



JOURNALISM IN A SMALL PLACE: Making Caribbean News Relevant, Comprehensive, and Independent by Juliette Storr

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For Gladys, James, Val, and Nick



*Caribbean journalists, who speak truth to power,
enrich democracy, and comfort the afflicted.*

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Acronyms

ABC	American Broadcasting Corporation
ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACM	Association of Caribbean Media Workers
AD	Anno Domini
ALBA	Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América
AOL	America Online
ATI	Access to information
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BC	Before Christ
BCJ	Broadcasting Commission of Jamaica
BNA CO	Bahamas National Archives Colonial Papers
CANA	Caribbean News Agency
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CARIFTA	Caribbean Free Trade Agreement
CARIMAC	Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication
CBA	Commonwealth Broadcasting Association
CBC	Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CBU	Caribbean Broadcasting Union
CCN	Caribbean Communications Network
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CMC	Caribbean Media Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
COSTAATT	College of Science, Technology, and Applied Arts of Trinidad and Tobago

CSME	CARICOM Single Market and Economy
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation
FOI	Freedom of information
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
FOX	Fox News Corporation
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
GBN	Grenada Broadcasting Network
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPI	International Press Institute
JOA	Joint operating agreement
MAJ	Media Association of Jamaica
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MSNBC	Microsoft and National Broadcasting Company
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NUJ	National Union of Journalists
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
OAS	Organization of American States
OGNR	On the Ground News Report
OJR	Online Journalism Review
PAJ	Press Association of Jamaica
PLP	Progressive Liberal Party
PPP	People's Progressive Party
PRG	People's Revolutionary Government
PUP	People's United Party
RJR	Radio Jamaica Communications Group
SMS	Short message service
SPJ	Society of Professional Journalists
UBAD	United Black Association for Development
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Economic, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund

US	United States of America
UWI	University of the West Indies
VIBAX	First private radio station in the Caribbean
WAN	World Association of Newspapers
WAN-IFRA	World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers
WSIS	World Summit on Information Society
WTO	World Trade Organization

Acknowledgments

I started thinking about this project more than fifteen years ago, first as a graduate student and then as a media scholar. I found it troubling that there were very few voices from Caribbean journalists and media practitioners telling their stories about their daily, lived experience in the profession. In a time of rapid change brought on by the advent of new communication technologies and market-led reforms, it is perplexing that a region located so close to the United States, home to some of the world's largest media powerhouses, has spent very little time reflecting on its use of communication and media to understand and resolve its complex problems and advance the democratic principles enshrined in its national constitutions. Some economic and political scholars have argued that the region, home to some of the world's youngest democracies, has spent most of its resources building postcolonial economic and political structures that are highly centralized and exclusionary. Because of their narrow focus, areas such as journalism and communication were overlooked in favour of more economically palatable activities such as tourism, banking, and oil. This book is my attempt to provide a theoretical understanding of the use and purpose of journalism, media, and communication in the societies of the English-speaking Caribbean.

This book could not have been completed without the stories of the Caribbean journalists, editors, talk show hosts, columnists, media owners, media scholars, community leaders, and social critics who were willing to talk to me. You gave me an opportunity to hear about both the triumphs and the defeats that you experience as you go about the daily task of bringing truth to citizens. The list is too long to mention you each by name, so I thank you collectively here for your time, your stories, and your many

valuable insights into the practice of journalism in the region. I hope you continue to advance the field of journalism, particularly in a rapidly changing environment, in pursuit of more transparent democracies and a better world.

I would also like to thank the people who provided feedback on various drafts of this manuscript. Special thanks to my sister, Mariette Storr, Pamela Moultrie, Denise Hughes Tafen, Tia Smith, and Nichola Gutgold, for your invaluable feedback; each of you helped me craft a better narrative. Additional thanks to Rebecca Robinson, Shawn Townes, and Tia Smith, who helped me explicate the glocal perspective at a Caribbean conference in New Orleans.

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It is my hope that this project builds upon the work of other Caribbean media scholars and inspires others to continue where it leaves off.

Preface

In small places like the islands of the English-speaking Caribbean, journalism is being practiced in a complex, multicultural space amidst global developments, market-led reforms, and technological innovations. In the United States and Western Europe, journalism has an uncertain future. Howard Tumber and Barbie Zelizer believe journalism today “is expected to wither in an age of financial volatility, decreased revenues, porous borders, layoffs and buyouts, chipped prestige, diminished audiences, concerns about physical safety and variable content.”¹ At the same time, it “is expected to flourish: information abounds and is more accessible than ever before, the varieties of content and form are unequalled in history, and more people are involved than at any other point in time as both journalism’s producers and its consumers.”² In the English-speaking Caribbean, for now, journalism has a more certain future as the volatility of changes brought on by market-driven logic, technological innovations, and globalization have not yet reached critical mass; Caribbean media organizations are not trending towards closures. However, Tumber and Zelizer’s bleak assessment of American and European journalism remains a concern in this part of the world.

Despite the mixed messages about journalism’s future in large countries like the United States, the Caribbean’s principal trading partner and the largest media market in the world, journalism is still a profitable business in the Caribbean. But journalism as a craft or profession is facing many challenges as the newsgathering and dissemination process becomes more open and accessible to the public. Civil society is questioning Caribbean journalism—specifically, how it is being practiced in the region and its relevance to these small developing democracies.

This book describes the political, economic, social, and technological factors driving the new trends in contemporary Caribbean journalism. It examines the state of Caribbean journalism at a time when the profession is undergoing rapid changes. Central to this analysis of Caribbean journalism is a reflection on the following questions: What is the purpose of journalism in small Caribbean countries? What are the challenges of practicing journalism in the Caribbean in the twenty-first century? What is the role of journalism in advancing Caribbean democracy? What is the future of journalism in the Caribbean? This book also provides a theoretical and practical response to concerns of professional ethics, responsible performance, and the training and education of journalists.

Despite the rich intellectual history of the region, reflected in the works of various thinkers across a variety of languages over more than three hundred years,³ the academic field of communication and journalism is not very well developed in the region. The first academic course on journalism began in Jamaica in the 1970s, at the University of the West Indies' (UWI) Mona campus. The UWI's Mona campus affirmed the importance of communication programs to the region when it created the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication (CARIMAC) in 1974. CARIMAC emerged from a research project sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) "and a partnership between the University of the West Indies and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation (FES)."⁴ The institute changed its name in 1996 to the Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication and expanded its focus to reflect global changes in the field. The institute is currently undertaking a phase of growth under the leadership of its new director, Hopeton Dunn.

When the institute was created it was tasked with giving "regional communicators a Caribbean orientation with professional grounding while ensuring that Caribbean media and communication performed while assisting with the region's development."⁵ Politicians, media practitioners and owners in the region have criticized CARIMAC for not fulfilling this mission. At the time of this research, much of CARIMAC's work was languishing in obscurity because of the lack of resources for proper record keeping and the lack of interest in building a scholarly community. During its first twenty years, CARIMAC focused on the theoretical more than the practical and professional needs of journalists, which resulted in

complaints that journalists were not receiving the kind of training and skills needed to function effectively on the job. When the institute expanded its mission and educational programs in 1996, it tried to address these deficiencies. However, complaints remained about job preparedness and professionalization. Professor Dunn indicated in 2015 that these deficiencies would be addressed under his leadership through an extension of CARIMAC's mission.⁶ Several other programs have emerged throughout the region at UWI's Trinidad and Tobago campus, the Ken Gordon School of Journalism and Communication Studies at the College of Science, Technology, and Applied Arts of Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados Community College, St. George's University in Grenada, the College of the Bahamas, the University of Guyana, Northern Caribbean University, International University of the Caribbean, and University of the Virgin Islands. The majority of these programs are still young; many lack accreditation and are trying to find an academic footing in the field. The formal study of journalism and communication in the Caribbean remains inadequate for the growing regional and global demands in the field of communication. There is no adequate description and explanation of the media's role and responsibilities in these microstates—that is, there is no normative theory to guide the practice and profession of journalism and communication throughout the region. This book attempts to address this need through the propositions of communication and development's participatory paradigm and hybridity theories that emerged in the postcolonial era, and more specifically within the last twenty-five years of globalization. I find it troubling that there is still very little academic research and scholarship in the region for a field that is becoming more synonymous with globalization, development, and the advancement and protection of democracy.

Core components of the term hybridity emerged from biological, ethnic, and cultural definitions of mixed breeding—among humans, animals and plants, automobiles, multiracial people, dual citizens, and postcolonial cultures. In 1981 and 1994, Mikhail Bakhtin and Homi Bhabha, respectively, relocated the concept of hybridity, moving it from biology to language to culture. Bakhtin's theory of hybridity is based on the concept of heteroglossia, "a diversity of voices, styles of discourse, or points of view"⁷ that come together through language to cocreate reality or "a blending of world views through language that creates complex unity from a hybrid of utterances."⁸ Homi Bhabha's influential work on hybridity, *The Location*

of *Culture*, provides a rich discourse on hybrid identities.⁹ According to John Hutnyk, Bhabha uses hybridity as an “in-between” term by which he refers to a “third space,” or an ambivalence and mimicry in postcolonial cultures.¹⁰ Bhabha’s thesis explains why the culture of Western modernity must be relocated from the postcolonial perspective. In *The Location of Culture* he explores those moments of ambivalence that structure social authority. This ambivalence is echoed in Jamaica Kincaid’s description of her Caribbean home, Antigua,¹¹ as a small place that lives with ambivalence and contradiction, as well as the work of Dick Hebdige, whose *Cut ‘N’ Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music* examines the interaction of Caribbean sounds and ideas with those of the United Kingdom and North America to explore Caribbean cultural identity through music.¹² Paul Gilroy, in his book *The Black Atlantic*, adds the history of “the instability and mutability of identities”¹³ that emerged from the movements of people and ideas between Africa, Europe, and the Americas as “an inescapable hybridity and intermixture of ideas.”¹⁴ Hybridity in the cross-cultural experiences of the Americas is also explored in the work of Rosario Ferré, Maryse Condé, and Toni Morrison.¹⁵ Caribbean social critic Rex Nettleford described a process of “creolization” that emerged out of slavery and its consequences—plantation societies, colonization and decolonization, neocolonialism, racial and ethnic relations, and class distinctions.¹⁶ For Josef Raab and Martin Butler, the concept of hybridity is a “useful metaphor for conceptualizing and analyzing cultural contact, transfer and exchange, especially in the field of postcolonial studies.”¹⁷ Like Néstor García Canclini, they contend that hybridity is an ongoing condition of all human cultures with no zones of purity because it is an ongoing process of “borrowings and lending between cultures.”¹⁸

In 2005, Marwan Kraidy proposed that, instead of holding steadfast to an all-purpose definition of hybridity, theorists should “find a way to integrate different types of hybridity into a framework that makes connections between them that are both intelligible and usable.”¹⁹ I attempt to develop such a framework in this book. However, Kraidy sees hybridity is “a risky notion, since it comes with neither guarantees nor a single idea or unitary concept.”²⁰ This perspective fits well with the descriptions of postcolonial Caribbean identity put forth by scholars such as Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, and Derek Walcott.²¹

The notions of hybrid cultures and normative theories of the press, along with the theories of the participatory paradigm for communication and development, are used to locate a theoretical position for journalism and communication in the daily lives of Caribbean people. In time, theories of hybridity could help Caribbean societies to reposition themselves from their ambivalent space to a determined position. Theories of hybridity could empower them to deconstruct their contradictory spaces and create—on a local, regional, and global level—a clear picture of who they are, what they want to be, where they want to go, and how to get there.

This book emerged from a study of journalism in six countries of the English-speaking Caribbean. Seventy-five journalists, talk show hosts, editors, media owners, policymakers, media scholars, and cultural critics were interviewed over a period of ten years. The participants came from Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago—or one-third of the English-speaking Caribbean. I also made a cursory examination of the news industry in Cuba, Curaçao, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti for comparative purposes. Although there are many similarities in the practice of journalism in the English-speaking and non-English-speaking countries of the region due to population size and historical similarities, I wanted to limit this analysis to the English-speaking countries. Journalists in the contemporary English-speaking Caribbean could be divided into two groups—the older generation, which encompasses journalists with more than ten years of experience, and the younger generation of journalists with less than ten years, and who comprise the majority of practitioners in the field. This is not an arbitrary marker, as historically many persons who start off as journalists in the Caribbean do not remain in the profession for more than ten years. Also, according to the journalists interviewed for this project, the average career has been reduced over the last decade to between one and five years. I maintain a ten-year time frame to distinguish between stability and instability, experience and inexperience, and continuity and discontinuity. Most of the older journalists received their training on the job with some of them later obtaining tertiary degrees or certification, while most of the younger journalists are coming to the profession with tertiary degrees. This division helps to explain some of the tensions among two generations of Caribbean journalists as they practice in a rapidly changing environment.

The interviews, along with secondary sources, such as archival documents, internet, newspaper, and journal articles, provide an analysis of Caribbean journalism. Initially, I began with a list of known journalists, media owners, and educators; these individuals in turn provided referrals to other journalists, editors, media owners, and scholars who they felt should be included in the research. The themes identified from the interviews and other source materials form the basis of this book.

As a former journalist from the Caribbean myself, I had previous knowledge and experience about the practice and profession. This background helped me to place my research within the cultural context of the region. An inductive approach was used to link the themes that emerged from this research to those in the global literature, as well as to provide a framework for identifying and comparing the practice and profession of journalism in North America and Western Europe to journalism in the Caribbean. A triangulation of data was used to recommend normative approaches for journalism in the Caribbean. Together, the interviews and the secondary data helped me to present a detailed description of the characteristics of Caribbean journalism, and a normative frame for understanding the role of journalism and communication in the region. The themes that emerged from the interviews coalesced around the concepts of changes and challenges in Caribbean media markets over the first one and a half decades of the twenty-first century.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part presents a historical context for the evolution and the purpose of journalism in the region, as well as its current economic successes. The second part outlines major challenges in Caribbean journalism in the twenty-first century and provides a theoretical perspective on how journalism should be practiced in small democratic countries to meet the current needs of those societies. Specifically, this work relies on the theoretical and practical understanding of journalism and communication provided by Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel's book *The Elements of Journalism*, Clifford Christians, Theodore Glasser, Denis McQuail, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Robert White's *Normative Theories of the Media: Journalism in Democratic Societies*, Frederick Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm's *Four Theories of the Press*, Jennifer Ostini and Anthony Y. H. Fung's *Beyond the Four Theories of the Press: A New Model of National Media Systems*, and the works of Auksė Balčytienė and Halliki Harro-Loit, Howard Tumber and

Barbie Zelizer, James Carey, Brian McNair, Sarah Oates, Bob Franklin, Michael Schudson, Robert McChesney, and John Nichols, David Weaver and Lars Willnat, Marlene Cuthbert, Stuart Surlin and Walter Soderlund, Aggrey Brown, Roderick Sanatan, Mark Alleyne, Hopeton Dunn, Ewart Skinner, and other American, European, Caribbean and Latin American media scholars to provide a framework for understanding journalism as practiced in the Caribbean space, a hybrid or third space along the lines proposed by Homi Bhabha, as well as Marwan Kraidy, in his *Hybridity: The Cultural Logic of Globalization*.

Ultimately, it is my hope that this book sheds light on the relationship between media and Caribbean societies in a way that will help to diagnose problems and encourage reforms based on principles that guide public communication and democracy. Specifically, examining journalism in small places like the islands of the English-speaking Caribbean provides an opportunity not only to determine the purpose of journalism and describe the challenges of practicing journalism in small geographic spaces; it also enhances practitioners' ability to assess the future of journalism in a complex, multicultural region amidst global developments, market-led reforms, and technological innovations. According to Howard Tumber and Barbie Zelizer, "the key problems facing journalism as it moves into the future [are] globalization, changing business pressures, the internationalization of the study of journalism, diminished work conditions, and definitional ambiguity."²² This book describes how these problems are reflected in the Caribbean. It also provides a historical context for the practice of journalism in the Caribbean and identifies the purpose of journalism in these democratic societies in the twenty-first century.

This book begins by examining the purpose of journalism in the English-speaking Caribbean. Journalists there are experiencing a variety of changes spurred on by technological revolutions and marketplace ideals. Hence, there are many parallels between the evolution of journalism in the Caribbean and rest of the world, with particular emphasis on the United States and Western Europe. But there are also many differences. These are based mostly on socioeconomic and political factors that have influenced the development of journalism in the region. This book discusses these differences as it examines the practice and profession of journalism in the English-speaking Caribbean as it evolves through a period of rapid technological and economic changes.

The book also describes the paradigm shift in the Caribbean marketplace from public service to commercialization. It examines the current challenges in the practice and profession of journalism in the last decade in relation to increased commercialism, audience fragmentation and segmentation, and digital technology. The second part of the book discusses a variety of emerging issues shaped by the new forms of public communication, forms that affect journalistic practice and the meaning of news and news culture in the Caribbean. These issues include the impact of commercialism, the blogosphere, citizen journalism, professionalism, media regulation, technological convergence, and conglomeration. This book presents much-needed discussion of journalism in the Caribbean and the future of journalism and democracy in the region. Much of the global analysis of journalism's future concerns the apparent demise of journalism around the world. However, at the start of the second decade of the twenty-first century, Caribbean journalism, despite predictions to the contrary, continues to exist. Bonnie Brennen believes that "in a time of plunging circulations, reduced viewership, and limited employment opportunities, one of the primary issues facing traditional media is their on-going relevance in our postmodern society."²³ With questions of relevance and economic sustainability at the heart of European and American discussions on the future of journalism, it is fair to raise these questions in smaller markets where rapid changes in technology and market structure are also propelling microstates to address the issues of relevance and sustainability. Does journalism have a future in the Caribbean?

The Caribbean is a multicultural space. Broadly speaking, it encompasses all the countries "below the Florida peninsula, from the Bahamas in the northwest to Trinidad and Tobago in the southeast, including Bermuda, the French and Dutch territories, and Guyana, Belize, Suriname, and French Guiana in mainland South America. The majority of these English-speaking countries are former British colonies,"²⁴ and it is on these countries that this book focuses. They are small, independent and dependent microstates with population sizes ranging from 2.8 million (Jamaica) to a mere 5,100 (British-administered Montserrat). St. Kitts and Nevis is the smallest independent country in the region, with 41,000 people. The majority of the Caribbean is made up of independent states with a few remaining European dependences—British: Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos, Anguilla, Montserrat, and the British Virgin Islands;

Dutch: Aruba, Bonaire, St. Eustatius, and Saba; French: Guadeloupe and Martinique—as well as the American territories of the US Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.

Current discourse on the future of these Caribbean countries emphasizes the complex problems that affect them—from high crime, corruption, and economic inertia, to inadequate educational systems, illiteracy, poverty, chronic diseases, and flailing leadership. In his book *Britain's Black Debt*, Hilary Beckles provides a sweeping analysis of how these issues are related to the region's colonial past.²⁵ According to Beckles, whose argument for reparation has ties to Eric Williams's seminal work *Capitalism and Slavery*,²⁶ the causal link between the crimes of slavery and the ongoing harm and injury to slavery's descendants is everywhere in the Caribbean.²⁷ He posits that the pain of slavery and the injury of its injustice continues to haunt citizens in the Caribbean, weakening their capacity to experience citizenship as equals with the descendants of slave owners. Consequently, the region still struggles to redefine itself and relocate Western modernity to a postcolonial perspective. Journalism and media's role in the development of Western societies are part and parcel of colonial history. This book examines the relevance of journalism in the Caribbean and how it engages with these issues to construct postcolonial narratives on the lived experiences of Caribbean people. Ultimately, the book tries to answer the question, What is journalism's role in relocating the region's identity and position in the world? Another way to phrase this is: What is journalism's role in the rehumanization project to restore the power that was stripped from native Indians and enslaved Africans more than four centuries ago, who remain entrenched in the Eurocentric worldviews of Western philosophies and ideologies?

This book reviews some of the major challenges of the practice and profession of journalism in the Caribbean. Chapter one begins with a brief overview of mercantile and capital commercialism, the evolution of journalism and its purpose in colonialism and post-colonization, particularly focusing on the role journalism plays and will continue to play in these currently competitive media markets. The peculiarities of small states, the constraints placed on a small group of practicing journalists, and the implications for regional and national development are the subjects of chapter two. It examines the arguments of scholars who advance the thesis that smallness impacts the purpose of journalism and the character of

journalism in small states. This includes a discussion on the constraints of market size—both in the number of journalists and the size of audience—professionalism, resource limitations, dependency, and vulnerability. Throughout most of its history in Western societies, journalism has been imbued with the power to protect and advance democracy. Chapter three discusses journalism's role in democratic societies. The rise of the commercial model of journalism and questions about its ability to advance democratic ideals of equality and justice for all are the concerns of chapter three. It identifies the current economic trends in Caribbean journalism and the factors that influence these trends, reviews international media scholars' arguments for the necessity of journalism as a public good or service, and posits the need to refashion journalism to fulfill the needs of Caribbean societies.

The principle of making the news comprehensive and proportionate is the focus of chapter four. In small Caribbean states, the need to be comprehensive and proportionate is important to advance the democratic project began in each of these countries after independence. Caribbean journalists acknowledge the value of providing comprehensive accounts to the public and they agree on the value of journalism to democracy. However, as Henrik Örnebring and Epp Lauk argue, this need is difficult to achieve in states where the emphasis is on collaboration, compromise, and group cohesion. Journalists who were interviewed for this book explain the challenges of providing balanced, accurate, and full accounts of their societies. The constraints of acquiring sources, accessing information, and negotiating a culture of secrecy make this goal difficult to achieve.

The need for Caribbean journalism to be relevant to its public in a rapidly changing media environment is salient for small societies with a history of authoritarian governance. Chapter five discusses relevance and engagement, which are particularly challenging in the current competitive and commercialized markets where the gravitation to sensational and salacious coverage is becoming the norm. Journalists discussed the challenges of striking the right balance between relevance and engagement as media owners push for higher ratings and larger circulations. Effective storytelling is also challenged by smallness—the size of journalism as a profession, the number of resources, particularly sources, and access to information. Engaging Caribbean citizens is perhaps easier to achieve because, as Kincaid notes, the people in these societies make the small issues

or everyday issues big and ignore big issues, perhaps because they do not know how to resolve them. But engagement without relevance results in sensational, salacious coverage. Issues of accuracy and the skills of journalists are included in discussions of making the news relevant and engaging. As Manuel Puppis and others argue,²⁸ small states are constrained by lack of resources and small audiences, both of which lead journalists to rely on few sources and limited know-how in presenting more balanced accounts and pursuing investigative journalism, which is costly to maintain even in large markets.

The principle of independence is an enduring value in professional journalism. Chapter six examines the need for journalists to separate themselves from the influence of those they cover, uphold the value of monitoring the powerful, and provide a voice for the voiceless. Caribbean journalists agree that this principle is important and necessary for journalism to achieve its purpose of providing the information people need to be free and active participants in a democratic society. The size of these markets, the number of journalists, and the sociocultural history of the region also affect the principle of independence. These factors make it difficult for Caribbean journalists to be independent from those they cover. In this chapter, Caribbean journalists recount their challenges in meeting this important need. Örnebring and Lauk's argument that small markets have fewer employers, fewer senior positions, and fewer alternatives in terms of career routes and career progression, is salient here.²⁹ Further, their claim that small markets result in small social groups and more social control is also relevant to this discussion.

Finally, chapter seven reflects on the evolution of journalism in Caribbean societies, the current challenges of practicing journalism in the region, and speculates on the future of the profession at a time of increased commercialism and advancing technologies. It prescribes a hybrid normative thesis with radical, advocacy, and community journalism as the core of the practice while not excluding the monitorial role of presenting accurate, well-balanced facts so that these small countries can evolve as more effective and transparent democracies in the twenty-first century.

