴⁰ Occupations include low-skilled labor, skilled labor, and a registered nurse. Their ages range from 29 to 72 and they have lived one-third or less of their lives in the United States.

- Most do not read newspapers and magazines.
 - Those who do, read local Haitian community newspapers in French or Creole as well as English-language mainstream newspapers.
- They listen heavily to news and information on local Haitian radio in Creole.
 - People working in low-skilled jobs are fans of Piman Bouk, a local small businessman and left-wing nationalist talk show host who was the most-cited reference in local Creole-language radio.
- They watch television in English, even when they can't understand it.
 - They seek programming in Creole either via "Island TV," which is on cable and not available in all parts of the region, or in one case, Haitian videos.
 - None mentioned watching programs in English targeting the Haitian or Caribbean communities.
 - Very few watch television in Spanish on a regular basis, although those who did note a stronger interest in Haiti coverage than TV in English.
- Most respondents in low-skilled jobs do not go online.
- Respondents in high-skilled and professional jobs go online for email and to consult websites in English and Creole.

III. Bilinguals: Participants who report speaking Creole and English "well" or "very well" (n=45)

This group includes participants with a range of ages, occupations and levels of education, although they tend to be among the more highly educated in our sample. They have lived from one-third to 100 percent of their lives in the United States.

- Bilingual participants primarily read newspapers and magazines in English.
- A minority of bilingual participants from across the occupational levels (non-skilled labor, skilled labor and professionals) reports reading Haitian community newspapers.
 - Bilingual respondents who report reading Haitian community newspapers have spent less than half of their lives in the United States.
- Bilingual participants primarily listen to the radio in English.
 - They primarily listen in English for music and news, and secondarily for religious information.
- A minority of bilingual participants from across the occupational levels (non-skilled

⁴⁰ The university graduate was one of seven participants who report not being able to speak English as well as they understand it. As a way to reduce the likelihood of participants overstating their language ability, we chose to use self-reported speaking ability because participants were more likely to conservatively assess their English-speaking ability as compared to their ability to understand English. Seven participants reported greater comprehension capacity, while one reported greater speaking ability. However, the overlap between self-reported ability to speak and understand English was high -- 88 percent. The overlap for speaking and understanding Creole was 81 percent. n = 69

labor, skilled labor and professional) reports listening to Haitian community radio programs.

- These people have spent less than half of their lives in the United States.
- They are essentially the same respondents who report reading Haitian community newspapers.
- Bilingual participants watch television in English for entertainment and news.
- A few watch “Island TV,” a Haitian-oriented program available in some areas via cable. No one mentioned other programs targeting the Haitian or Caribbean communities.
- A sizeable minority of bilingual participants does not use the Internet.
- Of those who do, email websites and search engines in English are most often used.
- A small minority of participants reports using the Internet to consult media from Haiti and U.S. Haitian community media, as well as listen to music in Creole, especially Radio Planet Kreyol from Haiti.

RQ 3: What do Haitians in greater Miami seek from the content?

– Information about the United States? Information about Haiti? Information that helps them successfully adapt to their new surroundings or stay connected to Haiti? For economic decision-making and/or emotional well-being? For identity maintenance? Entertainment? Something else?

English-speaking participants use media to gather practical information to use in their daily lives; to be informed about their city, the United States, and the world; to better themselves through education and spiritual growth; and for entertainment. English-dependent participants have less use for media that support transnational styles of living, but some seek media content to reinforce identities that include hybrid nationalism.

Practical information about South Florida tends to be sought on the radio (weather, traffic, etc.) and in the city’s only daily newspaper in English, *The Miami Herald* (local events, crime statistics). Information about wider U.S. and world affairs comes primarily from the Internet, and secondarily from cable television news and *The Herald*. Rather than consulting one medium for all needs, as one participant explicitly recognized, they choose the media type and content form depending upon their particular need.

To “feel informed,” English-speaking and bilingual participants contrast and supplement information from one media source with others. While *The Miami Herald* remains the referent for many English speakers, they consulted talk radio, advocacy and opinion-oriented websites and national and international news websites to contrast information from *The Herald*.

For information about Haiti, if they do not speak Creole well, the options are scarce. Participants rely on relatives who speak Creole and on the Internet. Bilingual participants also relied on contacts in Haiti first, because of the scarcity of information, but also consulted Creole-language media for information about Haiti as well as searched the Internet in multiple languages.

English speakers with Internet access actively construct understandings of local, U.S., and international reality through a reflexive process of consultation, contestation and discussion of content from wide-ranging types of media. While not all participants are as expressive as T., a bilingual social worker, his description of the negotiation of meaning through media content, interpersonal talk and reflection -- for the purpose of feeling “informed” -- is illustrative of a process of meaning-making described by several participants.

LS: How do you feel when you read the newspaper or magazine? Happy, sad, nostalgic, informed, something else, or nothing special?

T: I’m informed. They somehow make me position myself as an individual, as to ... where I should stand ... Some of the news, they are trying to ask you to position yourself in a certain way. But once you read it and you say well, this is their interest, probably not my interest. So, at least you are informed.

LS: Okay, so when you talk about positioning yourself, do you mean that based on the news they give you, you know how to respond to what is going on?

T: I don’t take a position directly toward what they say, but at least I could say where I should...if I have to do something...if I have to respond...let’s say somebody in The Miami Herald writes something about Haiti, I want to respond to it. So, I view the counter points...review the counter points, that’s what I mean...

T: Well, newspapers, I don’t think they are a good source of information for the way I live my life. I think the good source of information for me to live my life in Florida is talking to people like yourself... Through talking to friends, talking to a professor...

As for entertainment, English-dominant participants and even some Creole-dependent participants use television programs in English, music on the radio in many languages, and talk radio in either English or Creole to relax, distract and energize themselves. Participants enjoy talk radio as more than a source of political information. For some it is exciting and energizing. Likewise, sports programming on radio and television is used for entertainment. Sports programming on television travels particularly well beyond the barriers of language dependence. Religious programming is a source of inspiration and inner-strength for many, and for some seemed intensely important. Participants in both language groups used religious programming, sports, sport news and music to get “up” for their daily endeavors, in the words of a young sports enthusiast, as well as to relax.

Media content that traditionally has targeted African Americans also draws their attention. If Creole-language media are used for identity construction and maintenance, so too does “black-oriented” media content play a role in defining and maintaining a sense of self, purpose and position in the world, or in the words of a leading student of globalization, in participants’ constructions of “being, belonging and becoming.”⁴¹

For example, L, a college student who doesn’t speak Creole well, used black-oriented media to reaffirm her wider identity as a black woman.

⁴¹ Scholte, 2005, p. 224.

“My favorite newspaper is *The New York Times*. My favorite magazine, that’s difficult for me, but I guess I’d have to go with *Essence* because that’s more important to us... I think it’s my favorite because I do plan to one day pursue a career as a beauty or fashion editor, as well as the fact that it keeps me informed about what goes on in the black community, and just, I guess it pertains to my needs as a young black woman.”

S, a bilingual office worker at a local university, said her favorite radio programs were hosted by Steve Harvey and Michael Baisden. Asked why, she linked herself to the wider U.S. black community.

“Oh, Steve Harvey is a comedian who has had a long journey. He hasn’t forgotten where he came from, he has that humility, that humbleness, and he reaches out to his community, so, it’s a matter of respect; it’s a matter of him being authentic. You know he’s talking about issues that he has had to deal with within his family. He comes from a black family. There’s a lot of things he’s saying that I could relate to, and I like the fact that he wants to bring the black community up to speed. As a black man -- and myself, as a single black female -- he talks about some issues that we haven’t resolved, that we pretty much sweep under the rug and we’re running from: black gay men on the down low, domestic violence, mentoring our children. Michael Baisden is very passionate about the community. What I like also about his show is that he doesn’t keep it just left or right, he usually has people from both sides of the issue, and I like that he goes for goodness (in people).”

The hybrid nature of these identities, in terms of race, ethnicity and nationality, as well as the ability to weave many dimensions of identity into one coherent self, was apparent in many bilingual participants. However, some of the younger, second-generation participants were uncomfortable using Creole-media because of language difficulties as well as cultural distance, but sought out and wished for Haitian-oriented media content in English to help them define and distinguish themselves as Haitian Americans and to connect more easily and closely with Haiti, processes with which they sometimes struggled. For example, a 21-year-old male college student wished for the “Anderson Cooper of the Haitian world,” referring to the CNN news host, when asked how Haitian-oriented media might connect with him.

“I would say to connect with the younger generation and find people who are passionate about Haitian media. I would like to describe it as someone who is the Anderson Cooper of the Haitian world, somebody who is just real passionate about bringing the story to the forefront and it would be great if it was people who were our age. And I have no problem understanding Creole, but if they broadcast it in English, it would be even better. Because I have to consciously listen to a Creole station. And I’ll understand it perfectly, but I have to consciously listen to it. Whereas if it is in English, and it’s in the background, I’ll listen to it regardless.

SH: Do you think you could have someone like that on CNN or do they need to be on a Haitian station?

21-year-old: I would hope they could do both, essentially. But I mean I would like to

see it start on a Haitian station and then hopefully segue into larger media.

YC: And they would have to be what AX was talking about, include music, entertainment and other things (not just news)...

21-year-old: No. I honestly feel like it should have somebody with a young perspective that's journalistic because I personally would sit down and watch Anderson Cooper for an hour and a half."

The patterns associated with the use of Creole-language media were quite different, especially when participants were dependent upon the Creole language. Creole-language media are sought for information about Haiti, the Haitian community in South Florida, and because they are in a language better understood by a particular segment of the respondents. For Creole-dependent participants, Creole radio was the most important lifeline to the outside world. But beyond informational purposes, media material in Creole also offers Creole-speaking Haitians in South Florida an affective connection to Haiti and to relatives there. Through that, it provides them with a sense of comfort and solace in the sometimes hostile environment they experience, not only as members of a racial minority, but also as people who are usually poor and isolated from mainstream society that functions in Spanish or English.

Said K, a participant who speaks Creole better than English, "When they give the news in Creole, I am happy. I watch television, I watch "Island TV" magazine, [listen to] Haitian radio, as long as I have time [literal expression used – "as long as time does not fight me"]. I hope to hear them because I am happy, information that comes directly from Haiti, I am pleased especially when they are giving the Haitian news. I enjoy hearing that."

Y, who speaks English "not well," said that hearing information in Creole "makes me feel better."

W, a 62-year-old who speaks only Creole, listens to Creole radio "because it is what I most understand. I use it all night long; I listen to everything that is going on all night long, you understand, because I don't sleep. It is at night that I listen to the radio."

For M, a bilingual homemaker, music in Creole evokes positive memories, and the joy of remembering.

"Let's see, the program 'Bengie' plays some music that makes me remember the last time I was in Haiti. Some of the music is nostalgic because you are remembering that the time these songs/music were being performed was when Haiti was okay (literally: was standing on both its legs, standing upright). It was like you can be lying in bed and feel like going somewhere and you get up, get dressed and go out without fear of leaving your home. You get dressed to go out with your boyfriend, fiancé, husband, or whatever, no matter the time, because you simply call up someone and say, 'I am not sleepy, do you want to go out,' regardless of the time. If you decided to go, it could be midnight... [the reminiscence continues]."

Radio in Creole makes M “feel as though you are there, in your own world.”

S, who is also bilingual, said Haitian radio is her primary source of information about Haiti: “The reason I like to listen to Haitian radio is because when something happens in Haiti, especially when you are here as a Haitian, if you are waiting to hear information on the American radio, you will never know anything. At times when you listen to the Haitian radio, you know more about what is going on in your country, you get more information about what is going on. Even if something happened and you went to listen to an American radio station, they will simply tell you a little bit of it; but the Haitian radio station, because it is in favor of them, will always give you the event the way it occurred. That is why I like to listen to them.”

RQ: What needs are not met? What are the gaps? Are they satisfied with what they get? Why or why not?

Participants want professional, 24-hour, Haitian and Haitian-oriented media, in both languages, and across multiple platforms. This desire arises from perceptions of several deficiencies in news, information and entertainment, including a sense that: 1) Haitian and Haiti-oriented media are scarce or lack the capacity to inform fully and professionally; 2) English-language media either ignore Haiti and the Haitian community, or overwhelmingly portray it negatively; and 3) for young people who speak only English, there is no media that adequately connect with them as Haitian Americans.

For mainstream English-language media, the following problems arise for our participants:

- low credibility due to perceived agendas of the owner, or perception of discrimination;
- perception of a general inclination toward negativity and crime;
- perception of negative portrayals of Haiti and the Haitian community;
- perception of a scarcity of news about Haiti and the Haitian community;
- a disconnect from people like “me.”

The following representative passages from interviews and focus groups support these findings. They respond to open-ended questions about general perceptions of mainstream media.

P, 76, bilingual:

LS: What do you like and dislike about news publications?

P: What I don’t like is double-face, I don’t know if I should say that.

LS: No, you can say that, you can say anything. Be honest.

P: Okay, let me say about 2002-2003 everybody knew that there were no WMD in Iraq, right?

LS: Right.

P: Didn't the press carry the banner, because why is that, because the owners, the big boss agreed to have them say stuff, the reason they have the microphone is to do what the boss said, but they know they were lying, right?

LS: Right.

P: From the top to the bottom. These people disgust me.

LS: So, you're disgusted with the fact that they don't report the truth.

P: No, the boss says it for the benefit of someone else.

LS: Who's the boss?

P: Whoever owns the newspaper, whoever owns the network.

R, 21, bilingual:

I don't like to read about the news locally because of all the killings, arrests and kidnappings. I try to stay away from the negativity... There's no hope, I sense the negative vibe coming out ... Barack Obama is president, but we got thirteen kids shot in Liberty City.

J, 19, bilingual:

S: How do you feel when you listen to news about Miami generally? Why?

J: We just got to make it because it seems to me it is getting really hard. We have to struggle to survive. And I think one day it will be better.

S: What makes you say it is getting harder? Is there something that you watch on TV that makes you think that?

J: Because every day there is someone dying, or they mention it on the air. There are more teenagers who are dying, or young adults, and more of them committing crimes, and more people dying, and more people giving birth. I don't know. I just feel like, one day, all of this is going to stop. I am a peacemaker, so we also have to teach, and love, and be happy.

S: Would you say that TV helps you to live a good life in South Florida? Why or why not?

J: No.

S: It just doesn't affect you then.

J: It doesn't affect me.

S: What does help you live a good life?

J: I would say it is more about people. Because if you have someone to lend a helping hand, someone to believe in you, yes...

J: People could get depressed because it always seems like that's the only thing that is happening in the world; people are always dying. They are not showing you anything good other than this people just died, this police officer just shot someone, this officer got shot by someone else, and it's just like it makes people afraid to walk out their doors. They are afraid. What if I don't come back and see my children any more. What if I am coming back from school and something happens, and most of the time that is how I think. I know that I should make it stop, but I can't stop. I am always wondering, can you just stop thinking about the negative things and start thinking about the good things. Because I get up at 5 o' clock to go to school, and I'd be like, what if I don't come back the next day? What if something happens to me and I'd never see my sisters? Or, that's just how I think.

[**S:** Turns off tape to comfort J, who has become sad.]

Focus group one: Creole dominant, low-skilled workers

C: Well, I don't really see that they talk about Haiti at all. Haitians on the radio talk about Haiti because Haiti is their country, but for other nations, well, I don't know, maybe they talk about Haiti in a language that I don't understand, you understand? But I don't see anyone else talking about Haiti at all as far as I can see.

ST: Well, what I see they talk about, always, I always see that they talk about, especially for the American media, always bad.

Q: What do they focus on?

S: It's always bad things that they talk about Haiti.

Q: Okay.

S: I never see them talk about anything that is good about Haiti, especially the American media.

Q: Okay.

S2: But even when you see them giving reports for other countries, good countries, they, even last night I was watching the news and a journalist said that it is the world's poorest country. But I never see the American media talk well of...

Q: Mm-Mm. You're talking about Haiti?

S2: Speak well of Haiti.

Q: Mm-Mm.

S: Never.

Man interrupts: Okay, when do they focus on Haiti at all, it is when boat people come.

S: Exactly.

Man's voice interrupts: They are showing you how low they are, so that they can discriminate against us. That's when they focus, when they spend an entire week showing how Haitians are throwing themselves in the sea to come here, but they don't talk about us when the Haitian community is doing something positive. They're always watching for things that are negative so that they can discriminate against us.

Q: Mm-Mm.

D: But in reality there are a lot of Haitians doing positive things in Miami, but they never focus on the good that we do.

Q: Okay.

S, D: They always focus on those things that are negative. [Woman's voice interrupts: And they never say anything that is good about Haiti.] Nothing that is good for us. [Woman's voice: And they never say or attempt to show any parts of Haiti that is beautiful, they never show the beautiful parts, they always show the places] Mm-Mm, only La Saline. [Woman's voice: where the poorest people live.] Cite Soleil, [woman's voice: La Saline, Cite Soleil] Rabotau, La Fosette, Nan Banane, that's where they show you. [Woman's voice: They never show you the good things in Haiti. They never show the beautiful beaches and things, they never show these things.] So that they can make people believe that we are nothing.

S: That's it. [Woman's voice: Only to bring us down.]

Q: What about you, what do you think? Does everyone agree with what they said?

A: Yes, yes, that's it.

T, 48, bilingual

LS: Would you say that TV helps you to live a good life in South Florida? Why or why not?

T: Naw, none. No relation to me.

LS: Why?

T: Because they don't cover anything that is basic to me. I don't think they cover anything that is important to me. They almost don't really talk about it.

J, 21, English-dominant:

I would say that since I am a Haitian American, I accept my Haiti side and my American side, so what I would love to see in the media is young Haitian Americans actually having a show because our perspective is very different from older Haitians or from older Americans because we are right in the middle. So I feel like I am underrepresented as a young Haitian American. I feel like those Haitian channels that they are talking about, that's what my mom watches. I am not going to sit all day and listen to older Haitians talking about what they talk about. And then I watch American channels and they are, like, oh, this is just African Americans, this is, like, white people stuff. So I would like to see young people like us looking at stuff that is related to us.

S, 46, bilingual:

LS: If you could speak to someone who works at a television program, what would you tell him or her?

S: You know, I would tell them to provide programs in English on Haiti and programs for Haitians in Miami to keep us connected to the community. I would tell them to provide programs to help the Haitian community, programs to educate and programs in English about Haiti to show others what Haiti, Haitians are about. Show the beautiful parts of Haiti. You know we have beautiful places, big cities; show people that there is more to Haiti.

Creole-dependent respondents are generally happier with Creole-language media than participants who are bilingual. The following problems with Creole-language media arise for some participants who are bilingual and from upper income groups.

- A lack of depth, professionalism and credibility, due to programs' political leanings, commentators who read the news from elsewhere without verification and rented airtime filled with commercials;
 - Language and perhaps class affiliation seem to effect reactions to Creole-language radio.
- A lack of breadth in news agendas, and for some, the disproportionate coverage of politics;
- The scarcity of media options in the Creole language.

Focus Group 4: Creole-dominant professionals

LS: But what do you think? "Island TV," and all of these stations?

R: That is not television. "Island TV" is not a TV station.

LS: Why do you say that? "Island TV" and all the radio stations are not...

R: I have a problem here. When you talk about TV station, you should not talk about "Island TV" to compare with any channels. Neither can you compare our

radio stations to others.

LS: Why?

R: We were talking about CNN and others. This one ["Island TV"] is not only like a business; it is like a trifling thing.

K: Yes, the people who are doing these are "radio of the people," not professionals. A man will say I have \$500.00 and I am going to buy some airtime on the radio...

R: Excuse me, ma'am, when you talk of "Island TV," it is just a name, and not really something. It is just like any other channel. The problem about "Island TV" is that it is not really saying anything. Although they have some shows, there is no direction... We don't expect anything. A program on the TV is not a joke... like CNN rents time to give its program. You see that they have structure. We have no program.

LS: No radio or TV stations or programs?

R: No. For the radio, there is nothing there at all. Each man puts his money out there and hopes to get it back.

LS: How much does it cost to do that?

R: \$50 to \$500

LS: So anyone can buy the time and say what you want?

K: Like I mentioned, someone with some education will not listen to the radio because he/she knows more than the person on the radio. [Everyone chimes in, agreeing]. Someone who has been here for 20 years will not listen to [radio host] Piman Bouk translate what the chiropractor is saying to you.

LS: TV and Haitian radio stations, what do we do well?

H: My impression is that both the TV and radio are a means of getting information.

LS: Okay, a means of getting information. Is it good information?

G: No, (we are) not really informed. If the person who is informing is not truly informed, we cannot be informed. It is all about the business.

S: It is a business.

LS: So nothing they do is good in the Haitian radio and TV?

B: I don't really listen to Haitian radio.

J: They don't do anything well.

C: I don't listen to it at all.

H/S/K: I don't listen to it.

R: Everything I listen to is American.

J: I listen to American news.

RQ: What would they suggest for media to improve?

How do participants feel media could improve coverage of Haiti and the Haitian American community? Several themes appear across all of the focus groups in response to open questions about what they would tell a media worker if they had the chance and how they thought the media could improve. First, they want to hear more on Haiti and the Haitian community. Second, they want a greater diversity in news and news sources, especially news about successes and improvement in Haiti and the Haitian community. Third, they want this information available in both English and Creole.

Here are some representative responses supporting these interpretations.

From K, a Creole-dominant low-skilled worker:

K: You know, look at *Le Floridien*. It comes out twice a month. I have never missed one of them. The reason is everything I hear (is there). Not only that, they do it in three languages. They provide it in French, Creole and English. And all the events that take place, when I go and look, I see them there in it, and I am pleased by them.

From T, a bilingual professional:

T: They can say there is an accident on the road this morning; I get the news in the morning to see what the traffic is like and what roads I should take to go to work. For example, they could say this in Creole. What if I did not speak English and could not understand?

From P, a student:

P: Everybody gets negative news, but I feel like the news they bring from (Haiti) is super negative. It just makes it look so broken down. I don't know. I feel like there should be other types of things going on in Haiti that they could report, like government issues, not just, you know, we are in shambles. That's all they see. Nothing like administrative, you know, like what's going on in Haiti, or anything like that.

Y: So you would say look for other stories?

P: Yeah. Other types of stories. Not just natural disasters and, like, you know, starvation.

From M and T, Creole-dominant professionals:

M: I would like them to talk more of our successes. Success in the Haitian community. I know of great things happening in the community, people who are doing beautiful things. I wish they would talk about these things.

T: And perhaps they can have a program that incorporates something Haitian in it. It does not have to be a program. Whatever it is, if only they can say something about us. If only they can talk about Haitians for two or three minutes.

From K, a bilingual student:

K: I just feel like it just needs to be more Haiti. I feel like a lot of times our generation wants to be Haitian, but at the same time I don't know if people want to go back to Haiti, as far as understanding Haiti itself. It's like, 'yeah, I'm Haitian and I know this and I know that and I can speak Creole and I can do this,' but at the same time you don't want to know anything about Haiti. And I feel like if we knew more about Haiti, and what was going on there, that's what I would rather see more of. I don't need to know about the new music CD. I can find that anywhere. But like you said, to find out what is going on in Haiti, I mean it's a big search. I don't think that should be necessary. So if anything, make it easier for us to know about Haiti.

Related themes emerge that suggest why participants believe there is not much news about Haiti and Haitians in mainstream media; why in their perception the mainstream media produce largely negative news about Haiti and Haitians; and why, in the opinion of all but the lower-skilled, Creole-dependent participants, the Haitian media are doing a poor job covering Haitian and the Haitian-American community.

First, they feel the dominant media in English and Spanish denigrates them because they "don't like" them or want to "exploit" them. This feeling was present in all but the professional group. Here is an exchange between W and S, a low-skilled worker who is Creole-dependent and a bilingual participant who works as a receptionist, when asked about how media could improve.

W: The only thing I'd like to say is that for someone to talk good about you, he has to like you. He has to always be considerate of you. But if he does not like you, how does he not like you and say anything nice about you? He'll never say anything nice about you. We all know that Haiti is a country, no matter which media cover it [U.S. English-language or U.S. Spanish-language]. All these other places don't like Haiti, and they will never like Haiti. What makes you think they would support it? What good news would they have to report on it? They'll never report anything good about it. [Woman's voice – S - interrupts: Yes, they don't like it, but they need it!] They need it, [Woman's voice – S - : They need something in it.] Yes, they need it to exploit. [Woman's voice – S - : Exactly.]

Second, they feel the owners of Haitian and Haitian-oriented media are out for themselves and not committed to the community or nation. At the same time, they believe the

Haitian media is too financially weak to have a solid media presence and wish for a CNN or strong local TV channel. They blame poor financial standing on lack of ingenuity in seeking advertisers, the need to pay rent for airtime, the community's lack of support for Haitian businesses, and the lack of market studies showing advertisers the communities' purchasing power.

Y, a Creole-dependent low-skilled worker, said of Haitian media owners in South Florida:

Y: Not only should these guys realize they must like/love (respect) themselves, additionally, love your country, love Haiti, love Haitians. As long as these guys are not able to consciously love themselves, love Haitians, love Haiti, they will never do a good job.

Here is an exchange from the professionals' group:

T: I would like to see a Haitian program just like I am able to take Channel 23, Channel 28. I should be able to go to a channel that is purely Haitian. For example, there is the one little thing, "Island (TV) Magazine." I don't have it because I have basic cable. In order to have it, I must pay \$10 a month for it. Why can't I turn on the television and see that there is a Haitian program.

M: It is not the television station's fault because in order to have that you must pay airtime, and all that. For example, we had HTN (Haitian Television Network of America). They were 24 hours a day, but they no longer exist because they can't afford it.

Third, there is a wide perception that the lack of a powerful Haitian-oriented media outlet is intertwined with the community's lack of political power, both as a cause and an effect. The responses suggest this is both due to the precarious immigration status of many newly arriving Haitians and Haitians who hide their ethnicity and don't support other Haitians. Here is an exchange from the professionals' group.

S: Whatever that I am going to say to him (a Haitian media owner) will not make a difference, it won't mean anything because it is just a business. The one person might say he is helping you today or tomorrow, and next year changes his mind. Wherever the news is, or the thing that will attract the money, is what he will report. If it does not benefit him, why would he report it?

LS: So, you don't think you can say anything to a journalist? What can be changed? For example, the reason we are conducting this research is to learn from you about your ideas and what you would like to see change about the news, and how Haitians and others are represented. What should they change?

S: Let's start with the politics of it. We don't have politics. We need it to have a voice. If we don't advance in politics, we have no connection and no voice here, like we should as the Spanish (Hispanics). It is not to say that this is an excuse, but it is a plus, do you understand? Say, for instance, CNN reports on Haitians and you

don't agree, they will listen to your complaints, but I don't think they will change anything.

R: Like there was an incident in Broward (County) that stated that a car that hijacked an ATM machine had a Haitian flag on its antenna. I will tell you that there are some countries' (flags) that would have this image, but it would not be shown in this manner. Even in True TV, the show where people steal cars, it is covered up. They won't show it.

K: Yes, right, because it is information for the police alone. No reason to show it. What S stated earlier has another aspect to it. We do not have the power to talk here. That is one of the reasons why no one is interested in us. We don't have the power to talk, and people who have money, they don't identify as Haitians.

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ROLES OF THE TRANSNATIONAL HAITIAN MEDIA

Interviews with Haitian audience members, media producers and journalists in greater Miami tell us that the Haitian media in the area play roles that support the creation and maintenance of a transnational community, with one foot in Haiti and another in greater Miami. Haitians who use community media are able to keep up with what is happening back home, reaffirm and maintain their identity as Haitians abroad, and participate in the building of public opinion that holds government officials accountable in Haiti. They also turn to media in their own language to alleviate stress caused by the acculturation process and difficulty of living in a foreign land as well as to relax and enhance their quality of life.

At the same time, Haitian media support the building of an identity as Haitian Americans who are connected to the new land materially and ideationally. They support the cultural, political and economic cohesiveness of the local immigrant community as well as its incorporation into the wider United States. Haitian media tell listeners and readers about community businesses and professional services. They encourage turnout for local political elections and inform Haitians about public schools, U.S. immigration policy, community festivals, and nearby religious services. They also tell Haitians about community events, and highlight U.S. news and political issues that are of special interest to them as an immigrant community member.

Illustration 1 depicts how the Haitian-oriented media articulate the originating society in Haiti, the receiving society in the United States, and the ethno-linguistic community of immigrants in Miami through the deployment of shared ethnic and linguistic codes that bond audience members together as a cultural community. The ethno-linguistic community is structured by class, language, percentage of time lived in the United States, and many other sociological attributes, but is held together by identity markers and shared cultural codes that originate in Haiti and are reaffirmed in the immigrant generation with the aid of Haitian community media.

Illustration 1: Ethno-linguistic media and the construction of a transnational community



The following table, Table Four, lists the roles derived from a review of the uses and gratifications mentioned by audience participants for mass media. Roles include emotional regulation, identity construction and maintenance, political participation and practical information used for daily living in Miami and the Haitian immigrant community, and for keeping in touch with relatives and business interests in Haiti prior to the earthquake, which temporarily caused intense attention and searching for information in the media. The roles of media vary depending on the audience's language ability. For those who do not speak Creole, or do not speak it well, community media use is limited to music. When disaster strikes, they strain to understand or ask a relative (usually parents) to translate. For those who speak only Creole, or understand English poorly, the situation is reversed. Music and sports, which are visual as much as verbal, serve as entertainment. When the information is very important, these Haitians will strain to understand English or ask for translation.

The dual function of the ethnic media as promoting both ethnic identity and adaptation to the host society has long been noted in relation to the effects of informational content and volume of ethnic media use (Subervi, 1986, but see Jeffries, 2000), although never directly linked to transnationalism as a state of multilayered connectivity. However, we know less about the impacts of the linguistic, participatory and musical components of media content that also connect immigrants with a wider cultural community that transcends borders.

Our participants help us understand how the affective dimensions of ethnic community media content support their emotional well-being and the construction of healthy transcultural identities. This is important because of what other studies say about segmented forms of incorporation into the new society. Indeed, emotional health and immigrant achievement have been linked to the construction of transcultural identities that reaffirm cultural origins while embracing new-land traits that support incorporation with higher levels of educational and economic attainment (Portes and Rumbault, 2001, 2006). In other words, using media in Creole to enhance emotional well-being carries important implications for not only emotional health but educational and economic attainment as well.

Table 4 – Roles and associated uses of media

Mentions of uses and gratifications for media in Creole or Haitian-oriented media in English

	Creole Dependent	Bilingual	English Dependent
Emotional Regulation			
Reminiscence	•	•	
Companionship	•	•	
Positive energy	•	•	•
Relaxation	•	•	
Inspiration	•	•	
Identity			
Haitian	•	•	
Haitian American		•	•
Political	•	•	
Political Participation in Haiti			
Talk show participation	•	•	
Listening	•	•	
Listening and talking with friends	•	•	
Life in Miami			
Immigration news	•	•	
U.S. politics	•	•	
Daily Life in the Community			
Events	•	•	
People	•	•	
Local Politics	•	•	
Goings on in Haiti (pre-Earthquake)			
Disasters	•	•	•
Politics	•	•	

Mentions of uses and gratifications for mainstream media in English

	Creole Dependent	Bilingual	English Dependent
Identity			
Person of Color (“black” oriented media)		•	•
Religious		•	•
Emotional Regulation			
Music and sports for positive energy, relaxation	•	•	•
Religious programming for inspiration		•	
Life in Miami			
Weather, traffic		•	•
Politics (Obama election 2008)		•	•
Goings on in Haiti (pre-Earthquake)			
Disasters			•

NEEDS OF JOURNALISTS AND MEDIA PRODUCERS

The needs of journalists, as mentioned by audience members, media producers and journalists, can be summarized as financial sustainability, enhanced content, and public service ethics. Table Five lists areas that audience members, journalists and media producers identified as problematic.

Table 5 – Needs and associated problems of Haitian community media

Financial sustainability

- Radio airtime rental from station owners and middlemen
- Fragmentation in radio programs
- Advertising
- Other support

Information and programming

- Breadth of information and variety in programming
- Reach and cost of access
- Verification
- Investigation
- Technical quality of productions

Commitment to public service

- Transparency of paid information
- Autonomy from advertisers and partisan interests

RECOMMENDATIONS -- PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVES

A newspaper publisher and radio programmer offered their personal perspectives on the support they believe would help improve their newspaper and radio program.

Le Floridien owner Dessalines Ferdinand said he would like to partner with a university where communication students would help him redesign his weekly's media kit. "I'm looking for a professional to design something professional and go online and see if I can target some big-name businesses," he said. "I know they exist."

During the 2008 presidential election campaign in the United States, *Le Floridien* received four ads from the Barack Obama campaign.

"These agencies know where to go to target specific communities," he said. "I didn't know anyone. I just stayed in my office and received a call from the agency and they told me they wanted to advertise in the newspaper."

If he can't find a partner at a university, he said, he would look for a grant to hire a professional who can market the weekly. "If I have to write, to edit, I have to concentrate on that. I cannot do everything at the same time. So I'm going to try to see where I can get some money to hire a professional to do a marketing strategy for the newspaper."

He said that Haitian media practitioners in South Florida would greatly profit from workshops where panelists can tell "the owners of the media -- either radio stations, TV -- their responsibilities in our society. I would love to see someone who could come forward and explain to those people, first, what the role of the media is. Second, tell them about their responsibilities, how to treat the information, how to be as accurate as you can. Also, we need a professional in terms of marketing to tell them how to look for advertising, how to market their media, either TV, radio or newspaper."

He would gladly participate, he said. Once he starts making money, he said, he would add to the staff.

"I would try to hire at least two, not best of the best," he said. "At least find someone who went to school, learned the profession of journalism. That person would go out and try to connect with the members of the Haitian community. There are plenty of articles you can write, but because you're by yourself, you cannot do that."

Like many other broadcasters with Creole-language shows in South Florida, Jean-Claude Cantave would like to have the opportunity to participate in workshops that would improve the skills of programmers and the programs. Such workshops, which could be done in partnership with a local university, would teach established and potential broadcasters about news gathering, management, marketing and technical issues. He believed those workshops would also help Haitian broadcasters in Haiti who would model themselves after the broadcasters in Miami instead of the other way around.

"I believe in education, in theories, so we need people who know their craft, who did go to

school to learn journalism, computer skills, graphics, whatever field they use to put up a show,” he said. “We need people who have experience and knowledge about a subject to be in the panels, whatever the subject may be.”

He identified another great need of the broadcasting community: a credible news service that would gather information from Haitian communities around the country and Haiti, and distribute it free of charge to the different broadcasters in South Florida and around the country. The news would be accurate, reliable and credible. That added credibility in the Haitian and larger community might help Haitian broadcasters get access to mainstream English-speaking businesses and get a share of their ads.

“So we need more information, more knowledge about how to approach them,” he said. “Because I think we have the population here, we have the buying power. I think those companies should start spending some money in the Haitian community. So, are we doing our work? Are we doing it right? I don’t know, but I know something is not working.”

“We need to educate the community to be more demanding so the Haitian programmers can produce better quality shows, write better articles in the newspaper,” he said. “Right now, it’s like whatever is in fashion is good. Many guys are movie producers at this time. But I know that if you want to be a movie producer you have to go to school for that. Unfortunately, this is not the way it is in the community. You have a lot of amateurs in the community. You have a few people who are doing a good job.”

PROPOSAL - A HAITIAN MEDIA ASSOCIATION

The Haitian media in Miami provide information about Haiti and the Haitian Diaspora found in no other media. Further, they help sustain Haitian culture in the United States through the use of the Creole language and the transmission of Haitian music, and they provide emotional support during periods of acculturative stress. The media’s political roles include providing a platform for community discussion and debate as well as demands for accountability. They also have capacity to organize for political candidates who are attentive to the community as well as hold them accountable once in office.

However, the media sector is financially fragile and is uneven in terms of communicative practices either for public interest journalism or as platform for conversation that can create community or help hold government officials accountable. Further, non-commercial media -- in schools, churches or community organizations -- are not present among the Haitian-oriented media of South Florida.⁴²

Strengthening the sector depends on improving the organizational structure as much as on training and education so that community talent can be marshaled to increase revenues and bolster informational practices and dissemination. Places to begin wider discussions might include the Haitian American Broadcast Association or another existing or new association should the Haitian American Broadcast Association be exclusive or focused on

⁴² The only Haitian community programming on public media is a weekly program produced by and about the public schools on the public radio affiliate whose license is owned by the Miami-Dade County School Board. It focuses on school events, policies and employment opportunities.

other issues.

We propose the creation of a non-profit Haitian Media Association with an executive oversight board that would consist of a slight majority of journalists, and equal numbers of representatives of Haitian non-government organizations that focus on community service and local educational enterprises. This would marshal the best talents of the community, assure the journalists are self-governed, and offer the assistance of educational sector when it is useful. The association could have the following functions as well as others developed by the board and membership:

- organize systematic and sustained news gathering and dissemination efforts;
- create joint marketing research and marketing campaigns;
- promote and offer sector-wide advertising to large clients and ad agencies that feature a range of Haitian media and, in addition, placement services in individual programs and media outlets;
- identify, design and run joint training and education programs;
- and create a joint ethics code.

News and information of interest to Haitians and now available online might be gathered, verified and shared by a joint news operation without precluding exclusives that the member news operations could get on their own. Marketing information could be gathered jointly and some outreach campaigns could feature the entire sector, with individual outlets or programmers adding on to the sector-wide promotional efforts when they wish. Financing arrangements for the association would have to be developed, but Haitian community organizations have had success in securing grant funding, and a first step could be the creation of the executive board to oversee writing of a grant that would found the organization and hire an executive director. As it says on the Haitian flag, *L'Union Fait la Force*. There is strength in unity.

VIII. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – MEDIA INTERVIEWS

NEWSPAPERS

Dessalines Ferdinand, editor and publisher, *Le Floridien*

Michel Leys, Miami bureau chief and co-owner, *Haiti en Marche*

Gary Pierre Pierre, editor and publisher, *The Haitian Times*

RADIO

Jean-Claude Cantave, independent programmer

Pierre Nazon Beaulier, independent programmer and Voice of America in Creole

Harrys Latorture, independent programmer

Herntz Phanord, independent programmer

Ludner Plaisir, independent programmer

Alex Saint Surin, independent programmer and CEO, Radio Mega 1700

TELEVISION

Jean A. Cherubin, CEO and license holder, 1580 AM and TeleAmerica

Manny Cherubin, CEO and license holder, 1580 AM and TeleAmerica

Utrice Leid, news director, TeleAmerica

Robert “Bobby” Philippeaux, CEO and co-founder, “Island TV”

Tamara Philippeaux, CEO and co-founder, “Island TV”

INTERNET

Michael Emeran, co-owner and founder, Sakapfet.com

Guy Emeran, co-owner, Sakapfet.com

APPENDIX 2 – HAITIAN-ORIENTED MEDIA OUTLETS IN GREATER MIAMI

NEWSPAPERS

Haiti En Marche. General community and homeland news in French with some Creole. Distributed in local stores and via mail subscription. Portions available online at www.haitienmarche.com

Le Floridien. General community and homeland news in French with some Creole. Distributed in local stores and via mail subscription. Portions available online at www.lefloridien.com.

RADIO

WJCC AM (1700) – Radio Mega, with Alex Saint Surin and others. Listen live at <http://www.radiomega.net/>.

WLQY AM (1320) –Nelson “Piman Bouk” Voltaire, populist commentator and small business owner as well as other commentators in Creole.

WSRF AM (1580) – Range of programming and programmers in Creole. For specific shows and schedule, see www.wsrf.com.

WLRN FM 91.3 – *Radyo Lekòl*. School system news and announcements in Haitian Creole. Monday-Friday, 9-9:30 p.m. www.wlrn.org.

TELEVISION

Haiti Now, *Caribbean News* and other Haitian and Caribbean-oriented news and commentary programs in English. TeleAmerica. Comcast Digital Cable Channel 88. For schedule, go to <http://teleamerica.com/TeleAmericaProgramGuide.pdf>.

“Island TV,” news and variety program in Creole and English, everyday from 6 p.m. to midnight on channel 578. Watch live and check programming on www.islandtv.tv/ .

“*Nouvèl Ayiti*,” Haitian news in Creole. WTVJ DT 2 (NBC 6). Digital Comcast Channel 6.2, Xfinity 216, Atlantic Broadband 650, and Advanced Cable 133. Monday – Friday, 10:30 - 11 p.m.

“The New Haitian Generation,” interview show in English featuring successful Haitian Americans. Becon TV, Comcast Cable channel may vary. Channel 19 North Miami area digital cable. Channel 11 Coral Gables area digital cable. Varying times on Monday, Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday.

WEBSITES

Kompamagazine.com – Haitian music and entertainment industry news, local events and announcements, in English.

Pikliz.com – Local Haitian-oriented social happenings, columns and aggregator of wire service news, in English and French.

Sakapfet.com – News, entertainment and social media from Haiti and South Florida.

APPENDIX 3 – MEDIA MENTIONED BY AUDIENCE MEMBERS, ACCORDING TO THEIR LANGUAGE ABILITY

Individual interviews. Key = Speak English? Speak Creole? Key: 0 = not at all, 1 = not well; 2 = well; 3 = very well.

I) NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Interview participants

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speak Creole?	Speak English?	Read newspaper or magazine: 1=yes; 0=no	Newspaper name	Newspaper name	Newspaper name	Newspaper name	Newspaper name	Favorite Newspaper
Speaks No Creole											
M	22	100	0	3	1	Miami Herald	Wall Street Journal	ESPN, the magazine	Canefort Magazine	Forbes Magazine	Politico
Speaks Some Creole											
F	21	100	1	3	1	New York Times	Miami Herald	Vogue	People Magazine		New York Times
Speaks Creole Well											
F	41	76	2	2	0						
F	35	71	2	3	1	Sun Sentinel	New England of Medicine				Time
F	27	100	2	3	1	Miami Herald					Miami Herald
F	27	100	2	3	1	Entrepreneur	O Magazine				New York Times
F	25	88	2	3	1	ABC news	Washington Post	New York Times			Washington Post
Speaks Creole Very Well											
M	76	50	3	3	1	Miami Herald	Haiti en Marche				Haiti en Marche
M	76	57	3	3	1	Miami Herald					Miami Herald
M	63	59	3	3	1	Miami Herald					Miami Herald
F	62	32	3	0	0						
F	60	33	3	1	0						
M	60	50	3	2	0						
F	59	54	3	3	1	Paris-Match	Miami Herald	L'Express	France-Amerique		L'Express
M	59	34	3	3	0						
F	58	60	3	0	0						

F	49	41	3	2	1	Miami Herald					
M	48	42	3	2	1	Miami Herald	Newsweek	Miami Times	Le Monde	Haiti en Marche, Haiti Progrès, Haiti Liberation, Haiti Observateur	None
F	48	31	3	3	1	Miami Herald	Miami Times	Essence			Essence
F	48	48	3	2	1	Miami Herald					
M	46	37	3	3	1	Miami Herald	Sun Sentinel				None
F	46	100	3	3	1	Essence	Leisure	Travel	Cosmo	Miami Herald	Miami Herald
F	45	42	3	3	1	Miami Herald					
M	41	40	3	3	1	Miami Herald	Le Floridien	Miami Times	Haiti en Marche	Haiti Observateur	Sun Sentinel
F	40	83	3	3	1	Miami Times	Miami Herald				New York Times
F	39	46	3	2	1	Miami Herald	Sun Sentinel				Sun Sentinel
M	39	56	3	3	1	Sun Sentinel	Computer magazines	Popular Science			Computer Magazines
F	39	62	3	3	1	Miami Herald	Sun Sentinel				Sun Sentinel
F	37	68	3	3	1	Sun Sentinel	Essnce				Essence
F	24	71	3	3	1	Miami Herald					Miami Herald
F	20	80	3	3	1	Miami Herald					Miami Herald
F	19	47	3	3		Miami Herald					Teen Beat
F			3	3	1	Miami Herald					Miami Herald

N = 33 interview participants

Focus Group 1: Creole-dominant, low-skilled laborers

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Newspapers or magazines				Favorite newspaper
M	N/A		1	Doesn't read any				
M	72	30	0	Miami Herald	Le Floridien			None
M	56	52	1	N/A				None
M	50	48	N/A	No time to read				
M	43	23	2	Le Floridien	Miami Herald	Haiti en Marche		None
M	41	34	1	Miami Herald	Le Floridien	Haiti Progrès	Kiskeya Herald	None
M	38	24	1	Miami Herald	Le Floridien	Haiti en Marche		None
M	35	2	1	Doesn't read any				
F	29	28	3	Miami Herald	Le Floridien			None

Read the Haitian-oriented press and The Miami Herald, but The Herald could be a top-of-mind answer because of English abilities.

Only group where no newspaper reading is common.

Focus Group 2: English dominant, university students

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Newspapers or magazines			
F	v	100	1	Miami Herald	New York Times	Miami Hurricane	
F	21	100	1				
F	21	100	2	New York Times	Sun Sentinel	Miami Herald	
F	21	100	1	AOL News online			
F	21	100	1	Miami Herad	CNN online		
F	20	80	2	Miami Herald			
M	21	100	2	New York Times	Wall Street Journal		
F	19	100	3	Miami Herald			
F	19	100	3	Sun Sentinel	New York Times	Miami Herald	El Nuevo Herald
F	18	89	2	New York Times			

Focus Group 3: Creole dominant, mix of skilled- and low-skill workers

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Newspapers or magazines		
M	63	27	3	Miami Herald	Sun Sentinel	
M	54	33	1	Miami Herald	Sun Sentinel	Haiti Progrès
M	48	44	3	Miami Herald	USA Today	
M	43	7	1			
M	42	14	1			
M	41	49	2			
M	37	35	2			
M	36	11	1			
M	36	42	2			
M	34	41	2	Miami Herald	USA Today	

Focus Group 4: Creole-dominant professionals

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Newspapers or magazines		
M	No Answer		1	Miami Herald	Jornada (Mexico)	Le Nouvellist (Haiti)
M	61	57	2	Miami Herald		
F	59	58	1	Miami Herald	MSNBC	CNN
F	57	55	2			
M	54	46	3	Miami Herald	Sun Sentinel	
F	52	48	2	Miami Herald	Le Nouvellist (Haiti)	Le Floridian
F	34	4	3			

II) RADIO

Interview participants

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speak Creole: 3=very well to 0=not at all ⁴³	Speak English: 3=very well to 0=not at all ⁴⁴	LISTEN RADIO 0=no, 1=yes	Favorite Program	Program	Program	Program	Program
Speaks No Creole										
M	22	100	0	3	1	790 am - The Ticket	Michael Irvin Show (ESPN)	103.5 The Beat	99 Jamz	
Speaks Some Creole										
F	21	100	1	3	1					
Speaks Creole Well										
F	41	76	2	2	0					
F	35	71	2	3	1	Insight for Living (Chuck Swindoll)	Just Thinking (Ravi Zacharias)	The Alternative		
F	27	100	2	3	1		99 Jamz	Power 96	103.5 The Beat	Hot 105
F	27	100	2	3	1					
F	25	88	2	3	1					
Speaks Creole Very Well										
M	76	50	3	3	1	Air America	940 AM (WINZ)			
M	76	57	3	3	1					
M	63	59	3	3	1					
F	62	32	3	0	0					
F	60	33	3	1	0	99 Jamz				
M	60	50	3	2	0					
F	59	54	3	3	1		Salsa	NPR		
M	59	34	3	3	0					
F	58	60	3	0	0					
F	49	41	3	2	1		Piman Bouk, 1320 AM			
M	48	41	3	2	1	Touché Douce	90.1 FM	940 AM	Haitian programs, doesn't name	

⁴³ 0 = not at all, 1 = not well; 2 = well; 3 = very well.

⁴⁴ 0 = not at all, 1 = not well; 2 = well; 3 = very well.

M	46	37	3	3	1	NPR				
F	48	31	3	3	1	Love 94	NPR			
F	48	48	33	2	1					
F	46	100	3	3	1	105.1 FM				
F	45	42	3	3	1					
M	41	40	3	3	1	Diane Rehm	NPR	1020 AM	1320 AM	1580 AM
F	40	83	3	3	1					
F	39	46	3	2	1					
M	39	56	3	3	1					
F	39	62	3	3	1	N/A	Love94 97.3	940WINZ		
F	37	68	3	3	1	Focus on the Family	Focus on the Family	WAGF, WRMB	NPR	Radio Planet Creole
F	24	71	3	3	1	103.5 the Beat	Keith Sweat			
F	20	80	3	3	1	99 Jams	99 Jams	Michael Baisden on Hot 105		
F	19	47	3	3						
F			3	3	1	89.7 Chris- tian				

Focus Group 1: Creole-dominant, low-skilled laborers

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Programs					
M	72	30	0	1320 AM					
M	56	52	1						
M	50	48	N/A						
M	N/A								
M	38	24	1	1320 AM--Piman Bouk					
M	43	23	2	1320 AM--Piman Bouk					
M	41	34	1	1320 AM	1580 AM	1700 AM	Radio Touché Douce (90.1 FM Miami, 100.7 FM Haiti)	Radio Lumière (103.1 FM)	
M	35	2	1	1302 AM--Piman Bouk					
F	29	28	3	Radio Kreyol (online)	Piman Bouk				

Focus Group 2: English dominant, university students

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Programs			
F	21	100	1	NPR			
F	21	100	1	Online Radio (Pandora)	99 Jams	Y-100	Power 96
F	21	100	2	Steve Harvey			
F	21	100	1	99 Jams			
F	21	100	1				
F	20	80	2	99 Jams	Power 96		
M	21	100	2				
F	19	100	3				
F	19	100	3	Power 96	99 Jams	103.5 The Beat	
F	18	89	2				

Focus Group 3: Creole dominant, mix of skilled- and low-skill workers

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Programs		
M	63	27	3	Diane Rehm Show (NPR)	Science Friday (NPR)	The Story (NPR)
M	54	33	1	Haitian talk shows	Non-Haitian talk shows	
M	48	44	3	Sports		
M	43	7	1	Radio Dimanche Ton Nouvel		
M	42	14	1	Doesn't listen		
M	41	49	2	Piman Bouk	Music, sports, news and educational shows in Creole and English	
M	37	35	2	Music in English		
M	36	11	1	Music, sports, news in English		
M	36	42	2	Music and news in English and Creole		
M	34	41	2	Music, news and opinion in English, Creole and French		

Focus Group 4: Creole-dominant professionals

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Programs	
M	No Answer		1	Music and news in English, Spanish and Creole	
M	57	57	2	Music and news in English	101.5 "Lite" FM
F	58	58	1	Listen to politics, health information and entertainment in Creole and English	
F	55	55	2	WLRN (NPR)	
M	46	46	3	Music, sports, news programs in English	
F	48	48	2	Haitian radio stations in Miami – news, talk shows, music	NPR – News and Notes, News, Radio l'ecol, music
F	4	4	3	Music, news and educational shows in English, Spanish and Creole	

III) TELEVISION

Interview participants

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speak Creole?	Speak English?	Name TV	Name TV	Name TV	Name TV	Name TV	Name TV	Name TV	
Speaks No Creole												
M	22	100	0	3								
Speaks Some Creole												
F	21	100	1	3								
Speaks Creole Well												
F	41	76	2	2								
F	35	71	2	3	CNN	HGTV	Law and Order	ABC News	Grey's Anatomy	PBS	TBN	
F	27	100	2	3	BET	TNT	FX	HBO	WWE			
F	27	100	2	3								
F	25	88	2	3	CNN	Discovery Health						
Speaks Creole Very Well												
M	76	50	3	3	MSNBC							
M	76	57	3	3								
M	63	59	3	3	Channel 10	ESPN	Verses	Sports				
F	62	32	3	0								
	60	33	3	1	Soap Operas	Channel 10	Channel 7					
M	60	50	3	2	Local News Channel 7							
F	59	54	3	3	Univisión	ABC						
M	59	34	3	3	MSNBC	Local News						
F	58	60	3	0								
F	49	41	3	2								
M	48	42	3	2	The Situation Room (CNN)	360 with Anderson Cooper	Dr. Phil	Chiropractor show on Saturdays				
F	48	31	3	3	HGTV	60 Minutes	Discovery Channel					
M	48	48	3	2	CNN	Day Star	TV Land					
M	46	37	3	3	News	Sports Channels	Law and Order					
F	46	100	3	3	A&E	Bio	Animal Planet					

F	45	42	3	3							
M	41	40	3	3	60 Minutes	WLRN (PBS)	WXEL				
F	40	83	3	3	Religious Shows	Michael Baisden (TV show)	Comedy				
F	39	46	3	2							
M	39	56	3	3	News	Star gate					
F	39	62	3	3	60 Minutes	American Idol	20/20				
F	37	68	3	3	Law and Order	Football	CNN News	Disney Channel	Public TV		
F	24	71	3	3							
F	20	80	3	3	NBC 6 News	MTV	NET				
F	19	47	3	3	Lifetime Movies	ABC Family	Local news	Used to like Island TV, but can't get it any-more			
F			3	3							

Focus Group 1: Creole-dominant, low-skilled laborers

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Programs							
M			1	N/A							
M	72	30	0	ESPN	Channel 7	Channel 10					
M	56	52	1	N/A							
M	50	48	N/A	N/A							
M	43	23	1	CNN	FOX	Channel 7	Channel 6	Channel 10	Island TV		
M	41	34	1	CNN	FOX	MSNBC	Channel 7	ESPN2	ESPN1	Island TV	
M	38	24	1	Última Hora (Univisión)	Channel 23 (Univisión)						
M	35	2	1	CNN							
F	29	28	3	MSNBC	CNN						

Focus Group 2: English dominant, university students

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Programs						
F	21	100	1	NBC News	Lost	Jeopardy	MTV			
F	21	100	1							
M	21	100	2	Dog Whisperer	CNN	MSNBC	Sports Center			
F	21	100	2	Real Housewives	House	Desperate Housewives	The Hills	Island TV	The Game	Sports Center
F	21	100	1	Bleach						
F	21	100	1							
F	20	80	2	For the Love of Raymon	College Hill South Beach					
F	19	100	3	College Hill South Beach						
F	19	100	3	Law and Order:SVU	The Game					
F	18	89	2	The Real World	College Hill South Beach					

Focus Group 3: Creole dominant, mix of skilled- and low-skill workers

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Programs				
M	63	27	3	MSNBC	Science	SCIFI		
M	54	33	1	American Education Programs				
M	48	44	3	CNN	CSPAN			
M	43	7	1	Oprah				
M	42	14	1	Movies	Haitian video			
M	41	49	2	CNN	MSNBC	FOX	BET	
M	37	35	2					
M	36	11	1	Haitian TV				
M	36	42	2					
M	34	41	2					

Focus Group 4: Creole-dominant professionals

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Programs			
M			1	Haitian programs	Non-Haitian programs		
M	61	57	2	CNN			
F	59	58	1	US movies	US news	US reality shows	
F	57	55	2	CNN	ABC	Island TV	
M	54	46	3	CNN	News in Creole and French		
F	52	48	2	FOX	CNN	Television Catholiques	Haitian Television Network (in Haiti)
F	34	4	3	News, talk shows and movies in English and Spanish			

IV) INTERNET

Interview participants

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speak Creole?	Speak English?	Do you use the Internet? 0=no; 1=yes	How many days in a typical week?	Favorite websites
Speaks No Creole							
M	22	100	0	3	1	7	Miami Herald, university newspaper, radio, ESPN.com, anysports.com, inaudible.com, fiu.edu, insidetheu.com (for football recruits), Amazon.com, Drays.com (for clothes)
Speaks Some Creole							
F	21	100	1	3	1		Newspapers (incomplete answer)
Speaks Creole Well							
F	41	76	2	2	1	7	Youth ministries, history
F	35	71	2	3	1	7	Yahoo!, wrmb.org, radio websites
F	27	100	2	3	1	7	Yahoo!, MSN, Miami Herald
F	27	100	2	3			
F	25	88	2	3	1	7	Google, www. cnn.com, www.abcnews. go.com
Speaks Creole Very Well							
M	76	50	3	3	1		Liberal/left political information sites
M	76	57	3	3	0		
M	63	59	3	3	1	7	MSN, Comcast, Google
F	62	32	3	0	0		
	60	33	3	1	0		
M	60	50	3	2			
F	59	54	3	3	1	2 to 3	Real estate searches for her business
M	59	34	3	3	0		
F	58	60	3	0	0		
F	49	41	3	2	0		
M	48	42	3	2	1	7	Bell South
F	48	31	3	3	1	7	Yahoo! (email), Haitian radio
M	48	48	3	2	1	2	Google, many others
M	46	37	3	3	1	4	Email, referee association, Haitian news media
F	46	100	3	3	1	7	Picliz.com (Haitian community information), MSN, Google
F	45	42	3	3	0		
M	41	40	3	3	0		

F	40	83	3	3	1	0	Yahoo! (email), Google
F	39	46	3	2	1	7	Newspapers and radio
F	39	56	3	3	1	7	No favorite sites
M	39	62	3	3	1	5	Yahoo!, another that is “unmentionable”
F	37	68	3	3	1	7	Search engines, CNN, health sites, sports, educational sites, research sites, directions (MapQuest and Yahoo! maps)
F	24	71	3	3	1	2.5	Yahoo! and Hotmail
F	20	80	3	3	1	7	Yahoo!, Google, ask.com especially if I need to find something
F	19	47	3	3	1	7	Yahoo! (email); Google for questions and research; reads newspapers online
F			3	3	0		

Focus Group 1: Creole-dominant, low-skilled laborers

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Do you use the Internet? 0=no; 1=yes	Websites	Language for Internet sites
M	72	30	0	0		
M	56	52	1	0		
M	50	48		0		
M	43	23	2	1	Haitian websites	English
M	41	34	1	0		
M	38	24	1	0		
M	35	2	1	0		
F	29	28	3	1	Yahoo!	Google English
M	N/A	100	1	0		

Focus Group 2: English dominant, university students

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Do you use the Internet? 0=no; 1=yes	Websites	Language for Internet sites
F	21	100	1	1	Facebook.com, Hotmail.com, Sakapfet.com, Miami.edu	English, French, Creole
F	21	100	1	1	Facebook, Yahoo!	English
F	21	100	2	1	Google, Yahoo!, You Tube, CNN, etc.	English
F	21	100	1	1	Facebook, AOL, Yahoo!, Google, Myspace	English
F	21	100	1	1	No Answer	English
M	21	100	2	1	Facebook, CNN	English
F	20	80	2	1	Facebook, Myspace, Fmylife	English
F	19	100	3	1	Facebook	English
F	18	100	3	1	Facebook	English
F	18	89	2	1	Facebook	English

Focus Group 3: Creole-dominant, mix of skilled- and low-skill workers

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Do you use the Internet? 0=no; 1=yes	Websites	Language for Internet sites
M	62	27	3	0	PlanetGreen.discovery.com, LivingwithEd.net (online sites for eco TV shows)	English
M	54	33	1	1	history.com	English
M	48	44	3	1	Yahoo!	English
M	43	7	1	1		
M	42	14	1	0		
M	41	49	2	0		
M	37	35	2	1		English
M	36	11	1	0		
M	36	42	2	1		English
M	34	41	2	1	US and Haitian websites	English, French, Creole

Focus Group 4: Creole-dominant professionals

Participant's Gender	Age	% Life in U.S.	Speaks English?	Do you use the Internet? 0=no; 1=yes	Websites	Language for Internet sites
M	61	57	2	1		English
F	59	58	1	1	Haitian & U.S. websites	English
F	56	55	2	1	Haitian & U.S. websites	English
M	54	46	3	1	CNN, news in Creole and French	English, French, Creole
F	52	48	2	1		English
F	34	4	3	1		English
M		100	1	1	Haitian & U.S. websites	English

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X. FORM FOR FEEDBACK

Please send us your feedback on this form or via email. This information may be sent anonymously or with your name attached so we can respond to you. Please send to:

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1. Information we missed
2. Information we should modify
3. Your experiences with and feelings about Haitian-oriented media
4. Your suggestions for Haitian-oriented media
5. Your suggestions for mainstream media in English or Spanish
6. Any other suggestions