MEDIA PORTRAYALS OF CUBANS AND HAITIANS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

By

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A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN MASS COMMUNICATION

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

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by

Manoucheka Celeste
This is dedicated to the people who live these stories and MM&I for believing.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like thank everyone who has not only supported, but also challenged me in this process. I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Michael Leslie, for his guidance and great effort, and willingness to challenge students. He went to great lengths to see this project through. I would also like to thank my committee members: Dr. Marilyn Roberts and Dr. Helena K. Sarkio. Dr. Roberts was a wonderful source of knowledge and played an integral role in guiding my methods and findings. Dr. Sarkio has been supportive and engaging. Her thorough editing, and advice inside and outside of the classroom have been invaluable.

I thank family for setting an example of what hard work and dedication is all about. They allowed me to disappear for the last semester to complete this project. I thank my sister, Slande, for always leading the way and little brothers, James and Alix, for being great human beings and my inspiration. Also I extend thanks to my dearest life friends and SGRho sisters Manoucheka T., Magda, Candace, Shannon, and Mona, for always supporting me and still being my friends despite my virtual disappearance during this project.

I thank my mass communication and GHD partner in crime, Dawn, for being there through the crazy adventures this past year. I could not imagine going through it with anyone else, and I know that we'll be always be friends. I thank Chantal, for being fabulous and very special, and for dealing with my frantic phone calls and random needs for a boost. I thank Nicole for her courage, common sense, sense of humor, and energy. I
thank Jasmine Johnson for always putting her best foot forward and inspiring me to do same. Her compassion and willingness to listen has made a big difference. I also thank Fran Ricardo, Cyrus, Lohse Beeland, the Milwees, Rhonda Douglas, and all of the amazing individuals who have helped shape my college career and overall outlook on life. I am forever grateful for all that they have done. Finally, I thank my journalism mentors and friends for their dedication to the field and setting an example (Jim Baltzelle, Charles Harris, Cynthia, Daneesha, Romina, Diana, and Role Models Foundation).
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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Mass Communication

MEDIA PORTRAYALS OF CUBANS AND HAITIANS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

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May 2005

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Major Department: Mass Communication

Cubans and Haitians presently are arguably two of the most controversial immigrant groups in the United States. The countries are within hours by air from the United States. Cuba, the closer of the two countries, is a mere 50 kilometers from Florida's Key West. More than their locations, Cuba and Haiti have similarities and differences in terms of history, and their current states are often presented as dichotomies and present an opportunity to compare their media coverage.

New York Times articles were used to examine how Cubans and Haitians were framed from January 1, 1994, through December 31, 2004. The analysis was comparative, looking at differences and similarities in the coverage. A sample of 177 articles was analyzed for frequently occurring themes, catchphrases, and figures of speech. The sample included 81 articles for Cubans and 96 for Haitians. Overall both groups were framed negatively. Cubans were framed more positively than Haitians, with negative and positive frames being at or near one to one ratio, 70 positive frames to 78
negative frames. Haitians were framed overwhelmingly negatively, with 206 negative frames and 23 positive frames.

For Cubans, the three dominant positive frames that emerged were Character Strength, Political Involvement, and Success. The most dominant negative frames for Cubans were Delinquent Cuban Government, Character Weakness, and Immigrants. It is important to note, the Success frame was dominated by sports and, in one case, entertainment articles.

The most dominant positive frames for Haitians were Character Strength and Politically Active. Only 16.6% of the stories about Haitians (n=16) contained positive frames. There were six dominant negative frames that emerged for Haitians. They are Character Weakness, Poor, Victim, Troubled Nation, Primitive Other, and Immigrant.

Haitians and Cubans were framed negatively, with Cubans being framed more positively. Societal acceptance can be examined through media portrayals, as this study has done. The coverage of these and other ethnic and migrant groups are driven by ethnocentrism and perceived differences. Journalists need diversity education, knowledge of mass communication theory, and representative newsrooms in order to better serve and reflect the increasingly diverse population in the United States.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Cubans and Haitians presently are arguably two of the most controversial immigrant groups in the United States. The countries are within hours via air from the United States. Cuba, the closer of the two countries, is a mere 50 kilometers from Florida’s Key West. The Central Intelligence Agency’s (CIA) (2005) World Factbook online says that Cuba blames the 1961 U.S. embargo for its difficulties and it identifies one of the problems with Cuba as illicit immigration to the U.S. (CIA, 2005). About Haiti, the World Factbook says the country is plagued with political violence and is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere (CIA).

Cubans and Haitians have received a great deal of media coverage in the past 20 years. A noticeable amount of the stories written about Cubans and Haitians focus on immigration issues and on the countries’ turmoil which “catches our attention for a while, but then blends into daily fare of more violence elsewhere, other famines, mass migrations, and political strife to which we have become accustomed” (Chierici, 1996). Their similarities and differences in terms of history and current state are often presented as dichotomies and present an opportunity to compare their media coverage.

Scholars have noted the differential treatment in regard to immigration policies that Cubans enjoy over Haitians:

Neither Dominicans fleeing the civil war of 1965, nor Haitians fleeing the terror of Papa Doc Duvalier and a string of Haitian military juntas, got
comparable treatment. Washington routinely rejected asylum requests from Haitians picked up at sea while it invariably granted asylum to the far smaller number of Cuban balseros. Under Clinton, many Haitians were even forcibly returned to their country. (Gonzalez, 2000, p. 108)

The purpose of this study is to take a closer look at the relationship between each group in terms of their individual histories and their presence in the United States. This study seeks to examine the relationship of each group with the United States through the lenses of a major national newspaper. This thesis will use framing analysis to examine differences in how the two groups are represented in the media and attempt to identify some factors that may lead to differences in their representation. Based on the assumptions of ethnocentrism and heterophily and homophily in reporting, the following main questions are asked:

• Are Cubans and Haitians portrayed negatively?
• Are Cubans portrayed more positively than Haitians?
• Which group is portrayed to have positive qualities such as educated, hardworking, with higher financial standing, more entrepreneurial, better spoken, and social acceptance?
• Which group is most frequently portrayed with the opposite qualities including being uneducated, lazy, poor, poorly spoken, and socially unacceptable?

This study is significant for two main reasons. The first is that Cubans and Haitians are two controversial groups that get a great deal of media coverage. Communist leader Fidel Castro has caught numerous headlines in the United States since he has been in power. Haiti’s numerous leaders have also been seen in the U.S. news, particularly during political turbulence. Cuba and Haiti have also made headlines with illegal immigration to the nearby United States. In addition, the two countries are linked by their relative closeness in the Caribbean. Cuban and Haitian
migrants also live in close proximity in the United States in cites such as New York, Miami and Chicago. Cubans and Haitians constitute two of the fastest growing immigrant groups. Between 1990 and 2000 the Haitian population in Florida doubled to 267,689, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2005), but other sources estimate higher numbers (Stepick, Stepick, & Kretsedemas, 2001). As of 1999, more than a half million Cubans lived in South Florida (Rumbaut, 1999). In Rumbaut’s South Florida sample, immigrant groups consisted of Cubans, Haitians, Jamaicans, Colombians, Nicaraguans, Dominicans and others from Latin America and the Caribbean. Jamaicans and Haitians are concentrated in South Florida and are among the top recent immigration groups in terms of size (Rumbaut, 1999). The same is true of Cubans.

This research will add to an already rich body of framing literature, specifically regarding immigrant groups. The research is important because of the changing make-up of the U.S. population. The United States has been described as unfinished and a nation of immigrants (Lacey & Longman, 1997). The growth of the number of foreign-born persons living in the United States is quite dramatic. The immigrant population increased from 20 to 27 million between 1990 and 1997. By 1997, there were 3 million foreign-born children and nearly 11 million U.S.-born children under 18 with at least one foreign-born parent (Rumbaut, 1999). The U.S. Bureau of Census (2005) estimates major shifts in minority groups, with Latinos becoming the majority by 2010. Now, more than ever, it is important to understand the different groups that define the United States and how the media interacts with each group and why.
CHAPTER 2
BACKGROUND

Cubans and the United States

Cuba, if the United States would have been successful in its attempts, would have been the 51st state today. But unlike Puerto Rico, Cuba and its battle-tested independence army were hard to subdue and the U.S. occupation was difficult (Gonzalez, 2000). The United States occupied the island-nation on three occasions and, in order to protect their investments, installed Batista as the ruler in 1934, a man who welcomed foreign investors (Gonzalez, 2000). By the mid-1950s under Batista’s rule Cuba’s economy, which was heavily dependent on the United States, began to collapse with high unemployment, prostitution and corruption (Gonzalez, 2000). Fidel Castro’s guerrillas overthrew the dictator in 1959 (Gonzalez, 2000).

Coming to the United States

Cubans have been deemed special refugees because of the U.S. immigration policy that allows them to stay once they set foot on U.S. soil (Gonzalez, 2000). This policy, which many have criticized as preferential when compared to policy toward other immigrant groups such as Haitians, is a result of the U.S.’s conflict with communist Cuba. Since the start of his reign, the United States has made numerous efforts to overthrow Castro. In 1994, Bill Clinton was the first U.S. president to call for an end of this policy, after more than one million Cubans were reported to have fled Cuba for the United States (Gonzalez, 2000).
Cuban migration to the United States began in the 1950s when Castro initiated his radical revolution and Cubans sought asylum (Soruco, 1996). More than 215,000 left for the United States during the first four years (Gonzalez, 2000). There were three major migrations since Castro’s revolution. The first migration started in 1959 after Castro came into power and ended in 1962 during the Cuban missile crisis. These “golden exiles” consisted of lawyers, physicians, engineers, managers, and clerks (Soruco, 1996). A large number of these exiles were White, educated, and city dwellers (Fagen, Brody, & O’Leary, 1968). The second migration, from 1962 though 1979, brought mostly women, young children and the relatives of the previous refugees (Soruco, 1996). Diplomatic arrangements were made in 1966 to conduct daily flights from Havana to Miami until 1979 (Soruco, 1996). The effects of the exiles were felt in Miami in the form of strained resources, which led to the Refugee Resettlement Program that relocated exiles to other parts of the country (Soruco, 1996). The third migration, the Muriel lift refugees, came in 1980 and included ‘misfits’ and mentally ill individuals (Soruco, 1996). Working class people who wanted political asylum were also a part of this migration. This migration most closely represented Cuba’s native population (Soruco, 1996). The people were younger and had a greater percentage of blacks and mulattos (Bach, Bach, & Triplett, 1982). A crime wave followed these Cubans’ arrivals, which stigmatized all Muriel refugees, and all Cubans faced open hostility (Soruco, 1996). “Because the new population was largely black, it forced the earlier arrivals to face the racial reality of Cuba—the Cuba to which they longed to return. After Muriel, many of the established refugees were less eager to return to the island” (Soruco, 1996, p. 10).
Life in the United States

The Cuban exile community has grown, with a powerful political machine and extensive social networks (Soruco, 1996). Although the population is dispersing, the largest enclave is found in South Florida. Soruco (1996) attributed Cuban’s success to their demographic makeup, hard work, and sacrifice and the generosity of local and federal governments that helped them resettle. As mentioned previously, the refugees of the 1960s and 1970s were largely from the upper and middle class and brought technical skills. With those demographic characteristics, in addition to the massive aid the federal government dispensed to them, Cubans became the country’s most prosperous Hispanic immigrants (Gonzalez, 2000).

Haitians and the United States

Haiti is the first free black nation and second oldest independent nation in the Americas after the United States. At one point, it was the richest colony in the Americas because of its sugar and coffee (Stepick, 1998). The relationship between the United States and Haiti has been rocky since before the birth of the new Republic. The slaves’ victory over French colonizers ended Napoleon Bonaparte dream of making Hispaniola a fortress island to defend French interests in the new world (Gilles, 2002). Some historians question whether North America would be as it is today without the Haitian Revolution (Gilles, 2002). Haitians won their independence from their French colonizers in 1804. The United States joined European forces in France’s violent repression of Haiti’s slave rebellion (Chomsky, 2003). The U.S. government refused to acknowledge the new nation’s independence, although they acknowledged former Spanish colonies like Argentina, Mexico and Chile around 1822 (Gilles, 2000). Recognition did not come from the United States
until 1862, 37 years after France had done so. In the meantime, Haiti’s government invited slaves from around the world and especially from the United States to come there. The potential for the new Republic giving their slaves revolutionary ideas irritated the United States, which did not abolish slavery until 1863. Haiti’s independence threatened the slave economies of the rest of the Caribbean and the southern United States (Stepick, 1998). Governments isolated Haiti economically and politically and the effects of that early isolation can be seen today (Stepick, 1998).

The United States occupied Haiti on two separate occasions, the first being from 1915 to 1934, a violent introduction of American racism to the island (Gilles, 2002):

Numerous U.S. interventions culminated in Woodrow Wilson’s invasion of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, where his warriors—as viciously racist as the Administration in Washington—murdered and destroyed, reinstituted slavery, dismantled the constitutional system because the backward Haitians were unwilling to turn their country into a U.S. plantation, and established the National Guards that ran the countries by violence and terror after the Marines finally left. (Chomsky, 2003, p. 18)

U.S. political leaders have openly called Haiti a backward country, and Haitians an inferior people. In an article about U.S. intervention in Haiti, McLaughlin of the McLaughlin group was cited for calling Haiti a “disaster—100 years behind the rest of the Hemisphere” (Douglas, 1994).

Coming to the United States

Stepick, a leading immigration scholar, identified Haitians as an important new immigrant group that comes from the Caribbean and one that contains many members who are also refugees (1998). In the 1970s and 1980s the media introduced Haitians coming to South Florida as a new phenomenon, but the only thing that was
new was the Haitians’ destination (Stepick, 1998). Previous migrants relocated to France, French-speaking Canada, the northeastern United States and the Dominican Republic (Stepick, 1998). Haitians permanently migrated to the United States in small numbers until the late 1950s, approximately 500 per year. Another 3,000 came as tourists, students and on business during the same time period.

Increased immigration occurred when Kennedy objected to human rights violations. The first people to leave were in the upper class and to the left, followed by the Black middle class in 1964 (Stepick, 1998). In 1965, the Immigration Act enabled close relatives to join their family members. The “boat people” phenomenon was introduced by the media as “boatloads of seemingly desperately poor and pathetic peoples washed onto South Florida’s shores” (Boswell, 1982; Miller, 1984). They first appeared in late 1963 and then again in 1973 (Stepick, 1998). They began to arrive regularly in 1977. “Since then, the U.S. government has conducted a resolute campaign to keep Haitian refugees from coming to Florida,” (Stepick, 1998, p. 5). The U.S. government identified Haitians as economic refugees like Mexicans and Texas, despite of advocates asserting that the “boat people” were political refugees fleeing persecution and probable death (Stepick, 1998).

The U.S. government’s policy toward Haitians has been debated by immigration scholars, some who have deemed the policy biased (Lawless, 1992).

In their dealings with Haitian immigrants, American government agencies are clearly characterized by ‘ideological and racial bias which continues to distort decisions as to which applications for refugee status or asylum will be approached’ according to Walter Fauntroy, the Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Task Force on Haiti and the expanded bipartisan Congressional Task Force on Haiti. (Lawless, 1992, p. 64)
Life in the United States

There have been a number of programs that may be reflective of what Haitians experience when they arrive in the United States. President Jimmy Carter’s INS commissioner in 1977 wanted to be fairer towards Haitians, saying that they should be released from jail and allowed to work. A Florida congressman called him into his office and allegedly told him that “We don’t want anymore goddam Black refugees in Florida” (Stepick, 1998). A Haitian program was then started to return any Haitian who arrived by airplane or boat and did not have proper documentation (Stepick, 1998). This program also kept refugees from seeing lawyers (Stepick, 1998) and hence Haitians became the group with the highest rejection rate of political asylum applications (Haitian Refugee Center v. Civiletti, 1980). In 1992, President George H. Bush issued the Kennebunk Port Order that strengthened Reagan’s interdiction policy. According to this order, Haitians intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard would no longer have the opportunity to plead their cases to the on-board team of the State Department and INS. They would be returned to Haiti without the opportunity to apply for political asylum. “After the initial sympathy they received at some of the affluent Florida beach communities, the Haitian ‘boat people’ soon fell prey to the usual discriminatory treatment reserved for Blacks and the poor in the United States” (Lawless, 1992).
CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW

Media and Public Opinion

The media have long been linked with public opinion and acceptance of groups and ideas. “The media play a major role in framing public opinion and debate (Beck, 1998, p. 144). In regards to social movements, the media socially construct reality for their audience by presenting the actors and issues in a way that may influence the public’s opinion and/or action (Kruse, 2001). For individuals who have little information, the media may be especially influential (Kruse, 2001). It is important to examine how the media portray people and issues in order to get a better grasp of how they fit into society.

The media use meaning-laden codes that define “reality” (Beck, 1998; Fiske, 1987). A code is a “system of signs whose rules and conventions are shared amongst members of a culture, and which is used to generate and circulate meanings in and for that culture” (Fiske, 1987, p. 4). Reality is not universal and is already encoded. For example, the concept of woman has cultural codes and is interpreted in media texts that are encountered daily (Beck, 1998).

The mass media perpetuate Western codes by playing on dichotomies (either/or, you/me, good/bad). Those who do not fit the good qualifications (male/white/middle class/Christian) are automatically cast as bad (Beck, 1998). The media’s influences and long-term effects are difficult to measure because of the
media’s pervasiveness (Parker, 1996). Hispanics, according to Taylor, Lee, and Stern’s (1995) study of minorities and magazine advertising, are underrepresented, which “sends a subtle signal about their lack of full acceptance in mainstream society” (Jussim, 1990).

**Framing Theory and the Media Construction of Reality**

Another media function is “to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). This is in part accomplished through the mediated construction of reality—where the “social knowledge which the media selectively circulate is ranked and arranged within the great normative and evaluative classifications, within the preferred meanings and interpretations” (Hall, 1977). Media frames are usually unobtrusive and encompass principles of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and presentation routinely used by journalists to organize discourse (Entman, 1993). The audiences take part in framing when engaging in meaning construction (Gamson, 1989).

Entman (1993) said the concept of framing offers a consistent way to describe the power of communication text. Framing analysis shows the precise way in which influence over human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location (news report) to that consciousness (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Gitlin said that “We frame reality in order to negotiate it, manage it, comprehend it, and choose appropriate repertoires of cognition and action (Gitlin, 1980).

Journalists develop frames by highlighting what is important (Entman, 1993). This is especially true within the media, where familiar cultural symbols are
employed to frame information in ways that appeal immediately to the target audience (Nomai & Dionisopoulos, 2002). Entman also wrote that the process of framing includes the function of selection and salience.

To frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make it more salient in communication text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item discussed. . . . Frames, then define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; diagnose causes—identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments—evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies—offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects. (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

Entman’s problem-solution identification approach to framing will be the focus of this study.

Familiar cultural symbols can be employed effectively to frame material, drawing attention to certain aspects and away from others. In the framing process potential articles are either included or excluded from a message or its interpretation by virtue of the communicator’s organizing principle (Maher, 2001). Theorists say this theory provides a way of assessing how the media can elaborate or reinforce a dominant public culture (Thomas & Evans, 1986).

The media also perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power (Lacey & Longman, 1997). Through this representation, the audience can construct a sense of who we are and are not in relation to us and them, insider and outsider, colonizer and colonized, citizen and foreigner, normal and the deviant, and “the west” and “the rest” (Lacey & Longman, 1997). The media can affirm cultural diversity and provide the space where identities or the interests of others can be challenged. Lacey and Longman (1997) argue that
the mainstream media all too often produce xenophobic reporting and racist portrayal while committing to the ideal and practice of an inclusive multi-ethnic, multicultural society.

**Minority/Immigrant Representation in Media**

Numerous mass media scholars have found that the portrayals of minorities in the news have been negative (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Hunt, 1997; Lester, 1996). In an analysis of network news, Entman and Rojecki (2000) found that 75.5% of the stories focused exclusively on Whites, while 6.3% focused on non-White groups. In this study, Blacks were disproportionately misrepresented as sources in stories. The few stories that featured Blacks as sources dealt with sports, crime, entertainment and discrimination. The study found that Blacks were disproportionately represented in crime stories.

Judging from the transcribed years of ABC, the network mainly discusses Blacks as such when they suffer or commit crime, or otherwise fall victim and require attention from government (and, perhaps, taxpayers). By tying appearances of Blacks so frequently to crime and victimization, the news constructs African-Americans as a distinct source of disruption. (Entman & Rojecki 2000, p. 67)

In a 1992 study Entman found that when African-Americans and Whites are accused of similarly serious offenses, Blacks appear to be treated in a more “dehumanized” manner that their White counterparts. In an inter-group comparison, Turk, Richstad, Bryson, and Johnson (1989) found that Latinos were more likely than Whites to be central characters in stories involving “problem issues” such as judicial and crime (Dixon & Linz, 2000).

In Canada, Fleras (1994) explained that ethnic minority images are consistently the stereotypical ones where unfounded generalizations veer toward
comical or grotesque. They are shown as pimps, high school dropouts, homeless teens and drug pushers (Fleras, 1994). Fleras (1994) added that ethnic minorities’ lived experiences are reduced to the level of an “angle” for spicing up a story and they are not shown as people with something important to say.

Merskin (1998) investigated the television portrayals of Native Americans. Nearly one-third of the respondents found negative portrayals to be negative and inaccurate. Merskin (1998) quoted a Kootenai man during the study about Native Americans in media. “They keep showing us on some reservation but not really a part of society and they always show us not fitting into society” (p. 335). Ethnic and migrant groups are also considered on the basis of over-generalized physical, emotional, and intellectual characteristics (Merskin, 1998). A Navajo woman in Merskin’s study pointed out that when Native Americans are portrayed, the representations often don’t consider the differences between tribes, presenting one homogenous image (Merskin, 1998). Participants in the study also found positive portrayals, but the portrayals were still considered inaccurate.

Researchers have asserted that the impact of minority marginality in the media further entrenches the invisibility of ethnic minorities in society (Fleras, 1995). Some researchers have found that ethnic minorities in Canada do not see themselves mirrored in the media, and this perpetuates feelings of rejection, trivializes their contributions, and devalues their role as citizens in their nations (Mahtani, 2001). This invisibility in the media contributes to a sense of “otherness” for minority groups. Mahtani (2001) noted that,

The absence of complex representations of minorities also problematically encourages whiteness as the norm in the media, where “whiteness quietly embraces our common-sense ways . . . of thinking . . . what we are told is
‘normal,’ neutral or universal, simply becomes the way it is.” (as cited in Mizra, 1997, p. 3)

**Assimilation, Core Culture and the Media: A Look at Immigration**

Sociolinguist Joshua Fishman (1961) asserted that in American life, the core culture or core society in American life as being made up mainly of White Protestants in the middle class.

If there is anything in American life which can be described as an over-all American culture which serves as a reference point for immigrants and their children, it can best be described as, it seems to us, as the middle-class cultural patterns of, largely, white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins. (Gordon, 1964, p. 72)

It is debated whether or not there is a need for an identified core culture and to what extent.

The core culture notion is driven by hegemonic forces, ethnocentrism, and orientalism. Much like race, the notion of a core culture was created to distinguish the “other.” Edward Said, founder of Orientalism, suggested that the discourses of power, culture, and imperialism historically construct binary oppositions between the East and the West, positing the Orient as the other. This Eurocentric discourse is produced, valorized, and validated by demonized representations of the other. It is interpreted through the intertextuality of logocentric narratives, and mediated through texts that are far removed from the circumstantial and everyday reality of the world (Altheide, 1994). As Said (as quoted in Altheide, 1994) observed,

> [t]he power to narrate [represent] or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them. . . . In time, culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates “us” from “them,” almost always with some degree of xenophobia. Culture in this sense is a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that, as we see in recent “returns” to culture and tradition. (Altheide, 1994)
Alba and Nee (1997) defend the usefulness of assimilation but argue that Gordon’s (1964) ideas of a core culture, which resembles that of Huntington (2004) on some level does not fully recognize that the United States is more mixed and the American culture continues to evolve. Alba and Nee said that with minority ethnic cultures within the mainstream, their cultures are absorbed along with their Anglo-American equivalents. This absorption creates a hybrid culture (Alba & Nee, 1997). The idea that the culture is still evolving supports the existence of a core culture because the core culture is consistently changing. Congruent with hegemony, which provides an explanation to the struggle within the power structure of a society, noting tactics the dominant group uses to maintain power, there will always be a dominant group, although the membership may change. While hegemonic forces deeply saturate the consciousness of society as a complex combination of internal structures that must be continually renewed, recreated, and defended, Raymond Williams explained that these structures are regularly challenged and may be modified by emergent oppositional and alternative forces within society (Williams, 1977, 1988).

Huntington (2004) asserts strongly that there is a core culture that all who wish to be successful in the United States must prescribe to and embrace. He said that, “There is only the American dream created by an Anglo-Protestant society. Mexican Americans will share that dream in English” (2004, p.45). Huntington defends and explains the plight of the nativists who feel threatened by the emergence of a new majority that changes the political and cultural landscape of the United States. Huntington’s notions blanketed in the language of war, are outdated, although he obviously is not alone in his views. He cites Theodore Roosevelt, who in 1917, said there must be one flag and one
language. Roosevelt didn’t say which language, but Huntington insists it must be the language of the Declaration of Independence and other famous speeches in U.S. history.

Huntington and Parks (1928) do share in the sentiment of potential conflict in how immigrants interact with the host society. Parks recognizes that the process of assimilation (and acculturation) take place at varying speeds, and the process is slower when people who are radically different come together. He said that racial problems occur in situations where assimilation and acculturation take place very slowly or not at all. Whereas Parks notes that the conflicts arise out of difference in physical traits, which make it difficult to fully assimilate as with the example of the Japanese, Huntington is a bit more specific about his ideas. Huntington claims that Latin Americans, specifically Mexicans and Cubans, and their unwillingness to assimilate and speak English are the cause of conflict. Huntington said that White Anglos have fought back by passing legislation such as Proposition 187 that limits social services to children of illegal immigrants, and will continue to fight back by other means.

Huntington’s notions of core culture and assimilation to assess the impact of Latino, and particularly Mexican, migration on U.S. society are in direct conflict with Parks (1928), who celebrated the marginal men that represent immigrants. Parks wrote, “He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused,” (1928, p. 892). Huntington’s notions challenge Alba and Nee’s assumptions that both cultures are changed in the process of assimilation to be the reality. Huntington’s notions on the impact of culture class are fruitful in providing another perspective, that of nativists, which is an important one to have when considering the coverage of immigrant groups in the media.
Homophily-Heterophily, Ethnocentrism and Media Framing

Homophily refers to the similarities that individuals who interact share such as beliefs, values, education, cultural similarities, race, social status, etc. (Rogers & Bhowmik, 1970). Heterophily refers to differences along the same dimensions. The phenomenon of ethnocentrism is defined by Preiswerk and Perrot as “The attitude of a group which consists of attributing to itself a central position compared to other groups, valuing positively its achievements and particular characteristics, adopting a projective type of behavior towards out groups and interpreting the out groups’ behavior through the in group’s mode of thinking” (1978, p. 14). Homophily and heterophily provide the reference point in which people see themselves, especially in regard to the common cultural values that Entman identified are used to define problems in the process framing.

Gans (1980) identified a classic typology of “enduring values” of U.S. journalists that Gans labels as “ethnocentrism and “altruistic democracy.” In ethnocentrism, the U.S. is the best country in the world, and in altruistic democracy, U.S. politics reflect public interest. Journalists are telling the story of America even when they try to be objective, (Gans, 1980). These enduring values have often been tested in research to examine U.S. media coverage of issues in other countries. Portrayals of countries that are culturally, economically, and politically close, regardless of size or proximity, make ethnocentric bias evident (McQuail, 1987). In a study of U.S. newspaper coverage of Sudanese refugees, Robins (2003) found that many of the articles recycled incomplete images of Africa to meet American expectations.

Negative events in another part of the world do not bear the same relationship to these norms and are therefore read differently. Third World countries are, for example, conventionally represented in western news as places of famines and natural disaster, of social revolution, and of political corruption. These events are not seen as disrupting their social norms, but as confirming ours, confirming our
dominant sense that western democracies provide the basics of life for everyone, are stable, and fairly and honestly governed. (Fiske 1987, p. 285, as cited by Chandler, n.d.).

It is assumed that U.S. journalists are influenced by both homophily-heterophily as well as ethnocentrism. It is with these assumptions that the following research questions are posed:

• R1: Are Haitians and Cubans portrayed negatively in *The New York Times*?

• R2: Are Cubans portrayed more positively than Haitians in *The New York Times*?

• R3: Which group is portrayed to have positive qualities such as educated, hardworking, with higher financial standing, more entrepreneurial, better spoken, and social acceptance in *The New York Times*?

• R4: Which group is most frequently portrayed with opposite qualities including being uneducated, lazy, poor, poorly spoken, and socially unaccepted in *The New York Times*?

These positive and negative attributes were chosen because they are often referred to in conversations about American life. They are based on the standards of the “core culture.” Those who are successful in American society are those, as Huntington noted, who possess the attributes of the founders and other Americans, with language as an example. Hard work and entrepreneurship are some of the principles celebrated by the Protestant ethic on which the United States was founded. These principals fuel the American dream. Negative attributes are in turn, those that do not fit into the ideal American society. Those with negative attributes such as lazy are considered misfits and as the literature suggests are demonized.
CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

This analysis focuses on newspaper news accounts of Cubans and Haitians to answer the research questions. Frames were extracted from the articles in order to perform this task using articles from the *New York Times*.

Frame analysis was chosen as a method because of its qualitative strengths and systematic possibilities. Framing analysis “is more far-reaching than a simple explanation of the themes or subjects,” noted Kerbel, Apee, and Ross (2000, p. 12). Advocates of this approach assert that “that framing analysis offers media researchers better techniques with which to (a) observe the content of messages and of the frame or frames in these messages and (b) design studies that explore the effects of these frames on outcomes spanning individual to group processes” (Esser & D’Angelo, 2003, p. 622; D’Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 1999).

A cultural studies approach will be used to investigate the research questions. Carragee and Roefs (2004) suggest, in keeping with early sociological research on framing, framing processes be examined within the context of the distribution of social and political power. As this literature review has argued, there are number of factors that may impact how immigrant groups are portrayed, including their role in the political and social structure in the United States. As Carragee and Roefs (2004) cited, the origins of frame research in media sociology directly linked the framing process to the distribution of social and political power of America (Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). Carragee and
Roefs’ (2004) critique and suggestions on how framing research is approached resembles that of Entman (1993), who called for different ideas on framing analysis to be brought together in one location to address what he termed the “fractured paradigm.”

**Newspaper Selection**

News articles were sampled from the *New York Times*, which is considered the most prestigious national newspaper, and because *Times* coverage of the two groups is perhaps the most indicative of national media coverage (Winter & Eyal, 1981). In addition to its national circulation, *New York Times* wire articles are also used by smaller newspapers throughout the nation. There are also large populations of Cubans and Haitians living in New York City and its surrounding areas. *The New York Times* has a circulation of more than one million, the third largest circulation in the United States, according to *Editor and Publisher*, the U.S. newspaper trade organization (Aiken, 2003). According to Merrill, the *New York Times* is thorough, a characteristic that warrants the label “the paper of record” (Merrill, 1968). It is this label that fosters trust among readers, which could heighten the effectiveness of the frames they create and/or reflect. It is not expected that all articles used in this analysis were well read by all subscribers or people with access, but the *New York Times*’ circulation size and influence in setting the national agenda suggest that the articles were read by a large audience.

It is important to note that in addition to being circulated throughout the country, the *New York Times* primarily serves New York City, perhaps the most diverse city in the United States. Often used as a point of entry, New York City and surrounding areas are home to large immigrant populations. In serving such a diverse population one could reasonably assume that the *New York Times*’ coverage would be representative of this environment. With so many different immigrant groups living in this coverage area, it
would have been possible to choose two other groups to analyze. However, as stated in
the introduction, Cubans and Haitians have a unique relationship in terms of how they fit
in American society.

Time Frame

The sample was from January 1, 1994, to December 31, 2004. The dates were
selected to reflect the events of the past 11 years. Originally, the time frame included
January 1, 1994, through January 1, 2004. An additional year was added in order to have
more articles and, in turn, better representation of the universe. Each group has specific
events that have lead to media coverage, but the dates are not in sync. For example, the
Elian Gonzalez custody story started at the end of 1999, while Haiti experienced turmoil
that lead to the ousting of its president in 2003. There were also high levels of
immigration during this period, which is addressed in the background section. Scattering
the dates could potentially compromise the systematic approach of the research. Looking
at the past decade allows sufficient opportunity to collect diverse data for both groups.

The article search yielded 177 articles that were coded. There were 96 articles for
Haitians and 81 articles for Cubans. Nine constructed weeks were taken from each five-
year period as suggested by Lacy, Riffe, Stoddard, Martin, and Chang (2001). Lacy et al.
examined a 5-year sample of news articles from one newspaper, using 6 to 10 weeks, to
see which sample would be most efficient in inferring to the population. They concluded
that 9 constructed weeks for every five-period provided maximum efficiency. This
procedure is likely to include variations across years because all years are included
during the period (Lacy et al., 2001). Two random weeks were constructed for the 11th
year. Lacy et al. noted research sampling less than 5 years should use 2 constructed
weeks from each year (2001). These methods were replicated to sample articles for this study.

Constructed week samples identify all Mondays, and randomly select one Monday, then identify all Tuesdays, and randomly select one Tuesday to “construct” a week that ensures each source of cyclic variation—each day of the week is represented equally” (Lacy et al., 2001, p. 837).

**Search Terms**

The articles were sampled from the LexisNexis Newspaper database. The purposive sample includes news and features articles and excludes editorials, reviews, letters to the editors, etc. The search terms used were *Cuba or Cuban* and *Haiti or Haitian* in two separate searches. Only stories that are about or focus on Cuba, Cuban(s), Haiti, or Haitian(s) were selected. Articles that mention the search terms in passing, such as a geographical point of reference, were excluded.

**Approach and Coding**

Early and some current framing research involve one researcher working alone as the sole expert at identifying frames (Tankard, 2003). The “List of Frames” approach was used to measure media frames. For the purpose of this research, this list will be referred to as the Framing Analysis Guide. This approach is based on the theoretical definition of framing that asserts:

A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration. (Tankard, 2003, p. 100-101).

The idea of elaboration was added to include the function of building a frame (Tankard, 2003).
This approach proposes identifying a guide for examining the domain under discussion (Tankard, 2003). The Framing Analysis Guide method focuses on how the issue is defined by inclusion and exclusion of certain key terms, uncovering terms through an examination of media content through a list of framing mechanisms (Tankard, 2003). A list of 11 such mechanisms, or focal points, was proposed to identify framing (Tankard, 2003):

- Headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main headlines).
- Subheads.
- Photographs.
- Photo captions.
- Leads (the beginning of news stories).
- Selection of sources or affiliations.
- Selection of quotes.
- Pull quotes (quotes that are blown up in size for emphasis).
- Logos (graphic identification of the particular series an article belongs to).
- Statistics, charts, and graphs.
- Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.

According to Tankard (2003), this approach makes the rules for identifying frames explicit and takes the subjectivity out of frame identification. Tankard said:

The approach is not necessarily heavily quantitative. Rather, it attempts to be systematic about frame identification and to show that there are defining characteristics of media frames that different observers can recognize and agree upon. The point is not to be quantitative for its own sake, but to take the subjectivity out of the identification of frames. (pp. 103-4)

Each article was regarded as unit of analysis and only text was analyzed. Photographs were not analyzed, so mechanisms three and four were not coded. Also, LexisNexis articles did not include mechanisms 8, 9 and 10, so they were also excluded from the analysis. Articles were first read and coded for attributes that emerged. Similar attributes were aggregated into frames (Appendix B).

**Reliability and Intersubjectivity**

References to the issue of reliability involved in frame analysis were made by Gamson (1989):
It is difficult . . . to get adequate reliability with such a genotypic category as a frame or a story line. But by identifying the particular signature elements for a given frame—the metaphors, catchphrases, or other symbolic devices typically used to convey it—it is possible to find phenotypic expressions that can be reliably coded. (p. 159)

Three coders were used for the print material. The codebook was explained and coders worked at an individual pace. The researcher followed Gamson and Modigliani (1989) in presenting detailed examples of the most commonly used frames to allow readers to form their own judgments about the validity of the frames used (Kruse, 2001). The same coder coded the material at two different times. Coders discussed the data for richness and reconciled any conflicts. Attributes were identified and frames grouped by likeness once all articles were coded. The most dominant frames are discussed in Chapter 5.

Each coder had a distinct background, which may have affected the way coding was approached, which was balanced by the Frame Guide to add objectivity. The first coder was a female from Haiti who has lived in the United States for 15 years. She studied mass communication at the graduate level at the University of Florida. The second coder was a female international student from Sri Lanka. She had been in the United States for five years and studied mass communication at the graduate level at the University of Florida. The third coder was a White female native to Florida. She was married to a Cuban-American man and studied environmental science at the undergraduate level. All coders were fluent in English. The various backgrounds of the coders provided a rich opportunity for testing intersubjectivity. Very few differences existed when coding was discussed. It is also important to note that the three coders were not members of what has been called the “core culture” because of their backgrounds and life experiences. It can be argued that their different cultures and experiences may have
colored the way they saw Haitians and Cubans see portrayed in the media. Still, it is believed that this study can be replicated with essentially the same findings using coders from the “core culture” (White, middle-class, Protestant) with similar findings.
CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS

This analysis is concerned with the frames that *New York Times* articles used to portray Cubans and Haitians. A total of 177 articles were examined: 81 for Cubans and 96 for Haitians. The articles were analyzed for frequently occurring words, catchphrases, themes and reporters’ frames with the use of Tankards’ (2003) mechanism identified in Chapter 4. Frames were identified as either positive (+) or negative (-) to answer the research questions. Neutral frames are also discussed in this analysis. Neutral frames are those that do not show the group(s) in either a positive or negative light. For example, some articles identified Cuban exiles as being anti-Castro without making judgments. The study revealed major frames that both groups shared, as well as frames that were unique to each group. An article could possess positive and negative frames.

The news coverage reflected times where the groups had salient issues in the news. Coverage of Haitians peaked in 1994, a year with a great deal of political activity in Haiti, as well as attempted immigration to the United States. There were at least four articles in less salient years. Coverage of Cubans was a bit more sporadic. In 1997, there was only one article, but in 2000, in the midst of the Elian Gonzalez case, there were 21 articles.

The articles appeared in various sections in the newspapers, including sports, the front page and metropolitan sections. The coverage was at two geographical levels for Haitians and three levels for Cubans. For Haitians, articles that originated in Haiti dominated. These stories were about natural disasters, politics, Haiti’s economy and U.S. involvement in Haiti. The next level was Haitians in the United States, which had many
references to Abner Louima, a man who was physically assaulted by police officers in New York and also mostly covered immigration. Cubans were covered primarily in the United States with articles on immigration, defection and politics. In term of politics, Cuban leaders emerged out of South Florida and New York. Next, Cubans were covered in Cuba, which resulted in most of the neutral frames because they simply framed Cuba as a communist nation and Cuban Americans as defectors and anti-Castro. In a few instances, Cubans were covered in other countries, as was the case of the article on Cuban doctors working in South Africa.

We will first look at the frames that emerged during this study and then answer the research questions. For Cubans, the three dominant positive frames that emerged were Character Strength, Political Involvement, and Success. All articles quoted in this chapter are from the *New York Times*, published between January 1, 1994, and December 31, 2004. Individual authors' names are given in the text.

**Cuban Framing**

The Character Strength Frame, the most dominant overall frame for Cubans, as well as the most dominant positive frame for Cubans, encompassed desirable traits such as courageous, hardworking, religious, forgiving, loyal, family oriented, innovative, and compassionate. Defectors, especially sports stars and dancers, were shown as courageous as their stories were told with movement. This can best be illustrated in a story about a member of the Cuban boxing team who got in touch with his former teammate, who also defected:

“What a beautiful coincidence,” said Barthemely, a welterweight who defected by swimming 11 miles across Guantanamo Bay to the United States Navy Base on Cuba’s southern tip in September 1993. . . . Hurtado said that, like other Cuban athletes who have defected, he would like to turn professional. (AP, November 2, 1994)
Table 5-1. Cuba: Positive frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Percent distribution of Positive frames and (overall %)</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Character strength</td>
<td>44 (18)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politically active</td>
<td>34 (14)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful</td>
<td>16 (6)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competent to choose</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culturally influential</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages less than one were not listed.

The Character Strength Frame had a larger presence for Cubans in Cuba than those in the United States. American sources are often used to validate the positive characteristics. This can be seen in a story about Cuban refugees waiting in Panama to go to the United States:

“I’m confident the world, including the United States, will find a solution to this,” General Wilson said. “Most of these people are well-educated and decent. They just want to get out of Limbo and get on with their lives.” (Special to The New York Times, December 12, 1994)

The Political Involvement Frame was used to show Cubans as not only involved in politics, but also influential in this arena. While Cubans in the United States as well as those in Cuba are shown in the frame, the political influence was limited to Cubans in the United States and much of the influence, according to the articles, was toward influencing the fate of exiles and U.S. policy toward Castro’s government. As for influence on policy toward Cuba, an article on the U.S. easing sanctions on Cuba provides a good example.

Anti-Castro Cuban-Americans in Florida, a hotly contested state in the presidential election, were able to win new restrictions on travel to Cuba and prohibitions on the United States government credit and private financing for any sales. (Holmes & Alvarez, October 19, 2000)

This frame was most evident during the Elian Gonzalez story that began in late 1999. In one article, one of the other survivors of the same boat trip as Elian Gonzalez
sought help from the Cuban community, specifically the Cuban American National Foundation.

But Ms. Horta said that if the foundation “moved mountains” for Elian, it could do something to get her daughter out of Cuba. (AP, November 7, 2000)

The Success Frame was prominent mostly in reference to sports, specifically baseball. Baseball player Orlando Hernandez was shown as the poster boy for Cuban success stories. One story led with

Looking more like a major league veteran than a refugee who has been in the United States half a year, Orlando Hernandez turned in another superb effort tonight on his climb through the Yankee system. (The New York Times, April 28, 1998)

While the successful athletes appear as positive frames, their portrayed dominance in this arena resemble that of African-Americans.

The most dominant negative frames for Cubans were Delinquent Cuban Government, Character Weakness, and Immigrants.

Table 5-2. Cuba: Negative frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Percent distribution of negative frames and (overall %)</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Character weakness</td>
<td>26 (12)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government delinquency</td>
<td>15 (7)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>22 (10)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>8 (4)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politically influential</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba- economic turmoil</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijackers</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominated by U.S.</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuban-American backlash</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-American</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not human</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba not free</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Cuba</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentage does not equal 100 because not all frames were used for this chart. Percentages less than one were not listed.

The Immigrant Frame includes showing Cubans as desperate, refugees and highlights the preferential treatment that Cubans receive from the U.S. government.
The Cuban refugees, more than 30,000, had set out for Florida in boats and rafts over the summer, when American immigration policy changed to deny them entry into the country.

The story continues:

Before the raft refugees there were “fence jumpers” like Felix Wilson, 56. (Navarro, December 24, 1994)

The Delinquent Cuban Government Frame included human rights violations, abuse and untrustworthiness of the Cuban government and President Fidel Castro. One article demonstrated how comparisons are used to highlight Cuba’s differences. The article compares Cuba’s political situation to the openness of the baseball gesture.

Despite the excitement over the Baltimore Orioles’ exhibition game here and the veneer of openness it conveys, American baseball comes to Cuba in a climate of heightened political repression.

The same article compares the situation to the visit from the Pope.

International human rights monitors said Cuba’s latest retrenching only served to underscore how little the situation has changed, even after Pope Paul II, during his visit here last year, urged Cuba to open up to the world. But perhaps because of the high expectations raised by the Pope’s visit, the Government now finds itself the target of international condemnation over its new curbs and the recent sentencing of four dissidents charged with sedition. (Navarro, March 28, 1999).

The Character Weakness Frame is the opposite of the Character Strength Frame, and highlights undesired traits such as untrustworthiness, criminality, selfishness and dishonesty. This frame is best demonstrated in the article about a Cuban I.N.S. official who was accused of espionage and framed as untrustworthy and criminal.

“He disclosed classified information for no better purpose than his own personal reasons, his own personal gain,” Mr. Miner said. “He took it to the realm of control to the United States government and gave it to someone else to use however they wanted.” (Bragg, May 31, 2000)

**Haitian Framing**

As can be seen in Tables 5-3 and 5-4, far more negative frames emerged for Haitians than positive frames. Only 16.6% of the stories about Haitians (n=16) contained
positive frames. The most dominant positive frames for Haitians were Character Strength, and Politically Active.

Table 5-3. Haiti: Positive frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Percent distribution of positive frames and (overall %)</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Character Strength</td>
<td>57 (6)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politically Active</td>
<td>30 (3)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful</td>
<td>4 (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurial</td>
<td>9 (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages less than one were not listed.

The Character Strength Frame, which was found in only six articles encompassed persistence, courage and hardworking. One example of this frame was shown in an article about a Haitian female journalism that was battling with the Haitian government.

She is shown as educated, courageous and resilient:

A homecoming queen turned crusading journalist, she is tall and elegant. Her hair pulled back smartly, she looks you straight in the eye.

The article continues:

She joined the station, and they (Montas and her future husband) became an elegant couple, who did stories on controversial topics that tested how far they could push the limits—Jean called it sniffing. (Gonzalez, March 29, 2003)

It’s important to note that this article contained some of the most negative frames about Haitians, specifically political leaders and business people in Haiti. This is most apparent in the story’s lead:

The Haitian government wants Michele Montas to believe that common criminals killed her husband, Jean Dominique. . . . Never mind that he was the country’s most famous journalist and fiercest critic of government corruption. Never mind that President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and several government ministers reportedly huddled with the investigating judge before the indictments were issued on Monday. (Gonzalez, March 29, 2003)

The Politically Active Frame did not indicate political influence and only appeared in seven articles. Also Haitians political activity in the United States is often
subsidizes by supporters or sympathizers, as was the case of Abner Loiuma, who was advised by the Reverend Al Sharpton and the politicians who have joined in to support refugees. An article on the reaction of Haitians in Little Haiti in Miami on the violence in Haiti and refugees coming to the United States illustrates this, but not without showing Haitians as victims.

Many of the detainees, who are being held at the Broward Transitional Center, have lost relatives in the violence that has swept Haiti in the recent weeks, Ms. Little said. . . . Ms. Little and other immigration advocates are lobbying Washington to ease its policy on Haitian refugees. In the immediate term, they seek temporary protective status for Haitians here who might otherwise be deported. But Representative Kendrick B. Meek, a Miami Democrat who joined in their effort, said there had been no progress. (Goodnough, February 24, 2004)

There were six dominant negative frames that emerged for Haitians. They are Character Weakness, Poor, Victim, Troubled Nation, Primitive Other, and Immigrant.

Table 5-4. Haiti: Negative frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Percent distribution of negative frames and (overall %)</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Character Weakness</td>
<td>19 (17)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>17 (15)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>13 (12)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troubled Nation</td>
<td>12 (11)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primitive Other</td>
<td>10 (9)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>11 (9)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voodoo</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>1.5 (-)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a burden</td>
<td>1.5 (-)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. as savior</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages less than one were not listed.

The Character Weakness Frame, the most dominant frame, identifies undesirable attributes such as criminality, cunningness, delinquency, and untrustworthiness. One article used quoted an unnamed diplomat to construct this frame.

“Aristide has completely outwitted the Americans on this,” one diplomat here said. “Rather than confront his patrons directly, he has moved in a roundabout, typically Haitian fashion to dismantle the army.” (Rohter, February 22, 1995)
The Poor Frame, the second most dominant frame for Haiti and Haitians, included Haitians in Haiti and abroad, with Haiti frequently referred to as “the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere.” Approximately one third of the articles (n=30) framed Haiti the country, Haitians in Haiti, and Haitians in the United States as poor. One technique that was repeated in addition to the above stated catchphrase was the identification of slums or other places of residence:

Said Joseph Antonio Cochon, 42, a militant in La Saline, a lawless slum here. (Polgreen, October 7, 2004).

In Cite Soleil, a slum whose residents have benefited from water, food and schools provided by Mr. Aristide. (Gonzalez, November 27, 2000)

The Victim Frame was the most subtle frame. Haitians were portrayed as victims lacking agency, mostly in situations out of their control. This was most apparent in coverage of floods and hurricanes as well as the Abner Louima case.

The Troubled Nation Frame showed Haiti as a lost state with violence and chaos. Haiti was shown as hopeless, helpless and a waste of time and resources. One article epitomized this frame, starting with its headline, “Life is Hard and Short in Haiti’s Bleak Villages.” The story lead was the following:

Diplomats call Haiti a “failed state,” a nation done in by dictators and disasters. (Weiner, March 14, 2004)

The article continued

Governments and juntas rise and fall, 15 in the last 18 years, doing nothing to stop Haiti from sliding off into the sea. . . . In a country where nothing works, the group looks after 200,000 people.

Additionally, Weiner included voodoo in his article, a frame that emerged, but was not dominant.
“If we had someone to represent us in the government, I would say to him, we cannot live in a nation without security,” said Mr. Dipera, the voodoo priest of Plaine Danger. “There is no law here.”

This frame confirms Stepick’s observation that people hold the folk model that imagines that Haitians’ religion is filled with real cannibals and zombies (Stepick, 1998).

The Primitive Other Frame, inspired by the concept of Orientalism, shows Haitians as childlike, barbaric and not completely human. In immigration articles Haitians are described like objects, with the words packed, crammed and jammed. Hurricane articles, especially those in 2004 were even more brutal of their descriptions of Haitians corpses. One example of this frame showing Haitians as childlike can be seen in an article that talks about Haiti’s army in 1994. The story’s headline was “Haiti’s New Militia Drills with Sticks.”

During earlier drills, when some of them had been told to aim and dry fire their weapons, they had yelled, “Bang!” (Bragg, August 11, 1994)

Another article uses a quote to accomplish a similar feat of framing Haitians as inferior.

“Haitians are being ground up like hamburger because the clowns who run the government don’t know how to behave like adults,” Mr. Obey said. (Greenhouse, April 15, 1994)

The Immigrant Frame showed Haitians as unwanted elements in receiving or host societies, specifically the United States. In this frame, Haitians were often identified as “Haitian immigrants” and referred to as “boat people.” In the 14 articles that mentioned the Louima case, only one did not identify him as a Haitian immigrant.

**Findings for Research Question 1**

The first research question asked if Haitians and Cubans are portrayed negatively. The data supports that Haitians and Cubans were portrayed negatively.
While positive frames appeared frequently for Cubans, almost just as many negative frames appeared. Some of the positive frames such as Successful had negative implications by showing mostly athletes as successful. When Cuban leaders were shown, they were sometimes shown as controlling as was the case of the Mayor of Hialeah. The story had the headline, “A South Florida Strongman Pushes for Secession from Miami-Dade County.” Although the article describes the Mayor as charismatic, they also show him as a micro-manager and politically motivated. The Cuban government was framed as communists, which in the United States is seen as an enemy, even after the end of the Cold War. The Cuban government was responsible for most of the negative frames, including Character Weakness.

The data clearly shows that Haitians are framed negatively, especially when looking at the lack of positive frames and abundance of negative frames that appeared for this group. The Haitian government, much like that of Cuba, owned a great deal of the negative frames, such as corrupt and unstable. Haiti was portrayed as poor and helpless, dependent on the U.S. for survival. One article about a get rich scheme, showed Haitians as gullible, childlike and greedy. That same sort of story is shown in the U.S. frequently, but in those cases Americans are shown as innocent victims. Haitians in the United States did not fare any better that those living in Haiti. Haitians in the U.S. were portrayed as victims, unfaithful and criminal.

Findings for Research Question 2

The second research question asked if Cubans are framed more positively than Haitians. The data suggests that this question can be answered affirmatively.
Table 5-5. Frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cubans</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitians</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative frames of Haitians appeared almost ten times more than positive frames. Only 10% of the frames that appeared for Haitians were positive. Cubans fared much better. There is almost a one to one ratio of the appearance of positive frames to negative frames. As noted previously, Cubans are framed as having positive characteristics such as successful, courageous, educated and religious. Positive frames for Haitians consisted of politically active, resilient and hardworking, but again these frames were few. One way to illustrate this assertion is to compare how Cubans and Haitians in the United States were identified. Cubans in the United States were most often identified as exiles, while Haitians are identified as immigrants and refugees. Exiles are heroic in that they rejected Castro and Communism. They fled toward democracies, which the West reveres. In the case of Abner Louima, when he was repeatedly identified as a Haitian immigrant, perhaps being identified as a Haitian or an immigrant would have made the frame less effective. The ethnicity and citizenship status of the officers accused of abusing him were not any of the articles. In a time when immigration is a topic of heated debate, identifying someone as such, unnecessarily, as in the case of Louima, becomes a powerful framing technique. Lou Dobbs and other American figures and politicians have made it clear that they do not want more immigrants entering this nation, despite the fact that it was founded by immigrants.

**Findings for Research Question 3**

The third research question asked which group is portrayed to have positive qualities such as educated, hardworking, with higher financial standing, more
entrepreneurial, better spoken, and social acceptance. Cubans were shown as having
positive qualities. Articles about the last two U.S. elections made mention of Cubans’
cultural and political influence. Articles about the U.S. policy in Cuba note that
American politicians were trying to please Cubans in South Florida. Character Strength
was by the dominant frame. Three articles framed Cubans as educated, using doctors and
scholars as sources. Surprisingly only two articles framed Cubans as religious, but
another two framed them as forgiving.

Three articles portrayed Cubans as hardworking. One example of this frame can
be seen in an article on Cuban doctors working in South Africa.

The Cubans all speak English. Besides, the nurses say, the Cubans are far more
willing than the South Africans to learn Zulu.

“They try very hard,” said Latine Sizani, who has worked at the hospital for 24
years. “And besides, the patients—they can always read from the face if he is a
nice man.”

“The feedback we are getting is that we are getting more than we paid for,” Mr.
Hlongwane said. “They are a caring lot and they are not materialistic. They are
doing more than their contracts ask them to do.” (Daley, May 10, 1998)

Cubans were shown to be more financially stable. Cubans in the U.S. that
appeared in articles had employment and some were wealthy. Cuba was not framed as a
poor country. In fact, one article portrayed Cuba as exceptional in comparison to
countries that are supposed to be on its level. This can be seen in the lead of an article
about Cuba’s health care system.

At the big, modern hospital on one end of this provincial city, the medical staff
commands the sort of technology that most poor countries can only dream about.
(Golden, October 30, 1994)

Neither group was shown as entrepreneurial and there was not enough evidence to
show which group was shown as better spoken. In terms of social acceptance, Cubans
were shown as the group that was more accepted by American society. From the
sympathetic quote above from Bob Dole about the decency of the Cuban people to an article about a building in South Florida that is a ‘beacon’ to exiles, Cubans are shown as a part of American society. It is, however, important to note that in two articles there appeared to be some backlash towards, specifically regarding the use of their political influence. This can best seen in an article regarding special accommodations made to certify Cuban Doctors in the United States.

First, the person who pushed for the accommodations was discredited:

State Senator Alberto Gutman, a Cuban-American Republican from Miami who has been sentenced to prison for Medicare fraud and gave up his seat last year after he was indicted, persuaded the Board of Medicine to change some questions and translate the exam into Spanish.

The Cuban doctors were then shown as monsters being released:

Other medical organizations have expressed opposition as well, contending that these accommodations are, in effect, unleashing an underqualified group of doctors on an unsuspecting public.

The preferential treatment that the Cuban doctors received was questioned:

While many Cuban exiles have passed the required test of other doctors, the fact that one group of exiles is getting so much attention has raised concerns among members of the medical establishment in Florida and beyond. (Kilborn, May 14, 2000)

Findings for Research Question 4

The fourth research question asked which group is said to have the opposite qualities including uneducated, lazy, poor, poorly spoken, and socially unaccepted. Haitians were shown with overwhelmingly negative and undesirable traits. The nation is shown as poor and its people as well those in the Diaspora are framed as poor. One article about a needy woman who had problems identified her as Haitian. It is important to note that the reporter, while identifying this poor woman as Haitian also framed her as hardworking. The fourth graph of the article read
Since coming to New York from Haiti in 1969, Marie, now a teacher’s assistant at a public school, had always worked. She reared four children on her own; they were poor but happy. But last February after a brief marriage broke up, Marie and her family were evicted. They began a nine-month odyssey through the city’s shelter system. (Herszenhorn, December 27, 1996)

Only one article framed Haitians as lazy, but the same articles showed Haitians as childlike, greedy, criminal, and gullible. The story lead

Intoxicated by the promise of easy money, thousands of Haitians here and abroad sold their cars, mortgaged their homes and emptied their savings accounts in recent months to invest in cooperatives that promised astonishing monthly returns of 10 percent.

The article continued

Mathematically, it should have self-destructed earlier,” one banker said. “Drug money definitely allowed them to last much longer.” (Gonzalez, July 26, 2002)

Three articles showed Haitians as uneducated and ignorant. One article on AIDS in the Caribbean contained numerous negative frames about Haitians, including the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere. But the dominant frame was the ignorance of Haitians:

As it has in their native country, AIDS has ravaged the bayetes, where superstition, poverty and prejudice conspire against hope. The brother of one AIDS patient recently told Sister Anne Lees, a nun who runs several health and nutrition projects, that the man had died from a spell cast by a creditor.

Haitians were not only shown as ignorant, but as savages who could not control their urges:

“It’s very difficult to confront reality if you do not think this disease exists,” Sister Anne said. “Even if you told someone they were H.I.V. positive, they would not believe it. They would just go off and have sex with the first person they saw.” (Gonzalez, May 18, 2003)

Barbaric, criminal, untrustworthy, cunning, and delinquent are all socially undesirable traits. Haitians were frequently shown with these frames and shown as socially unaccepted. The numerous “boat” people making their way to the United States
were often shown as not human. They were framed as being packed into tiny boats without agency, and were shown as burdens in three articles.
Portes (1995), one of the leading immigration scholars, in his study of children of migrants asserted that there are circumstances in which assimilation does not lead to economic progress and social acceptance, and that opposite may occur. He asserted that not all immigrants are equal, as he explained with segmented assimilation. For example, human capital immigrants who are already educated or skilled assimilate differently than labor immigrants. Portes compared different groups, including Haitians and Cubans.

The older and better established Cuban community moved farther along the path of institutional development, including the creation of a network of parochial and private schools. Enrollment in these schools insulates Cuban-American children from contact with downtrodden groups as well as from outside discrimination. . . . Very different is the situation of Haitians in Miami and Mexicans in San Diego. Neither community possesses a well-developed ethnic economy that can generate autonomous opportunities for its members. . . . Haitians have clustered in an impoverished neighborhood adjacent to Liberty City, the largest inner-city ghetto in Miami. . . . The Haitian community lacks a private school system and their youth must attend public inner-city schools. There, initially well-mannered Haitian American youths are ridiculed for their accent, their docility, and their obedience of school staff. (Portes, 1995, 263-264)

In the case of Haitian Americans, families struggle with preventing downward assimilation:

As the case of Haitian Americans in south Florida indicates, good intentions and high aspirations are not enough when structural forces place individuals in conditions of insurmountable disadvantage. (Portes, 1995, p. 275)

It is with Portes’ observation in mind that we will precede with this conclusion.

Media scholars, including Entman, Hall and Hunt, have done extensive research on how media portray different ethnic groups, including African-Americans and Latinos.
Immigration scholars, including Portes (1995) examined the role of immigrants in society and how they adjust. This study focused on the media’s role in portraying two salient immigrant groups. This study supports the idea that the media still has further to go in improving its coverage of diverse populations. The New York Times, considered one of the elite newspapers, provided coverage that was not surprising in its overall negative tones for both groups.

The findings in this study show The New York Times framed Cubans and Haitians negatively. Haitians were portrayed negatively to a higher degree, with significantly few frames present. While Cubans were framed negatively, the ratio of positive and negative frames was almost one to one.

The first research question asked if Cubans and Haitians were framed negatively. The findings were that they were indeed framed negatively, with both groups sharing Character Weakness and Government Delinquency frames. The Poor Frame could be expected for Haitians because of the nation’s financial standing, although the extent was enormous. The Other Frame that emerged supports the Otherness discourse that notes a distinction between “us” and “them.” Latham identified the traits of otherness in films. “Together, they reveal how ordinary film ads could eroticize, vilify, and belittle people in subtle ways that appealed to dominant social expectations, fears, and desires (Latham, 2002, p. 5).

The second research question asked if Cubans were portrayed more positively than Haitians. The study found that Cubans were framed more positively than Haitians. Taylor, Lee, and Stern’s (1995) assertions that underrepresentation send subtle signals about the lack of full acceptance in mainstream society can also be applied to the findings of this study. Research findings for Questions 3 and 4 note that Cubans were shown to
have more socially acceptable frames than Haitians. The signals about Haitians were characterized by the abundance of negative frames.

As Portes (1995) noted, different immigrant groups have different capital, which shape how they assimilate and in turn how they are accepted in society. Societal acceptance can be examined through media portrayals, as this study has done. Cubans and Cuban Americans have a strong social network and established businesses, which lend to political strength. Haitians and Haitian Americans do not have the same social networks and businesses. Heterophily can refer to the differences in the way that the reporters see themselves in terms of beliefs, values, education, cultural similarities, race, and social status, and potentially impact how they cover Cubans and Haitians subjects. The particularly negative framing of Haitians is heightened by their overtly different race and social status to that of the majority of journalists.

While neither group completely fit the “core culture” or “core society,” Cubans, although they are a group that could be identified as racially mixed, are portrayed as predominantly White. In the articles that were examined, few of the Cubans in the articles used in this study, including Celia Cruz were Afro-Cuban, although they were not identified as such. The whitening of Cuban identity in the media may lead to more social acceptance. Cubans also speak Spanish and as shown in the data are portrayed as successful and influential. While there are Cubans that belong to different classes, those in the upper or middle class, based on their positions, were often used as sources or subjects in this study. Huntington argued against the ethnic enclave that Cubans have created in south Florida, calling it contempt of culture and the “Hispanization of Miami.”

In the nativist view, Cuban-Americans who live in this enclave or are resistant to assimilate are not truly American. Many Cubans and Cuban-Americans have spread out
throughout the country where perhaps they have less community support and must assimilate faster rather than doing what has been labeled by Stepick (1998) and Portes (1995) as “acculturation in reverse.”

Haitians also have some traits that affect the probability of assimilation. The vast majority of Haitians are Black. Unlike Cubans, Haitians speak a language that is even less widespread, Haitian Creole. Because the language is native to only one country and spoken in very few places in the United States, the demand for Haitians to learn English is even greater. Haitians, in terms of attempting to learn the language would please Huntington and others who support nativist ideals. Still, Haitians were portrayed as belonging to the lower class, often placed in the Poor Frame. Haitians as well as Cubans are predominantly Catholic, but the religious angle only appeared a few times in the sample.

As stated above, there are factors that affect each group’s probability of assimilation and cultural change. Cubans, more than Haitians are able to assimilate because they are shown to possess more of the traits of the “core culture.” Haitians, despite their language shift, are still Black and poor. Like Parks (1928) noted with the Japanese case of assimilation, while class and language may be transcended, race is the most obvious trait that cannot be overlooked when a group joins a news society. Those groups or group members who do not or are not able to assimilate fully, are what Parks define as marginal men, living on the margins of the mainstream society between two cultures. They are also reflected as such in the media, as this study found. They are identified as the “other” and their differences as similarities in relation to “core society” are highlighted. Cubans’ slightly more positive coverage is a reflection of the similarities that they have to the “core culture.” Backlash and negative frames appeared when they
deviated from the “core cultures’ expectations. Haitians’ overwhelmingly negative coverage is a reflection of their obvious and irreconcilable differences and societal rejection.

Other ideas of culture can be examined with the findings of this study. One is the notion of the United States as a “melting pot.” This supports the ideas that both cultures are changed as a result of interaction. Cubans and Haitians would become more American as American society because a little more Cuban or Haitians. Another idea is that the receiving country, the United States in this instance, would embrace different cultures and promote a multicultural society. Multiculturalism promotes interaction between different people, with the each person maintaining their individuality and identity. Multiculturalism has gained popularity, as can be seen at universities who have turned their attention toward creating campuses that embrace multiculturalism. For either of these ideas to come to fruition, mainstream society must be accepting of the groups with which they interact. Taylor, Lee, and Stern’s (1995) assertions that underrepresentation sends subtle signals about the lack of full acceptance in mainstream society is applicable to the findings of this study.

**Implications of This Study**

This study adds to the scholarly mass communication literature by reinforcing the significance of framing theory and focusing on two ethnic and immigrant groups in understanding the mass media and how they shape public opinion. We live in a world of constant change and with the extreme rate that communication technology is advancing, contact with people from different regions occurs instantaneously. Messages about society, including social acceptability and identity formation are transferred, usually from North to South. Journalists play a special role in public opinion formation and in helping
individuals shape the way they see the world. Perhaps, journalists can take that role with a stronger sense of responsibility. Journalists must not only react to what happens in society, specifically the change in the people who live in it, but must be leaders in helping people understand each other. This understanding begins with accurate portrayals of all groups. Many scholars have asserted that underrepresentation and misrepresentation of minority groups lead to misunderstandings by the general public about the world they live in.

As stated in the introduction, the projected change in the U.S. population is not negotiable. While the increase in the number of minorities has fueled the nativist rhetoric, as argued by Huntington, it is a reality that American society must prepare for. The United States' immigration policy has been in the news, especially since September 11. Public figures including CNN commentator Lou Dobbs have called for protecting U.S. borders and keeping jobs within the borders. Mexicans have been the recent focus of border control discussions. Immigration studies have often associated Mexicans and Haitians in terms of the similarities in their demographics, while Cubans have been associated with different Asian groups, such as the Vietnamese. Inadequate portrayals further damage members of the group as well as society by promoting a lack of acceptance. Negative portrayals could also have an impact on decision-makers, specifically those in immigration policy. This can be inferred by evaluating the strength of the preferential status of Cuban immigrants who in this study were found to have a more positive portrayal versus the immigration policy toward Haitians who were portrayed more negatively.

The findings of this study support Entman’s problem-solution approach to framing, which asserts that frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral
judgments and suggest remedies. This is best seen in immigration articles that involve both groups. In the Cuban case, illegal immigration to the United States is identified as a problem, especially as a source of strain on South Florida’s resources. Fidel Castro’s government and political restrictions were identified as the cause of Cuban immigration to the United States. The moral judgments made were mostly toward Castro. Political and economic instability are often identified as the source of Haitian immigration to south Florida. Like Cubans, this migration occurs in spurts. In this case of Haitians, remedies are not suggested because the situation in Haiti is framed as hopeless.

The findings of this study also support studies that found portrayals of minorities to be negative (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Hunt, 1997; Merskin, 1998). These minorities, Haitians more than Cubans according to the findings, are dehumanized. They are shown as a mass, without names, without histories, without families, without identity. Haitians, more so than Cubans, are framed as commodities, with governments debating over who is allowed to travel where. The individual’s free will is portrayed as non-existent; this again is truer for Haitians than Cubans. The portrayals put these minorities in a subclass. When these individuals are identified by their ethnicity, while other individuals are validated simply with a name, Cubans and Haitians, along with other ethnic group members, are set apart from everyone who is considered “normal” in this society. This alienation, as scholars have found, have an impact on members of the minority groups. Scholars, including Tajfel (1982) and Gergen (1985) have theorized that the way minorities are portrayed in various media inflicts what Gergen terms “dignitary harm,” by virtue of the use of demeaning stereotypes, repetitive, and unrepresentative images which help, in part, to shape minority group social identities (Fischoff, Franco, Gram, Hernandez, & Parker, 2001).
The negative portrayals of minorities and ethnic groups, specifically the two that were examined in this study, have proliferated across media and have become rather obvious. By reading a newspaper or watching television news one can make inferences. Writers and editors who may have the best intentions are reinforcing stereotypes in headlines and at the top of the stories. On February 26, CNN.com’s headline about Haitians read “Boat people fleeing Haitian crisis.” One February Orlando Sentinel article lead with “They call them dirty Haitians.” Haitians, joined by Cubans, protested the video game “Grand Theft Auto: Vice City” that portrayed Haitians, Cubans, and Colombians as drug lords and gang members in 2003. At one level in the game, a character says: "I hate these Haitians” and "I'm gonna kill me a Haitian" (Rhor, 2003). The hit movie “Bad Boys 2” featured actors from Martinique who portrayed Haitian gang members with dreadlocks and thick, comedic accents. With all these examples and the lack of personal interaction with Haitians, as Entman and Rojecki (2000) noted people are left with only the mediated images to catalog people.

Journalists are on the frontline when it comes to creating mediated messages. In order to address inadequate portrayals of various groups, it is necessary to look at how journalists are trained. Journalism programs and organizations should be proactive in educating journalists about mass communication theory, including framing and media effects theories. An awareness of mass communication theory will enable journalists to look at their work and practices critically. Education in diversity issues and ethics must also play a larger role. This will better equip journalists to provide more complex representations of minorities. In addition, the newsroom must also be more reflective of the population. Numerous organizations such as Freedom Forum have been proactive in
recruiting and training minority journalists. Still, minorities are leaving the newsroom. News organizations must make an effort to retain these individuals.

**Limitations of This Study**

One potential limitation of this study is that despite the time frame, only a limited number of articles were available. One reason for this is the lack of presence of both groups in everyday news. The coverage of Cubans and Haitians was sporadic and surrounded major events such as the Elian Gonzalez case and the Louima Abner case that caught this nation’s attention. Also, another sampling method could have potentially yielded in more articles. LexisNexis was very helpful in retrieving articles, but to ensure that all possible articles were accounted for hard copies of the *New York Times* for the 11 year period would have to be retrieved. This was not feasible for this research.

**Suggestions for Future Research**

Comparing Cubans and Haitians was extremely helpful. Soruco (1996) did a study of Cuban Americans in South Florida and a similar study of Haitians would be complementary. A large number of the articles originated from Miami and surrounding municipalities. This study did not examine the *Miami Herald* or *Sun-Sentinel* because it sought to investigate the questions on a national level. It is estimated that frames would be even more apparent in either of these newspapers because of the political situation and access to members of those communities. The *Miami Herald*, more than the *Sun-Sentinel*, would be interesting to study because of the newspaper’s long history in the area and its staff demographics. As of the summer of 2003, the Miami Herald employed only one full-time Haitian reporter, and a few more Cuban reporters. Perhaps a study comparing the *New York Times* to the *Miami Herald* could compare coverage of either group and would provide rich data.
Other newspapers, such as the *Los Angeles Times* and *Boston Globes*, would also be interesting to study. It would be possible to study regional differences, especially in areas that have other immigrant groups that are dominant. For example, the *Los Angeles Times* serves a population with a large number of Mexicans and Asians. How does the population makeup affect coverage? Ethnic media also provides another research possibility, examining how members of the ethnic groups portray themselves and comparing that to the how the mainstream media portray them.

While this study examined 11 years of coverage, a wider time frame would provide an even clearer picture. It is suggested that coverage since the 1950s would show how portrayals have evolved. Television coverage would be another suggestion for future research. In television coverage the public not only hears the story, but they are also given images with which to associate the groups or topics represented. Image analysis from news print of each group would achieve similar goals. There were numerous images used with the articles, if analyzed that alone could tell a story.

Looking at the data critically, class and race issues emerged and were discussed. Gender issues were also present, specifically the shortage of women’s voices in the articles. This is especially true for the coverage of Haitians, where only 15 women were used as subjects or sources. A closer look at gender issues in the coverage of immigrant groups, Haitians, Cubans, and Mexicans, would add a great deal of depth to the body of mass communication literature. This is especially important because women in the United States have also been represented disproportionately in the U.S. media and this research would indicate whether that representation is transferred to women in minority groups. I would hypothesis that women of other ethnic and minority groups would be
represented even less accurately by the media than those who resemble the “core culture”
more closely.

A final suggestion would be to compare U.S. news sources to those in other
countries such as France, Canada, and England to see if the frames that emerged in this
study are shared across borders. Along the lines of international coverage, a study
looking at how Cuban newspapers cover Haitians versus how Haitian newspapers cover
Cubans would provide additional insight. Ethnocentrism applies to other cultures.
Looking at coverage of media outside of the United States will reveal how ethnocentrism
manifests itself abroad.
APPENDIX A
CODING SHEET

Date:

1. Headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main headlines).
2. Lead (the beginning of news stories).
3. Selection of sources or affiliations.
4. Selection of Quotes.
5. Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.
6. Topic of Story:
7. List possible frames, framing techniques (can directly on story).

Note how or if the article frames any or all members of the group by the following characteristics. Also list key words that indicate this.

Educated
Hard-working
Entrepreneurial
Politically active
Delinquency
Criminal
Poor
Lazy
Untrustworthy

Read the item carefully several times. Paragraph by paragraph examine for the presence of key words and phrases, quotes, loaded words and phrases, tone symbols, figurative language, themes, visual images, quotation marks (which can be used to delegitimize), figures of speech to present or maintain particular themes and sources used and excluded, focus on events rather than issues (ignoring goals and missions and focusing on surface details).

If focus is on issue, list what issues are brought up (medical, political, gender-related, etc.). Note the dominant viewpoint. Note any secondary viewpoints. Indicate the frame that each quote is intended to advance or reinforce. Highlight examples of text from the item that illustrate the framing techniques that are used in the story.
## Table B-1. Cuba: Positive frames

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<th>Successful</th>
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<td>Successful</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Talented</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Innovative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Productive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table B-2. Cuba: Negative frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Character weakness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishonest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disruptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuse of power (in U.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrustworthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disloyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unruly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litigious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desperate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba vs. Haiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preferential treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafter/boater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desperate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government delinquency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunning (Castro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights violators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrustworthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abusive government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table B-3. Haiti: Positive frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Character strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resilient/persistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courageous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardworking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politically Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politically active</td>
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</table>
Table B-4. Haiti: Negative frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Character weakness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfaithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrustworthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgmental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishonest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lack of social responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Poorest country in hemisphere&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to self govern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopeless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primitive other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gullible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foolish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childlike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barbaric/uncivilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illegal immigrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boat people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Manoucheka Celeste was born in Port-au-Prince Haiti and moved to the United States in 1988. She has lived in Kissimmee and Altamonte Springs, Florida, and graduated from Lake Brantley High School. She received a Bachelor of Science in Journalism degree in 2003 from the University of Florida, where she was inducted into the Hall of Fame. Manoucheka has interned at newspapers across Florida including the Florida Times-Union, Ocala Star-Banner, and the Miami Herald. Manoucheka is also a Chips Quinn Journalism Scholar.

Manoucheka enjoys traveling. She studied abroad in The Netherlands in 2001 and was a marketing and public relations intern for Air Serv International in Uganda through the Coca-Cola World Citizenship Program in 2004.