THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# PLAYING HAITIAN:
# MUSICAL NEGOTIATIONS OF NATION, GENRE, AND SELF

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"Therefore, since we are surrounded by such a great cloud of witnesses, let us throw off everything that hinders and the sin that so easily entangles. And let us run with perseverance the race marked out for us..."

Hebrews 12:1

To my parents, Debra and Ronald Eldridge. Kyle. My siblings, extended family, friends, and colleagues. Thank you!

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**Preface**

This research has been the beneficiary of several conversations over several years. My dissertation advisor, Melvin Butler, suggested that I visit Haiti during my first year of graduate school at the University of Chicago. He put me in contact with Janet Anthony, a cello professor at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin. Anthony invited me to the summer music camp at l'Ecole de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste (the Dessaix Baptiste Music School), a two-story building in the city of Jacmel, Haiti that supports campuses around the broader geographical region. EMDB was founded by Fritz Valescot, a journalist with a passion for the arts. Along with director Jacques Civil, he is heavily involved in the day-to-day operations of the school. Both men are deeply aware of and committed to the activities that happen within EMDB, and an average day during camp might find the genial Civil repairing an instrument from his quiet perch and Valescot scolding a group of children for tardiness, only to relent and pass out small, green fruits called *keneps*. For many parents and foreign volunteers, Alland Lamour and Fabrice Lafond are the local faces of the school. A saxophonist and clarinetist respectively, they teach lessons, organize budgets, handle registrations, and scold children from their perches in the direksyon (main office) and the porch in front of it. They have been kind older brothers to me, showing me around Jacmel and simultaneously poking fun at and providing greater insight to my observations about Dessaix-Baptiste. Gessoit Pierre-Louis is a Jacmel native whose profile has grown beyond that town. Even as he currently shuttles between Port-au-Prince and Jacmel, he represents EMDB proudly as an alumnus, a teacher, and a musician who continues to learn.

I attended the summer intensive program in Haitian Kreyòl at the University of Massachusetts at Boston twice, once in 2011, and once in 2013. Both times, I was consistently impressed with the quality of teaching and by the people with whom I interacted. I was graciously welcomed into the home of Maude Marie Evans, who indirectly taught me much about Vodou, spiritual conviction, and gentleness. Marc Prou, who has spearheaded this initiative for several years, has been supportive of my work. Writer Patrick Sylvain has pushed me to interrogate some of my most deeply-held assumptions about Haiti, research, and academic life. Jean Lesly Rene admonished me to take my time with words and thoughts. At the University of Chicago, William Balan-Gaubert has tutored me, and been an endless fount of encouragement in following my linguistic and social study instincts.

CEMUCHCA (CErcle de MUsiciennes CHretiennes CApois) was the second music camp I visited, and I was quickly overwhelmed by both the energy with which they undertook diverse initiatives and the goodwill and faith that sustains them. Brothers Henold and Spens Joseph, along with colleague Fenor Onesime are just three representatives of a dynamic pedagogical community coalescing in the northern region of Haiti. During the summer of 2012, I visited the camp in Cange sponsored by EMST (l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité) where I would accompany the choral groups led by Haitian conductor Jean-Bernard Dessinat and the American conductor Robert Wessler. Bernadette Williams always looked out for me in her capacity as a skillful administrator. I am indebted to John Jost, whose thoughtful reflections on his many years of experience with Haitian culture are invaluable. Cara Pollard, a trumpeter, professor, and proud Texan, has opened her network to me on several occasions.

Although BLUME-Haiti (Building Leadership Using Music Education) was not formalized until my research was underway, its board members have been constant presences throughout the entire journey. Lawrence University professor and cellist Janet Anthony invited me on my first trip to Haiti, trusting the recommendation of Melvin Butler. Lindsay Schwartz, a middle-school music teacher based in Fargo, North Dakota has patiently responded to many of my questions, several posed in the middle of the night while we were roommates. Jordan King and Carolyn Desrosiers allowed me to observe closely the interpersonal dynamics of nonprofit organizing. Meret Bitticks has bravely challenged the very framework of music education in Haiti while contributing to it. Her perspective as a private instructor in affluent Chicago and a Suzuki teacher-trainer adds even more diversity to the gumbo pot of foreign volunteer involvement, and reminds me to work toward comprehension instead of generalization.

Finally, there are those Haitians who transcend a single institution. Most of them dance between Haiti and the United States, but diaspora does not fully encompass their identity, nor the grounds upon which we met. Composer Sydney Guillaume has graciously supported my close analysis of his work. Conductors and professors Jean Montes and Rudy Perrault have contributed to this work through example and casual conversation. Teacher and conductor Pierre Leroy, the "maestro" of music education in Haiti, watched over me from my very first summer, and been a consistent encourager of this work. His wife, Marie-Claire Solomon Leroy works for the United States Agency for International Development, and makes time every year to participate in the orchestral activities of the Orchestre Philarmonique de Sainte-Trinité during the summer camp season. She elegantly embodies many of the intersections that I present in this text.

I met singer and arranger Karine Margron later in my research period, but she has had a definitive impact on the direction of this work. I was exposed to her own work, the Chansons d'Haiti collections of folk songs long prior to actually meeting her. In August of 2014, I had the pleasure of being present when she was appointed a cultural ambassador of Haiti. Finally, it is difficult to imagine this text or the past few years discussed in it without the contributions of Jamie Cartright. As an artistic collaborator and the consummate willing conversation partner, she has truly made, and continues to make the difference.

I am indebted to each and every one of these individuals and organizations. This may have read as an acknowledgement section, but it also functions as a research chronology and a demonstration of the ways in which pedagogical communities form and intersect. In a system such as this, there are many good intentions, but also strong wills that often conflict. It is my hope that this document is read, not as a judgment upon these activities, but rather as a light that illuminates the ways in which this dense network of people come together to create a contemporary sphere of Haitian classical music. Although the interlocutors listed in these pages may have differently scaled ideas, and in some cases, different visions altogether of what it means to play Haitian, the chorus that they form is the current manifestation of this genre and this practice.

The people named here, and many others who are not, are important, valued conversation partners. This dissertation is written with them, and for them, in the hopes that they can use it as a mirror to improve and advance their pursuits. It has proven difficult to accurately map the enormous undertaking of several individuals to provide music education to Haiti's youth, and even more challenging to assess the system's

shortcomings. At times, I have found myself simultaneously acknowledging the benefits of music education and the deficiencies of interactions based in international economic inequality. My response, suggested in what follows, is to consider the specific details of what I have been told and shown, and to follow the contour of a discourse on nation, musical genre, and self. This dissertation is ultimately a salute to the efforts of my interlocutors.

**Playing Haitian: Musical Negotiations of Nation, Genre, and Self**

## Introduction

When I first went to Haiti to volunteer as a music teacher in the summer of 2011, I encountered little resistance. I replied to questions about my intended destination with nervous shrugs, meant to indicate nonchalance. Inwardly, I worried that the experience would prove too challenging for me. I fancied myself an intrepid voyager, but my destination has a surreal reputation. Even before the 2010 earthquake, which figuratively shook the entire globe into a collective response, the media maelstrom around Haiti invariably echoed a single phrase – "the poorest nation in the Western hemisphere." Before I went, I imagined Haiti as a troubled destination, one filled with ashy children possessing only distended bellies and whatever circumstantial mayhem that accompanies such blight. Instead, I encountered eager, funny, mischievous, and well cared for students that I found normal in so many ways. When I departed for Haiti the second time, with much more accurate expectations, I got a different set of questions focused on my intent. Colleagues, friends, and family members asked about the operations of the summer camps, the sustainability of music education in Haiti, and the ethical implications of my involvement. One question that continues to haunt me asked why I was volunteering my services there, and charging for them on the southside of Chicago.

At the time, I had no adequate or appropriate response to this riddle. I recall a flush of heat and indignation moving through my chest at the question, hearing in it a critique of my choices around the distribution of my labor. These critiques are not unfamiliar to musicians, whether they instruct or perform. Occupations that fall outside of legally recognized corporate structures are subject to significant social scrutiny in the United States. The acts of teaching and making music are often viewed respectively as a labor of love or a frivolous pursuit. That people

close to me applied this logic to my own person was not surprising. It did, however, prompt me to analyze the ways in which music teachers understand, promote, and defend their work.

Learning how both Haitian and foreign teachers garner community support for their endeavors has been fundamental in my study of Haiti. The questions I fielded before my second departure are intimately related to a broader set of concerns raised by funders and external observers. Why music? Aren't there more "serious" matters to attend to? Shouldn't the Haitian people focus on food, housing, or political process? The nonprofit organizations that I have worked with and studied struggle to address these critiques of their continued relevance while maintaining the pace of their work. They often respond to these inquiries with soundbites about the therapeutic, educational benefits of musical participation. Then they proceed as originally intended, planning the next camp, the next recital program, and the next shipment of cellos.

In this dissertation, I show how participants at Haitian music camps negotiate a range of identifications, from the individual, to the national, to the global.[1] I argue that through programming, performing, and attending recitals, concerts, and summer camps, musicians and their audiences broker the boundaries of what it means to be Haitian. I call this work *playing Haitian*. Playing Haitian has more than one resonance, in keeping with the significatory practice of the Haitian language, known as Kreyòl. Although "playing Haitian" is an English-language phrase, translation into Kreyòl might splinter its meaning in provocative ways. To "jwe ayisyen" could indicate playing Haitian repertoire, playing in a Haitian fashion, or in the noun formulation, a Haitian game (*jwèt ayisyen*). It could also refer to acting or performing, in a

[1] Melvin Butler defines negotiation as "the critically important work…of deploying creativity, skill, and tact to play both within and across social, theological, and national divides." "Haitian Djaz Diplomacy and the Cultural Politics of Musical Collaboration" *Music and*

theatrical sense, joking, or gambling. I deploy the phrase "playing Haitian" in two senses. First, I interrogate what it means for musicians of Haitian descent, both inside the country and in its diaspora, to compete for the right to narrate Haiti. Second, I examine the presence and activities of foreign volunteers who lead camps and concertize Haitian classical music. In both cases, I focus on the acts of rehearsing and performing culturally significant repertoires. What does it mean to *play Haitian?* My answer lies across several physical field sites throughout Haiti and the United States, among numerous corps of musical activity.

I developed the phrase playing Haitian from a repertoire of masquerade games most often played in childhood. Being in the camp setting reminded me of situational play that emphasizes encounter, such as "cops and robbers" and more influentially, "cowboys and Indians." In these games, children learn through assuming and performing identities, and as Leslie Paris theorizes, ritually transforming.[2] But just as both children and adults participate in the project of summer music education and recreation, masquerade play does not stop at the end of childhood. This dissertation posits the continuation of identity play throughout adulthood. There is also scholarly precedent for positing situational play as an important frame for encounter. In 1989's *Playing Indian*, Philip Deloria parsed the various ways in which white Americans used American Indian identity as mask and game, from the Boston Tea Party before the Revolutionary War to Beat poets in the 1960s. These significations continue to adhere through sports mascots and associated franchises such as the Atlanta Braves. Deloria did not position Native Americans as passive victims in this text; rather, he demonstrated how they gained position to bend these appropriations to their will. "Playing Haitian" looks beyond the appropriative devices that

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*Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present,* edited by Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 211.

[2] Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: the Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 191.

perpetuate these significations into the performative negotiations that occur between and in service of nation, genre, and self. [3]

These negotiations do not necessarily occur on a level playing field. Many factors serve to distribute power and agency among the actors represented in this dissertation, such as nationality, ethnicity, race, and gender. I further unpack these factors throughout the following chapters; however, the word "negotiation" need not connote equity amongst actors. It is, foremost, an act of play and a means of participation. Negotiation fundamentally represents the sense of give and take experienced by participants in Haiti's summer music camps.

**Haitian. Classical. Music.**

The actual name of at least one of the genres in play is somewhat contested. I have settled on the phrase *mizik klasik* in this dissertation, which translates most directly to classical music (classic music). This does not address all of the extramusical concerns that naming this type of music raises across several cultural contexts. For example, Bruno Nettl notes in *Heartland Excursions* that the nomenclature of Western classical music is often contested in the United States: "the 'music' in schools of music always means, exclusively or overwhelmingly, Western classical music (also called 'art music,' 'canonic music,' 'cultivated music,' 'serious music,' and

[3] The word "self" has been used in several academic contexts, often in juxtaposition to "identity." Influential antecedents include Goffman, 1959 and Turino, 2008. Particularly helpful is this explanation by Turino: "I conceptualize the self as comprising a body plus the total sets of habits specific to an individual that develop through the ongoing interchanges of the individual with her physical and social surroundings. Identity involves the partial selection of habits and attributes used to represent oneself to oneself and to others by oneself and by others; the emphasis on certain habits and traits is relative to specific situations. Finally, what is usually referred to as culture is defined here as the habits of thought and practice that are shared among individuals." (95) In this text, I use the terms self, identity, and culture to refer to the embodied practice of habits, the performative practice of habits, and the communal practice of habits.

even - wryly - 'real music' and 'normal music')."[4] His tongue-in-cheek enumeration of naming possibilities demonstrates some of the tensions inevitably produced around this type of music in the United States, bound as it is presently with a class politics of taste.[5] The U.S. wields hegemonic influence over Haiti, a point that I take further in the second chapter, and an essential part of that influence is cultural power, particularly around matters of taste and class.

Naming the genre may name the namer. The descriptive term a speaker uses might be used in turn to identify or describe that speaker. For example, if I were to hear a speaker use the phrase "art music," I might assume that the speaker is an academician, specifically a music scholar, as many music scholars have concerned themselves with clarity in typological matters. For them, "classical" constitutes a sub-genre instead of a genre, and references a particular era in the history of Western art music. On the other hand, if a speaker were to use "cultivated music," I might assume, after cringing, that speaker to be outside of the vigorous debates regarding the classed, ethnocentric nature of classical music.

These debates happen both inside and outside of the academy, and are a part of the legacy of music studies. Largey writes that "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, certain Haitian dance forms were understood to be both art music and popular music. The formal characteristics of musical genres were subordinated to the specific ways in which audiences used such genres."[6] He later goes on to explain that Haitian classical music has been construed as not serious by musicologists due to this categorical flexibility. User identity has also impacted what

[4] Bruno Nettl, *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 3.

[5] See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) for a review of the "economy of cultural goods."

[6] Michael Largey, *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 102.

to call Haitian classical music.[7] I was introduced to the genre as *mizik savant*, which translates to "music of the learned" by Largey's monograph. I proceeded to use that term for about a year before being reprimanded by a Haitian linguist regarding its problematic translation. It was after that event that I began to listen carefully to how my interlocutors described their activities. Much like Vodou practitioners who rarely call themselves "Vodouizan," and much more often describe their faith with action ("servi lwa yo," or "serving the spirits"), camp participants describe the principal genre being practiced and performed at the camp not as "music of the learned," but rather by specific title, composer name, or very general purpose ("mizik nan kan la," or "camp music").

Describing Haitian classical music is a much easier task than deciding what to call it. Much of the *mizik klasik* repertory is reminiscent of classical and romantic era Western European art music. Its melodic and harmonic techniques usually fall firmly in the purview of tonality. Throughout the genre's development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Haitian composers primarily innovated through rhythm and timbre. They also challenged the status quo through motivic exploration of Vodou, especially composers such as Werner Jaegerhuber and Ludovic Lamothe. Melody and harmony, for the large part, remained tonal. This aesthetic continues through the current moment. Upon hearing a tuba player at Dessaix-Baptiste perform a serialist work in 2015, the Haitian conductor Pierre Leroy quipped that "it took a lot of brass for a guy like that to play a piece like that in Haiti." Most repertoire performed in the camps, however, is tonal[8].

[7] See Rice, 2007 for a review of the ways in which the term and idea of "identity" has been deployed in U.S. ethnomusicological writing.

[8] One notable exception to the tonality rule is Carmen Brouard (1909-2005), a composer remembered for her "very serious personality" and whose "choice of poetry was usually of a dark, melancholic nature." Jean-Ronald LaFond, "Haiti," in *A Guide to the Latin American Art*

**Other Haitian Musical Genres**

Much has been written about the practice of genre in a Haitian context. Haitian musical genres have been well documented by ethnomusicologists in ways that highlight politics, religion, and history. Published in the tumultuous midst of the late twentieth century, *A Day for the Hunter, a Day for the Prey: Popular Music and Power in Haiti* by Gage Averill (1997) was well primed to reach an international audience curious about political events in the country. Averill himself was well-positioned to comment on these events, having served as a journalist for a Miami newspaper, an electoral monitor representative for the Organization of American States (OAS), and an event producer. His monograph does not stop at recent events, instead providing a comprehensive history of the konpa genre and connecting these points along a continuum of politicized musicianship.

*Rara! Vodou, Power, and Performance in Haiti and Its Diaspora* by religion scholar Elizabeth McAlister (2002) is a work that examines the religious aspects of this genre of Lenten marches through the countryside. In elaborate plays of ritual and power, participants in the rara play instruments, dance, sing, and battle each other for performative supremacy. Ethnomusicologist Lois Wilcken has focused on the nuances of representation in *foklò* (folklore), a genre that borrows from rara and the Vodou *seremoni* to produce a cultural show for the stage.[9] Studies both published and forthcoming on *mizik pannkotis* by Melvin Butler continue this nuanced examination of the intersection of representation, religion, and musical activity. The

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*Song Repertoire: An Annotated Catalog of Twentieth-Century Art Songs for Voice and Piano*, ed. Maya Hoover (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 168.

[9] Lois Wilcken, "The Sacred Music and Dance of Haitian Vodou from Temple to Stage and the Ethics of Representation," *Latin American Perspectives* 32:1 (2005), 193-210. For more on folkloricization, see Katherine Hagedorn, *Divine Utterances: the Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

wide range of Haitian Pentecostal musical practices push back against a reading of Haiti as monolithically *Vodouizan*.

Although I already mentioned the work of Michael Largey, it bears contextualization here as a means of explaining Haitian class and religious politics through the genre he terms *mizik savant ayisyen*. Forthcoming work will be based on his experiences as a corps member with Rara TiMalis. *Vodou Nation* draws upon archival evidence and earlier research by Haitian musicologists, especially Constantin Dumervé. Dumervé is often described as an amateur musicologist and professional lawyer. His amateurism, that is, an involvement and participation in classical music that was not a source of profit, has much in common with many contemporary practitioners of Haitian classical music. His life's oeuvre, *Histoire de la Musique en Haïti*, provides profiles for a staggering amount of Haitian classical musicians and composers, and in addition, creates a portrait of the scope of musical activities over the span of a century. He worked with several media sources, composing his narrative with the assistance of newspaper articles, oral histories, and written correspondence. Jean Montès writes that although "Dumervé's book is by no means the final authority of Haitian music," it constitutes "the only reference that provides a panoramic view of the historical development of music in Haiti up to 1968."[10]

Whereas Dumervé is not well-known to musicologists outside of Haiti, Gerdes Fleurant is a Haitian musicologist who has established a reputation both inside and outside of the country. A professor emeritus at Wesleyan University, Fleurant now devotes most of his time to a school teaching traditional music forms in the Central Plateau. His book on the Rada rite of Vodou provides perhaps some of the most detailed, direct explanation on a genre of Haitian music to

[10] Jean Montès, "An Annotated Translation Thesis of Constantin Eugene Moise Dumerve's Histoire de la Musique en Haiti (The History of Music in Haiti) 1968" (DMA diss., University of Iowa, 2003), 3.

date.[11] Most recently, the Haitian musicologist Claude Dauphin has made a radical departure from the aforementioned texts with their focus on a single genre with *Histoire du Style Musical d'Haïti* (2014). A comprehensive overview of Haitian music history, this latest addition to the body of published literature takes on a range of topics, from archaeological ruins to contemporary konpa performers. Finally, critique and commentary on musical genre might be considered part of compositional practice. When pulling together the notes, dynamics, and other articulations, composers of Haitian classical music, for example, have made a point of riffing upon varied genres, street experiences and colors to bring meaning to their work and reflect their surrounding culture. In this way, composers have provided ethnographic commentary on musical culture in Haiti.

The aforementioned works focus exclusively on Haitian topics. In order to understand the work of the aforementioned in a broader musicological context, literature on the practice of genre is helpful. Jeffery Kallberg, in *Chopin at the Boundaries*, insists that music scholars reconsider the point of genre and genre naming as communicative, rather than classificatory. To analogize his thesis to this present work, what are Haitians communicating by defining their work as *mizik klasik, mizik nan kan la,* or even *mizik savant*? Susan Thomas, author of *Cuban Zarzuela*, re-assembles a genre of music through historical narrative. Most of the zarzuela scores that she references in her work are no longer extant. She summarizes the complexity of genre by writing that "One of the greatest difficulties in understanding the practice of genre classification is that the nomenclature solidified after the fact; it is the product of analytical critique rather than artistic forethought."[12] Much of what I classify here as mizik klasik is a matter of retroactive

[11] Gerdes Fleurant, *Dancing Spirits: Rhythms and Rituals of Haitian Vodun, the Rada Rite* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996).

[12] Susan Thomas, *Cuban Zarzuela: Performing Race and Gender on Havana's Lyric Stage* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 22.

classification; mizik klasik is a genre defined by practice. Who plays the music, and in what context they do so is just as important as how the music is notated.

**Race. Nationality. Genre.**

Afro-diasporans have had a contested, yet constant presence in both classical music and the French empire. *Mizik klasik*'s origins in both Western European art music and France provide context for the tensions around this genre as a potential marker of inauthenticity. Consider, for example, this quote from *Black Skins, French Voices* by David Beriss: "Standing in the center of the vast Place de la Concorde, draped with an enormous French flag, the American soprano Jessye Norman closed the show with the French national anthem. A newspaper described [her] as the 'absolute, imperial soprano of all the world's ghetto mothers…exuberant tenderness.'"[13] Beriss proceeds to unpack what would lead a newspaper to describe a black woman as "ghetto" (a word that survives English to French back to English translation). Norman's voice is raced as black (American) and ghetto (urban poor), in spite of the performance context of a French government-sponsored event. Norman is singing Frenchness itself, the national anthem, with diction commensurate with her reputation and experience as a world-class operatic soprano. She is standing in France, dressed in France, singing France - yet there remains an experiential conflict, at least on the part of this newspaper reviewer. Beriss' text deals with the schism between blackness and Frenchness, even among contemporary citizens such as Martinicans and Guadeloupeans.[14]

[13] David Beriss, *Black Skins French Voices: Caribbean Ethnicity and Activism in Urban France* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004), 26.

[14] The residents of Martinique and Guadeloupe are French citizens, and these two Caribbean islands are considered overseas departments by the French National Assembly. Their status was commuted from colony to *department d'outre mer* in 1946. Racial tensions still characterize the relationship of these predominantly black spaces with metropolitan France. See Camee Maddox,

I stress, alongside many other scholars, that Haiti cannot be understood apart from the context of its French imperial beginnings. French is still one of the nation's official languages. Even after Haiti declared independence in 1804, these two nations were bound by debt when France levied a steep indemnity on the new republic in exchange for its recognition. Haiti has been irrevocably shaped by its encounter with France, and with hegemonic whiteness. What then might it mean to be black, speak French, and play classical music? How do those identifications compete with and complement Haitianness? This point will be further taken in the second chapter, but bears mentioning at the outset of this work.

**Why Haiti?**

A lot of acronyms are used when talking about Haiti: NGO, USAID, and MINUSTAH, for starters. I'm guilty of it too, shortening the school names that I reference to EMDB, EMST, and CEMUCHCA. In addition to abbreviating the time it takes to talk about these entities coherently, this practice of throwing up acronyms everywhere shortchanges a coherent understanding of the intent, stated mission, and function of these entities within the state.[15] It is arguably symptomatic of a broader objectification of the Caribbean, exemplified by art historian Erica James: "Brochures and advertising campaigns for the region (conceived and produced in metropoles) serve to fix the engagement between tourists and natives along a set of values similar to those that govern the exchange between museum visitor and art/ethnographic object on view. Like the artifact, in this visual economy the Caribbean loses distinction and complexity. Reduced to sand, sun, sea and sex, powerful forces such as conquest, slavery and colonialism that shaped and

"'Yes We Can! Down with Colonization!' Race, Gender, and the 2009 General Strike in Martinique." *Transforming Anthropology* 23 (2015), 90–103.

[15] As Kaley Mason has brought to my attention, it may also be related to the heavy use of acronyms in Francophone societies.

continue to shape the region, allow the Caribbean to be imagined as a mute paradise existing outside of time, a place without memory, a place without Art."[16] If the overwhelming popularity of Haiti with ethnographers and anthropologists is taken into consideration, a point raised by Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Haiti is construed as exceptionally weird within an exceptionally normative Caribbean.[17] In this present work, however, I intend to promote both Haiti and the Caribbean as theoretically rich locations capable of producing findings that can be influential in other, broader contexts.

The aforementioned excerpt on Caribbean tourism is useful for its emphasis on the sensorial aspect of the Caribbean. A resort vacation is (sold as) a multi-sensory experience, including sea breeze on your face, cool rum punch on your tongue, and gentle island melodies in your ear (or perhaps even simply waves washing ashore, so prevalent is the erasure of humans). The visual is arguably the principal mode of exposure to this alternate reality. It's something like a dream, and how often do we hear in those? More troublesome is the superficial quality of engagement with Caribbean topics. Michael Veal writes, "Caribbean music has not been thought of for its conceptual qualities; the dominant stereotypes of the region's music center around ideas of sensuality, physicality, hedonism, and existential optimism."[18]

Haiti supports and disrupts these notions of Caribbean tourism. The rum punches, mixed with Barbancourt rum, are strong. The sextet of instrumentalists in folksy garb play "Haiti Cherie" at the airport in dulcet tones. Yet there is a sense of rupture around Haiti as a tourist economy, perhaps dating back to nadir of the Duvalier presidencies, perhaps going back even

[16] Erica Moiah James, "Re-Worlding a World: Caribbean Art in the Global Imaginary," (PhD diss., Duke University, 2008), 8.

[17] See, by Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Caribbean Region: An Open Frontier in Anthropological Theory," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1992), 19-42; "The Odd and the Ordinary: Haiti, the Caribbean, and the World," *Cimarrón* 2:3 (1990), 3-12.

further. Although so many summer camp students want to sing and play the Gershwin classic "Summertime" from Porgy and Bess, the living is far from easy. There is a palpable push and strain even at the airport. Baggage handlers aggressively solicit tips. After the air conditioning of a U.S. departure airport, the airplane itself and Touissaint l'Ouverture International Airport, even in December and January, radiates and swelters from the heat outside. Once ensconced in a vehicle, the situation rapidly intensifies, as potholed, graveled, and possibly unpaved roads are traversed. Port-au-Prince's principal mode of expression is volume. The place is loud, sonically and visually. And it dares the tourist to forget its history and deny its art.

Ultimately, in response to a question of "why Haiti" and in summation of external sensibilities of the Caribbean, I believe it important to note that Haiti exists outside of and beyond external ideas of it. Rachel Beckles-Willson says this about her subject of study: "Palestine…was not brought into being by missionary interventions, and nor was its subsequent development only a reaction to those. Rather, it existed in a complex network of peoples and countries in the region, which Western forces intervened in and transformed, but did not wholly displace." In her narrative, "Palestinians emerge as actors with a broader range of experiences than missions wished to see."[19] In *Playing Haitian*, I proceed to examine a broader range of activities than the involvement of international governments and NGOs may suggest.

The Palestine portrayed by Beckles-Willson has much in common with the Haiti that I present in this dissertation. In addition to both places being accustomed to foreign civilian involvement, whether missionaries or secular aid workers, both locations can be, and often are imagined as perpetual war zones. The sense of conflict in Haiti and in Palestine has pervaded

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[18] Michael Veal, *Dub: Soundscapes and Shattered Songs in Jamaican Reggae (*Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2007), 21.

[19] Rachel Beckles-Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 182.

literature about both locations. The militarization of everyday life is a forced state of cosmopolitanism and global awareness. In the following example, it manifests as an intrusion on the ebbs and flows of the quotidian marketplace.

During my first visit to Haiti in 2011, I was surprised to see UN tanks squeezing, muscling their way through the narrow streets of Jacmel, a town on the southern coast. It was as if they were failing to thread a needle, instead pushing down the flimsy temporary awnings of the *marchands*. In Jacmel, there are a couple of indoor, air-conditioned supermarkets, but the outdoor street market reigns supreme. Most everyday essentials are available in the market (*marché*), and produce is arranged neatly to entice the buyer on burlap sacks upon the ground. The market feels accessible to all - after all, it is located on a public street, not a private stoop one could be shoo-ed away from like the air-conditioned supermarkets guarded by armed men. A few men roam the market streets with baskets of pills and batteries. Some women walk too, with collections of nut brittle and candy. But the majority of the stationary, daily *marché* is a woman's space. Mostly women buy, sell, and carry. Mostly women are present.[20]

I was reminded of the militarization's disruptive force years later and many miles away, while my brother and I squinted at the sky while driving down Lake Shore Drive in Chicago. A huge military helicopter was lumbering above Soldier Field, the football stadium where the professional franchise plays, causing us to involuntarily duck in response to the loud chopping of the blades. Appearing ready to drop out of the sky at any moment, the helicopter's presence felt menacing and disconcerting. My brother wondered aloud, in that moment, with my niece and

[20] This is in contrast to a more typically binary dichotomy of private-public, female-male space (for example, Kivland and McAlister's rara bands in "We Make the State" and *Rara!*, respectively). However, I theorize in chapter three that women are capable of public presence through work.

nephew in the backseat, what it must be like to live in an occupied country where that sort of machinery and presence is commonplace.

Chicago hosts a large air and water show each year. Part of the delight lies in the manner with which the jets cut the air. The highlight is the sonic boom, a single, celebratory moment that startles a few babies and pets, but is expected by the majority as a nationalistic demonstration of technological ingenuity. I responded to my brother's query that it must feel like the lumbering helicopter, bearing down on our ears and shoulders, like the bulky UN tank - though there was no amazing sonic boom to accompany its presence, only the strange silencing of a bustling marchè, cries to get out the way, and a slow crunch. Although the boundaries of my field research blurred with each successive summer, given the contact that I maintained with students and colleagues through social media platforms, I am not insinuating here that Jacmel and Chicago are similar. It is striking, however, how the militarization of everyday life can evoke reminisces of places far, far away.

**The Theory Girls**

In 2013, my Kreyòl considerably improved, I was "promoted" to an intermediate string class of preteen and adolescent girls during the music theory hour. I returned to this group every summer since. These encounters remain vivid in my memory, not only because they happened near the end of my time in Haiti, but also because of the ostensible practicality of this arrangement. Because of my age, race, and gender, I was supposed to be relatable, respectable, the sort of person that these girls would not ridicule. I failed at this task routinely. They laughed at my accent that belonged nowhere, and they giggled when I got flustered over disciplinary issues. They smirked when I substituted English words for the Kreyòl ones that escaped my mind

just at the time that they were needed. Though I only understood half of what was whispered behind my back as I wrote on the chalkboard, I did get a sense of the social dynamics of this group, homogenous in age, diverse in everything else. Some girls were eleven, but looked much younger. They jumped when I called them, as if they expected me to remember neither their names, nor the proper pronunciation of them. My proficiency in this particular black girl need never ceased to delight. Others were fourteen, and trying hard to look much older. Immaculate hairstyles constructed daily, eye rolls deployed by the minute. This group had cell phones that a Haitian teacher would assert were given to them by older "boyfriends." I gathered from his disapproving sneer and lamenting refrain about the world's corruption contaminating Haiti that this was not respectable behavior in his conservative estimation. In a country where, as is often told to me as an excuse for absence, girls might be required to stay home in order to clean house, take care of male siblings and/or maintain modesty, depending on class position, my theory girls certainly did their best to buck that authority. Rather than staying "in their place," they occupied several spaces, including the classroom and the night club.

The theory girls are, in my estimation, model cosmopolitans. Although cosmopolitan identity has been written about as a position of privilege,[21] how might Haitian girls be read as occupying positions of power? What could be gained through centering their marginality? Their intricately braided, straightened, weaved, and Afro-ed hairstyles drive the national conversation on aesthetics. Some watch television emissions influenced by Black Entertainment Television, a

[21] The commonly used Greek etymology for cosmopolitan, citizen of the world, reflects the original context for this term, in which everybody was not considered a citizen, and citizenship connoted a class of rights upon the individual. Subsequent philosophers using the term, such as Immanuel Kant, have also been subject to the prejudices of their eras, during which cosmopolitans, or citizens, were defined against an "other." Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); M. Jacqui Alexander, "Not Just (Any) Body Can Be a Citizen: The Politics of Law, Sexuality, and Postcoloniality in Trinidad

network based in the United States that has mandated and communicated beauty standards for Afro-diasporans, but even more absorb YouTube, dancing along to music videos and gleaning style tips from around the world. Tim Rommen notes similar behavior in a Trinidadian context, writing that "on the one hand, musicians and fans are looking beyond the nation to shape their sound worlds and to identify, in classic cosmopolitan parlance, as citizens of the world. On the other hand, however, the musical style with which they identify clears space within the Trinidadian national and cultural contexts they inhabit from day to day - clears space that affords them the freedom to rethink and perhaps even to reshape the face and sound of the nation."[22] How might the theory girls be clearing space for themselves, and even for the nation? Just as the marchands of the previous section continue to set up shop despite their careful displays being destroyed by the UN troops, the theory girls clear performative ground in their music schools.

In an article assessing two short stories by author Jhumpa Lahiri, literary theorist Vanita Reddy filters the work that beauty does through feminist cosmopolitics. She argues that South Asian women, known globally for a racialized aesthetic, center a beauty that is attainable to them and are, in turn, recognized and exoticized for it. They function as the agents at the center of their story. "Unlike liberal strains of (elite) cosmopolitanism that are defined by individual and capitalist mobility, cosmopolitics involves the 'political and ethical tasks of worlding' (Ghosh 2004, 18) that fall to the diasporic artist situated within increasingly uneven and unrelenting flows of capital, goods, and people across the global terrain."[23] The aforementioned South Asian women, whether Bollywood stars or businesswomen, actively "world" through their physical

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and Tobago and the Bahamas," *Feminist Review* 48 (1994): 5-23; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

[22] Timothy Rommen, "'Localize It': Rock, Cosmopolitanism, and the Nation in Trinidad," *Ethnomusicology* 51:3 (2007), 372.

[23] Vanita Reddy, "Jhumpa Lahiri's Feminist Cosmopolitics and the Transnational Beauty Assemblage." *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 11, no. 2 (2013): 34.

appearances. They practice feminist cosmopolitics by wielding their interpretations of beauty in quotidian performance.

When I read Reddy's article, I immediately recognized the consonances between the diasporic South Asian woman and the Haitian theory girls. These youth show up and show out every day in masterful performances of cosmopolitan sensibilities. They don't just consider themselves worldly. They *make* their world, one hairstyle and cell-phone-styled-as-compact-mirror at a time. They constitute layered worlds - an interior, clique-ish one, but also outward-facing realities. Their participation in the music schools that the summer camps support is simultaneously second-class and vanguard. For example, Haitian Flag Day is a widely-celebrated state holiday. Music schools parade in honor of the nation's forefathers and flag. In the *biwo direksyon* (the front office) of the music school in Jacmel, there are hundreds of printed photographs representing cohorts over the years. What strikes me as the most distinct marker of these parades is neither the instruments nor the students, mainly male, who carry them. The most remarkable feature of the photographs, the embodiment of memory, consists of the large corps of girls in white shirts and matching jumpers, who literally and figuratively bear the standard of the nation.

Jayson Beaster-Jones defines cosmopolitan practice as "a set of ideologically driven orientations that transcends borders (of any kind) in the performance of particularly rooted kinds of locality."[24] The theory girls not only style their hair, but attend summer enrichment programs and move about the spaces of learning in a way that transcends the social limitations of their gender while remaining fully genuine. They articulate identities of femaleness and Haitianness, while rendering crisp, individual performances of these identifications. I want to foreground the

[24] Jayson Beaster-Jones, *Bollywood Sounds: the Cosmopolitan Mediations of Hindi Film Song* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 11.

theory girls in this introductory chapter because they are emblematic of the broader camp scene's positionality. They are a central, driving force in the camps. In spite of, and perhaps propelled by the criticism aimed towards them, they continue to participate in music education. Just as local conversations on issues of propriety and cultural authenticity are located on the bodies of the theory girls, national and global discourses cite recreational activities such as summer music camp as sites of meaning.

**The Visual and the Sonic**

Now that I've reflected on the visual and the theory girls apart from one another, I turn to the space in which they come together. During my summers in Haiti, I dressed carefully each morning, impressed by the investment in personal appearance of my students. The majority came to camp impeccably attired, from the theory girls of Jacmel to the youngest Petits Chanteurs in Cange. Volunteers from the midwest region of the United States marveled at the teenage boys who wore sweater vests to the "chilly" weekend evening recitals (the temperature bottoming out at seventy degrees Fahrenheit). Although the weather was much warmer than that to which I was accustomed, I tried really hard to pull together new combinations of the few lightweight separates I brought. These attempts to endear myself to the theory girls occasionally worked; one might break through the phalanx of shy, yet intimidating stares to compliment a blouse in halting English.[25] In reflection, clothing and self presentation has taught me a lot about my interlocutors. I learned from my students to discern selectivity around appearances in Haiti, an emphasis on the

[25] Language choice was a nuance of communication with my students; conversations that had nothing to do with music were often had in a mix of Kreyòl and English, probably to ensure *my* comprehension. Thus, I used Kreyòl when teaching, and my students used quite a bit of English when they were teaching me.

superficial that is corroborated in broader literature on the Caribbean.[26] Think of pageantry. Think of hair salons. Think of tourism. What does this focus on the visual do to the sonic, for example, in parades, in recitals, and in concerts? Think of the capital that goes into matching uniforms and performance dress. Visual information both supports and competes with sonic information for attention and for importance.

In Jacmel, there is a visual history of black Haitians playing musical instruments. It is attached to the office wall, on corkboards with thumbtacks in some cases, and repetitively scotch taped in others, each layer accruing as photos occasionally fall in the heat, blown away by the noisy office fan that casts its roving eye over everything and everyone, making more noise than it does wind. Rows and rows of neat, respectable musicians. Layers and layers, in fact, as the wall has begun to run out of space, but the flag days keep coming. This visual history lies in a larger legacy of accounting for the potential of black lives.

This striving towards uniformity is not unique to the Haitian music schools and their representation at Flag Day. Bruno Nettl notes that "A uniform accomplishes the depersonalization of the individual, giving the orchestra a faceless quality that is exacerbated by

[26] Tourist economies especially depend on appearances. The cultivation of these appearances occurs within venues and events such as pageants and carnivals, which also could be understood as a form of public masquerade play. In *A Small Place*, Jamaica Kincaid names Antigua as beautiful, too beautiful in fact, a trait which makes tourist desire inevitable. Mimi Sheller continues the desire-consumption narrative in *Consuming the Caribbean*. These processes also occur internally, demonstrated by local elite sponsorship and attendance of activities, for example, the Port-au-Prince Jazz Festival, rooted in the sort of respectability narrated by Deborah A. Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). Another Anglophone Caribbean example of middle-class perpetuation and consumption of activities such as pageants and music festivals is provided by Belinda Edmondson in *Caribbean Middlebrow: Leisure Culture and the Middle Class* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009). Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1988). Mimi Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean: from Arawaks to Zombies* (London: Routledge, 2003).

requirements of such uniform behavior as bowing."[27] Orchestras all over the globe, from the professional to the amateur, often dress the same and move the bow across the strings in the same direction at the same time. However, the struggle against a reputation of poverty and disorder gives these old habits a new sheen. It is especially meaningful in the camp context for Haitians to demonstrate capability and competence, as this allows for the creation and strengthening of networks and scenes.[28]

Emphasis on appearance does not lean solely upon uniformity. Beauty and desirability are central concepts and goals in self-presentation in the Haitian context. At times, this goal is racially-fraught, as phenotypical hierarchies are ordered in ways that reward proximity to whiteness. These hierarchies impact economic attainment through social capital. However, cultivated skills such as musicianship and etiquette are means through which this society's members can disrupt those hierarchies. Pageantry has been a recurring event during my research periods. I met a local Jacmel pageant queen during my first summer, and during subsequent summers, would gain additional inklings about the importance of pageant principles in Haitian society. The ideals of physical beauty, eloquence, and grace might be considered the points on a crown of idealized heteronormative femininity. Becoming a "proper woman" is a classed, ethnocentric endeavor, but not unrelated to the feminist cosmopolitics discussed in the previous section. Classical music, and music education, has much to do with this ideal. The local pageant queen had taken lessons at EMDB, and sought to represent the school as a face, if not necessarily a talent. It was important both for her and the school to maintain a relationship.

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[27] Bruno Nettl, *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 33.

[28] Benjamin E. Brinner, *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Musical Encounters*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 29-30.

In 1998, a Haitian-American journalist wrote regarding the coronation of Marjorie Judith Vincent, the fourth black Miss America and reputedly the first of Haitian descent: "The most positive visibility the diaspora has achieved was the crowning of Marjorie Judith Vincent as Miss America at Atlantic City in September 1990. Vincent, a twenty-five-year-old law student, had been born in Chicago and represented the State of Illinois." It was expected by the Haitian diasporic community that this daughter of immigrants from Cap-Haïtien would boost the reputation of Haitians in the midst of a turbulent era, marked by the "4H" AIDS warning and the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide.[29] Many aspirations were tied to the election of this "worthy" queen. Her talent was piano performance, and she quickly rose through the ranks of competition by playing *Fantasie-Impromptu*, Op. 66 by Frédéric Chopin.[30] In this scenario, ideals of gender and nation converged in a pageant-winning performance.

Pageantry can be extended beyond the scope of an ideal woman to encompass an ideal citizen. Two of the central questions of this dissertation are as follows: What makes a desirable citizen? Who makes a desirable citizen? By sketching the contours of Haitian participation in classical music, I aim to lead readers of this dissertation to an understanding of the ways in which youth and reputation intersect within the setting of summer music camp to develop

[29] In 1983, the Centers for Disease Control grouped Haitians into a shorthand identifying populations at risk for HIV/AIDS. The 4Hs were hemophiliacs, heroin users, homosexuals, and Haitians. Although the position of Haitians on this risk list was relatively short-lived (2 years on the CDC list, and a few months on a subsequent Food and Drug Administration announcement barring Haitian and Haitian-Americans from donating blood), the timing of this announcement, at the height of media hysteria in the United States, irrevocably impacted Haiti's international reputation. Georges Fouron, "Race, blood, disease and citizenship: the making of the Haitian-Americans and the Haitian immigrants into 'the others' during the 1980s-1990s AIDS crisis," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 20:6 (2013): 705-719; Garry Pierre-Pierre, "Haitians Hope Miss America Will Set Model," *Sun Sentinel,* September 16, 1990, accessed February 11, 2016, http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/1990-09-16/features/9002140452_1_haitians-image-problem-marjorie-judith-vincent.

sensibilities around citizenship. These sensibilities are relevant to the earlier discussions of cosmopolitanism, because the citizenships at stake in camp participation include both national Haitian citizenship and global citizenship. Camp participants are negotiating space in the nation and the world, and as a result, they have a hand in the creation of the nation and the world.

**Why Summer Camp?**

There are many reasons that summer camps are a useful site for examining the formation of self, national, and global identities through the nuanced deployment of particular musical genres. Throughout its development in the late nineteenth century, up until the present moment, summer camp has always been closely associated with childhood development.[31] Summer camp has functioned as a space to be and to become apart from immediate family and outside of the daily rituals of school, extracurriculars, homework, chores, and dinner. Placing music as the premise of summer camp in Haiti intensifies the transformative mission of camp. Neither is it coincidental that this battle amongst genres for the meaning of Haiti occurs in a youth setting. Robin Bernstein says this about the cultural capital of childhood: "This association between innocence and forgetting exists in paradoxical tension with the tendency of the culture of childhood to retain past practices…Because the culture of childhood so often retains and repurposes that which has elsewhere become abject or abandoned, the study of childhood radically challenges many established historical periodizations."[32] That is, childhood has a special power to prolong and reshape practices thought to be retired, such as classical music. It is

[30] Also significant are the gendered undertones of contemporary performances of Chopin, posited by Jeffrey Kallberg in the preface of *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[31] Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

during childhood that Haitians (and many other nationalities) attend summer enrichment programs, thought to bolster their identities as model citizens and educate through extracurricular activity. Thus, although Haiti holds a rich legacy of classical music participation historically among adult elites, contemporary participation is more effectively tracked through a much broader class spectrum of children. To borrow Bernstein's formulation, the parlor piece of the early twentieth century becomes a heritage composition arranged for young voices in the twenty-first.

Summer camp also becomes useful in the context of readings of Haiti that portray it as a nation of innocents, childlike adults without the ability to self-govern. Media coverage of "the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere" has connoted sainthood upon the impoverished, at least those impoverished who do not practice Vodou, through images, language and backing soundtracks. The overarching framing of innocence and need itself necessitates children. Calls for donations tug at the heartstrings because of starving, dirty children, not adults. Blackness, though arguably "monstrous" when fully developed[33], is commuted to something more adorable, less detestable under the age of ten.

An assessment of audiovisual media deployed in the service of international aid is illustrative. In 2014, international aid organization Feed a Child came under fire for an ill-received television advertisement featuring a white woman treating a young black boy like a dog. During the feature, she feeds him under the table, and pets him on the head as he lies in her lap. Their positions intentionally approximate to the posture of a lap dog being fondled by its master.

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[32] Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 7.

[33] See for example the tropes of the welfare queen and black Frankenstein. Ange-Marie Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust: The Public Identity of the Welfare Queen* (New York: NYU Press, 2004); Elizabeth Young, *Black Frankenstein: The Making of an American Metaphor* (New York: NYU Press, 2008).

The charity argued that the aid was intended to be provocative, to draw into question how some domestic dogs are treated better than South African (black) children. Feed a Child quickly pulled the ad in the ensuing media storm. Left unexamined, however, was the soundtrack to the advertisement. A morose rendition of Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata sonically frames the interaction of the white woman and her black boy/lap dog. What work does this sound do, and for what purposes is it meant? Does it set the minds of audience members, "our" minds, to scorn a global elite (stereotyped as white of European origin), with their classical music, tea sets, and newspapers in bed (she does give the boy a treat in another clip after he retrieves the morning paper)? Does it make us sad, make us question the societal strictures that enable this type of exchange? Does it match the grayish color tones of the advertisement's visuals? The aesthetic sensibilities conferred by the backing track might be summarized in a few adjectives: bleak, depressing, desperate.

It is significant that this advertisement features both a white antagonist and a classical music soundtrack. It is an aesthetic that sits in opposition to the vibrant colors, rhythms, and sonic signifiers of "Africa/Haiti." In media representations of Haiti, large bright white hair bows placed carefully in plaited hair have become iconic, along with large white blouses accompanying either plaid jumpers or solid color uniform skirts. The sharp distinctions between dark brown skin, jet black hair, and crisp white bows, often with a red or green skirt primes the viewer for an expectation of excitement about learning. The soulful, large eyes, nearly black in color but not horrifyingly so,[34] signal hunger: hunger for learning, hunger for actual food, hunger for voice.

[34] See the previous footnote for citations of the growing literature on associations between the color black, the racial category, and emotional reactions of fear, pride, and disgust.




*Figure 1. This image, taken in a screenshot from the USAID website, is emblematic of the sort of images used to attract donors. On the Haiti page's slideshow, five of the six images featured female subjects. Only three of the six images featured male subjects. Also, women were foregrounded in all images.*

In certain senses, the structure of music education is being recreated in Haiti. Program administrators have selected parts of American practice and intensified them in two and three week workshops. Volunteer teachers experience extreme autonomy in establishing their studios. This, too, echoes the Beckles-Willson study, during which she cites employees of the Barenboim-Said Foundation who recalled in interviews that they "had regarded Palestine as an opportunity to create something better than what they had at home. They reconstructed their initial ideas as an idealized image of how education in Western traditions should develop, having hoped that a region with less formalized structures would allow them to work in less constrained ways."[35] It is important to note that this opportunity is inextricable from Palestine's reputation of

[35] Beckles-Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission,* 295-6.

poverty: "Such comments were combined with a sense that Palestine was very lacking. This lack was what created the openness, allowed the possibility of founding something in the vision developed at home. The same lack meant that the teachers' skills would be needed more in Palestine that in richer societies back home."[36]



*Figure 2. This photograph was taken from the promotional website for the film* Kenbe La. *When contrasted with the previous shot of schoolgirls, a cohesive aesthetic begins to emerge around the physical presentation of proper girlhood and quintessential Haitianness.*[37]

Also vital in the camp setting is the pastoral connection to "the great outdoors." At Cange and Cap-Haïtien, students are required and encouraged to come spend time outdoors at an overnight camp. The students come from Haiti's two largest cities, demographically. They are city-slickers, in every sense of the word. This opportunity to live in community with their peers is valued by both students and the parents who pay tuition and come to concerts. Although outsiders to Haiti might journey with the idea that the inconveniences of rural life are customary

[36] Ibid., 296.

[37] "Production Photos," Bel Son Productions, accessed February 11, 2016, http://www.belsonproductions.com/uploads/2/8/3/8/2838360/kenbe_la_still_1.png.

to the students, often the students are in as much shock as the volunteers. They come to camp equipped with electronic devices of varying expense, and are attired in some of the latest fashions, some of it resale clothing from the United States, some of it purchased firsthand. The hairstyles are some of the truest indicators of both proximity to the big city, whether it be Cap-Haitien or Port-au-Prince, or to the United States mainstream African-American culture. The floppy bows and hair balls in the photos above are standard little girl fare in the U.S., and have been for a while, but teenage girls have been undergoing constant transformation during my summers. During the first summer, my dreadlocked hair produced much befuddlement. If I wasn't Jamaican, and I wasn't a Rastafarian, why would I let my hair lock? The next summer, in Cap-Haïtien, I saw a few short twists and braids. The third summer, however, was a windfall. I was in the most rural area that I had ever been in, but with girls directly from Port-au-Prince, in some cases, by way of Miami, Boston, or New York. The girls sported long braids and twists in the West African style, the type produced by small shops populated by Senegalese and Nigerian women in metropolises across the U.S. These are practical, especially in the face of the challenges that camping presents. Camp necessitates ingenuity, and demands a navigation of previously uncrossed terrain. Campers navigate fresh musical, social, and bodily repertoires.

The floppy bows of preadolescence also make an appearance in a TOMS advertisement that the company came under fire for in 2015. News blog Humanosphere published a story that analyzed a nearly three minute commercial for the most recent Haiti campaign for the company made famous for its one for one retail model, whereby for each pair of shoes sold through conventional venues, TOMS donates a pair to a child in need, presumably in a developing country. Tom Murphy critiques the focus of the campaign, claiming that "It takes 16 seconds before Haitians appear on camera, well after images of the models and the countryside are

juxtaposed against the 'This is Haiti' theme. What follows are small clips of Haitians going about life, models wearing TOMS exploring the country and white people hugging Haitian children."[38] Although actual Haitians are hard to come by, it is telling that a floppy-bowed girl possesses the entire frame at the 35' mark, and again at 45' and 49'. It is indeed safe to presume that most Haitians are children from these snapshots of every day life. I am more interested, however, in what it means to foreground childhood, specifically girlhood, and innocence in a giving campaign. Even more intricate is the work that this campaign is supposed to perform: not just to get people to donate money to a philanthropic cause, but to inspire a lifestyle desire, pulling the consumer to purchase a fashion item. The backing soundtrack matches these youthful, cool aspirations with a spare garage band aesthetic, a repetitive guitar pattern grounded by drum set.[39]

Both the volunteers and the students who attend summer music camp in Haiti each year are predominantly young, but each group comprises a different sort of youth. Foreign volunteers are typically college students, and the Haitian students who come to camp range from soft-spoken eight year old choir boys to monosyllabic tough guys in their late teens. Youth is central in both this dissertation, and I argue, in the studies of musical pedagogy and international development. Amanda Minks notes that "the scholarly study of children's song and their musical play has been an important site for staging theories about nature and culture, reproduction and

[38] Tom Murphy, "This is Haiti, according to TOMS," *Humanosphere*, August 13, 2015, accessed February 11, 2016, http://www.humanosphere.org/social-business/2015/08/haiti-according-toms.

[39] Furthermore, intentional moves to posit development in a sexier light have been profiled by several development anthropologists, particularly April Biccum, as a marketing strategy. For more information on how this phenomenon intersects with musical performance, please see "Rock Man's Burden: Consuming Canada at Live 8" by Kip Pegley, in *Music in Television: Channels of Listening*, ed. James Deaville. New York: Routledge, 2011.

transformation, coherence and eclecticism."[40] In many ways, the practices of children serve as the "Others" to anthropologists' "selves."

In 1980, Milton Singer noted the possible awareness and use of the self in anthropological research.[41] However, this framework was hindered by what Douglas Hollan describes as "the sharp contrasts often drawn between 'Western' and 'non-Western' selves."[42] This methodological stumbling block that conflated Western societies with a collection of selves yet posited non-Western societies as not having yet attained selfhood continued to beleaguer anthropology. Martin Sökefeld wrote a clear rebuttal to this blind spot in 1999, but tensions around the anthropology of the self remain.[43] I mention it here, in light of the conceptual critiques made by Thomas Turino, to suggest that a rehabilitation of the anthropology of the self, particularly with regards to childhood studies, may be useful for modeling cultural transparency.

**Methodology**

I began taking research trips to Haiti in 2011, under the auspices of a collective of music teachers now known as BLUME-Haiti (Building Leaders Using Music Education). These teachers volunteer for several music schools throughout Haiti, working with each program to supply instruments and staff-intensive summer music camps. For my first trip, I traveled to Jacmel to work with l'École de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste. During subsequent summers, I added Cercle de Musiciens Chrétiens Capois (CEMUCHCA) in Cap-Haïtien and EMST. With each of

[40] Amanda Minks, "From Children's Song to Expressive Practices: Old and New Directions in the Ethnomusicological Study of Children," in *Ethnomusicology* 46:3 (2002), 379.
[41] Milton Singer, "Signs of the Self: An Exploration in Semiotic Anthrology," in *American Anthropologist* 82:3 (1980), 485-507.
[42] Douglas Hollan, "Cross-Cultural Differences in the Self," in *Journal of Anthropological Research* 48:4 (1992), 283.
[43] Martin Sökefeld, "Debating Self, Identity, and Culture in Anthropology," in *Current Anthropology,* 40:4 (1999), 417-448.

these programs, I teach music theory classes and give piano lessons. Much of my ethnographic data has been culled in the downtime between classes and lessons, speaking with Haitian and foreign instructors as well as students about their motivations to study and perform this repertoire.

In addition to volunteering as an instructor in urban Jacmel, suburban Cap-Haïtien, and rural Cange, I began to perform Haitian works in 2013. In the spring, I played a solo recital at the University of Chicago using the works of Ludovic Lamothe. Later that year, I traveled to Port-au-Prince to play a recital with Jamie Cartright and Micheline Dalencour. This recital, reviewed by Le Nouvelliste, was the impetus for a tour that stretched across the United States during the following year. Performance became a fourth fieldwork site, one that motivated me to incorporate the Haitian diaspora in a dynamic conversation about Haitian classical music and culture. This conversation was generated through many aspects of the performance, such as the booking, planning, execution, and post-performance receptions. This portion of my research will be analyzed in much further detail in the fourth chapter.

This dissertation draws heavily on multiple sites of research, especially the camp locations in Haiti (Cap-Haïtien, Jacmel, and Cange) and the capital city of Port-au-Prince. The opportunity to travel to each location multiple times over the years has been vital in developing the perspective that I share in this work. In Port-au-Prince, I conducted interviews with Micheline Dalencour and Nicole St. Victor. Dalencour is a renowned pianist, educator, and authority on the works of Justin Elie, Ludovic Lamothe, Carmen Brouard, and Werner Jaegerhuber, the seminal composers in twentieth century Haitian classical music. I first met Dalencour through Jamie Cartright while preparing for the December 2013 recital. When I returned to Haiti in the summer of 2014, I engaged her as an instructor, in an ethnomusicological research method combining

participant-ethnography and interview. The soprano Nicole St. Victor is a longtime supporter and administrator of the Ecole de Musique Saint Trinité. She graciously granted me a multi-hour interview during her busy schedule, only knowing me from brief interactions at camp.

Throughout my research period, I have prioritized the comfort of my interlocutors. This has driven me towards participant observation as a framework, and away from the overt use of voice recording technology. As a result of the 2010 earthquake, Haiti has been the target of ever-increasing global scrutiny. One of the small evidences of this massive phenomenon has been the United States Assessing Progress in Haiti Act (2014). The hubris that the backing ideology to this bill requires is not novel, but it does reflect the development of Haiti's interlocutory history since it's independence.

Haitians are aware of the heavy level of surveillance under which they live. I was shocked one summer night in Jacmel, as I sat on the porch of the school with a cool drink from the barbershop across the street. I asked Fabrice, a clarinet teacher and administrator what I thought was an innocuous question. He replied in his usual loquacious manner, but then surprised me by asking what I thought of the situation. I feigned ignorance, not wanting to interject my own opinions on the subject into what I mistakenly conceived of as an untainted ethnographic research field. He insisted that I respond, and then proceeded to let me know that he had been observing me observe everyone else. It was then that my jaw dropped. I had believed that I was a rather unobtrusive researcher. I rarely carried a notebook and pen, preferring instead to log notes in my iPhone, an action that could be mistaken for text messaging. He then gave me a nickname - "l'Observatoire/lobsèvetwa." When I cried "huh?!" in confusion, he extrapolated. I was being named after the UN observers, a presence acutely felt in Haiti. This continued for the rest of that time in Jacmel, but I was once again surprised when it resurfaced the following year - not

immediately, but after a day or so. This time I was making photocopies for my piano students in the office. Jokes were being delivered in Kreyòl, and when I caught one and smiled in response, Fabrice exclaimed "l'observatoire ap obsevè!" The observer is watching. This nickname has endured, and has inspired a certain degree of accountability with my interlocutors, a number of whom have already reviewed this text and are expecting copies to be held within the schools.

The expression of nationalism through music has been a focus of ethnomusicological literature on Haiti. *A Day for the Hunter, a Day for the Prey* is firmly entrenched in the politics of the last half of the 20th century. Michael Largey inserts this focus into the title of his work - *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism.* Nationalism is clear in the precedent to both texts, *Histoire de la Musique en Haïti* by Haitian music historian Constantin Dumervé. Averill, Largey, and Dumervé write about the process by which (mostly male) composers and performers produce music that shapes or is critical of public discourse. Their work, in turn, becomes canonical, across external conventions of musical genre. To take an example from each text, Manno Charlemagne, Werner Jaegerhuber, and Occide Jeanty are prominently depicted in the aforementioned texts. These are well-known figures in Haitian musical history and folklore, and the reproduction and dissemination of their narratives is well-deserved.

In this dissertation, however, I attempt to depart from the great-men-making-history model to highlight the contributions of others, such as women preserving history and children perpetuating it. This style of augmentation borrows from certain models of the diaspora itself. In 1998, Michel Laguerre wrote this of this distinction between national and urban concepts of Caribbean-based diasporic communities: "Perhaps because Little Haiti represents the rerootedness of a large spectrum of the population of Haiti, while Little Havana in Miami

symbolizes the rerootedness of a defiant anti-Castro city-élite, we have Little Haiti instead of Little Port-au-Prince, and Little Havana instead of Little Cuba."[44] This is not to say that these sorts of narratives are better, simpler, or more organic. Rather, I mean to highlight a certain way of honoring the cultural contributions of a broad populace that is attentive both locally and globally, a way that might be considered endemically Haitian.

In 2015, I attended the Port-au-Prince jazz festival. Replete with markers of urban identity and affluence, there was very little that was nominally "Haitian" about it, yet it maintained a heady sense of place and space. PAPJazz moves past the rural stereotypes that characterize Haiti to its most proto-cosmopolitan identity as a festival space that gathers musicians from all over the world to perform. This dissertation offers an ideal sphere in which to examine the rupture between city/urban sensibilities and state/national ethos. This discussion comes in a timely fashion, in the midst of the immigration debate between Haiti and its island-mate, the Dominican Republic. As I write, people who were born in the DR are being "returned" to border towns in Haiti, but it is in Port-au-Prince, the center of power, that decisions on their fate and legislation on their behalf are being drafted. As always, but especially now, what it means to be "Haitian" is under vigorous debate.

I came to research in Haiti with a chip on my shoulder. I was at once apprehensive of the country's reputation and insulted by it. They were black people learning music and I was a black musician. Any notions running counter to these facts felt obstructive, in the way. When I landed in Haiti that first time and met hundreds of well-dressed, well-behaved children in the formative stages of becoming fine musicians, the poverty that Haiti has become synonymous with proved

[44] Michel Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 4.

to be a lie of omission. What came to pass proved far more complicated, even more so when children and adults alike asked, "So what do you think of Haiti?" "Madame, will you move here?" Though I could not articulate it this way at the time, I began searching for sincerity. The search for sincerity came to govern my interactions. Anthropologist John L. Jackson reflects on this dynamic in the context of his research in Harlem: "The anthropologist/informant relationship is predicated, especially for the so-called native ethnographer, on the mutual search for sincerity: that anthropologists are not misrepresenting themselves for the sake of rapport, and that informants are not simply giving anthropologists what they think they want to hear."[45]

Ethnography is fraught with missteps, but I have done all I can to honestly represent my experiences in these pages. I began traveling to Haiti as a volunteer music instructor, an occupation that put me in close contact with Haitian students, teachers, and administrators, as well as foreign instructors. Although I have tried to maintain a critical distance in analyzing the following events, the reader will find that occasionally, positions are taken that reflect or reject the views of my interlocutors. Writing about Haiti often falls into the trap of know-it-all-ness, the result of writing about a place with a long history of rumored narrative. Political history is a particularly sensitive topic, and one that I never explicitly asked about, but one that I was often told about. During my field research, I became accustomed to settling into the story, and following whatever tack the conversation took. Queries about Haitian music might end in lurid descriptions of tire necklacing.[46] Yet I am confident that what has been intimated to me is a

[45] John Jackson, *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 27.

[46] Tire necklacing is a violent act in which a gasoline-soaked tire is placed around the torso of the targeted individual, and then lit on fire. This particularly imaginable practice rose in prevalence during the tumultuous Aristide years, and has become urban legend material. The telling of horrific stories in a camp setting is most likely familiar to the reader, but is also notable as one of the ways in which play remains serious.

valuable account of contemporary music education and recreation in Haiti and its ancillary topics.

There is a rich trove of youth studies which provide context for the present work. Ethnomusicologically, Kyra Gaunt has set a significant precedent for studies of black girls with *The Games Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop.* This text was among the first I read as an undergraduate considering graduate education in music. Gaunt skillfully connects group games played in childhood to the broader society using a concept she calls kinetic orality. Also, Oneka LaBennett has provided a significant resource in *She's Mad Real: Popular Culture and West Indian Girls in Brooklyn*. This text has aided my contextual translation of concepts such as the politics of respectability and cosmopolitanism in youth culture.

My research has been gathered over half a decade. In this time, I have witnessed the growth and development of many students. Some have progressed from lyceé to université, others have changed instruments. My own relative youth proved advantageous in this study. I was twenty-three when I first entered the field, and many of my students were incredulous regarding the circumstances of my life back home. Was I really unmarried? Did I really have no children? The ethnographic narratives of LaBennett and Gaunt, and long before them, Katherine Dunham and Zora Neale Hurston,[47] aided me in the navigating my social position.

I began conducting research in Haiti as a volunteer music instructor. My first trip in 2011 was a month in Jacmel, but I knew that I was a world away from my origin upon my return to Chicago. I read extensively in preparation for my first time traveling to Haiti, but nothing that I

read prepared me for what I would encounter - a complex system of camps, attended to and by fully-dimensional people who lived, worked, and played for innumerable reasons and in a broad spectrum of ways. I saw students with a wide range of accessible financial means. When I returned to Haiti, to Cap-Haïtien in 2012, my perceptions of the nation would continue to be challenged. The next year, I managed to attend all three of the sites on which this dissertation focuses: Cap-Haïtien, Cange, and Jacmel. The summer of 2013 also laid the groundwork for my perfomances the following winter with Jamie Cartright in Port-au-Prince, Chicago, New York, Appleton (WI), Peoria (IL), and Denton (TX). We repeated some of this repertoire in camps, in addition to our regularly scheduled teaching during the summer of 2014, at Cange and Jacmel. Finally, I returned to Cange and Jacmel in 2015 to maintain the connections that I have made over the years, to be available to new connections, and to reflect on the observations and arguments of this dissertation in the spaces that inspired it. Near the beginning of my research, two organizations were formed that reflect the network of music schools across Haiti. In this dissertation, I address BLUME-Haiti, but I would be remiss if I did not also acknowledge the formation of the Association Nationale des Ecoles de Musique d'Haïti (ANADEMH) in 2011. ANADEMH has not yet grown to the point of material impact on the camps in which I have done research, but it is an organization that should be monitored for further developments.

**Order of Business**

Chapter one inspects the use and value of both material and human resources in Haiti, a country often described as "the poorest nation in the Western hemisphere." Musical instruments are imported on the very backs of foreign volunteer instructors. This chapter emphasizes the

[47] Zora Neale Hurston, *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica* (New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2008) and Katharine Dunham, *Island Possessed* (Chicago:

materiality of music making, and the physical plant necessary to sustain the project of music education. Chapter two explains my own presentation of self in the field, as a simultaneous insider and outsider (a black non-Haitian), and explores how race operates in the camp scene and in broader Haitian society. Race serves to reify musical genre in these contexts. In this chapter, I highlight music from the folk music and carnival traditions, and analyze two performances of the choral composition "N'ap Debat" by Sydney Guillaume. Chapter three examines the missionizing of classical music, and how the dissemination of this genre is impacted by gender. I look to both Haiti and the United States for groups that identify as missionary, yet debate their very mission. This chapter features several hymns that provide structure and symbolize meaning.

In chapter four, I survey the lessons learned through performance, both in Haiti and *lòt bò dlo*, on the other side of the waters. I trace these lessons through three performances that I have witnessed during my field research period. The first is that of myself with the Haitian mezzo-soprano Jamie Cartright for a six-city tour of Haitian songs with piano accompaniment titled (RE)Memory. The second is that of composer Sydney Guillaume with the Imbroglio Sextet in New Orleans, performing a three movement suite featuring trumpet backed by clarinet and string quartet. The third is Daniel Bernard Roumain at Emory University, performing Anacaona: The Flower Songs, a cycle written by Roumain, sung by Emeline Michel, for which author Edwidge Danticat wrote the libretto. Chapter five, titled "(Re)membering Haiti through Mizik Klasik" mines the religious tension between performers with aspirations toward respectability and a classical music repertory that heavily features Vodou, an oft-vilified network of spiritual beliefs and practices. Throughout, I recount performances of the rara band Follow Jah, the choir at Jacmel singing Marassa Eyou by Werner Jaegerhuber, and the choir at Cange singing Blogodop,

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University of Chicago Press, 1969).

by Guillaume. I conclude with some remarks that reflect the nature of developments that occurred over my five-year research period.

## 1. The Gift of Music: Working, Playing, Recreating

> For it is groups, and not individuals, which carry on exchange, make contracts, and are bound by obligations…Further, what they exchange is not exclusively goods and wealth, real and personal property, and things of economic value. They exchange rather courtesies, entertainments, ritual, military assistance, women, children, dances, and feasts; and fairs in which the market is but one element and the circulation of wealth but one part of a wide and enduring contract.
> -Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*[1]

"The gift of music" is a well-worn and endearing phrase that presses public sentiment into compassion and charity for the arts, both in the United States and in nations influenced by its arts policies. In Haiti, where summer months witness the activation of a complex network of instructional music camps, the fulcrum of this gift comprises various forms of human, material, and symbolic capital. Music teachers are savvy, volatile assets who make strategic decisions about their particular work. Toting extra violins, replacement strings, bow hair, and method books, American and Spanish volunteers arrive at the Toussaint L'Ouverture International Airport equipped to serve hundreds of children from May to September. Their cargo could be considered atypical at their points of origin, but they hardly raise an eyebrow within a nation referred to as "the republic of NGOs." However, the volunteers and employees at each camp are raising vital questions about the sustainability of these recent enterprises. This chapter explores the ways in which teachers and administrators negotiate the terms upon which they participate in this economy of music education. I argue that Dessaix-Baptiste, Sainte-Trinité, and CEMUCHCA face an enduring challenge—to broker well-meaning capital into an agreement that can sustain both the gift and the labor through which it is produced.

[1] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen and West Ltd., 1966), 3.

Each of my five camping summers in Haiti have begun at an airport, in a space that juxtaposes a sense of transience with an enduring reality. If you come along with me, you'll notice that as we near the gate traveling to Haiti, we'll see at least a few roaming groups of mostly young people accompanied by more seasoned chaperones. Their matching t-shirts indicate what kind of mission group they are — perhaps they are affiliated with a religious denomination, or perhaps they are coming to build houses. The most mysterious ones are bedecked with ambiguous titles such as "Hope for Haiti." I thread through these groups, usually giving them wide berth. They move tightly in nervous packs, maybe with the exception of a group I saw in 2015 composed of black Americans. They, too, wore matching t-shirts, emblazoned with a proselytizing message. Though it was initially unclear whether they were of Haitian descent, their *dyaspora* identity became clear upon further observation. Their inclination to reclaim the country was palpable in both their speech and their stride.

I am not a casual interloper in the airport. On an average trip, I stand out due to my conspicuous set of luggage. Chances are, I am carrying a violin made for a child's shoulder, or method books stowed away in a carry-on. These irregularities are normalized as I approach the gate for Haiti. When we disembark on the other side, it becomes evident that everyone brings extra baggage. Customarily, no one blinks at the Port-au-Prince airport when I enter with these goods. Indeed, this is the manner in which nearly everyone enters — with offerings for friends and family, glad tidings of improved comfort from the other side of the water. The threat of valued items, ranging from medicine to musical scores, being stuck in a customs house is more than enough incentive to orchestrate a network of purchasing power that ferries goods and delivers them in a location far from the point of sale. To ship something to Haiti is to prepare for

a negotiation in a customs house, and is an invitation to bribery and cronyism. At least, that's what everyone tells us as they hand over one more box of reeds to take to camp. The aggressive nature of the luggage porters who work at the airport feels almost as annoying as I can imagine a visit to the customs house might be. Although they are airport employees, charged with ensuring that luggage is claimed by the appropriate parties, they offer to collect and push bags through customs for an additional tip in the same breath. The line between officially mandated task and outside work is so blurred as to be nonexistent, and without maintaining a casual attitude about being cheated, this encounter might end in yelling, tears, or both.

Once a porter arrives with our names written at the top of a newspaper, spelled in careful uppercase letters, we follow him, trying to guess at the tip that will be expected. We meet whichever representative of the school has been sent to retrieve us, pay the gratuity that is demanded, and spill ourselves into the seats offered, whether on a bus, van, or pickup truck. With our limbs draped across instruments, we bounce our way to Cange, Jacmel, or Cap-Haïtien.

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which the enduring structure of and narrative around summer music camps form a rebuttal to the assertion of Haiti's pathology.[2] Haitians have formed complex relationships with materiality that are both of this global moment and of their particular, local circumstances. As a nation, Haitians have been impacted by their historical legacy as both the "pearl of the Antilles" and the "poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere." As individuals, Haitians fill out a wide spectrum of economic situations, from borrowed tents to multiple mansions in the hills. The narrative that describes Haiti as lacking resources does not tell the

[2] Several authors have noted the discursive theme of Haiti's deficiencies throughout media and scholarly literature. Many of these authors cite the following article as a particularly influential explanation of how Haiti is problematized and the cyclical issues that result. Michel-

entire story. Many of the country's resources are not material. Music and its cognates, musical talent and ability, are ephemeral qualities difficult to quantify for a resource map. Neither is it all about the music: emotional affect is a way in which Haitians "give back" and foreign volunteers are rewarded for their efforts in the economy of Haitian summer music camps. This chapter proffers an anthropology of a music education network as it operates in Haiti. It deals with extramusical perceptions of Haiti from outside of the country, and how those thoughts might impact what happens within.

I begin by focusing on a heated discussion held outside the summer music camp at l'École de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste in Jacmel, Haiti. Two *pwofesè*, one white American and one Haitian, idled in front of a parked car. As I neared, their frustration came into focus: one gesticulated wildly while the other took mournful drags on his cigarette. Their topic was the existential quandary that most music educators come to at one point or another: what am I doing? What am I doing *here*? This debate was compounded by the circumstance of a volunteer-staffed music camp that perpetually seems on the brink of extinction: what are *we* doing? Can we even continue to do it? Their conversation ran the gamut of issues affecting EMDB, all hinging more or less on the question of sustainability: level of student participation, material resources, financial resources. The school's founder, Fritz Valescot, is well-known for his impassioned pleas to the international aid community about the fate of the school. These pitches are not only aimed toward big funders; they are genuine expressions by an arts advocate with a talent for emotional affect. Audiences for camp recitals have come to expect speeches about the necessity of music education in between student performances. One illustrative scene from a trailer for the

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Rolph Trouillot, "The Odd and the Ordinary: Haiti, the Caribbean and the World," *Cimarrón: New Perspectives on the Caribbean* 2:3 (1990), 3-12.

documentary *Kenbe La* depicts the administrator and the bleak situation that he narrates as follows: on a black screen, subtitles in yellow text appear, reading "I am afraid for the future of the school," while a fatigued voice intones "mwen pè pou avenir lekol." In the next frame, Valescot sits in front of a whitewashed wall, continuing his methodical explanation. "Si nou pa jwenn ed, leta pa soutni nou." Translated in the subtitles as "if we don't find help, the state does not support us," his statement refers to his extensive efforts to seek support from branches of the international aid industry that could possibly serve as an umbrella for the arts. Prominent external funders of the school include UNESCO, the European Union, the Japanese Embassy in Haiti, and France Cooperation Internationale.[3] Another possible translation of the sentence is "if we don't find assistance, [well,] the government doesn't help us." This interpretation lacks the causal link between the two clauses of the documentary's translation. However, as with so many uses of the Kreyòl language, the multiple available significations do not remain separate or sterile. Valescot's statement, captured on film, is context-specific, but not exclusive to any single reading.

EMDB, in operation since the late 1990s, has its precedent in the activities of l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité of Port-au-Prince, which has put on summer intensives for nearly half a century. These camps, and other similar ones that pepper the Haitian landscape, are sites of both

[3] On a webpage for the school sponsored by the U.S. National Arts and Humanities Youth Program Awards, additional EMDB sponsors include an organization known as FOKAL (the Fondasyon konesans ak libète/Fondation Connaissance et Liberté, one of George Soros' Open Society Foundations), the Government of Haiti, and the Haitian private sector. Although this might serve to complicate the portrait that Valescot paints in his appeal, the contingencies of corporate partnership would apply in this circumstance, meaning not only "if we don't find [outside] help, the state *would not* support us," but also "if we don't find [outside] help, then the state *will not* support us." "Jean Baptiste Dessaix Music School (Ecole de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste)," National Arts and Humanities Youth Program Awards, sponsored by the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, accessed December 30, 2015, http://www.nahyp.org/intern-spot-award/jean-baptiste-dessaix-music-school-ecole-de-musique-dessaix-baptiste.

leisure and labor. Haiti has been represented in the popular imagination as a poverty-stricken landscape, but during these summer camp activities, its soundscape disproves that single story.[4] Youth from a wide socioeconomic spectrum gather to take music lessons and participate in ensembles - they work at playing music by both Haitian and foreign composers. While summer camps, in particular, and music, in general, are often posited as recreational activities, how might we understand the process of recreation, indeed, re-creation, as both laborious and leisurely? How can we account for the resources, both material and human, that go into staffing and running the camps? Finally, how do these camps solicit and maintain participation, both from Haitians and foreigners, year after year?

**Blan, Ayisyen, Labor, and Leisure**

Perhaps the relationship between leisure and labor in the summer camps is best described by Jean Montes, a conductor at Loyola University in New Orleans. He grew up in Haiti attending EMST as a cello student, and returns regularly to the summer camp. While volunteering at the camps, he switches fluently between Kreyòl for the campers and English for the foreign volunteers during Orchestre Philarmonique de Sainte-Trinité rehearsals, straddling both a linguistic and a cultural gap. At the conclusion of a dress rehearsal, he often turns reflective, offering various insights in Kreyòl, French, and English. The insights are wide-ranging, and not necessarily directed towards a universal audience. Certain admonishments are aimed at Haitian youth. Other corrections and explanations address foreign volunteers. However, the following

[4] The Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie defines the concept of a master, or hegemonic, narrative in a 2009 TED talk titled "The Danger of a Single Story." She first describes growing up in affluence in Nigeria and seeing the house help in one-dimensional ways (not creative, without family, etc.) She then describes attending university in the United States and being seen in similarly flat representations ("a poor African" with "special music.") "The

statement was given first in Kreyòl, then in English. "Mizik se pa yon privilèj poum, se yon nesesite pou lavi/Music is not a privilege for me, it is a necessity for life." How much of this necessity, or the privilege, is predicated upon physical resources, whether counted as the instruments transported, the supporting materials imported, or the human labor and expertise that travel each summer?

Then again, the relationship between leisure and labor, between privilege and necessity is less simple than the dichotomy that appears on the customs and immigration form asking "Business or Pleasure?" On our flight to Haiti during the introduction to this chapter, perhaps you asked yourself which box to check. Is this a vacation, as we are traveling in the midst of summer and you've been promised a beach trip or two? Or is this work, as you've also been warned that we will rise each morning at 7 to attend prayers and the flag raising ceremony, and then will teach throughout the day? Meanwhile, the Haitian staff who are preparing to receive us also walk a fine line between business and pleasure. They receive a salary for conducting the daily operations of the camp, which would indicate labor. The size of these salaries and their frequency, however, clarify that theirs is a labor of love, feminized labor,[5] or pleasure. The majority of Haitian staff are female, and their numbers are particularly concentrated in positions with lower-level service engagements, such as feeding campers and ensuring that they make it to bed and wake up on time. I assert that both Haitians and foreigners are involved in the simultaneous processes of labor and leisure through their involvement and investment in the camp system.

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Danger of a Single Story," TED, accessed December 30, 2015, https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story?language=en.

[5] Feminized labor in the Haitian summer music camp context is covered in a more thorough manner in the following chapter.

Both labor and leisure practices draw on the time of the producer, consumer, or participant. Time is a valuable resource in short supply, and one of the central tensions of the camp system are differing conceptions of time between foreign volunteers and Haitian staff and students. Unexpected yet implicit in the construction of time is the valorization of rigor among American volunteers, in particular. Critique of time-spending methods are often leveled in an indirect manner, as volunteers refer to their disdain of poor rehearsal and performance. They insist that they are injecting a framework of care[6] where it is absent. However, Haitian staff members, and other adult supporters of the camp system also model forms of care in their action, for example, by setting up the interactions between Haitian students and foreign volunteers.

Labor and leisure are two intertwined processes, particularly in the camp setting. Haitian staff, who are paid for their responsibilities, work alongside foreign volunteers, who are not compensated for their responsibilities. Instead, these volunteers pay for international flights to the country and are provided room and board by the music schools that sponsor the camps as a compensatory measure. The volunteers come from a variety of professions, but the majority are conservatory student-teachers and professional primary and secondary school instructors. They often cite the inspiration generated by their Haitian students as a motivating factor in returning to teach at camp.

Camping. Roughing it. Experiencing the great outdoors. These tropes also have a connection to the experience of summer music camp in Haiti. Whether it is the sleep away experiences of Cap-Haïtien and Cange, or the day camp experience of Jacmel, I found much to remind me of camps in the United States. Jacmel is the final summer music camp in the season.

[6] Care is further discussed in Chapter Three as a frame for understanding the motivations of many actors in the Haitian classical music sphere.

It runs in the sweltering heat of August, and the facilities provided to the volunteer professors are perhaps the most in need of an overhaul. Tensions run high here, and patience for the shenanigans of students habitually runs short. Whether that shortness is expressed in a signature mid-concert rant by the founder of the camp, or outside of the business office by the year-round staff of the school, the frustration caused by illusions and realities of scarcity[7] explodes swiftly and frequently.

How can a common perception of Haiti, as a poverty-stricken "failed" state be wrong? I argue that it is possible that the telltale images of rubble, garbage strewn streets, and dirty, wailing children only tell part of the tale. Walled and gated estates typically do not make the soundbite reel. Neither do nightclubs with well-heeled attendees arriving in private cars, with drivers and armed bodyguards. This Haiti, a Haiti of leisure for wealthy natives, where not everyone who works performs manual labor, is hidden from the television screens of many global viewers. A much more diverse picture is available on the Internet, perhaps a way in which not only Haiti itself, but even its most accurate media representations have leapfrogged technologies.[8]

Haiti successfully attracts millions of dollars in fiscal involvement, and commercial flights full of volunteers. Digicel is perhaps one of the most well known market innovators

[7] Recent inroads in the sociological study of scarcity may intersect productively with this work and a broader field potentially described as development studies. Sendhil Mullainathan and Eldar Shafir, *Scarcity: Why Having Too Little Means So Much* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2013).

[8] Technological leapfrogging depicts a process by which less established business firms surge ahead of more established firms when they put large stakes in innovative technologies that become successful. The term's most recent application has been toward developing countries skipping technologies in the quest for accelerated development, for example, skipping landlines to go straight to cell phones. "The Limits of Leapfrogging," *The Economist,* February 7, 2008, accessed December 30, 2015, http://www.economist.com/node/10650775.

shaping Haitian life currently. The Irish cell phone giant dominates the cellular market, providing a product suited to the exigencies of life in Haiti: even the most basic models provide a flashlight and radio receptor. Phones in Haiti do not have the same bureaucratic tangles as phones in the U.S. Plans are usually pay-as-you-go, with *papadap* vendors advertising their presence throughout the countryside with umbrellas, or even the bib draped over a fence or chair near the road. These vendors are authorized by the phone companies (either Digicel or Natcom), to place pre-purchased value on phones by texting from their own phones.

There is a growing body of literature detailing this phenomenon of a poor country that generates a lot of wealth. Although the Haitian nation has long been identified with instability and foreign involvement, a spate of articles in 2012 repeatedly identified it as the "Republic of NGOs." One article introduces its subject thusly: "Welcome to the NGO Republic of Haiti, the fragile island-state born, in part, out of the country's painfully lopsided earthquake recovery. On one side are the thousands of aid organizations that came to Haiti with the entire international aid budget in their bank accounts (several billion dollars among them) and built a powerful parallel state accountable to no one but their boards and donors. On the other are the many representatives of the Haitian people—elected officials, civil society leaders, businesspeople—who remain broke and undermined by the very NGOs that swooped in to help. And in between? The Haitian people themselves: impoverished, unemployed, homeless and trapped in a recovery effort that has all too often failed to meet their needs."[9] Two years after the earthquake, the international news cycle returned to Haiti, curious about progress. They highlighted what one

[9] Kathie Klarreich and Linda Polman, "The NGO Republic of Haiti," *The Nation*, October 31, 2012, accessed December 30, 2015, http://www.thenation.com/article/ngo-republic-haiti.

World Bank fellow called the "quasi-privatization of the state."[10] Central to this tension around the republic of NGOs is the knowledge that resources intended to help Haiti advance are seldom distributed directly to Haitians themselves. Instead, donations are funneled to NGOs with affiliations in the money's country of origin, and much of it goes to ever-rising overhead costs that support staff salary and accommodations.

Musicologist Laryssa Whittaker writes, "the large scale re-engineering of political economy in a variety of states around the world since the 1980s has engendered a proliferation of NGOs globally involved in so-called 'development' work."[11] In her research field, South Africa, NGOs have reconceptualized music as having fiscal value, able to redeem outcomes for those most disenfranchised by the system. Similar imaginative leaps have taken place in Venezuela and on the South Side of Chicago.[12] A similar dynamic is at play in Haiti, where non-governmental actors are compelled to justify their activities to potential donors and critics by emphasizing the therapeutic and "soft educational" value of music. These reasons for playing music are on the opposite side of the spectrum from music for music's sake; they insist on a valorization of music based on what it can contribute to the society, a society seen as broken by many outsiders and insiders. Evidence of this view lies not only in the phrase "republic of NGOs," which is itself a citation of error, but in the designation "failed state." To state that Haiti, or South Africa, or Venezuela, or the South Side of Chicago for that matter, are failures is not to quantify that judgment with data points that expose problematic governance or weak economies.

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[10] Vijaya Ramachandran, "Is Haiti Doomed to Be the Republic of NGOs?" *The World Post,* January 12, 2012, accessed December 30, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/vijaya-ramachandran/haiti-relief-ngos_b_1194923.html.

[11] Laryssa Whittaker, "Refining the Nation's 'New Gold': Music, Youth Development and Neoliberalism in South Africa," *Culture, Theory and Critique* 55 (2014): 239.

[12] Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Meredith Aska McBride, "City with Lifted Head Singing: The Practice and Politics of Music Education in Chicago" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015).

It is to suggest that the key to success lies outside of the entity judged. "To the extent that the label 'failed state' performatively constructs the policy conditions under which global interventions are justified, it may also participate in precluding 'uptake' of the state."[13] The phrases that are repeatedly used to define and describe Haiti arguably do more than talk. The phrases, and the journalists who deploy them, actively shape public perception of Haiti, both inside of the country and out. This perception has the ability to encourage or discourage participation in music education, by foreign volunteers, Haitian students, and Haitian staff alike.

The shaping of international perception around Haiti has served to impact policy towards the nation for the duration of Haiti's history. In noting the circumstances leading to the U.S. occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934, Jeffrey Sommers writes that "Haiti, of course, had distinct features, yet was not completely culturally distinct from the West, given its shared emancipatory traditions arising out of the French Revolution. Efforts had to be made to exaggerate cultural differences between United States and Haiti."[14] This historic moment bears close resemblance to the present. By emphasizing extreme poverty, and mapping that poverty onto the entire nation, global actors generate global sympathy and support for intervening actions in local governments, disrupting local sovereignties with sometimes incomplete understandings.

Pity arguably powers many of the interactions of American volunteers with Haitians in the summer camp setting. This pity is not obvious, rather an insidious attitude that blankets the campuses, and sets the tone of the experience that volunteers, like mission groups, have come to expect. Despite very clear instructions in a welcome packet prepared by John Jost about the

[13] Chelsey Kivland, "We Make the State": Performance, Politick, and Respect in Urban Haiti" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2012), 41.

[14] Jeffrey Sommers, "The US Power Elite and the Political Economy of Haiti's Occupation: Investment, Race, and World Order," Journal of Haitian Studies 21:2 (2015), 56.

socioeconomic diversity present in Cange, first time volunteers still consistently note with surprise the presence of tablets and cell phones owned by students. This pity becomes especially relevant in the camp setting when it precludes discussion of financial issues. For example, volunteers often express concern about a seeming disconnect between the value of the instruments that they bring to Haiti and the manner in which students treat them. Some posit that children behave as if the instruments are cheap toys because they are unaware of the true monetary value of the instruments. They agree that the value of these instruments needs to be conveyed in some way, but are unsure how to successfully communicate this knowledge. A suggestion to tell the students outright is quickly shot down, because the volunteers present do not want to engender a sentiment of indebtedness. Perhaps it could be explained that for the price of one flute ($400), four students could attend camp at Cange ($100 for three weeks)? But then what of the instruments that cost more? Might the students be put in potential danger should they (and others) learn that they are in possession of such valuable things? Pity produces a cautious tiptoeing around dollar signs as if they are landmines in a nation whose landscape has so strongly configured by fiscal resources.

A history of music programs in Haiti might reflect a range of institutions led by Haitians yet powered by foreigners. Foreign involvement is a touchy subject in Haiti, and logically so, given the long history of interventions dating back to the Revolution. However, the fact of the matter is that music programs in Haiti have long been dependent on foreign assistance, from their origins. The oldest continually running program is l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité, which was founded by an Episcopalian nun named Soeur (sister) Anne-Marie in 1956. To this day, she is held in high esteem in the Holy Trinity system, as a visionary and way-maker. With the

assistance and input of James Smith and John Jost, young American men working at the time in Haiti, she formed and promoted ensembles such as les Petits Chanteurs (a boy choir) and l'Orchestre Philarmonique de Sainte-Trinité. These quickly became premier performing groups in Port-au-Prince, and Haiti more broadly, serving as private institutions that represented a public (much in the same way that the Chicago Symphony Orchestra is a private, elite institution that nonetheless represents a public and the city). Claude Dauphin writes that "the most amazing source of resilience, in the time of social, political, and cultural terror known as the Duvalier era, came from the implementation in 1956 and development in subsequent years of the Holy Trinity School, an establishment of academic and musical training, instituted and supported by the Episcopal Church of Haiti with the financial support of the Kent Educational Foundation (Delaware, U.S.A.)."[15] Smith and Jost were involved in the very early stages of the school, and they are still involved in Haitian classical music education to this day. Jost is nominally titled "Staff Coordinator for the Ecole Sainte Trinite Summer Camp," but his activities extend far beyond simple matters of staffing, to daily lectures given at *Drapo* (the morning flag raising) and Vespers (the evening prayer). The lectures are brief, often taking the form of insights about the nature of orchestras and their relationship to the organization of human life, or admonishments to live harmoniously. Smith lived in Haiti for ten years and returned to the States to raise a family and complete his education. He recently began making summer trips again, and is involved presently at l'École de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste in Jacmel, supporting that program through the administration of choral activities, music theory instruction, and by spearheading the donation of a piano. Most of the Holy Trinity volunteers are American, but in recent years, Spain has been particularly well-represented, with a movement of professional instructors and musicians coming

[15] Claude Dauphin, *Histoire du Style Musical d'Haïti,* (Montreal: Mémoire d'encrier, 2014), 249. Translation is mine.

out of Pamplona. Under the leadership of Alvaro Santiago, several teachers have made their way to Haiti, usually routed through the Dominican Republic, which reflects Santiago's preceding involvement in music education there. They are mostly string players, with a few winds sprinkled in.

During a late 2013 interview, I asked Madame Nicole St. Victor about the practice of inviting foreign volunteers to serve as honored faculty at the EMST camp. I had long held an interest in the intersection of Haiti's status as a reputed net-aid recipient and the volunteer-based structure of the music camps. However, it was my first time actually broaching the subject of cultivating dependency with a Haitian, and one embedded deep in the system at that. She sweetly and swiftly responded that volunteers had always come to camp, since the beginning days of Soeur Anne-Marie. Although I hardly was satisfied with this answer, it was conferred in such a dignified manner that I was compelled to change the subject. I found echoes of her response in a book by Claude Dauphin, published the following year. Dauphin is a Haitian-Canadian musicologist, intimately familiar with Haitian classical music as one of the founders of the Société de recherche et de diffusion de la musique haïtienne/Society for the research and distribution of Haitian Music (SRDMH). My translation of his reference is "Numerous American teachers distinguished themselves by their passionate collaboration in the work of Sister Anne-Marie. Ties of deep friendship and sincere collegiality were born between them and their Haitian colleagues and students. More than anything, they developed enthusiasm and admiration for Haitian classical music."[16] I would remember my conversation with Nicole St. Victor, and this response in particular over a year later when it was brought up by another volunteer that perhaps the system had been inculcating dependency since its very beginning. This point of view was corroborated by a Haitian teacher on a completely separate occasion. I would eventually come to

the conclusion that these questions sit with many participants in the camp eco-system, but very few people feel comfortable discussing these issues openly. In a system based on altruism, it is anathema to question the motives or even the impact of activities such as bringing musical supplies to Haiti and teaching for free. Some volunteers have potential improvements upon the system, but are loathe to forward these improvements unsolicited. One experienced volunteer felt that less-experienced student teachers should apprentice under Haitian staff members.

Holy Trinity has had a constant stream of summer and full-year volunteers since its inception, but it is by no means the exception, rather serving as a prototype for other programs. Dessaix-Baptiste has hosted a French volunteer for several years running, and I have met three throughout the course of my field research. These French volunteers hail from a job placement corps that offers them a salary in exchange for their service in a foreign country, perhaps making it a stretch to term them volunteers. Instead, they tend to go about their work with the businesslike commitment of the compensated. I term them volunteers here because they are treated generously and gratefully by the Haitian populace, with the same deference that American volunteers are granted. The terms of their tenure are not generally publicized. Last year, a small group of Cuban musicians made their way to Jacmel for a two-year stay. Their sojourn was arranged similar to the French visitors, with the exception of them being housed in the same property, another building owned by the music school on the next block. The house, called "Kay Conti" after the street name is now occasionally called "Kay Cubain." CEMUCHCA is perhaps the most independently managed program, only hosting foreign volunteers in the summer. However, they do welcome longer terms of engagement, and did extend an offer to me contingent on grant funding.

[16] Dauphin, *Histoire du Style Musical d'Haïti,* 250.

All three of the programs that are covered in this dissertation are members organizations of BLUME Haiti (Building Leaders Using Music Education). BLUME's mission is stated prominently on the website: "BLUME Haiti works with Haitian and International partners to develop leadership skills, awaken individual potential, and create opportunities for social and civic collaboration and economic development through music education and performance."[17] BLUME was formally constituted in 2012, but most of the board members had been working in Haiti long before, as volunteers, Haitian students, and Haitian staff. The organization came together under board president Janet Anthony, who had been coordinating volunteer activity for several years. BLUME allowed for a centralization of this activity, which included dispatching volunteers, and delegating instruments and other musical materials (such as music stands, strings, cork, and reeds) to the particular programs identified as needing those materials. Because a program without a string instructor does not need violin bridges, for example, a volunteer heading to that camp, but bringing those bridges to Haiti might need to meet someone in transit heading to another camp. Though BLUME has not lessened the complexity of the interactions that power Haiti's summer camps, it has provided a structure for a more efficient expenditure of resources. It has a 501 (c) (3) tax exemption from the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, which allows United States citizens that donate money to gain tax benefits (pay less annual income tax) and generally clear the organization from any tax on any revenue generated, revenue which is usually funneled back into the organization.

**Recycled Scores**

[17] "Mission and Vision," Building Leaders Using Music Education, accessed August 19, 2015, http://www.blumehaiti.org/mission--vision.html.

The music performed at the camps often depends on the scores discarded by music departments in the States, to which volunteers are connected. This fact is not lost on Haitian students or teachers, as scores sometimes have a red “DISCARD” or “REJECT” stamped on a diagonal across the first system of notes. Prior attention has been given to the negotiation of trash by Haitians as a charged, signifying topic. How might this nationwide (at least in urban spheres) relationship with garbage impact the production of music?[18]

These recycled scores are important because of what they represent, but also because of their actuality, their existence, and their materiality. “Items of material culture script in much the same sense that literary texts mean: neither a thing nor a poem (for example) is conscious or agential, but a thing can invite behaviors that its maker did and did not envision, and a poem may produce meanings that include and exceed a poet’s intentions. To describe elements of material culture as “scripting” actions is not to suggest that things possess agency or that people lack it, but instead to propose that agency emerges through constant engagement with the stuff of our lives.”[19]

In the same vein, volunteers and Haitian staff alike are critical of the condition in which both instruments and scores arrive in Haiti. These materials are usually donations solicited from high schools and universities after these institutions have upgraded their programs. The quality and condition of the materials varies widely, from nearly new flutes to dog-eared scores. How might working from a score stamped "REJECT" impact the psyche of a student? How might

[18] I thank a fellow volunteer, Lindsey Schwartz, for her bedtime ruminations on the nature of trash. Although this idea was borne of great frustration, and an afternoon of shaking ants out of a violin (a student stored used cookie wrappers next to the rosin), I hope that it has been repurposed accurately here.

[19] Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood From Slavery to Civil Rights*, 12.

rehearsing, often multiple times a day, before that declaration of value, shape the sound produced?

In her dissertation "City With Lifted Head Singing: The Practice and Politics of Music Education in Chicago," (2015) Meredith Aska McBride describes the transfer of used instruments from the affluent northside of Chicago to the poorer southside. "This is story about stark inequalities: the affluent suburb of Highland Park can afford to purchase new equipment when needed, even when old equipment is still relatively functional, whereas EPIC could not afford even used instruments, and was able to find the necessary material to run the drumline program only through a stroke of luck."[20] This sort of transfer occurs on a much larger scale during the summer, as materials move from the global north to the global south, from band programs in Wisconsin and orchestras in Maine to music camps in the Central Plateau and private schools in Jacmel.

My attention was first brought to recycled scores upon my initial visit to Jacmel in 2011, when I was directed to dusty, disorderly file cabinets containing mismatched method books to find material from which to teach. However, this focus has been sharpened over the years, and in 2014, it came to a personal head as I sat atop a stone wall in Cange with Jamie, waiting for a rehearsal to begin. She was carrying photocopies of scores, a hodgepodge of public domain pieces printed from IMSLP and recycled repertoire that often contained pop culture references two or three years behind the curve. She detailed her frustration with music too difficult for students to pronounce with Kreyòlophone and Francophone tongues, lacking what she

[20] Meredith Aska McBride, "City with Lifted Head Singing: The Practice and Politics of Music Education in Chicago" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015), 136.

understood to be pedagogical value. Her goal was not to teach English, but rather to improve the students' musical ability. While she spoke these challenging words to me, my eyes remained averted. They searched the sky, the mountain range in the near-distance, and the tan dirt soccer field below. They then settled on the box containing the ill-fitting scores. The side read "Food for the Poor."

Food for the Poor is a nonprofit organization…We might understand this as yet another part of the detritus of living in the "Republic of NGOs." But a deeper introspection might also note the irony of the repurposing of this cardboard box. Are musical scores "food for the poor?" What role might obscure 18th century composers play in nourishing the hungry? More practically, this box sighting conversation occurred in the midst of a camp scandal around food. Several volunteers were concerned with reports from their students about the feeding situation. In Cange, volunteers eat at tables in one of the campus dormitories, removed from the students. We are brought food first, in large mess pots and plastic food covers that serve as baskets for plates and eating utensils. Most Haitian staff members take their meals closer to the students, providing order. That summer, students were reporting different meals of a lesser quality than the volunteer teachers. They asserted that they were not receiving enough to eat. The students at Cange were confident enough to speak up - many are from well-off families that pay regular fees to participate in the music school's activities year-round. Scholarship students are quickly identified in the first few days of camp, and ostracized to varying degrees. That food shortages would impact these students, students from influential families, raised several eyebrows.

These questions were heightened upon spotting boxes of food coming in from Port-au-Prince. Labeled Food for the Poor, rumor had it that these rations were being used as meal staples for both volunteers and students, very few of whom qualify as poor or identify as such.

My conversation with Jamie highlighted the nuances necessary to comprehend wealthy people in a poor country. Although there may be a general expectation that the national GDP reflect an average citizenry, the truth is a much more detailed, individualized portrait. Much like a Haitian expecting every U.S. Citizen they encounter to be wealthy and white, expectations by foreigners that Haitians be poor and black are ill-founded and incongruous with reality.

The ephemera of international aid work endures in the Haitian landscape. Though the individual laborers come and go, some to return and some to stay away, telling the story, the things they leave behind are legion. At the desk in Jacmel where I sit writing this, I spy a USAID (United States Agency for International Development) tarp used for a roof seal at the barbershop across the street. In one of the drawers of the desk, there is a notebook with Food for the Poor emblazoned across the front. It is used as a register for student identification cards.

The materiality of the international aid complex is written all over Haiti, and throughout the camps. I've covered its presence in musical instruments, in scores, and in the food that is served to the campers. These materials, however, are not always passive signs of poverty. Sometimes, in the case of the humble clothespin, they actively hold together a world on the verge of collapse.

I was walking across the yard at CEMUCHCA in Cap-Haïtien when I saw the clothespin in action for the first time. I had witnessed outdoor rehearsals elsewhere, and rehearsals nearly outdoors, as ventilation is a valued element in Haitian architecture, and windows are not optional, but panes of glass are. Clothespins would hold the score to the stand, keeping the pages from flapping in the wind or flying away altogether. That adaptation did not seem so distant from the U.S. In Cap-Haïtien, however, I passed a neat group of children playing string instruments, one in front of the other. When I got closer, I realized that each student, except the last one, had a

sheet of paper with the score clipped to the back of their shirt. Most were violinists and violists, except for the very last girl, who sat in a chair and played the cello. Because of a dearth of music stands, these beginning students, called *debutan*, formed a miniature ensemble playing variations on Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star.[21] Each child stood very still, as still as possible for children, some still under ten years of age, conscious as they were of the network they formed.



*Figure 3. Photo courtesy of Carolyn Desrosiers, Cap-Haïtien, 2012*

There is a sense in which these statements of reality, of materiality, of trash and necessity inculcate a frustration that threads its way through the participants and their activities. What is

[21] A common choice for early string education because of its simplicity, Twinkle, or *Ah! Vous Dirai-Je Maman* works particularly well in cases like this because it only requires two strings and one hand position.

the point of this leisure and labor, of this charity for and investment in a system that always seems on the verge of collapse? The irony is the high rate of retention of students, especially in Jacmel. Haitian teachers plead with the director to purge the school's roster to favor the most disciplined in the allocation of resources. Neither is it just students who habitually return. Conductors, composers, and musicians, like Jean Montes, the conductor whom I quoted earlier, visit annually to pay it forward.

Alumni of the camps frequently return to assist through teaching private lessons and coaching ensembles. When I asked one long-term returnee, who has garnered some national acclaim as a jazz musician, why he continued to contribute his time to the camps, he responded in a way that, for the purposes of this presentation's brevity, can be taken as representative of quite a few motives among camp participants - students, staff, and volunteers. He replied that the structure of the activity was important to him, for the youth present and for the country. Variations on this conviction are echoed by Haitians and foreigners alike.

Structure is a much less satisfying response to the "why" of the camps than Montes' "privilege and necessity." A narrative of permanence, of quotidian activity is less popular when describing Haiti, but perhaps more accurate. Through this narrative, I ask how the meaning of participation changes between labor and leisure. Is attending camp a noble cause or a personally satisfying activity that fulfills ideas about the country and ideals about volunteering? By understanding that this field isn't going anywhere, we can talk about what the individual and collective actions of these participants mean. The gift of music, despite frantic appeals to donors, does not appear ready to run out anytime soon in Haiti. Its continued significance, however, is yet to be determined.

## 2. Racing Genre: Choral Performances of an Authentic Haiti

The teenage boys rimming the steps around the pulpit of the chapel were serious, about as serious as a group of adolescents wearing matching tee shirts could be. The tenors and basses of Les Petits Chanteurs, the venerated boys choir of l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité focused in on their conductor, and on the memory that inspired the text they were about to sing. Members of the audience, particularly those who had been in attendance at the camp, murmured in anticipation. They knew that they were about to hear the song that this group had struggled with the entire week. Instead of impatiently dismissing this material that was beyond their skill level, they had wrestled with it, struggling to convince the conductor and composer Sydney Guillaume that they could convey this message, that they could successfully sing this song. Guillaume, a Haitian American composer, wrote "N'ap Debat" from Los Angeles a few months after the 2010 earthquake that decimated Port-au-Prince and surrounding villages. The composition was commissioned and premiered by the Michigan School Vocal Music Association Men's Honor Choir on January 22, 2011, but the 2014 performance that I witnessed was the inaugural Haitian run, an oft-solemn, but at times jubilant rendering of a piece part requiem, part praise song.

"N'ap Debat" roughly translates to "we are fighting," though the translation offered on Guillaume's website settles on "we're hangin' on."[1] Similar issues of translation throughout the score serve differing interpretations of content and intent - what might this piece mean to an ensemble and audience with little-to-no experience with Haitian Kreyòl and its multiple significations? The footage lives on via Guillaume's YouTube[2] channel, along with several other performances of the composer's material in various countries. While I will discuss performances

[1] "N'ap Debat (We're Hangin' On)," Sydney Guillaume, accessed February 2, 2016, http://sydneyguillaumemusic.com/portfolio-items/nap-debat/.

abroad by the Haitian diaspora in the fourth chapter, the performance by a U.S. choir in Michigan, in tandem with the performance by a Haitian choir in Cange merit discussion within this chapter as an intriguing point of dissonance between groups reading from the same notated material. The following outline of participatory discrepancies might be understood through the lens that Kyra Gaunt articulates as "a possible web of meanings that black people can bring to an experience as well as the public and hidden transcripts that intersect with that experience to understand and empathize with the dialectic relations of domination and subordination that shape musical meaning and feeling in a multicultural context."[3] I read and hear "N'ap Debat" as a site of multicultural inquiry. Guillaume skillfully interpolates Kreyòl text with Western art music motifs such as the Dies Irae within a composition written in standard Western notation and commissioned by a U.S.-based choral group. The composition's very origin is thus politically eclectic. Performances of it are bound up with the machinations of race, power, and difference.

This performance also raises several important questions having to do with the construction of musical genre. What is the measure of authenticity in a performance of Haitian music in Mirebalais, Haiti, the arrondissement in which Cange is nested in the central plateau of Haiti, a rural region describable as a heartland? How might an audience gauge a performance of the same repertoire in Michigan, given by an honors choir singing of a physically and theoretically distant place? What do these performances tell us about the multiple worlds that these musicians inhabit and the multiple lives/performances of this music? "N'ap Debat" was first performed in Michigan, and then brought to Mirebalais. What might it mean to "bring it home" when speaking about this piece? Most saliently, what might it mean for a piece of music

[2] "N'ap Debat (We're Hangin' On) - Sydney Guillaume, 2011 MSVMA Men's Honor Choir," YouTube, accessed February 2, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aClitAtF8Ms.

[3] Kyra Gaunt, "Got Rhythm?: Difficult Encounters in Theory and Practice and Other Participatory Discrepancies in Music," *City and Society* 19 (2002), 121.

composed by a resident of the diaspora to function as an aesthetic and ideological center? I respond to these questions near the end of the chapter by explaining how authenticity is measured in performances of Haitian music, then broadening my focus to explore how perceptions of the authentic shift according to performance locale and venue.

My mark in this chapter is not to decry the cross-cultural performance of this song or diminish the significance of non-Haitian performances of Haitian repertoire. On the contrary, I am seeking to understand the work done by contrasting performances of memory between Michigan and Mirebalais. How is Haitian pain, pride, and identity consumed, reproduced, and remembered through an economy of choral music based in the United States?

Authenticity is often bracketed off by scare quotes and fixed notions of it have been shunned by academics, but it is a useful term for understanding the cultural currency that these performances generate. In casual conversation, before and between acts, audience members and people on stage discuss how "authentic" music is, wondering how close they have come to "the real deal." It is not just a term for laypeople and performers, however. In *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity,* John Jackson describes it as such: "Authenticity functions as a valuable term in contemporary academic discussions about race and racism. It explains what is most constraining and potentially self-destructive about identity politics.[4]" In order to understand how Haitians and foreigners, in this case, Americans, legitimate their performances and understand some as competent and others as not, I foreground claims of authenticity around musical performance. Authenticity is also an important term that lies at the historical heart of the summer camp experience. Camps, originally created as recreational enrichment programs in the

[4] John Jackson, *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 12.

late nineteenth century northeast United States, thrive on a sense of community. Leslie Paris writes that "the foregrounding of authentic experience at camps, which industry proponents understood to be a cornerstone of the experience, often had racial overtones. Indeed, a degree of "primitive" cross-racial play, albeit temporary and contained, was…central to the community experience."[5] The practice of creating and defining racial others in order to clarify the terms of nation, of genre, and of self is ingrained in many pedagogical settings.

In this chapter, I explore some racial dimensions of the relationship between Haiti and the United States. The two nations are roughly the same age, though vastly different in size. Haiti's quotidian realities are based in a mutually influential history between these hemispheric neighbors. Moreover, the selection and practice of musical genre is implicated within and used to express this very relationship. It's not just white and black, though. Blackness is performed and defined in a multi-dimensional field of representations. Haitians, like many Afro-diasporans, approach blackness in ways that are informed by citizenship in their nation and in the broader diaspora. These senses of belonging are positioned both in the ideological sphere of influence radiating from *letazini* (the United States), and by ideological weight cast by a communal identity as the "first black republic." Neither are these racialized relationships strictly oppositional. Much like the Haitian Revolution itself, the battle over an authenticized Haiti is waged from several corners, and numerous strategic alliances are formed and broken.[6]

[5] Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: the Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 190-1.

[6] This focus is not meant to dismiss or exclude the relationship of Haiti with other heavily involved states, such as Brazil, Canada, Cuba, or France. These actors are certainly pertinent to the music camp scene. I feature the more detailed points of Haiti's complex relationship with the United States in order to achieve analytical depth, possibly at the expense of comprehensive breadth.

This dizzying sphere of action is analogous to the function of musical genre in Haiti. *Rap kreyòl* often uses *konpa* rhythms to make it intelligible as Haitian music. Contemporary *konpa* artists might put a *rasin*-tinged song on their albums in order to feel more relevant, and so on. *Mizik klasik* (classical music) and sounds related to *fòklo* (folkloric performance) are the principal genres dealt with in this chapter and in this dissertation. They are not, however, in an exclusive competition. While I use the racing metaphor to describe the interaction of the genres as well as to give an idea of the competitive milieu of performing choral music, the actual result is far less straightforward than a regular foot race. The sphere of activity is, perhaps, more akin to the spatial organization evident in a track and field competition. These genres are traditionally performed in very different places, such as the concert hall, the salon, the church, and the peristyle, but these genres have never stayed put in their expected homes. Instead, they contribute to each other, all the while competing.

Mizik klasik (roughly, "classical music") encompasses Western European-style art music. Foklò denotes a wide range of expressive practices that include depictions of Haitian history and Vodou. Since the early twentieth century, composers of mizik klasik have incorporated references to foklò into their work. Meanwhile, the principal patrons of foklò have been cultural elites trained in mizik klasik. Presently, participants from a much broader range of socioeconomic situations find ways to inhabit and embody both, as they navigate the musical and social context of summer camp. In this way, students and teachers challenge any construction of Haiti as a monolithic race, class, religion, or culture. By racing (against) genre, musicians and their audiences take part in a performance at the crossroads of group identity and self.

Highlighting the role of these genres, I argue that musicians and their audiences are engaging in complex contests of meaning regarding the authenticity of the music and the identities of those present. They are, in this sense, both "racing" against genre and "racing" the actual genres by deploying an array of social strategies to recompose both nation and self as definitely black and definitively Haitian.

**Haiti in the Racial Imagination**

There are a number of reasons that Haiti is a significant research site for this project. Many of the reasons with which I engage most closely are concerned with race. In his 1994 book *The Uses of Haiti,* Paul Farmer delivers a variety of linkages between the U.S. and Haiti. He states that "the United States and Haiti are something other than the richest and the poorest countries in the hemisphere; they are also its two oldest republics" (46). Both nations fought for and won their independence during the last few decades of the eighteenth century. However, instead of partnering, or even peacefully coexisting, the United States quickly began to assert influence over Haiti. This dissertation builds upon this mutual history to explore the ways in which racial ideologies configure U.S.-Haiti relations.

Haiti has long been a significant part of the racial imaginary[7] of the United States. Shortly after the culmination of Haiti's multi-year war for independence in 1804, United States senators debated Haiti's right to exist, as the existence of the Black Republic called into question the simultaneous existence of enslaved men and women in the "land of the free." However, less attention has been paid to the operating principles of race within Haiti. The scholarship devoted

[7] Following Bohlman and Radano, I use the concept of "racial imagination" to refer to "the shifting matrix of ideological constructions of difference associated with body type and color that have emerged as part of the discourse network of modernity." Ronald Radano and Philip Bohlman, *Music and the Racial Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 5.

to the subject often echoes similar refrains. According to these textual narratives, Haiti is divided into two classes: *lelit* (the elite) and *pep* (the people, or proletariat). The elite is mostly mulatto (*milat*), and the proletariat is mostly (or completely, depending on text) black (*nwa*). This division emerged from the circumstances of the Revolution, and is destined to repeat itself.

Race has thus become somewhat of a predetermined topic for authors hailing from the United States. Moreover, complex inequities between racialized social classes is often cited as the root of Haiti's problems, to the exclusion of other complicating factors, such as international intervention/interference and the challenge of forming a political republic in the early 19th-century. However, close attention troubles the neat dynamic of an exclusively oppressed *nwa* proletariat class and an exclusively oppressive *milat* elite class, operating without interruption throughout the course of Haitian history. There have been multiple waves of *noirisme*, a calculated political turn to elevation of darker-skinned individuals as representatives of the state. Those governments were far from dummy administrations, and though social value still somewhat depends on skin color, it is not the sole class determinant.

Race has long been used as an organizing principle to "explain Haiti." It has been subsumed under the umbrella of "cultural factors," and, as Paul Farmer notes, only taken out of use in favor of "voodoo" as a scapegoat for Haiti's issues.[8] But a more interesting means of organization might trace what Haitians say about the nature and impact of blackness on the country and its political, economic, and social activities. There is an awareness of Haiti within Haiti, as a black nation in a hegemonically white world. Largey writes in *Vodou Nation* that "Haitian elites experienced subalternity in the international realm even as they dominated their

[8] Paul Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1994), 53. The rhetoric around voodoo as the cultural source for Haiti's issues intensified after the 2010 earthquake, exemplified in the New York Times' opinion editorial space by columnist David

own country's national life."[9] This portrait of the state of affairs, taken during the American Occupation of 1915-34, remains insightful. Still a predominantly black nation, Haiti is smaller than Maryland, but contains as many people as a fourth of the U.S. black population. It is the Caribbean nation directly east of Cuba. As such, it has posed and continues to constitute a demographic and geographic strategic interest to the United States.

Another factor which makes Haiti an ideal location to study the cultural impact of and societal justifications for music education is the policy language that ties music education to poverty reduction. In locations as diverse as Venezuela and the United States, legislation has been produced that ties young people making music to general positive outcomes. When discussing justifications for classical music activity with volunteers in the 25-35 age demographic, instructors who have been coming to Haiti for a few years, I posed the following questions in order to clarify the stances of my conversation partners. Does every Haitian student have access, or is the systemic bar just different? Is poverty less stigmatized in Haiti? How is it stigmatized, if at all? Volunteers working on the same staff, in close relationship for an extended length of time, often have disparate ideas about the answers to these questions. One respondent believed that every Haitian student has access to music education. This individual was confident in the work of the private music schools in Haiti, offering the example of an orphanage that also functions as a music school.[10] Another respondent felt that perhaps there were some students

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Brooks. David Brooks, "The Underlying Tragedy," *New York Times,* January 14, 2010, accessed February 28, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/15/opinion/15brooks.html?_r=0.

[9] Michael Largey, *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 12.

[10] This has surprising resonances with the origin of the term *musical conservatory*. "The term and institution derive from the Italian *conservatorio*, which in the Renaissance period and earlier denoted a type of orphanage often attached to a hospital…The foundlings (*conservati*) were given musical instruction at state expense…The *conservatori* were thus the first secular

who were being missed in the shuffle, and that the students who did manage to access music education constituted a privileged minority. I responded by suggesting that the systemic standard was different. In both the U.S. and Haiti, there are wealthy people who have unfettered access, middle-class families who may need to rearrange resources to gain access, and lower-class students who will not gain access. Upon further reflection, I also realize that access takes more than money. Access is a result of adequate financial resources, convenient geographic location, motivated mentoring, and inculcated desire. It is a confluence of proper assets and being in the right place at the right time.

**Globalized pedagogical systems**

In *Repeating Ourselves*, Bob Fink describes his theorization of the Suzuki pedagogical method as an investigation of "the way this gentle, unworldly pedagogue set out quite literally to repeat the world's children into better, more compassionate versions of their young selves."[11] The Suzuki method is notable for its extensive reach throughout the globe. Suzuki Association of the Americas attends to Latin America. European Suzuki Association administers programs in Africa. Both of these supervisions configure a compelling encounter between the global north and global south. The Suzuki method's principle competition and compatriot in globalized pedagogical method is El Sistema. In *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*, Geoffrey Baker critiques the assumptions drawn by advocates of this method regarding the social position

institutions equipped for training in practical music." *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "conservatory", accessed February 10, 2016, http://www.britannica.com/topic/conservatory-musical-institution.

[11] Robert Fink, *Repeating Ourselves: American Minimal Music as Cultural Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 13.

of those most impacted by this pedagogical system.[12] I will occasionally reference both of these systems within this dissertation. In discussions of Haiti's musical pedagogy programs, comparisons and questions often draw on El Sistema, a more frequently analyzed resource for understanding this type of work.[13] Claude Dauphin makes the point, however, that l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité (EMST) predates El Sistema by twenty years.[14]

This dissertation reflects the ways in which several privately-run Haitian community schools are part of both a national network and an international framework. They comprise the principal music pedagogical opportunities in Haiti, and they draw on a global awareness and call on an international community for support. From 2011 to 2015, I moved through three summer music camps in Haiti that simultaneously represent a network of music education programs throughout the country and the diversity of offerings available. Cercle de Musiciennes Chretiennes de Cap-Haitïen/Circle of Christian Musicians of Cap-Haitian (CEMUCHCA), l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité/Holy Trinity Music School (EMST), and l'École de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste/Dessaix-Baptiste Music School (EMDB) are based in Cap-Haitian, Port-au-Prince, and Jacmel, respectively.

[12] Baker is highly critical of El Sistema in his text, at a level that is unmatched here. An important difference worth noting is the foci of the texts; whereas Baker is concerned with the efficacy of the pedagogical system, I am concerned with the logics of participation.

[13] *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* is far from the first or only text profiling this musical program. Changing Lives by Tricia Tunstall. There have also been television specials and documentary media on the subject. Some El Sistema's most prominent press comes from the activities of its alumni. The impact of El Sistema alum and promoter Gustavo Dudamel on classical music culture is particularly impressive and far-reaching. For more information, see Mina Yang, *Planet Beethoven.*

[14] Claude Dauphin, *Histoire du Style Musical d'Haïti,* (Montreal: Mémoire d'encrier, 2014), 249.

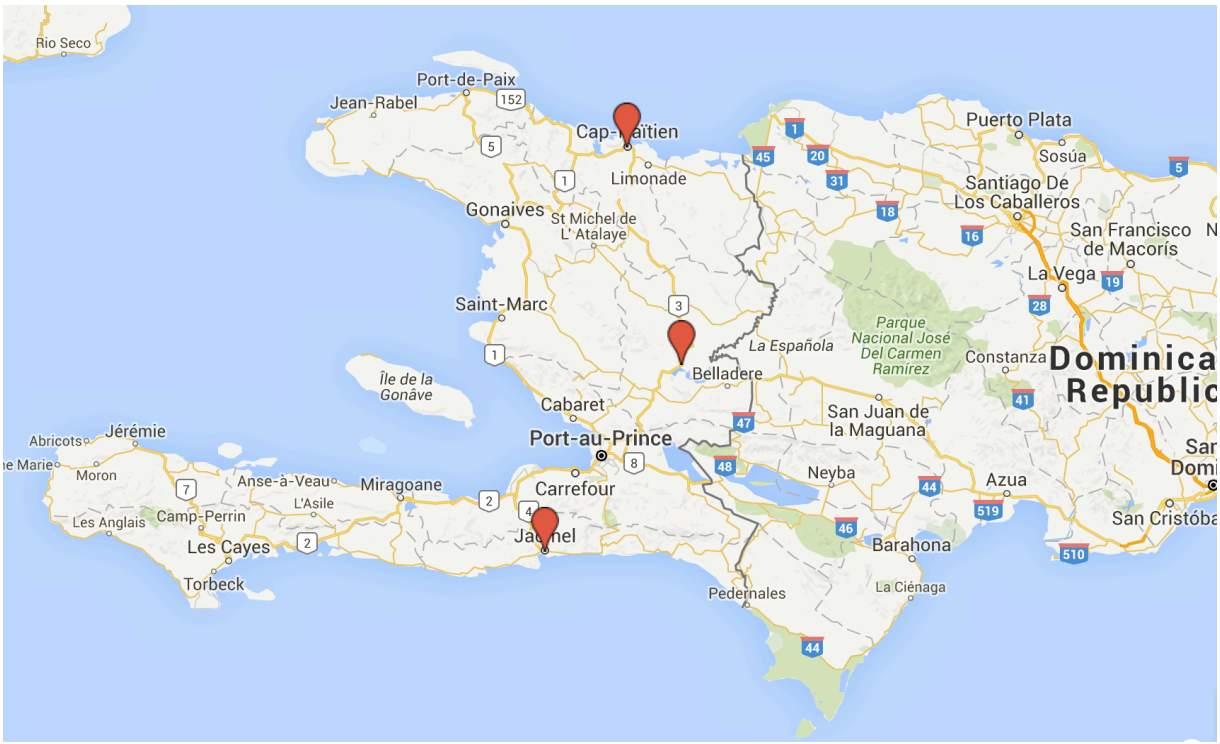



*Figure 4. This map features pinpoints at Cap-Haïtien, Cange, and Jacmel, when read north to south.*

**Whose authentic? Who's authentic?**

This performance is enduring, and has precedence dating to at least the early 20th century. In his review of the ways in which Haitians sought to reimagine themselves socially and politically, Gage Averill highlights the importance of expressive culture in these calculations. "The *indigène* movement's concept of authenticity was implicitly a spatial model, positing a neo-African, sacred, rural peasant tradition at the center (this center imagined occasionally as a *poto mitan*, or center post, in a Vodou temple, a conduit for visits by the *lwa* to the world of the living) and secular, foreign, urban elite spaces at the margins."[15] In this model, authenticity comes into play as the locus of moral authority and power. The move to position an "authentic" blackness at the center of Haitianness discredited other ways of being Haitian, particularly those associated with being lighter-skinned, wealthy, and culturally French. The force of these ideas

created several false dichotomies, many of which endure to the present moment. The *indigène* movement was far more than a twenty-year spell of public racial pride or a Francophone Caribbean analogue to the Harlem Renaissance. Its thought leaders both dismantled the American Occupation of 1915-34 and paved the way for the *noiriste* politics that lawfully elected François Duvalier to office in 1957.[16] Just as the politics of this movement have had a lasting impact on Haiti, its cultural policy lives on, in idealized *fèt chanpèts*, in *papier-mâché* carnival masks, and in straw hats and beadwork offered to tourists as true representations of an authentic Haiti.

**On Authenticity**

About the relationship between race and class, Averill notes that: "In Haiti, ideologies of African descent help both to construct the nation (i.e., 'The Black Republic') and to deconstruct it…Haitians have a finely nuanced system of racial classification that attaches status differences to racial characteristics and associates race with class."[17] Dark brown skin is thought to be at once authentically Haitian and of a lower social class than light brown skin. In this way, income level is bound up with ideas of authenticity, and the peyizan - the stereotypical illiterate peasant farmer - is thought to best embody the nation. Visions of authentic Haitianness are also closely related to the region of country in question. Rural is promoted over urban as the heart of the Black Republic, even while the government, and recently the population, is heavily centralized in Port-au-Prince. Finally, occupation is an affective determinant of authentic Haitianness.

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[15] Gage Averill, *A Day for the Hunter, A Day for the Prey: Popular Music and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 44.

[16] Millery Polyné, *From Douglass to Duvalier: U.S. African Americans, Haiti, and Pan Americanism, 1870-1964* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010).

Historically, those who worked the land provided the economic tax base for the activities of the wealthy elite of Port-au-Prince. Though much has changed in the global and national economies, manual labor is respected as necessary, even while consigning those workers to a lower social class.

The arbitration of authentic Haitianness is complex, however, and the upper classes often wield the power of definition over the lower classes, who are regulated to the work of embodiment. Those who "koupe kann" are often voiceless, leaving singers such as Yole Derose to lament their situation. I first encountered this song in a Haitian Kreyòl language and culture course. The teachers, all Haitian male professors teaching at American universities, were enthusiastic about the importance of Derose's subject matter - peyizan who are solicited to cross the border with the Dominican Republic to harvest sugar cane. The song's refrain laments -

Koupe kann, yo pral koupe kann (Cutting cane, they've gone to cut cane)

This song was consistently part of a Friday evening session meant to highlight authentic Haitian culture through music. I was immediately curious that this song and its accompanying video would be lifted up as very Haitian - there were many conflicting signifiers within it. Sugar cane cutters are often very dark-skinned, thus making them easy targets in the Dominican Republic. Derose is a warm caramel color, with wispy, straightened hair underneath a straw hat worn to shield her from the sun. Yet the song is addressed in a manner that portrays Derose as a wife waiting for her husband to return - a somewhat implausible situation due to social class mores. Our customary class sing-along exposed further dissonances, in this case, often literal. Folk music in Haitian culture is often composed in comfortable registers for a wide berth of

[17] Gage Averill, "'Se Kreyòl Nou Ye'/'We're Creole': Musical Discourse on Haitian Identities" in *Music and Black Ethnicity: The Caribbean and South America*, ed. by Gerard Béhague (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 158.

voices.[18] Derose is a soprano, and the inability of the class to match her pitch provoked uneasy laughter and questions on the part of my classmates about her vocal timbre - a bel canto that does not commonly occur in untrained voices.

I offer this example to demonstrate some of the highly nuanced ways in which authenticity is constructed through social class and color and to prefigure the representative tussels highlighted later in this chapter. I am not objecting ideologically to these performances, merely pointing out their existence. They are concrete examples of the function of identity in Haitian society, cast in both local and global senses. I would posit that the community of professors at the language institute is just as much a Haitian community as a group of farmers at home in a lakou in the Central Plateau. However, who is more likely to explain Haitian culture to a foreigner?

Food might appear to be the only suitable middle-class tether to lower class authenticity.[19] Through dishes such as the daily staple diri ak sos pwa (rice with bean sauce), the Sunday/holiday staple soup joumou (pumpkin soup), and the occasional economic or dietary decadence of deep-fried street food such as griot (pork), marinad (herbed fritters), and banann peze (pressed plaintains), most Haitians are able to access a common ground before the marchande. The vendor across the street from the Partners in Health campus in Cange, Mme. Micheline, is a well-respected figure by locals, staff members from the capital, and foreign volunteers alike.[20] However, class differences arise even in foodways - the case of American rice is an example. For some, it is viewed as a prestige item, and imagined to actually taste better

[18] This is also true of many folk musics globally. The intention is to make music that invites participation from many people.

[19] According to Deborah Thomas, "the default referents of nationhood" are "associated with black lower-class cultural practices," such as "the local production and consumption of the foods…music… and language…associated with black lower-class Jamaicans." Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 2.

than domestic varieties. For others, it only serves as a bitter reminder of Clinton-era U.S. Trade concessions that dismantled the remainder of the Haitian economy's agricultural sector. If the negotiation of food is this nuanced and detailed, imagine the role that music plays in the development of Haitian cultural identity. It is, at its core, much more difficult, and much less respectable. Everyone needs to eat, but the utility of music is more debatable. Music contains multivalent signifiers, foreign and domestic influences, and the widest range of age group appropriateness.

This authentic Haiti was carefully constructed, by forces such as the national government and individual artists. Millery Polyné writes the following about the pioneering work of dancers Jean-Léon Destiné and Lavinia Williams in order to contextualize their collaboration in *From Douglass to Duvalier: U.S. African Americans, Haiti, and Pan Americanism, 1870-1964:* "As early as the mid-1930s, the Haitian government began to support the advancement and consumption of Haitian cultural arts to increase tourism to the country. In fact, many Caribbean administrations encouraged similar investments in tourism during this time to complement industrialization and to answer the dilemmas of debt, unemployment and failing economies. The work of Destiné and Williams sought to modernize Haitian dance or, rather, to discipline it, classify it and "theatricalize" it so Haiti's original art form could be exhibited on the world stage and educate audiences about Haitian history and culture."[21]

This touristic education about Haiti's history and culture is presently being redirected toward Haiti's extensive and affluent diaspora. The Kreyòl slogan "Ayiti se la pou'w la" (Haiti is here

[20] Students are technically not allowed to go, but older teenage boys often sneak away from the campus.

[21] Millery Polyné, *From Douglass to Duvalier: U.S. African Americans, Haiti, and Pan Americanism, 1870-1964* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 23.

for you) is now used alongside "Experience Haiti" by the Ministry of Tourism[22]. Gestures that lean toward a sweet nostalgia are extended over to *lòt bò dlo* to attract more than remittances - these gestures are designed to convince *dyaspora* who are a generation removed to engage in heritage tourism[23]. Should they choose to come, they will find the "authentic Haiti" firmly in place.

Most travelers to Haiti arrive through the Toussaint L'Ouverture International Airport in Port-au-Prince. If you were to come off the flight, you might wade through the crush of mission groups in matching t-shirts, waiting for each other to reassemble throughout the jet bridge, only to be separated again as each flight passenger passes through immigration one by one to pay their ten dollar tourism fee. Soon, you will encounter a group of men, maybe seven, maybe ten. Men singing, playing guitars, flutes, and animal skin drums. So many of the musical groups you will encounter will be composed of men: the old-line compas direct bands, like Issa El-Saieh's; slightly more recent, yet still storied konpa orchestras such as Septanntrionel; young konpa groups like Carimi. Each reproduce ideals of an authentic, raced, gendered Haiti.

The aesthetic signifying an authentic Haiti is woven through produced sound. "Folk" is not merely a genre of music in Haiti; it functions as an aesthetic ideal of most of the other genres in the country. Female *nouvel jenerasyon* artists such as Emeline Michel and *rasin* stalwarts Boukman Eksperyans drape themselves in peyizan garments for shows part song and dance, part history, textbook *fòklò.* Hypermasculine rap kreyòl and young konpa artists promote fantasies about the beautiful countryside countering a violent urban environment through music videos

[22] "Ministère du Tourisme et des Industries Créatives," MTIC, accessed February 7, 2016, http://www.haititourisme.gouv.ht/pages/home/index.php.

[23] See Jemima Pierre, "Beyond Heritage Tourism: Race and the Politics of African-Diasporic Interactions," *Social Text* 98 (2009): 59-81.

that often feature a mistress being spirited away to a fabulous mansion in the hills. *Fòklò* even features in the 2015 official Kanaval jingle, titled "Nou Tout Se Ayiti" (We are all Haiti) and performed by Zatrap. This song is a bit over a minute long, and easily looped for the purpose of filling in the gaps between *chwals*, or floats on radio and television coverage of the national carnival in Port au Prince. It is full of the requisite regional shoutouts to regions (Nord, Nord-Ouest), cities (Jacmel), and sites of cultural significance (la Citadelle de Ferriere). But right in the middle, ironically enough, is the *poto mitan* of the religiously significant Artibonite River and Valley. This song is sanctioned by the government for use in the carnival, and as a unifying, representative chant, as the objective of all good carnival songs is that they be adopted and sung by attendees. Part of the work that is done by couching a reference to Vodou in the middle of the track is an efficient acknowledgement and distancing from the spiritual work actually performed within that Department. The technique is reminiscent of actions taken over a century ago – Michael Largey writes that "By labeling Vodou-derived music as *fòklò* (folklore), elites distanced themselves from the religious aspects of Vodou music while maintaining a cultural connection to rural Haiti."[24]

The connection between visual authenticity and produced sound are not exceptional to folkloric performances, or those genres that pull inspiration from that aesthetic. Racial identity and presentation have long constituted a base formula for measuring authenticity in classical music performance. Grace Wang writes, "There is no "pure" mode of listening. Studies have shown that listeners - even music experts - hear with their eyes; in other words, what we see

[24] Largey, *Vodou Nation*, 15. Neither is this phenomenon exclusively Haitian. Another example takes place within the broader Caribbean, whereby many genres came to be termed "calypso." Calypso, like folk, has similarly come to embody an aesthetic ideal. Far past a strictly bounded genre, it became a stand in for "music from the Caribbean," whether that be steel pan, reggae, monophonic, or polyphonic sound.

influences what we hear."[25] She continues to explain the attitudes and atmosphere in the mainstream classical music performance complex that precipitated the introduction of blind auditions, wherein performers trying out for a seat in an ensemble play behind a screen in order to avoid discrimination on account of physical presentation, whether by race, ethnicity, gender, or gender presentation. Now common practice, blind auditions were necessitated by the "blind spots" of decision makers. Wang adds, "Preconceptions about gender and race - and intersecting gendered and racialized beliefs associated with particular musical instruments - impact evaluations of musical performance. Such presumptions can serve as self-fulfilling prophecies about the validity of racial and gendered ideologies in music."[26] Thus, musical performance, irrespective of genre, can be interpreted as a microcosm of societal prejudices. The most intriguing part of Wang's research on Asian American musical participation covers the sort of signifying performance that I attempt to illumine throughout this dissertation. She cautions that "remarks about the professed superiority of Asian parents' work ethic and cultural sophistication should not be read as mere elaborations of racial or ethnic conceit. Rather, they must be seen as negotiations of socioeconomic and educational status by individuals living in a nation in which racial discrimination and linguistic limitations continue to represent real economic and social barriers."[27] People participate in the production of musical performance for a variety of reasons, none exclusive. It is fully possible that Asian American, as well as Haitian students play the violin because they like the sound, and because their parents want them to, and because they want to be perceived in a certain way. It is possible that these significatory performances, these negotiations happen simultaneously.

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[25] "Interlopers in the Realm of High Culture: 'Music Moms' and the Performance of Asian and Asian American Identities." *American Quarterly* 61:4 (December 2009), 886.

[26] Ibid., 887.

[27] Ibid., 897.

**Les Petits Chanteurs, Genre, and Representation**

EMST is the oldest music school still operational in Haiti. Based in Port-au-Prince, it has served as a training ground and resource for schools across the country. Port-au-Prince is Haiti's capital city, and is geographically and functionally central to the country's operations. One of the side effects of Haiti's political developments over the years has been heavy centralization, and the impact of this can be seen even in the music economy. Port-au-Prince residents are regarded by outsiders as city slickers, the ultimate *moun lavil*[28], which makes EMST's establishment of a musical Outward Bound-like program all the more interesting. The move to hold camp outside of the capital in the countryside has classed overtones, as well as socio-geographic baggage. First, it's worth noting that the mobility necessary to attend camp is a marker of privilege (one would have to reside in Port-au-Prince to enroll in the school, but then pay tuition and transport fees in order to travel to Cange during the summer). Second, because social services are so heavily centralized, residents of the capital are aware of the access that they have to services that those in the *pwovens* (provinces) do not. Each summer, EMST occupies the central scheduling slot with a camp in Cange, Mirebalais on the Partners in Health campus. The camp has been held in Leogane since 1971, only moving to Cange after the earthquake in 2010, and those memories are cherished by longtime attendees, both Haitian staff and American volunteers. Cange sits in the Central Plateau, in the rural space between the cities of Port-au-Prince, Saint-Marc, and

[28] Gage Averill writes about the various ways in which Haitians self-identify and categorize others, positing that "sometimes a geographic typology transcends the status group typology (although it is equally biased), with the resulting classification into either moun lavil (city people) or moun andeyo (people 'out there')." These typologies are enduring and meaningful. Gina Ulysse notes that even "the birth certificates of those not born in the capital, until very recently, were actually labeled mounandeyo, people born on the outside." *A Day for the Hunter, A Day for the Prey: Popular Music and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

Gonaives. Accessed by car after a couple of hours on Highway Three, the campus, whose Kreyòl name is *Zanmi Lasante* (Health's Friends) seems worlds away from the capital. Its bucolic atmosphere is the idealized setting for a *fèt chanpèt*, a country festival; in fact, the camp's Sunday recitals function as a contemporary iteration of that tradition. Parents and siblings board buses from the school or carpool from Port-au-Prince each weekend during the camp to view performances, often packing food for the trip. Students happily greet their families (and the accompanying taste of home) in a dirt lot usually reserved for football games. At any rate, these gatherings constitute important declarations of summer social life for a particular subset of Port-au-Prince's middle and upper classes.

Les Petits Chanteurs (PC) are central figures in this camp's milieu. The boy choir was founded in the early years of EMST, and it rose to some local prominence under the direction of James Smith, an American director, in 1977. The ensemble ranges from boy sopranos aged seven and eight to tenors and basses in their late teens. Of all the ensemble programs that EMST offers, indeed, of all the sorts of programs offered in Haitian summer music camps, the PC features the most continuous progression from childhood to adulthood. Their retention rate is high, often promoting each child at a varying pace through the voice parts. The current summer director, another American named Robert Wessler, takes delight in showing photos from years past and challenging accompanists to pick current members out of the front line of sopranos.

It may seem as if the spheres occupied by the PC and an ensemble like the Michigan School Vocal Men's Association honor choir are completely separate, their respective worlds disparate, but that is far from the truth. The PC cross borders annually to make music *lòt bò dlo*. One of the innovations made under the leadership of Smith and the school's founding director,

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1997), 4. Gina Athena Ulysse, *Why Haiti Needs New Narratives* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2015), 7.

Sr. Anne Marie, was to take the students on an tour to the United States in order to fundraise. Their affiliation with the Episcopal Church took them to large cities and smaller towns all over the U.S. The concept of touring has been used by musicians throughout the African diaspora that use the descriptor "classically-trained" to convey a certain set of experiences and competencies. Their journeys are ideologically codependent, and the PC travel and traffic within the legacy of groups such as the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Both groups are related to educational institutions, and trade on their racialized reputations in order to support the institutions that they represent. This pattern reoccurs at several points throughout black Atlantic history; Tsitsi Jaji theorizes that "rejecting crude racist philosophies that have left Africa in the dark since the 'Enlightenment,' black people across the globe have viewed artistic excellence on a global stage as a crucial tactic to demand the end of their modern subjection and the recognition of their modern subjectivity with all of its inherent human rights."[29] Her case studies include South African and Senegalese musicians in dialogue with ensembles like Fisk and missionary organizations sponsored by mainstream denominations. The tours taken by the PC are metaphoric descendants of the aforementioned tours, and they reach audiences in cities and towns across the U.S. Through this work, these audiences become aware of Haiti, l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité, and the deployment of classical music by black bodies.

Participation in classical music globally throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was spurred by personal desires to shift classes and to make middle class aspirational dreams practiced realities. Examples of this dynamic have been presented in the U.K., Japan, the U.S., and South America.[30] Although many pundits presume that this model of mid nineteenth century

[29] Tsitsi Ella Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 14.

[30] See Mari Yoshihara, *Musicians from a Different Shore: Asians and Asian Americans in Classical Music* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2008); Claudio Benzecry, *The Opera Fanatic:*

participation has passed away, gone the way of the TV-less parlor with its piano and fireplace due to declining major city symphony attendance, a wider frame betrays this impression[31]. Doomsday critics decrying the death of classical music may in fact be conflating the canonical composers with the medium. Their complaints have difficulty explaining away continued grassroots participation in the arts. The 2011 report by the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, titled *Reinvesting in Arts Education: Winning America's Future through Creative Schools* speaks to an evolving rhetoric supporting childhood music education. The justifications given for youth music involvement include better test scores, evidence of extracurricular activities for college applications, and higher emotional intelligence. These metrics come closer to understanding music education's persistent draw, and its evolution to fit the current age. These justifications are inherently classed, infused with the desire, the longing to jump rank and get ahead. Think of Suzuki levels, Royal Music Association levels, even the Baldwin-series-supplemented curriculum preferred by private teachers with a nonconformist streak. Think of the hierarchization of these learning systems. Now imagine if passing a few more levels was a golden ticket to societal advancement in Jacmel, in Port-au-Prince, or in Chicago.[32]

By highlighting the abundant contemporary use of classical music, I do not mean to overstate my case for the value and valorization of music education. This should also not be

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*Ethnography of an Obsession* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-making in an English Town* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989).

[31] While important, a survey of classical music criticism is beyond the scope of this present work. See Mina Yang, *Planet Beethoven: Classical Music at the Turn of the Millennium* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014).

[32] This idea holds further resonance with Beckles-Willson's interpretation of Homi Bhabha's concept of 'reformed, recognizable Others': "In other words, the acquisition of Western musical skills was one of various tickets that might seem to life 'natives' out of the waiting room of 'tradition', and allow them to participate in the in the apparently universal march of history."

confused for unmitigated enthusiasm for the exclusionary tenets of classical music. However, it is crucial not to underestimate its gravitational pull. Far from a twentieth century relic, classical music is still a viable social currency and class metric in many societies around the world. I present to the reader a case study of the ways in which classical music education operates in Haiti in hopes that it may prove useful, not only for the comprehension of Haiti, but also for an explanation of how classical music can be deployed as a social currency globally. All around the world, people use classical music as a means to a variety of ends. The ends which I have witnessed specifically in Haiti include overcoming that country's impoverished reputation by using classical music as a bootstrap composed of respectability politics.

Michael Largey outlines the interaction between Booker T. Washington and Jean Price-Mars in 1903 as an influential encounter that shaped the latter educator's approach to cultural nationalism.[33] Price-Mars drew on African-American racial uplift ideology to address early twentieth century class issues in Haiti. Washington's call to "cast down your bucket where you are" was coterminous with the actions of middle and upper class African Americans jostling for respectability. The term "politics of respectability" was first deployed by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham in *Righteous Discontent: the Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. Circumstantially, my case study is not very distant from her original context. Higginbotham wrote about the actions that middle and upper class black churchwomen took to dismantle stereotypes, remake the reputation, and thus improve the social and professional outcomes of black people in the United States in the post-Reconstruction period. While Washington's call was directed toward lower-class potential tradesmen, the actors Higginbotham

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Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 183.

[33] Michael Largey, *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 2.

describes occupy a separate social stratum. Both of their audiences, however, are analogous to the case of Haitian summer music camps. The camps serve Haitian children in a broad range of financial circumstances. I address more closely the actions of camp instructors and influencers, who typically fall within the audience analogous to Higginbotham's middle and upper class churchwomen. The comparison will be more closely taken up in the third chapter of this dissertation, but to preview here, I assert that Haitian women missionized classical music throughout the post-Duvalier era, escalating their efforts especially after the harsh media lens cast during coverage of the 2010 earthquake. Regine Romain prefaces a series of counternarrative photographs with this acute statement on the nature of photography: "The aftermath of Haiti's horrific earthquake also brought an avalanche of stereotypical images that were dispersed throughout the global media, depicting Haitians as nameless, lost bodies, and disconnected from community. For example, on January 19, 2010, in the New York Times, under the headline 'Silence and Submission,' a photograph shows an unidentified woman prostrate on a slab of concrete with her hands outstretched for help. This image is typical of the way Haitian people and their lives are represented throughout media history."[34] Toni Pressley-Sanon is also similarly concerned with these particular issues of representation, as demonstrated in her article "Lucid Cameras: Imaging Haiti After the Earthquake."[35] Through the tour mechanism, the PC engage in a transnational politics of respectability, carefully mediating the image and impression that U.S. audience members receive of Haiti.

**Race(ing) Genres**

[34] Regine Romain, "Ayiti: Reaching Higher Ground," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 11 (2011): 133.

[35] Toni Pressley Sanon, "Lucid Cameras: Imaging Haiti After the Earthquake," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 17 (2011): 6-31.

Race has complicated the relationship of Haiti to the United States. Haiti exists in the shadow and under the influence of the United States, in ways that continue to manifest politically, economically, and socially. In *Haiti: The Breached Citadel*, Patrick Bellegarde Smith recounts the tale of Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan (1913-15) dismissing discussion of Haiti, saying, "Think of it! Niggers speaking French!"[36] I contend that this quote reverberates in the ideological, if not the sonic, sphere of international thought about Haiti. It says more than the soundbite "the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere," a phrase that Jerry Philogene describes as "an easily quipped and written taxonomy."[37] It is a denigrating statement regarding a particular set of intellectual capabilities related to cultural refinement. In the nineteenth century, the French language was seen as a marker of the apex of sophistication[38]. This ideal was somehow not besmirched by the fact that most of France's colonial holdings at the time and in the times to come would be the lands of dark people, from the Caribbean to extensive holdings in Africa and a few in Asia. These people would come to speak French as a necessity for survival and advancement in colonial bureaucracies, not as a cosmopolitan feather in their privileged caps. And while these motivations are inherently inextricable, because the line that demarcates where surviving ends and thriving begins is indiscernible, the French language functions here as a multivalent signifier of need and desire, of deprivation and *richesse.*

[36] Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, *Haiti: The Breached Citadel* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 2004), 103.

[37] Jerry Philogene, "'Dead Citizen' and the Abject Nation: Social Death, Haiti, and the Strategic Power of the Image," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 21:1 (2015), 106.

[38] The idealization of French culture arguably extends into the present, hallmarked by publications such as the best seller *French Women Don't Get Fat* by Mireille Guiliano. For a review of the conversion of this ideology into a book genre, see James Wolcott, "Liberté, Fraternité, Supériorité," *Vanity Fair*, June 30, 2013, accessed December 17, 2015, http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2013/07/french-women-dont-get-fat-review.

So too, with classical music! If the Secretary is heeded, and Haitians are imagined to speak French, then they might also play French repertory.[39] Both language and music function as tools of prestige and advancement. Musical genre is a major token in a representative struggle, taken up most recently by attendees of the camps in Cange, Jacmel, and Cap-Haïtien. Mizik klasik, foklò, and American jazz are the primary genres at play in this struggle. That is not to say that other genres do not hold importance for camp participants. To the contrary, the young people present listen to and imitate a wide range of genres produced both inside and outside of Haiti, particularly rasin, rap kreyòl, Caribbean dance and U.S. pop and hip hop. But mizik klasik, foklò, and American jazz are explicitly promoted by program administrators as acceptable genres and tools for music education.

**N'ap Debat**

The Haitian cultural embrace of all things folkloric is readily apparent in performances of the composition "N'ap Debat." The song is a cautious response to the 2010 earthquake, a seminal moment in the definition of Haitianness for both internal and external reviewers. The exclamation "woy," used throughout Haiti's departments and dialects, is mobilized here as sonic background and linguistic relief. The chorus of "amwes" (help) beginning at measure 68 seem to draw on the sympathies of audiences regardless of familiarity with the Kreyol language. The "dies irae" statement at measure 90 is also universally familiar to audiences.

There are, however, several signifiers that lie beyond the grasp of non-Haitian audiences. The statement "nan pwen bouch pou pale" is translated in a score guide as "I am at a loss for

[39] Robert Grenier and Gage Averill. "Haiti." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed February 6, 2016,

words," but for those acquainted with common significatory practice within the Kreyol language specifically and the African diaspora more broadly, this might also register as the more literal "there were no mouths to speak." Subtle score cues, such as the tremelo placed on each utterance of the verb "tranble" (to shake) depend on the precision afforded by proficiency in Kreyol. Even the unison arrival of vocal forces in measure 60 on the tonic gains significance from understanding that the earthquake happened "sanzatann," or all of the sudden, or without waiting/without warning. The definitions of Haiti rendered in the second half of the score wax proverbial, and may sound familiar to students of these enigmatic phrases: "Ayiti, ou se yon fanm vanyan" or "Haiti, you're a valiant woman."

The fanm vanyan is a cultural construction that predates this composition. For example, sociologist Carolle Charles eulogizes her friend, Magalie Marcelin as belonging "of a category of women seen as 'fanm vanyan' (strong and courageous women). These 'particular fanm' stood at the opposite end of the spectrum of those known as the 'dolls.' Magalie was a fanm/gason, a very paradoxical Haitian way of describing independent women."[40] The creation of a spectrum of femininity, of ways of being female in Haitian society is instructive, and perhaps helpful for issues raised in Chapter Three, but for now, the distillation of large cultural concepts into two and three word phrases should render an idea of how culturally competent a listener or performer might need to be in order to engage this composition at the most informed level. For example, the entire (musical) phrase is "Ayiti, Ayiti, ou se yon fanm vanyan, kenbe la, pa lage." Directly translated by the composer's chosen translator, this reads, "Haiti, you're a valiant woman, hold on, don't let go." Besides the nuanced, loaded "valiant woman" discourse which was covered earlier in this paragraph, other translations for "pa lage" include "don't throw it away," "don't

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http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44832.

throw yourself away," "don't discount yourself" or "don't throw Haiti (the valiant woman) away." Because the object is not directly invoked in this phrase, the phrase is open to a number of meanings that may be simultaneously true. Knowledge of these meanings may not be necessary to successfully perform the piece; however, the sense of cultural competence imparted by knowledge of these meanings may augment a sense of authenticity about the performance.

**Participatory Discrepancies?**

The composition is originally scored for voices and drum, but the PC added a cellist in order to aid the chorus in getting through the tonally-difficult "Dies Irae" middle portion of the composition. There are other differences between the performances. MSVMA performs tight to the text; their intonation is much better, and their cues precise. The PC, on the other hand, is much more adaptive. They sing with the diction of native speakers, and with the import that the lyrics carry.

A pivotal difference between the performances comes at their conclusions. The voice parts come closer and closer near the ending, as the song declares "Ayiti p'ap peri," that Haiti is not perishing, not dying. It is a refusal of the "failed state" moniker and a rebuttal to those who might say that the nation has met its demise (this discourse picked up in frequency around the earthquake, often expressed through mentions of Haiti's "pact with the devil.")[41] After a bit of

[40] Carolle Charles, "Reflections on Being Machann ak Machandiz," *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 11 (2011): 121-22.

[41] American Christian televangelist Pat Robertson most prominently forwarded a theory around the 2010 earthquake, regarding Haiti's "pact with the devil," that led to independence on an episode of the 700 Club. His soundbite was widely disseminated throughout the international evangelical community and in Haitian and Haitian diasporic circles, and has been mentioned to me at several points throughout my field research. Frank James, "Pat Robertson Blames Haitian Devil Pact for Earthquake," *National Public Radio*, January 13, 2010, accessed December 21, 2015, http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2010/01/pat_robertson_blames_haitian_d.html.

sequencing, the voices resolve by step in a move reminiscent of African choral practices familiar to the Western ear. They then offer a verbal dissent - "mm-mmm" or "no."

The audience in Cange registers a raucous approval. When the conductor signals the cut, children and adults cheer, as if to affirm that indeed, Haiti is not dying. They are the evidence of its continued vibrancy. They approve this message. The audience in Michigan, however, is a bit more tentative. They wrestle with the strange sound, nervously laughing, and subsequently applauding what was evidently a fine choral performance.

**An Encore Reception: the YouTube Comments**

The comments section on the MSVMA's "N'ap Debat" video is limited to an "awesome," but other videos posted by Guillaume are more generative of responses to the phenomenon of non-black bodies singing lyrics in Haitian Kreyòl. Guillaume often posts videos with the musical score scrolling in time with the performance. "N'ap Debat" was no exception, and the comments for the score video read cautious and respectful - YouTube user Ariandrise says "i was honored to be a member of this choir, still one of my proudest moment in High School," and user kmoshier531 writes "My son was part of the 2011 Michigan School Vocal Music Association Men's Honor Choir, very proud that he got to be part of the world premiere of this song." Comments for the USC Chamber Singers' rendition of "Fèt Chanpet" include "Do you have a percussion only version cause I am having trouble learning the percussion :o." On the Nathaniel Dett Chorale's version, YouTube user spgluv12 writes, "U have to be Rhythmically inclined to do your pieces…I LOVE IT…Ur work challenges the mind. U're not a true musician if the mind is not be[ing] challenged…Mr. Guillaume you challenge us. THANKS! This is truly AMAZING!!!" Rhythmic inclination functions here as a coded signifier of black identity beneath

a performance of Guillaume's work by black people. When these two videos are juxtaposed, the latter two comments seemed almost staged, as if the USC Chamber Singers' are an anthropomorphic arhythmic white guy and the Dett Chorale, a svelte, black dancer. The Nathaniel Dett Chorale, named for the black Canadian[42] composer takes a freer, faster approach to "Fèt Chanpet" than the USC Chamber Singers. Their opening measures sound more assured, less tentative, an impression likely promulgated by pushing the tempo at the beginning of the piece, ensuring that each "beng" falls slightly before the beat.

**Disciplining Reception, Disciplining Performance**

The performance of classical music dictates particular responses from its audiences. The case of Haiti is no different. The phrase "monumental works" is helpful in parsing what impact the performance of canonical works might have in this space. During concerts at Cange, constant references are made to the past, sometimes near, but most often distant. These references come in the form of the repertoire, a remembering, and glorification of the past. Who does the monument venerate? The focus rapidly shifts: Eurocentric, noiristic, Haitian-centric. Nation, genre, self.

At performances, proper methods of reception are modeled by volunteers. Foreigners demonstrate that audience members should not applaud between movements. They should clap, but not cheer. Methods of reception are also modeled by Haitian staff members, for example, how to comport oneself during long works. There is an element here of comporting others. Small children mimic volunteers, wagging index fingers and placing them before their lips in an effort to silence peers. Listening is a private, yet communal act. Katherine Bergeron describes a similar process around the disciplining properties of musical canons: "the 'fact' of the canon thus

[42] Dett (1882-1943), though hugely influential in the United States, is a Canada native. See Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History (Third Edition)*, (New York: W. W.

implies a type of social control - a control that inevitably extends to larger social bodies as individual players learn not only to monitor themselves but to keep an eye (and an ear) on others."[43]

Certain decorums are expected of the different genres in the Haitian context. For example, President Michel Martelly's remarks at a 2015 campaign rally[44] in Miragoane were largely dismissed as sexist drivel from a former "konpa bad boy." The story, which detailed how Martelly dismissively told a woman to go find a man and have sex in the bushes, was broken in the midst of a well-covered election cycle, the first in four years. It quickly ceded the floor to claims and worries understood as more urgent, regarding protests and potential violence as a result of unfavorable election results. The designation "konpa bad boy" is frequently used to describe Martelly. A 2011 profile of Martelly from *Foreign Policy* by Elizabeth McAlister is instructive here.[45] Titled "The Bad Boy Makes Good," it is an ethnomusicological lecture as much about late-twentieth century Haitian politics as it is about Martelly. McAlister evokes "The Haitian audioscape is as vibrant and blaring as the country's brightly painted 'tap-tap' buses. Music is entertainment, but it is also a form of work, a form of prayer, and a form of politics…Everybody is selling something, often with a distinctive sound to catch the ear and the attention." She then proceeds to explain the construction of Martelly's image and the use of his genre, konpa, in confirming that image. Just as the actual sounds of konpa have come to be

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Norton & Co., 1997).

[43] Katherine Bergeron, "Prologue: Disciplining Music," in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 3.

[44] Trevor Bach, "After Haitian President Tells Woman to "Go Get a Man," Female Ministers Resign in Protest," *Miami New Times,* August 7, 2015, accessed December 21, 2015, http://www.miaminewtimes.com/news/after-haitian-president-tells-woman-to-go-get-a-man-female-ministers-resign-in-protest-7806402.

[45] Elizabeth McAlister, "The Bad Boy Makes Good," *Foreign Policy,* April 8, 2011, accessed December 21, 2015, http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/04/08/the-bad-boy-makes-good.

identified with louche behavior, the actual sounds of classical music might be identified with elite status.

It follows, then, that if the canon of music performed at the camps serves a disciplining function, that classical music operates as a disciplining genre in the Haitian context. Similar to its desired purpose in the Venezuelan music program El Sistema, it is purported to discipline the poor, modeling through the organization of sound and bodies vaunted ideals of citizenship. One example of the sonic and physical control exerted by genre might be understood as "disciplining the voice." The following ethnographic vignette illustrates this gesture.

One poignant measure of the impact of the gender integration of the choirs that began in 2014 only became evident to me in 2015. During the final week of camp, the newly blended soprano section strained collectively to reach a note, and as a result, the entire piece consistently went flat. The director asked each person individually to sing the interval formed by the preceding note and the offending note. First the girls, then the boys, all around ten years of age gingerly caressed their throats, as if to signal that they could not reach the note. One girl, then another, pushed out airy notes, devoid of confidence. One boy belted out a note, but after being informed of his error by the director, claimed he could not reach that note, despite the fact that he had just sung a clear note within a step of the goal. The director had one of the present teenagers translate his critique: "The question is, do you want this choir to be the best choir it can be? If you don't care, you're not in the right place."[46]

The power differences that are apparent in this vignette (a group of students striving for the approval of a teacher, a group of children yearning for the validation of an adult, a group of black Haitians vying for the praise of a white American) are part and parcel of my deployment of the

term *disciplining*. "The original meaning of the word 'discipline' was 'to instruct' or 'to train.' It came from the root word 'disciple' - from the student-and-teacher relationship. In other words, the notion of disciplining originated in situations where there was a clear authority figure (the instructor) who had authority over subordinates (disciples)."[47] It is not difficult to locate disciplining within other genres of music and recreational activity, but in this chapter, I have taken on the specific convergence of "classical music" and the racial politics of choral performance as disciplining entities. These entities shed light on the relationship of musicians, both Haitian and foreign, with varying ideals of authenticity and respectability.

Weeks later, I heard an echo of the disciplining inquiry. This time, the focus had shifted onto volunteers. "Is this your best effort?" In the next chapter, I examine the consonances between the activities of volunteers, the international aid community, and missionaries. The justifications for donating large resources of both money and time are racialized, with vital ethical implications that shape the "gift" mentioned in the previous chapter. The movement of this capital toward Haiti echoes and reflects the prior centuries of colonization, with the motivic development of discourses around development.

[46] August 31, 2015

[47] Tara Mohr, *Playing Big: Find Your Voice, Your Mission, Your Message* (New York: Gotham Books, 2014), 229.

## 3. A Charge to Keep: Gendered Mission and Vocation in Haitian Classical Music

Each morning in Cange, a hymn is sung, a prayer is lifted, and morning announcements are given. One hymn, "Jesus te Confie," sticks in my mind, long after the last childish voice fades into screaming, laughter, and rehearsal.

Jesus te confie - Jesus charges you

Une oeuvre d'amour - to a work of love

Utile et benie - useful and blessed

Jusqu'a son retour - until his return

Cette sainte tache - This small holy thing

Veux-tu l'accomplir - Will you do?

Pour Lui, sans relache, - For him, without respite

Sans jamais faiblir? - Never faltering

Prie, agis, jour apres jour, - Pray and act, day after day

Sans broncher sur ton Sauveur avec amour - Without stumble, to your Savior with love

Sois fidele, obeissant - Be faithful, obedient

Et le maitre rendra ton travail puissant. - And the Master will make your work powerful

The hymn is sung a capella, and most of the children sing from memory.[1] They sound as if they are singing phonetically from a hymn book, with each syllable, even the trickier silent ones, matching a different note. The first time or two that I hear it, I think that it is a song in Kreyol,

[1] Reminiscent of this passage regarding German missionaries in Palestine: "the disciplinary aspect…emerges in the fact that the women had to learn songs by heart (which was understood widely as a means toward Protestant piety), and that singing was scheduled at regular intervals in the daily routine." Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 138.

created for the camp, and this is why all the students know it. I later learn that it is, in fact, in French, and part of a hymn compilation titled *Chants d'Esperance*. The Haitian staff form a physical rim around the students, watching carefully to ensure that each child is singing. Foreign volunteers stand off to the side, rubbing the crust from their eyes at seven in the morning. The repeat volunteers hum along to the chorus. The new volunteers are silent in the presence of this ritual. Some furtively pull out cameraphones to capture the sound, oblivious to the charge being set.

The lyrics are telling in their reach. Directed as commandments, the children admonish each other to daily acts of devotion. Though classical music, the work of love that they are engaged in, might seem difficult to understand as useful or practical, its very endurance serves as evidence of significant cultural weight. This chapter is about the connection of camp life to international aid and mission work, and the implicit and explicit parallels between classical music and social organization. What work does a recitation like this perform every morning in a camp setting? Is this a pedagogy of language, of discipline, or of music? How might this be understood as a link between camp life and the state outside the gate?

In "A Charge to Keep: Gendered Mission and Vocation in Haitian Classical Music," I give several examples demonstrating how musical labor in summer music camps and the futures developed by that labor are divided along fairly traditional conceptions of gender. Haitian men perform and study abroad, often to remain *lòt bò dlo* (on the other side of the water). Haitian women teach and on the rarer occasion that they travel, usually return to Haiti. Beneath this simplifying binary, however, lies a dense framework of justifications for participation in Haitian classical music, both by Haitians and the volunteers that visit the camps annually. Missions and

motivations are unexplored factors when considering gendered roles in this genre of activity. How might personal belief impact service rendered to a public? How do individual decisions and narratives accumulate into a collective understanding of what is right, what is honorable, and what is appropriate? This chapter answers these questions by first discussing hierarchy in the classical music system globally, and in the camp system. These hierarchies are related to gendered ways of understanding talent and obligation. The broader hierarchies of music and states are evident in two documentaries that hold as their subject volunteer musical instruction to underprivileged populations: *It's Not a Gun* and *Kenbe La*. *It's Not a Gun* profiles music education in Palestine, and *Kenbe La* does a similar project in Haiti. The documentaries frame these two very different regions in similar ways; after all, children are understood to be underprivileged in Palestine due to ethnic discrimination and war, as opposed to in Haiti, where dictatorship and political instability are the primary scapegoats. Nonetheless, the pitches for these presentations dovetail in provocative ways. I then continue by examining the sonic histories of and connections between classical music and mission activity, focusing on their impressive legacies in Haiti. Subsequently, I explore the connections between classical music and religious faith, and more specifically, the mutually beneficial collaboration between Christianity and classical music.

At the halfway point of the chapter, I reflect on what it means to carry my African Methodist Christian identity into the field. My first introduction to missionary activity was through the Jeanette Gaddis Women's Missionary Society at St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church in Chicago, Illinois. This gendered pursuit, an activity that arose out of the respectability movement of the early twentieth century[2], still has modern-day resonances and repercussions, as

[2] See Evelyn Brooks Higganbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church: 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

do the missions deployed to Haiti from its very inception. I use this individual point of view to pivot towards examining what these gendered dynamics of mission and aid work mean for the foreign female teachers that come to Haiti with the gift of music. I then shift my focus to Jacmel, a former tourist attraction on the southern coast of Haiti. On the outskirts, an event meant to celebrate the tradition of contradanse encapsulated the tension between a heritage in Haitian classical music and contemporary Christian leanings. My analysis cuts across and is attentive to the gender and class dynamics that made the interaction awkward. I then widen my focus to understand how this event fits in the broader narrative of l'École de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste, and how this program echoes the hierarchies and retention woes discussed earlier in the chapter. EMDB and EMST form the backdrop for the following examples of the ways gender impacts movement and motive. I conclude by summarizing how the charge of classical music operates in the present. I begin, however, by explaining the roles that classical music has played in Haiti's past.

**There has always been classical music in Haiti…**

Classical music has a long history in Haiti, chronicled in part by contemporary music scholars Michael Largey and Robert Grenier, and most recently by Claude Dauphin. All focus on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in their work, with limited coverage of the period between the Haitian Revolution's culmination in 1804 to the Republic's diplomatic recognition by most of the Atlantic later in that century. During the colonial era, French slaveholders and occupying merchants, along with the free people of color,[3] collaborated to create a cultural life comparable to a major European city. Saint-Domingue was called the Pearl of the Antilles, and constituted much of France's economic power. Operas and dramas were

especially en vogue, and several facilities to accommodate these performances were built long before opera houses in the fledgling United States. The designers of opera houses in Philadelphia and New Orleans would actually emigrate from the former Saint-Domingue to those cities during its turbulent transition to becoming Haiti. After the Revolution concluded in 1804, a number of shifts took place that would impact the practice of musical performance. The genre focus shifted from opera to military march, which reflected the ideological aims and narrative of the first black republic. The programming also reflected Haiti's new reality, moving from a predominance of foreign composers to a blend of overseas influence and nationalistic fare. Even the venues changed accordingly, from the concert hall to outdoor parades and private salons. These shifts reflected changes in class structure and consumption patterns, ultimately broadening the access of the general population to classical music.

Early in the twentieth century, another ideological shift precipitated significant change in Haitian classical music. The writings of the Haitian ethnographer Jean Price-Mars delivered a sharp critique of elite culture, and Haitian classical music, at the time very similar to Western European classical music and not at all culturally specific, was implicated. Several composers responded to the challenge issued by these writings, made in the context of black identification movements (negritude, negrismo, Harlem Renaissance) by adding sonic elements marked Haitian to their works. In the present, Haitians principally participate in classical music through community music schools, institutions that are independent of the state. Many students take lessons year round, but during the summer, when general school is out of session, community music schools experience an influx of participation. Most schools encourage and corral this participation by putting on summer music camps, intensive two and three week programs that allow students to take lessons and play in ensembles.

[3] Gens de couleur

The long range picture of classical music in Haiti that I briefly outlined above opens up a site of inquiry regarding a quotidian reality in that country. Mainstream media understands Haiti as a reference point for poverty and mystery – the common tagline of 'poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere' often accompanies the name and serves as its invocation – yet these sound bites offer very little about life in the reference point.[4] What do people do day to day? Do children go to school and parents to work? How can their actions be so similar and their outcomes so disparate from the States? Might the identification of a distinct and distant Haitian poverty obscure an American poverty that is much closer to home? This final question dances around the continued deployment of American missionaries to Haiti. Just as my own experience of Haiti was initially mediated in ways designed to increase my sympathy for the country and people and to encourage my continued service work, many volunteer tourist travelers to Haiti are exposed to a particular framing of Haiti. The powerful racial and class signifiers attached to classical music[5] as a genre and its practice and performance raise the following opposing questions: If Haiti is imagined to be a place where little girls in private school jumpers walk to school with violin cases in hand, how might that change public perception of the country's poverty? In turn, how would the motives of volunteer instructors change? The physical trajectories of volunteer resources are further developed in the second chapter, but here, I wish to interrogate principally how my interlocutors, both Haitian and foreign, conceive of themselves and their summer recreational activities, and how that conception is determined by gender, foreign intervention, and mobility. These conceptions shape their approaches to musical participation.

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[4] For a longer contextual history of this habitual soundbite, see Robert Lawless, *Haiti's Bad Press* (Rochester, VT: Schenkman Books, 1992).

[5] See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) for a review of the "economy of cultural goods."

**The Keepers of the Faith**

In Haiti, adherents of the classical music "faith" run a wide class and age spectrum, but in large part, the clerical figures consist of middle to upper class adult Haitian women,[6] belonging to a socio-economic class known colloquially in Haiti as *lelit* (the elite). These adult women program and perform Haitian classical music, both within and outside of school contexts. They also function as cultural curators, collecting, storing, and in some cases, disseminating the music of Haitian composers. The major catalogs of this repertoire that remain in Haiti were accumulated by and are presently maintained by women – Mesdames Micheline Laudun-Denis, Micheline Dalencour, and Nicole St. Victor.[7] Finally, adult women organize and teach at the tremendous undertakings that are summer music camps. Men serve as symbolic heads, ensemble leaders and administrators, but it is mostly women, both Haitian and foreign, who perform the affective labor of teaching private lessons, entertaining, feeding, and disciplining youth. Music theorist Robin James explains musical affective labor as such: "This is unglamourous work – the behind the scenes care and curatorial work is far less spectacular and fun than performance. Necessary but undervalued and undercompensated work that is assigned to undervalued and oppressed members of a group – that's about as good a definition of 'women's work' or 'feminized labor' as you can get."[8] Women also perform many non-musical tasks that

[6] I observe gender here as a fact, but for a more theoretically sound approach, see Peter J. Wilson, *Crab Antics: A Caribbean Study of the Conflict Between Reputation and Respectability* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1995 reissue).

[7] Outside of Haiti, Claude Dauphin co-founded and still operates the Société de recherché et de diffusion de la musique haïtienne (SRDMH) in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. This archive is maintained in collaboration with the Université de Montréal.

[8] These comments were made on her blog in regards to the WaxTrax! Records' revival celebration. "A few thoughts on Coldwaves, WaxTrax!, & feminized care/curatorial labor," It's Her Factory, accessed December 10, 2015,

nonetheless set the context for the distribution of labor; they cook for and clean up after campers, staff, and volunteers.

This gender distribution extends to the foreign volunteers that come from the United States, France, Spain, and Cuba. In particular, the United States representatives, who form the majority of all volunteers, are overwhelmingly young and female. This reflects the enduring acceptance of music education as a viable career for women in the United States, and the expectation that these young women should engage in service learning. Bruno Nettl delivered the following assessment in *Heartland Excursions* (1995): "Over some forty years there has been a gradual increase of women in instrumental music at large, beginning with piano and strings, moving to flute and then other woodwinds, eventually to brass, and then to percussion. The changes were probably first stimulated by the interest of many female students in becoming public school teachers - long a characteristically female profession - some of whom had to specialize in instruments, including winds…Throughout, however, one possible outlet for women's interest in instrumental music has remained the profession of teaching children."[9] The following two decades saw this development continue, despite the privatization of music education. If anything, the increasingly exclusionary narrative around music education in the United States has allowed this impression to calcify in the collective consciousness.

For the past five years, I have traveled to Haiti each summer to teach music theory and piano in camps across that nation, some of which have been in existence for decades. The camps are two or three weeks each, and they follow similar schedules of daily lessons and rehearsals, concluded by weekly concerts. The camps are independently operated by residents of the cities

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http://www.its-her-factory.com/2014/09/a-few-thoughts-on-coldwaves-waxtrax-feminized-carecuratorial-labor.

[9] Bruno Nettl, *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 61.

of Cap-Haïtien, Port-au-Prince, and Jacmel, and staffed by a combination of local employees and foreign volunteers. The repertoire covered in the camps is principally classical music, though some programs promote jazz as a suitable side interest and probable skill-building genre for future employment. Boys and girls are allowed to participate beginning around age eight. Although the children begin similarly by choosing an available instrument, taking lessons, and coming to junior ensemble rehearsals, differences in participation soon break out along gender lines. Jazz ensembles, such as the Big Band Hughes Leroy in Jacmel at l'École de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste, are predominantly male. This is as much a function of instrumentation as it is of social mores: the young boys gravitate toward brass instruments and the young girls toward string instruments. However, this breakdown in representation is significant for what it demonstrates about musical possibilities. The big band, and the marching bands in Jacmel and Cap-Haïtien that parade for Haiti's Flag Day on May 18, serve as the face of the schools. This face is male, framed by dancing girls in matching uniforms who often play non-marching instruments themselves, but are not recognized as musicians on these very public days. The jazz ensembles, both Big Band Hughes Leroy and a smaller group named Jazzy Blue, take gigs throughout the calendar year. Though occasionally fronted by an unaffiliated female singer, these groups are overwhelmingly male.

This panoramic consideration of the ways in which gender impacts the division of labor throughout the camp system is necessary in order to provide a frame for the questions to come. The paths of Haitian teachers and administrators, foreign volunteers, and Haitian students are all impacted by societies that expect certain jobs and certain sounds from certain bodies. In constructing an inclusive narrative around pan-Africanism and music, Tsitsi Jaji asserted the need "to include not only those who travel, but those who inhabit the contact zones enabling

such travel, many of whom are women."[10] That is, in order to more comprehensively understand the phenomenon of mobility, it is necessary to look at both those who go and those who stay. I would further this by noting that in Haiti, women are often metaphorically referred to as structural materials[11], for example the *poto mitan*[12], or center post, that serves as a central support beam. To combine these theories about the symbolic roles of underrepresented actors, women *are* the contact zones that enable travel. They provide context for the rhetorical moves that follow. I will return to the action of travel later in this chapter, by discussing departure, exile, and return, but will now turn to the hierarchies in the contact zone of Western classical music.

**"We are climbing Jacob's ladder": Hierarchies in (class)ical music**

Implicit in the structural practice of contemporary classical music is a hierarchy of talent, but much like contemporary interpretations of the Biblical parable about talents, the meaning and moral of the story is rather ambiguous. In his book, *Music, Talent, and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System*, Henry Kingsbury questions the modern conservatory's system of value that is based on talent. It is clear that the most talented students and professors are valuable, and that they accrue monetary value to the institution. What is less clear is the basis on which this talent is judged. What is least clear the manner in which this talent is acquired.

This structural practice of hierarchy in classical music is something shared by the United States and Haiti. Much differs situationally between these two nations, but this is one factor upon

[10] Tsitsi Ella Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 17.

[11] A U.S. analogue might sound like Mrs. X is "the rock" of her family.

which the two nations can be compared. This observation holds beyond a general orchestral context to the systems of music education in both nations. There is much hand-wringing in both systems regarding the "level of playing." At the beginning of each Haitian camp, students are sorted into the appropriate ensembles and theory classes based on experience and performance on aptitude exams. Immediately assessed upon the first rehearsal of the Orchestre Philarmonique de Sainte Trinite (OPST), the premiere ensemble of the Cange camp, is the "level of the orchestra" in the current year. The level is compared to prior years, based on the players present. Assessments are often negative, and to a newcomer, it might seem as if the level is on a steady decline. This however, gives the orchestra something to work towards, a mountain to climb after they emerge from the valley of stagnancy. Because players from the United States and other foreign volunteers come from orchestral systems in their home countries, many mores are adopted and shared. The ritual of having the OPST function as the gold standard of performance entails lesser developed students seeing and hearing their teachers, older peers, and occasionally, well-to-do adults who drive in from Port-au-Prince on the weekends rehearse and perform together. It is generally agreed upon that the final performances of camp are of a "very high level," "especially for a place like Haiti."

Such a hierarchy might also be viewed through a gendered lens. Throughout recent Western music history, men have been associated with professional, public structures and women with amateur, private musical outlets. Marcia Citron writes in *Gender and the Musical Canon* that "musicological culture of the last fifty years has tacitly reinforced the hierarchical dualism, at least for music after 1800. This has come mainly in the disciplinary emphasis on public

[12] Renée Bergan and Mark Schuller, *Poto Mitan: Haitian Women, Pillars of the Global Economy* (2009; Santa Barbara; Tèt Ansanm Productions), Film.

structures and the de-emphasis, and in many cases wholesale dismissal, of private structures."[13] Her work, while intended to explain Western classical music most broadly, is applicable in this present context of Haitian classical music, given its shared formation. Haiti does diverge, however, when it comes to Citron's discussion of salons as feminized musical spaces. She profiles "the pervasive twentieth-century association of women with the salon, and the salon with marginal artistic activity. The social and stylistic democratization in the salon has reinforced negative gender associations."[14] Salons were perhaps feminized in the Haitian case, but they were still maintained as important bastions of elite activity. The music performed within was accordingly held in high regard throughout Haitian society. Largey writes about a "widely held attitude that dance music, especially pieces that were not part of the eighteenth-century European repertoire, was unworthy of the [European] music scholar's attention." Despite this broadly held opinion, "in Haiti…the relationship of so-called art music to popular music" did not "conform to Dahlhaus's aesthetic hierarchy."[15] This non-conformity, in addition to ignorance and intentional exclusion, form a historical base of reasons why Haitian classical music is not widely anticipated or acknowledged. Hierarchies also adhere to national position, and vice versa.

What escapes the casual summer camp banter about levels is a fundamental distinction between the activities of OPST and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, or even an ensemble such as the Fargo-Moorhead Symphony, for which my colleague in Lindsey plays. Lindsey is a middle-school music teacher who has volunteered in Haiti for the past several years. The OPST is an amateur organization, whereas the latter two are decidedly professional. For now, we can

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[13] Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 102.

[14] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* 108.

[15] Michael Largey, *Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 102. Here, Largey refers to remarks by Carl Dahlhaus in *Nineteenth Century Music* (1989).

sideline the distinction between the CSO and the FMS, given that one is a living-wage orchestra and the other is not. The introduction of compensation changes the nature of interactions and the motive for participation. Compensation introduces a factor of competition that is found lacking in the OPST. Ideologically, however, the OPST aspires to higher levels of musicianship, as evinced by discussions overheard in rehearsal and in down time. It is difficult to even describe their motives without using words that reference hierarchy, such as "aspire," "higher," and "levels."

Amateurism is intimately connected with this chapter's topic of calling, given the origins of the word. However, volunteers from the United States are most critical of the amateur attitudes of students. Wayne Booth elaborates: "In some European languages the word still manages to maintain a bit of its original inheritance from the Latin love words, amo, amas, amat. But in English its increasingly used to suggest merely incompetent dallying."[16] Volunteers from Spain and Cuba, for example, do not appear to hold the same tension around justifying amateur activity. This is not to say that they do not become frustrated with student stumbles, or that they never voice criticisms of improper technique; rather, they allow space for these errors and do not focus on them. These attitudes are in sharp contrast with U.S. volunteers, who often focus on flaws over time. The opinions and professional identities of the music teachers from the United States may exist in conflict, however. In her dissertation about music education in Chicago, Meredith Aska McBride theorizes that "music teachers…are precariously perched between the worlds of the amateur and of the professional, both functionally - as professionals educating amateurs - and ideologically - as compensated professionals widely believed to have chosen their

[16] Wayne Booth, *For the Love of It: Amateuring and Its Rivals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 8.

occupation primarily for love."[17] Perhaps these critical attitudes have their origins in a more personal critique.

Amateur participation in classical musicianship has a deep history in Haiti; in some ways, it is the default. There are numerous profiles of noted composers during the early twentieth century who worked as teachers to pay their bills, or in other unrelated professions. The Haitian musicologist who wrote many of these profiles, in one of the most thorough logs of classical music history in Haiti was a lawyer by day. Constantin Dumervé described his thirty-seven year book writing journey in the introduction to the work, explaining how he became involved with the newspaper *Le Nouvelliste* as a music columnist. He concludes this introduction by thanking his "fellow journalists, artists, musicians and *music lovers*[18] who encouraged my efforts," and signs off under the title LAWYER in uppercase letters, subtitled "Musicologist and honorary member of the Beethoven Society of Bonn (Germany)," thus underscoring his amateur identity. In a conference paper that profiles contemporary composers Emile Desamours and Sydney Guillaume, longtime Bradley University professor and volunteer John Jost notes that "almost all composers of concert music in Haiti have needed to earn their living from another profession, confine their artistic activities to their free time, and stay clear of anti-government politics."[19] He makes these remarks to contextualize the economic realities of musicianship in Haiti, terming Haitian classical music as "concert music."[20] Although amateur participation in classical music is the default in Haiti, Haitians are attentive to other, external systems of value. If professional

[17] Meredith Aska McBride, "City with Lifted Head Singing: The Practice and Politics of Music Education in Chicago" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015), 217.

[18] emphasis mine

[19] John Jost, "Creating a Characteristic Choral Music for Haiti: the Music of Emile Desamours and Sydney Guillaume" (paper presented at the American Choral Directors Association Secon National Symposium on American Choral Music, Austin, Texas, June 12–13, 2015), 6.

activity in the United States is compensated and valued as more skillful than amateur activity, this hierarchy translates into foreign classical music as being more competent and worthwhile than Haitian classical music. Though participants in Haitian classical music do not easily assume this generalization, they often act with a chip on their shoulder, bearing the burden of proof .

Amateur activity, the rhetoric of calling, and the aforementioned implicit hierarchies all point to an ethos of rigor. Rigor, or fervor, is esteemed and desired from participants in Haitian classical music. Demonstration of rigor is a method to shoulder the enormous burden of proof that participants in this system bear. In order to prove that their activities are worthwhile, participants enact rigor in a variety of ways. They might choose challenging repertoire and struggle to master it quickly. Practicing in public, though also a function of the limited rehearsal space available at the camps, is another way in which students can demonstrate their devotion to the task. Foreign volunteers also verbalize a commitment to rigor through encouraging students to practice during social time, and sacrificing their own leisure time to give private instruction and additional tutoring.

**"Every Rung Goes Higher, Higher"**

The rewards of rigor must also be long term, and another incentive for studying music is the development of a career. For men, this often means becoming a performing musician, playing at weddings, funerals, and social events. For some of the most dedicated, they stay on the classical music track and follow it outside of the country, emigrating to the United States and Canada to pursue a career in conducting or composing.[21] This emigration pattern, traceable to

[20] Another example of the ambiguity around genre names, discussed primarily in Chapter One.

[21] Canes Nicholas, Sydney Guillaume, and Claude Dauphin are three examples of this pattern. Their narratives are divergent, with the exception of their male Haitian origin.

composers such as Justin Elie (1883-1931), is still developing in the current moment, and complicated by a spreading and evolving idea of diaspora. Although the emigration effect is undoubtedly influenced by socioeconomic matters such as class, generally these paths have not proven to function in the same way for women. When they study abroad, many inevitably return to Haiti.

At the time of the 2010 earthquake, there was a cohort of ten music students from l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité studying in the United States. Eight were men, and two were women. Post earthquake, only the women returned. One of these young women is a fixture at Holy Trinity. During my first summer in Cange, I observed as foreign volunteers quickly become enamored of D, a flutist from Port-au-Prince. She is the year-round instructor for this instrument and leads the wind ensemble. Despite her extensive experience both in the Haitian camp culture and abroad, she only acquiesced to conducting a few band pieces because of the unrelenting encouragement of another woman, a foreign volunteer band director.

This is not just a recent phenomenon created by the opportunities of protective immigration policies. When describing her tenure abroad, the accomplished soprano Nicole St. Victor speaks with a reflective tone. She studied and performed in Europe for several years, but returned in the prime of her career to Haiti, where she would work closely with Sister Anne-Marie, the founder of the program. She denies that her gender has impeded her musical career. The ties of my female narrators to the country are not necessarily about producing a family either, as several remain childless, counting their students among the fruits of their labor.

I attribute these varied experiences to gender-based patterns of vocation, labor, and location. For women, a myth has been created around producing change in Haiti through education. For men, that change can be effected from *lòt bo dlo*, the other side of the waters. It is

women who are the missionaries, who carry the standard into the field. The sacrifices of men or women do not exceed one another, but they are profoundly different categorically. It is important to understand not only the fact that gender does carry significant import in this field, but the methods by which it functions to impact outcomes. Sometimes, gender results in a semi-explicit division of labor, as in the case of the faculty at music camps. At other times, it operates by subtler means, influencing which instruments students take up and the ensembles in which they participate.

**"If You Love Him, Why Not Serve Him?"**

Gender is also the structural material that enables belief, or at least the voice of faith itself. As I read a recap given of the documentary by Hélèna Cotiner and Pierre-Nicolas Durand, *It's Not a Gun*, on the topic of French musicians volunteering in the West Bank, I experienced a sense of familiarity with a documentary on Haitian music education, titled *Kenbe La*. One of the administrators, after outlining tremendous difficulties in operating the school and continuing with her own musical career, looks straight into the camera after being asked "do you believe music can save Haiti?" She responds, "Yes, I do."

Beckles-Willson uses *It's Not a Gun* to prove a point about the connection between faith in the potential of music and faith in the potential of human development, but her words regarding the documentary can be read as testament to the power of female belief, or the idea of that power. She writes that "Sabine's contribution brings the scene to an affirmative close…she makes a gesture of faith: '*je crois*', she says, expressing *her belief* that it is worth using music to

try to change a person's life."[23] In this example, and arguably beyond, it is incumbent upon women to hope, and faith itself is gendered in a remarkable way.

Involvement in classical music, both in the United States and Haiti, inspires and requires a devotion similar to that of religious faith. The rituals of rehearsal and performance attendance as well as the "common" knowledge and invocation of canonical works by major composers are not unfamiliar to any adherent of organized religion, especially Christianity. A particular citation-style, almost akin to Biblical quotation, is used by camp attendees to signal insider knowledge to foreign volunteers. This style is familiar in any U.S. conservatory or concert hall: "the Brandenburg was precise," "I thought he rushed the Scarlatti," "Firebird is always moving."[24] These statements, alternately referring to a colloquial use of a place name, an actual composer, and an English language title of a composition, are part of a system that references knowledge, but that users also deploy in order to cross-reference themselves. Haitian students and staff take part in these strivings: a strident politics of respectability mandates total engagement in this sphere. The absence of the material trappings of American conservatory kids does not deter this type of expression. An emblematic example of this sort of signaling is when teenage boys (it is more common for boys than girls to flaunt electronic devices) put a tablet or smartphone on shuffle, and the resulting eclectic playlist leapfrogs from U.S. hip hop to obscure jazz trumpeters, only to land squarely in the Baroque period of music composition. This modeled eclecticism is a valued performance and expression of musical and cultural taste.

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[23] Beckles-Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West,* 292. original emphasis

[24] For more on the American origins and environs of this citation system, see Kingsbury, *Music, Talent, and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System*.

Bruno Nettl hints at the relationship between religious devotion and music making, noting that "Western art music lovers don't necessarily approach their music in a religious spirit, but they often say they are working in the service of music, an abstraction that exists without human intervention."[25] Beckles-Willson also takes note of the "religious associations that adhere to Western classical music."[26] These associations make it possible for the dissemination of classical music to be supported by claims about cultural superiority, educational power, and emotional fulfillment, claims alternately issued from the mouths of teachers, parents, and students themselves.

The repertoire boast and rigorous scheduling are not the only echoes of religious faith practice modeled on Western Christianity. The close historic ties of Western European classical music to the Christian church should also factor into this comparison. Masses have formed the bulk of several canonical composers oeuvre, becoming elevated to the distinction of compositional form, or subgenre, along with hymnody. Moreover, missions and music have a long mutual history. Helen Myers writes in *Music of Hindu Trinidad* that "in countries all around the world during the last two hundred years, music and proselytization have gone hand in hand." (115) Music was often the means by which white missionaries crossed linguistic and social boundaries and incentivized participation in the Christian faith. The participatory aspects of choral singing held great appeal to many people around the world: separate accounts of mission

[25] Nettl, *Heartland Excursions,* 15.
[26] Beckles-Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West,* 12.

activity in South and East Asia, Africa, and South America[27] feature music prominently as a tool for reaching "hearts and minds."[28]



*Figure 5. This image, taken from the Chicago Symphony Orchestra website, is a typical representation of lighting and framing practices around promotional materials.*

As a result of its use in Christian liturgy, classical music carries sacred connotations that adhere to the present moment. The very genre becomes valued as holy, and visual evidence corroborates this reading. Consider for example this promotional image from the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, a major metropolitan cultural force that many of the North American foreign volunteers, emerging from music schools in "America's Heartland"[29] view as an aspirational organization. Perhaps they grew up like me, in a Chicago suburb under the sway of rhetoric such as this. The youth outreach programs of organizations such as the Chicago Symphony Orchestra disseminate their materials far and wide, encouraging impressionable students to view the orchestra corps not only as potential means of employment, but as a body of deities. The slick aesthetic contributes to a sense that these players are greater than mere mortals,

[27] See T.W. Hunt, *Music in Missions: Discipling through Music* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1987).

[28] I am once again reminded here of the inextricable links between a historically contextualized contemporary Christian evangelical movement and Haiti.

[29] There is a manner in which the college students and recent conservatory graduates that populate the camp system are products of the same Midwestern system that Bruno Nettl chronicles in *Heartland Excursions*.

that they have attained a level of perfection, through a rigorous rehearsal routine. It propels them into sainthood, seemingly capable as they are to play for infinite stretches without error.[30]

The design of the contemporary orchestra hall positions these figures on a dais, often centered in a hall with gradually elevated seating. At the center of this light-flooded space is the conductor, often white, often male. The above image is significant in its framing as current CSO conductor Riccardo Muti and prominent cellist and arts activist Yo-Yo Ma clasp hands in acknowledgement of applause. Other members of the orchestral corps look on approvingly. The text that accompanies this image reads as follows: "109 musicians at the peak of their profession. There's no greater ensemble of classical talent on this continent when the CSO musicians perform." The deification of the orchestra, particularly in the person of their conductor, often portrayed with arms outstretched, crowned with light, is indicative of a broader cultural opinion: that of the inevitable transcendent power of classical musicians and the transformational possibility of the genre itself.

**"Soldiers of the Cross"**

A charge to keep I have,
A God to glorify,
A never-dying soul to save,
And fit it for the sky.

To serve the present age,
My calling to fulfill:
Oh, may it all my pow'rs engage
To do my Master's will!

[30] See Gregory Weinstein, "Creativity In The Mix: Collaboration and Contingency in Britain's Classical Music Recording Studios," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013), a dissertation on the classical music recording industry's turn toward producing infallible recordings. See also, the recent uproar over pianist Yundi Li's flawed performance at a concert in Seoul, South Korea at "Li Yundi's disastrous performance at Seoul concert leaves disappointed fans asking for ticket refunds," Shanghaiist, accessed December 11, 2015, http://shanghaiist.com/2015/11/02/li_yundi_poor_seoul_performance.php.

Arm me with jealous care,
As in Thy sight to live;
And O Thy servant, Lord, prepare
A strict account to give!

Help me to watch and pray,
And on Thyself rely,
Assured, if I my trust betray,
I shall forever die.

This Charles Wesley hymn, published in 1762, references a Bible verse in which there are two options: obey or die. Leviticus 8:35 (KJV) states "Therefore shall ye abide at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation day and night seven days, and keep the charge of the Lord,[31] that ye die not: for so I am commanded." A Haitian Kreyòl translation of this verse, published by the Societe Biblique Haitienne based in the Canapé Vert neighborhood of Port-au-Prince, gives further insight: "Pandan sèt jou, lajounen kou lannwit, n'a rete la devan pòt Tant Randevou a, epi n'a fè tou sa Senyè a te ban nou lòd fè a. Si se pa sa, n'a mouri. Wi, men lòd Senyè a te ban mwen an." In this translation, the distinctions between commanded person and messenger, moreover individual and group are blurred with the pronoun "nou:" "During seven days, day through night, we stay before the door of the meeting tent, and we do everything which God has given us the order to do. If it is not done, we die. Yes, those are the orders of the Lord that were given me." What might it mean for the entire collective to be dependent on the obedience of the individual?[32]

[31] A Charge to Keep was also the title of George W. Bush's autobiography. This hymn has a deep resonance with the American Christian evangelical movement, as this group is particularly focused on missionary activity. Haiti is an attractive site for mission work, as it is not far from the United States, has an engrained reputation for poverty, and could be understood (monolithically) as having an opposing religion: Vodou. A common visual hallmark of this activity is encountered at the airport gate – the majority of summer flights are composed of underage mission groups in colorful matching t-shirts, a topic that I cover in Chapter 1.

[32] Further explorations of the concept of collective obedience in Haitian society can be found in Bertin Louis, *My Soul Is In Haiti: Protestantism in the Haitian Diaspora of the Bahamas* (New York: NYU Press, 2014).

The lyrics of "A Charge to Keep" also reflect the charge referred to in this chapter's opening hymn, "Jesus te Confie." The first stanza, which I originally translated as "Jesus charges you to a work of love," can also be understood as "Jesus charges you to a *life* of love." The eternal soul mentioned in the first stanza of "A Charge to Keep" is the ultimate concern of this hymn. It is a soul imbued with the power of life, the power of choice, and a calling - that is, a charge. The language of calling and charges has been deployed in Western Christian history through the framework of missionary activity.

The hymn "A Charge to Keep" serves as metaphor for the ways in which mission work has required longstanding commitments of time and presence in a field, often abroad. These commitments have historically been fulfilled outside the country of proselytizer origin, among populations with significant geographic distance and phenotypical difference from the point of origin. The terms outlining these commitments have been stark, perhaps imbuing missionaries with a sense that their options are limited. The charge or mission, or as some of my interlocutors term it, the calling, is a decision between obedience and disobedience, rather than a choice between a range of career options. If someone is called (by God or the Holy Spirit), it is considered disobedient and a temptation of fate to reject that calling and go another way. The structure of this arrangement was certainly common among Protestant Christians during the mission-heavy times in which Wesley was writing, and continues to shape interactions throughout the world that was colonized, influenced, and forever changed by those missions. This rhetoric of vocation continues in contemporary Haiti, by practitioners of *mizik klasik*.

Missions in Haiti have been covered in the recent anthropological literature by texts such as *Travesty in Haiti: A True Account of Christian Missions, Orphanages, Fraud, Food Aid and*

*Drug Trafficking* by Timothy Schwartz, *Killing with Kindness: Haiti, International Aid, and NGOs* by Mark Schuller, and *The Big Truck That Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster* by Johnathan M. Katz. Less profiled, however, is the ideology and impact of black missions, whether of Haitian descent like the group introduced at the beginning of Chapter 2, or U.S. identified persons of African descent. The following disruption of narrative - the very idea that black people experience a charge or call to mission work - is vital to understanding the actions and motivations of classical music proponents in Haiti.

I was sitting at a Bible study at Ray of Hope Christian Church in Atlanta on a Tuesday in July.[33] When talking about the text taken by the preacher the previous Sunday, a scripture about Joseph being thrown in the pit by his brothers. The highlighted moral of the story is that what "the devil meant for evil, the Lord turned for good." Because this was only my second Tuesday attending Bible study, I didn't notice that the group, named Exodus, was seated underneath a Haitian flag, one of several important symbols in the sanctuary. The moderator, an neatly dressed older middle-aged black man, tall and slender, asked one of the attendees in our group of about ten about her experience in Haiti. We were interrogating why bad things happen to good people, and he was attempting to broaden the discussion and expand it beyond the quotidian experiences of the attendees. However, the woman surprised both he and I with her response. She and two other women in the group had been to several mission trips to Haiti. She good-naturedly responded that sometimes she's ready to pack up and leave for Haiti, a point made poignant by several recent high-profile events regarding police brutality toward African-Americans.

The woman stated that sometimes she thinks that black folks live better "over there" than they do over here. The other two women assented. When pressed for more information by the

moderator, another woman expounded upon the idea presented by the first. “The standard of living isn’t the same. You know, it’s not American style, air conditioning and all that.” But, she claimed, they did more with less. The third woman piped up with the point most important to her - “they are spiritually strong. You ought to see the people praising God.” A ripple of head nods and amens went through the small congregation. “At the end of the service they all point their hands toward the door and you can tell that they are praying for the community.” The woman next to her nodded, as if to say “we should do that.” She went on to mention that she felt as if she could participate in worship because “the hymns that they sing are the same hymns that we sing here, just in a different language. You can tell by how they do the music” - referring to the undergirding instrumentation.

The women of the mission group and the people at large were aware of the American Red Cross scandal[34]. One woman, of the mission group, frequently cites National Public Radio broadcasted stories to illustrate points about the condition of the world. In this case, when she delivered a particularly deplorable statistic about building six houses in five years, her temporary audience shook their heads in wondrous contempt. The woman who gave the original response concluded this impromptu discussion about Haiti by stating something that is often said about black people in Atlanta - “I just love to see us doing well like that.” None of the women self-identified as Haitian, instead intimating a connection through broader membership in the African diaspora.

This is far from the only American black church sponsoring missions in Haiti. In fact, it is the second one that I am aware in the city of Atlanta. The first that I encountered is Elizabeth

[33] July 14, 2015

[34] At the beginning of June 2015, National Public Radio broke a story concerning the slow rate of post-earthquake progress. Laura Sullivan, “In Search of the Red Cross’ $500 Million in

Baptist Church. The missions materials of that congregation provide insight into what is expected of people participating on both sides. Glossolalia, or speaking in tongues - is prohibited. This is not because the church frowns upon this form of charismatic worship. Rather, it is because church leaders are unsure of the resonance that glossolalia has with practices such as Vodou. As an act of consideration toward their Haitian hosts, who might hold more stringent views on expressive practices, EBC requests that if the tongues cannot be contained, that congregants consider contributing to the mission in other ways, from a physical remove.

Before the programming of these two churches came into my consciousness, I had visited Bethel Gospel Tabernacle in Queens, New York, a church sponsoring a mission to Haiti that supports a colleague's family. While there, I wondered what it meant for a predominantly African-American, urban Pentecostal congregation to support a mission in another country. I'd often imagined the churches that supported mission activity as bastions of affluence, eager to elevate the "least of these." Instead, this humble house of worship hosted members of varying means on a weekly basis, sometimes more frequently for mid-week services, Bible studies, weddings, funerals. And did the Haitians that they supported imagine their mission sponsors as black Americans? Many Haitians are familiar with the ideas and cultural production of African-Americans. They watch Black Entertainment Television, and listen to pop and rap. Vivid semblances of black U.S. celebrities adorn barbershops and hair salons as style guides. However, I often encounter disbelief concerning the more quotidian realities of black U.S. citizens. Questions range from my own income level to the "true" racial status of President Barack Obama.[35] Just as media shapes the understanding that U.S. churches have of the level and

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Haiti Relief," *National Public Radio,* June 3, 2015, accessed December 11, 2015, http://www.npr.org/2015/06/03/411524156/in-search-of-the-red-cross-500-million-in-haiti-relief.

[35] For an introduction to how Caribbean populations might engage a hypodescent society from the vantage point of ethnic plurality, see Sarah E. Page, "'Your President Is Not Black!':

appearance of need in Haiti, media helps form the impression that Haitians have about black people in the U.S.

Media outlets influence the perception of many types of "others," from a variety of vantage points. The issue of mission and calling, though primarily approached as it pertains to Haitian women in this chapter, is also relevant to the experiences of U.S. volunteers. Although I have decentered Americans in this part of the narrative, their gendered experiences shed further light on the aforementioned camp social dynamics. The majority of U.S. based volunteers are women, many rooted in the conservatory educational system.[36] Teaching in Haiti is promoted to them as good preparation for student-teaching assignments. This passage from *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* is eerily applicable to the attitudes expressed by volunteers in the Haitian camp system: "Once teachers had explained that they had respect for local traditions, and that (in most cases) they regarded them as "different" rather than lesser, on being asked by me to articulate their view of the value of their work, they invoked ideas about social enhancement. In other words, they adopted contemporary NGO discourses in order to justify themselves to me. This reasoning was of course very different from the ideas that had led them to

Jamaican Reflections on Identity, Race, Class, and (Global) Politics," *Transforming Anthropology* 23 (2015): 79-89.

[36] A primary concern of Beckles-Willson's study is the manner by which musical voluntourism became a second career for conservatory graduates. That argument is beyond the scope of this study; however, Mina Yang elucidates a possibly emerging trend: "For much of the twentieth century, a conservatory education typically consisted of preparing students for solo careers or for orchestra placement. "Failed" musicians ended up teaching lessons or abandoning music altogether. The new model of teaching artists upheld by the Thornton program and other music outreach programs emphasizes the symbiotic interplay between teaching and making music, between artistic excellence and social relevance." *Planet Beethoven: Classical Music at the Turn of the Millennium* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014), 153.

the region, but the latter having proved fallible, the teachers absorbed themselves into the dominant structure of intervention."[37]

The religious profiles of camp volunteers are a sharp departure from what the mission t-shirt fashion show at the Miami and Atlanta airports would indicate. Most are liberal, college educated Americans. They volunteer for many reasons, but few would articulate their behavior as "called by God." Some are atheist. My perennial roommate is Jewish, but attends morning chapel service at Cap-Haïtien and Vespers at the Holy Trinity camp regularly anyway, as she feels that it is an important signal of cultural respect, and that her attendance models a particular ethic of participation for the students. She takes extra caution when revealing her faith and cultural background to unfamiliar Haitians, on account of several prior unpleasant encounters. She is occasionally "Baptist," a denomination well recognized in the spectrum of Haitian Christianity. Volunteers do offer their services on different terms, such as love for music education, a desire to make the world more beautiful through music, and a pull to share their "gift of music," which is, as the previous chapter notes, an alchemy of personal talent, human labor, and material resources.

Mission language, however, is useful to volunteers looking to generate support back home. The language of an article in the CT Post is particularly informative regarding the ways in which volunteers navigate a general American public understanding of why people go to Haiti (to share Jesus) versus their own more nuanced justifications. The article begins by introducing the person most familiar to the local community, situating them within that community, and giving the reader an idea of the scope of the project: "Keith Johnston, director of Bands at Sacred Heart University, recently joined music professors from across the United States and half a dozen

[37] Beckels-Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission*, 302.

countries to teach music to some of Haiti's most talented young musicians."[38] The following sentence elaborates in no uncertain terms: "the 10-day musical mission was to teach at the Holy Trinity School of Music's Summer Music Camp." When taken in tandem with the first two sentences, one referencing an obviously religiously oriented university and the other describing the trip at hand as a "musical mission," Johnston's quote in the third and fourth sentences of the article resonates with divine order, a sense that is a close cousin to divine calling - "' The Summer music program has run uninterrupted since 1971. Through political turmoil - and the devastating earthquake of 2010 - this program has taken place,' he says.

The next paragraph builds even further on this foundation: "One of my first impressions of Haiti was on my very first night there, before camp even started. The boy choir had an impromptu concert in the darkened chapel on grounds of the campus. These kids were singing from the very depths of their soul, and the sound was transformative." The transformation thread continues into Johnston's assessment of impact: "They not only leave the programs as better musicians, but as better teachers." As discussed before in this chapter, the teaching profession, populated broadly by women, is often described with the language of religious calling.

Johnston is a board member of BLUME Haiti, an organization that buttresses the summer programming of all three music schools covered in this dissertation. BLUME's website contains both a mission and a vision.[39] The mission states that "BLUME Haiti works with Haitian and International partners to develop leadership skills, awaken individual potential, and create opportunities for social and civic collaboration and economic development through music education and performance." The vision reads, "We envision a Haiti where emerging leaders,

[38] The following article citations are taken from Linda Conner Lamback, "SHU band director teaches music in Haiti," *CT Post,* August 6, 2015, http://www.ctpost.com/news/article/SHU-band-director-teaches-music-in-Haiti-6427247.php.

thinkers and doers will strengthen the social and economic fabric of their nation." These texts demonstrate close parallels between religious charges that are focused on the soul (Christian missions) and secular charges that are focused on the body (international aid agencies). Versions of salvation are delivered by both, and in the case of BLUME Haiti, that salvation is music.

**My Charge**

My own presence in the field engenders a certain perspective, and cultivates certain reactions to my physical person. Because I am a young black woman from the United States who is not of Haitian descent, I receive a particular version of events, scripted for my specific demographic. Black Americans have a mythical reputation in Haiti – they are potential musicians, celebrities, and even a president, but they are not imagined to be the average American. Thus, I frequently see popular singers and actors, such as Kelly Rowland and Will Smith, painted on the sides of barbershops and hair salons as style models, yet encounter incredulity at my self-identification as American. The conversation usually unfolds by asking about my parents, and then my grandparents, gently poking through my ancestry to see if the disconnect is a matter of identification rather than biological heritage. This is a cautious negotiation on my part, as I don't want to be misunderstood as a *dyaspora* unwilling to claim Haiti. When I have been satisfactorily identified as a non-Haitian American, the questions continue, as a matter of curiosity. After all, encounters with black Americans that are not of

[39] "Mission and Vision," BLUME Haiti, accessed August 19, 2015, http://www.blumehaiti.org/mission--vision.html.

Haitian descent are rare in Haiti.[40] I also self-identify as a Christian, but I may have been cast in that particular role before I even opened my mouth. For a black person from the United States, the question and associated assumption is not necessarily one of faith, but more of denomination: "are you Catholic or Baptist?"

My customary response of "Methodist" often provokes a few thoughtful and appreciative head nods, as a denomination that I perceive is familiar but not common in Haiti. I was stunned to drive past an African Methodist Episcopal church on the road to Jacmel, a legacy of my particular denomination's long-held penchant for mission work among fellow Afro-diasporans.[41] "Good" Methodists do mission work, no matter the race. My proximity to both the origin and site of praxis, to both Methodism and the African diaspora, is a position that I turn over frequently in my mind. The connection unsettles me, as does the closeness of the trappings of international aid to mission work. James Clifford articulates a similar tension in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, stating that "Anthropological research travelers have, of course, regularly depended on missionaries (for grammars, transportation, introductions, and in certain cases for a deeper translation of language and custom than can be acquired in a one- or two-year visit). The fieldworker's professional difference from the missionary, based on real discrepancies of agenda and attitude, has had to be asserted against equally real areas of overlap and dependency." (65) Mission work, anthropological fieldwork, and I argue, *international aid work* lie in close relationship. The borders between them are not firmly fixed, and do not exist in

[40] For more information, see both Chapter One of this dissertation and Jemima Pierre, "Beyond Heritage Tourism: Race and the Politics of African-Diasporic Interactions," *Social Text* 98 (2009): 59-81.

[41] For an account of A.M.E. history in Haiti, see Brandon Byrd, "'To Start Something to Help these People': African American Women and the Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 21:2 (2015), 154-180.

reality, only in constructions and distinctions made by the workers themselves. "Blan"[42] might be in Haiti for a variety of reasons, all closely related: they might be a researcher, they might be a missionary, or they might be an aid worker. Physically, in the "real world," most of these laborers appear as privileged lighter people operating among lesser-privileged, darker people.

**Leaving**

My first summer, I spoke extensively with M about Haiti's future. I did not realize at the time that we were also speaking of his own. At the time, he was a string teacher and ensemble conductor. He led a chamber group for EMDB named Melodica, and they did wedding gigs and the like all over Jacmel.[43] When we met, he quickly reached out to learn if I was a Christian. Upon learning that I was, he promptly invited me to church. During the walk there, he cautiously steered me around piles of trash in the street, bemoaning the state of the city. "Jacmel wasn't always like this," he said, in a quiet tone. I asked if it was because of the earthquake, and he replied by claiming that the disaster worsened it, but there had been problems long before. In 2011, I had no concept of the breakdown in state utilities such as trash collection and electricity that had occurred in the post-Duvalier years, but when I returned to Jacmel in 2013 with a better understanding, M was not there. He had emigrated, and his absence was sorely felt. The string program suffered, and the music library was in disarray. The official reason for his departure was health-related, but those left behind spoke as people abandoned. His absence produced a void,

[42] The deployment of the word "blan" serves to diminish the differences between possible (pre)occupations in Haiti. If walking while silent, phenotypically white people might be called "blan" by observant children playing outside. If I am walking in a group of fellow foreigners, but not talking, I have overheard it to be understood as "blan yo" (white foreigners) and "yon Ayisyen" (a Haitian).

[43] This is also significant because it allowed an ensemble in which young women participated to serve as a public face of the school.

both in the social network of the school and in his own life. His social media posts are usually in Kreyòl, and his heart obviously still in Jacmel. He is one example of a modern-day exile.

Exile is often written about as a state of coerced expulsion. Less understood is the status of African diasporans locked into cyclical exile. Haitians speak and write of *Ginen* as an unrequited home. Removed temporally by hundreds of years, Africa is more of an idea than a reality, but it nonetheless forms a powerful signifier of ownership and loss. In *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica after Emancipation*, Matthew J. Smith connects the exilic history of these two countries in order to shed light on the development of the Caribbean. He writes that "Exile has been associated with the Caribbean since the arrival of Africans to the region. In 1793, during the earliest stages of the uprising in Saint-Domingue, Bryan Edwards wrote in his famous history of the British colonies that the enslaved were Africans in 'perpetual exile' - a weighted term that suggests an unending sense of dislocation, a condemnation of the exiled subject to live forever detached from "home." This perpetual exile began in enslavement, but Smith extends the concept to politicized expulsions from Haiti post-Independence. He inquires, "By 1860, Haitian authorities used perpetual exile as a form of punishment for dissent or challenge to the state. By then exile had already become an omnipresent part of the Haitian experience. What were the consequences of exile in an age of freedom?"[44]

I argue that the phrase perpetual exile can be fruitfully expanded to a concept I will call cyclical exile. Cyclical exile recognizes both the unending push and the varied causes of exile. It also holds space for an equal footing of all causes of exile - whether self-imposed or externally imposed, whether political or ecological, like M's. Reasons for departure are not always clear to

[44] Matthew J. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica after Emancipation* (Durham: UNC Press, 2014): 7.

outside observers, or even to those leaving. Did M leave because of the trash, his medical condition, or the low wages paid to him by the school? Perhaps an opportunity to further educate himself manifested. Cyclical exile provides conceptual space for simultaneities in reasons. Writing about the Armenian diaspora, Sylvia Alajaji contends that exile produces shifts that "occur simultaneously - contrapuntally - through time, fundamentally altering conceptions of the collective Self and resulting in the re-drawing or defying of established borderlines between Self and Other."[45] These boundaries are often drafted and executed through music. By participating in schools such as Dessaix-Baptiste and Sainte-Trinité, Haitians are pointing to experiential "homes," spheres of activity that constitute a base for identity. For M, Dessaix-Baptiste is a home.

**Returning**

Among classical music proponents in Haiti, women return from exile more often than men. Before the earthquake, a cohort of teachers traveled to Michigan in order to further their training. They were in the United States during the disaster, and as a result, were eligible for the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) afforded by the Department of Homeland Security. The TPS protocol is put into place when a state is unable to safely handle the return of its citizens. At the time I am writing this, Haiti's TPS designation had been extended through July 2017, a full seven years beyond the earthquake. The cohort of teachers from Sainte-Trinité elected to stay in the U.S., with one lone exception. D, the only woman to travel, returned to Haiti as soon as she could. She is still with the school currently, serving as a popular flute teacher and wind ensemble

[45] Sylvia Alajaji, "Exilic Becomings: Post-Genocide Armenian Music in Lebanon," *Ethnomuscology* 57 (2013): 239.

conductor. Although she presents as self-effacing, her narrative is disseminated by volunteers who know it well. Her story resonates with and heartens volunteers, especially those with feminist leanings and overt participation in what might be conceived as a United States mainstream feminist framework. One volunteer I spoke with marveled at her story in rhapsodic tones, envisioning her as a pioneer for larger leadership roles for women in the music education sector. Several others have referenced D as a model instructor and administrator in the Holy Trinity system. Foreign volunteers often articulate concerns with ethical and competent leadership that map onto the predominantly male leadership of music schools across Haiti. For some, D represents the messianic return of the gifted to a nation in need of its talents.

**Career, Vocation, Calling**

Another example of the gendered binarization around exile and return comes from a prior generation of Holy Trinity participants. Karine Margron, whom I profile extensively in the fifth chapter, sang in Holy Trinity's Schola Cantorum choir as a teenager in Port-au-Prince. She subsequently developed interests in Haitian folklore, and has curated and published a series of books with Haitian folksongs. Her principal collaborator on this project has been Julio Racine, a professor at University of Louisville who grew up and taught in the Holy Trinity system. He now lives permanently in Kentucky, due to health complications. Margron is also based in the United States, but as a cultural ambassador within the Martelly administration, she travels back and forth frequently between Miami and Port-au-Prince. Racine's sustained distance represents another query I have about the classical music system in Haiti: most of the women stay, most of the men leave. Most of the women are in support-role positions, such as teacher and administrator within the programs in Port-au-Prince, Cap-Haïtien, and Jacmel. Most of the men are in leadership

positions, such as founder or conductor. A sitting spell during break time at Dessaix-Baptiste is perhaps indicative of broader socio-cultural trends: children of both genders play, the boys physically as the girls stand off to the side and gossip. Adult men stand around and joke. The only adult women present are snack vendors, working through all of the play. Most of the teachers are absent from sight, disciplining unruly students or preparing for the following class.

A system led predominantly by men presents several issues. Youth are not presented with equal opportunities. Young girls are occasionally able to break the instrumentation barrier, but far less often able to free themselves of societal constraints that demand they stay at home, both literally (the domestic sphere) and figuratively (Haiti). Furthermore, half of the leadership potential is suppressed, impacting participation down the line, which impacts the ultimate bottom line. As reiterated throughout this dissertation, participation is the root of this activity and social sphere.

The examples that I have given of people being treated differently and having different outcomes on the basis of gender are significant in constructing an argument around gender imbalance in Haitian society, but more important than that argument is how present realities impact motive and mission. In *The Culture of Gender and Sexuality in the Caribbean,* Carolle Charles writes that "the reluctance of Haitian women to directly attack the issue of male dominance and gender hierarchy, and at the same time their capacity to create a counter discourse that goes against the dominant ideology of womanhood and the prevailing discourse on sexuality, points to the complexity of the forms of expression of gender relations in this society."[46] As evinced by the initiates at the contradanse and the teachers in the camps, women

[46] Carolle Charles, "Popular Imageries of Gender and Sexuality: Poor and Working-Class Haitian Women's Discourses on the Use of Their Bodies," in *The Culture of Gender and*

find ways to lead from the margins. Actions such as cultural curatorship, though nominally lesser, are central to the continued relevance of both Haitian classical music and folklore.

Cultural curatorship is one mode of indirect attack on Charles' male dominance and gender hierarchy, and it is stated by Nicole St. Victor when she claims that she has never faced career difficulties on account of her gender. She sits at a desk overwhelmed by work as she says this, quietly marking student evaluations. She controls EMST from behind the scenes. Similarly, Micheline Dalencour quietly determines who makes it into her studio, one of the most prominent in the nation. She writes concert reviews and shapes the conversation around concert music. Women of a younger generation push against gendered constraints in other ways, teaching and leading at EMST and the other camps in highly visible ways. It is all of these performances, all of this pressure that make it possible for a single girl at EMST's summer camp to make her way into the percussion corps, for example. These performances lead to the most advanced students in my choral music theory class at EMST being two teenage girls. This applied pressure holds space for greater possibility.

A connection that potentially sheds even more light on Mme. St. Victor's response is the connection of the language of vocation to religious orders and Catholicism, particularly within a historically Catholic nation. How is the direction and control of orders gendered? These orders function not only in word, but in deed as well. The institutional history of Holy Trinity is emblematic in this regard. Sr. Anne-Marie functions, even and especially posthumously, as a foundational figurehead. She is symbolic to Mme. St. Victor, who still possesses a prayer card given to her by Sr. Anne-Marie.

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*Sexuality in the Cairbbean,* ed, by Linden Lewis (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 184.

As mentioned in this dissertation's introductory chapter meditation on the Jacmel theory girls, female children are expected to watch over and care for male children. This dynamic plays out in scenarios across camps - when a brother and sister appear, the sister is regarded as responsible for the brother in a largely emotional capacity. In lower-income situations, the girl may have to stay home to perform chores while the boy attends camp. In higher-income situations, the girl may have to "answer for" her brother in institutional settings. These two manifestations of gendered orders - religious orders and family orders - both reflect broader societal understandings of the responsibilities of genders in sustaining the current system.

Charges are not contained to any particular group of people. I received a charge on my last night in Jacmel. Pierre Leroy told me to "finish the paper and bring it to us," in lieu of a goodbye. However, charges do reflect power dynamics and directional influence. In Haitian society, one that, in the words of Gina Athena Ulysse, "doesn't have a space for women to mature and come into our own," without the "primary marker of adulthood (children),"[47] these directives and their accompanying sense of obligation fall with great frequency to women. In writing this chapter, I have tendered some generalizations in regards to gender. Citron writes of "a problem, common to feminist approaches to history [that] involves the tension between woman as a socially specific individual and women as a general group. History cannot embrace an endless string of anecdotes about specific individuals, and therefore generalizations about larger patterns of behavior have to be made."[48] It is my hope that the reader will allow these

[47] Gina Athena Ulysse, *Why Haiti Needs New Narratives* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2015), 20.

[48] Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 7.

generalizations in the service of understanding negotiating behaviors on the part of underrepresented interlocutors.

Women are the ones who keep the charge of classical music in Haiti. They work, across generations, to sustain the camp system, folkloric performances, and concerts throughout the year. They are performers and consumers, who also do the work, the feminized labor of archiving and teaching. They "serve the present age" by engaging and maintaining a system of musical involvement in ways that are inherently local. Cartright, Margron, and several other women who I do not name but only gesture toward in this chapter, not only perform music – they teach it, physically archive it, protect it, share it, defend it. They behave as if it is the Levitical charge, one endowed with transformative power.

It is because of this power, this felt impact, that they missionize classical music, carrying it to children, attempting to inculcate a sense of ownership through a two pronged methodology of ability and heritage. Not only do Haitians own the music because they are capable of its performance, they have a rich legacy of composers contemporaneous with the Western European canon. The "charge" is not limited to classroom or studio teaching, but it is inherently pedagogical. Both in the school setting and in the contradanse setting, women propel the action. Just as mission work rarely manifests without an educational element, the high priests of Haitian classical music are unable to extricate their calling as musicians with their duty as teachers. Women, as the ones who stay, are the ones who keep the charge, who stand watch over the futures of this genre and of the children who learn, work, and play within it. They are the caregivers for both the music and the people.

## 4. A Home Away from Haiti: Self-making and Nation-building on the Other Side of the Water

This chapter details the interactions that power Haiti from its extensive diaspora. It uses the phrase and concept of "lòt bò dlo," or "the other side of the waters" to think about the delicate relationships between race, space, people and the means by which they choose to describe themselves and others. The musicians profiled in this chapter use musical genre, specifically classical music, in order to negotiate the terms upon which their nationalities and selves are defined. Whereas the previous chapter explored the implications of male musicians in exile, this chapter looks at the impact of male and female Haitian diasporic musicians in their spheres of influence. I begin by remembering (Re)Memory. In 2014, I served as an accompanist to a Haitian mezzo-soprano for a six-city tour titled (Re)Memory that presented various forms of Haitian classical music – a suite, composed songs, a solo piano composition, and traditional melodies. The tour began its U.S. leg on the fourth anniversary of the 2010 earthquake that profoundly altered the lives of so many, both inside and outside of Haiti. In this chapter, I share my observations regarding the manner in which Jamie Cartright, the tour soloist, negotiated the reception of this work and the perceptions of her identity. I then consider the role reception plays in my ethnography of a stop on the Imbroglio tour, a chamber sextet formed around the composition of the same name by Sydney Guillaume. Finally, I look at Anacaona: the Flower Songs, a song cycle composed by Daniel Bernard Roumain, and featuring Roumain, Emeline Michel, and Edwidge Danticat as the most prominent figures at the premiere. I end by assessing how various selves are made throughout the chapter, and how these selves, in varying states of connection to Haiti, strive to build the country from outside its borders.

Abroad, *lòt bò dlo*, is a conceptual space, figurative, literal, land, people, stories (such as those offered by Edwidge Danticat and Katia Ulysse), reputation, honor, pride, and disdain. The phrase translates as "the other side of the water," but might be deployed as a phrase (*m prale lòt bò dlo*, or I'm going overseas) or modifier (*mizisyen lòt bo dlo*, or foreign/diaspora musician). *Lòt bò dlo* can be used many ways, but the Haitian Kreyòl word for diaspora, *dyaspora*, always refers to people. It can be used practically (*li se yon dyaspora*, or she is a diaspora Haitian) and pejoratively (*gade dyaspora s'a!*, or look at this diaspora/who does she think she is?!). Because *dyaspora* is included in the concept of *lòt bò dlo*, literally, *dyaspora* are *lòt bò dlo*, I use the latter within this chapter to discuss the sphere of activity within which my interlocutors work and express themselves. Diaspora as a concept has been explored extensively in the literature as a product of the machinations of history, but here, I wish to broaden my focus from the people to the broader context that they inhabit. As posited by Martha Feldman in *Opera and Sovereignty,* physical contexts do impact present performances. The text begins with the past context of an Italian opera house, the Teatro San Carlo, still operating and impacting contemporary audience reception. Though I am not asserting that inhuman objects and contexts have agency, I am pushing this chapter towards a closer examination of the ways in which contexts might imbue musical performance with meaning. Throughout art music with ties to Haiti, the haunting of history influences the programming, production, and participation of these compositions. This chapter outlines three diaspora articulations of Haiti – (Re)Memory, Imbroglio, and Anacaona: the Flower Songs – along with examinations of the implications of programming the idea of Haiti.

Haiti is remembered, created, and articulated vigorously in absentia. Just as the previous chapters have dealt with topics such as racialized musical genre, material resources, and mission activity that occur within Haiti's boundaries, this chapter examines formations of Haiti that happen outside of Haiti. In his landmark text *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot writes that "Human beings participate in history both as actors and as narrators."[1] Although I have taken care in this dissertation to privilege the narration going on within the country by focusing four of five chapters on emic discourse, this chapter is a brief survey of a few of the external music events that *play Haitian*.

**ReMemory**

I met Jamie Cartright during my third year in Haiti, when I finally landed in Cange for Holy Trinity's camp. A group of us had come in from Cap-Haïtien, meeting another group who had just driven in from the capital the day before. A colleague immediately noted that the latter group had become somewhat clique-ish. I disagreed, believing that their behavior was just indicative of the unease some white people have intimated to me when in Haiti for the first time. It is as if you are in the minority for the first time in your life, and like the natural order of things has been upended. I remember feeling similarly the first time I came in regards to my American citizenship, and each time subsequently, at least for a day or so, until my Kreyòl language memory snaps back into place. My own experiences have resembled something like being an outsider within, a secret outsider who is allowed in contingent upon my silence.

All of the volunteers met and made our introductions outside of the volunteer cafeteria, actually a dormitory for medical staff-in-training that is repurposed during the three weeks of

[1] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997), 2.

camps to be a foreigner common area. Upon registering my identity as someone interested in classical music by Haitian composers and a pianist, Cartright guided me down to the quarters in which we would be staying to show me a small mobile archive of pieces by Jaegerhuber, Brouard, and Woolley. I glanced over these photocopies, thinking them interesting, but with no idea what a large part these crumpled pages would come to play in my life for the year following.

We decided on two songs by Werner Jaegerhuber, *Tu Es Tres Loin* and *J'Etais Venu* to perform during the camp. The piano accompaniment on these pieces is very simple, and during that hectic year, I was the only accompanist present. Fortunately, I was not the only pianist, and far from the most skilled - this was the same year that I met Sydney Guillaume for the first time, and he proceeded to sight-read his own compositions for my benefit while suggesting modifications. The Jaegerhuber songs were well-received, and I kept in touch with Cartright after camp ended, but I was still very surprised to be asked to accompany her in an autumn recital in Port-au-Prince. She was working with Madame Micheline Dalencour on a recital of Haitian art song. Mme. Dalencour, a formidable pianist, did not feel as if she had the stamina to carry the entire performance, and she welcomed any assistance. I leapt at the chance to come to Haiti during a Chicago winter, but also while camp was not in session. It would be a far different way of experiencing Haiti.

In traveling to Haiti to perform, I registered a shift in the function of my tourism. I was no longer an aid worker coming to teach and play music with children. I became a musical collaborator. This shift in function echoes Chapter Two's debate between categorizing the time expended at summer music camp as labor or leisure. Education, much like musical performance,

is often viewed as both occupation and passion, job and calling. Pertinent to this chapter's focus on diasporic musical articulations of Haiti, this shift is helpful in comprehending these articulations as laborious. The diaspora musicians which I profile here are "working musicians," or what some might term professionals, but in both Haiti and the United States, what determines that status is much more complex than being paid for a gig. Factors such as age, gender, stage in career, and performance venue might impact whether musicians and their audiences understand their status as professional, not to mention the influence of genre on this perception. It could be asserted that in these moments of performance with Cartright, I too was *playing Haitian*, that is, performing specifically Haitian classical music and negotiating that genre, the distance between my nationality and my host nation, and my own self-awareness of the possibilities of that musical moment.

Cartright and I constantly joked that setting up a six concert tour in the United States, in four different states, was far easier than planning one recital in Port-au-Prince. The complications of booking a venue and planning an event in Port-au-Prince were legion. Many necessities function on a connection system, that is to say, where we could perform depended on who we knew. Since I "knew" no one that could help us in this arena, my interlocutor did the bulk of the planning. Our performance was eventually scheduled at Quisqueya Chapel, a church campus on Rue Catalpa that was founded by American Marines in the 1960s. Our access to this space was dependent on Cartright's connection to the extensive missionary community in Haiti, as Quisqueya articulates its mission "to equip English speaking believers to advance God's Kingdom in our community and beyond."[2] Cartright was born in United States to Haitian parents

[2] "About Us," Quisqueya Chapel, accessed January 6, 2015, http://quisqueyachapel.org/about-us.

who decided to return to Haiti as missionaries when she was three. Extensively home-schooled, and subsequently educated in American schools, she is fluent in English, Kreyòl, and French. After completing her undergraduate degree in the U.S., Cartright worked as a singer for a few years before returning to Haiti to teach. Her connection to the anglophone missionary community remains strong, stemming from her parents and fostered through her own employment. Walking with her onto Quisqueya Chapel's campus was an introduction to yet another face of Haiti - the idyllic mission campuses that dot its landscape.

The December night of our Port-au-Prince recital, torrential rain washed out the road to Quisqueya Chapel, unpaved, still under post-earthquake construction. Even in the daytime it was difficult, each SUV rocking from wheel to wheel like a boat on troubled waters. Still, I watched from our dressing room as umbrella after umbrella bobbed towards the Chapel entrance, each soon abandoned as its owner hugged and kissed those who came before. The official greeters retreated into obsolescence as a community emerged, tugging at the blouses of friends and tapping on the shoulders of acquaintances. The show would go on.

The day before, as we exited the chapel, Madame Dalencour hummed one of the songs that Jamie had sung. *Ti Zwazo kote ou prale? Mwen prale kay fiyet Lalo.* Little bird, where are you going? I'm going to Lalo's house. The simple melody consisted of only four notes, and I presumed that she was decompressing after the lengthy dress rehearsal. Instead, she expressed her surprise that we were performing the song, given its charged history. I wondered to what history she alluded, when she explained that the song, ostensibly a children's lullaby, was used during the Duvalier tenure to signify state-sanctioned repression. *Fiyet Lalo konn manje timoun, si'w ale, li manje ou tou!* Lalo eats children, and if you go, she'll eat you too! What had seemed

before to be a Grimm brothers-level macabre plot twist took on additional meaning as a veiled gesture toward the actions of female Tonton Macoutes.[3]

Cartright, her mother, and Dalencour reflected on how different the present moment was from their past. Engaging in a shared memory of more difficult times in Haitian history, they wondered at the possibility of the mizik klasik community, often composed in great part by moneyed elites and petit *boujwazi*, gathering for a nighttime performance. They would later explain, each in their own way, how periods of political instability limited the rehearsals and performances of this repertoire. The atmospheric fear of the unstable 1990s kept Cartright and her family indoors except for church. As missionaries, they ventured out cautiously on Sundays, returning immediately after service. In comparison, the rain on the night of the concert was a trifle. Post-performance, as we skirted puddles alongside the rest of a well to do Port-au-Prince later that night in celebration, Cartright would note that this is the safest she has ever felt in the city.

Security is important. In this context, it is simultaneously a feeling, an industry marked by armed guards and electric fencing at a 24 hour fast food spot, and perhaps also a state of mind. It is the maintenance of ordinariness. Security is vital to both internal and external perceptions of Haiti. My interlocutors are using *mizik klasik* to redefine themselves and rearticulate an ordinary Haiti. In Stuart Hall's definition, articulation describes a process by which forces, people, and ideas are drawn together in an intentional statement. I point to the repetitive processes of re-defining and re-articulating, and within the body of the dissertation re-

[3] The Tonton Macoute were an armed force created by François Duvalier in 1959. The novel *The Dew Breaker* by Edwidge Danticat describes the manner in which this paramilitary group, and FRAPH, made deep impressions on the nation's collective psyche, both within its borders and throughout its diaspora.

membering, thinking of an additive aspect of citizenship, and understanding articulations as always contingent upon the moment.

In the midst of the 20th century, African-American researchers Katharine Dunham, Zora Neale Hurston, and Langston Hughes each visited Haiti. They went in search of answers about the mystery of the first black republic, with ideas about the authenticity of blackness that were common in that period. Still, they each sat with both dignitaries and "ordinary folks," their sense of ordinariness informed by their relationship as African-Americans with their country of origin. These relationships proved critical then, as they do now. Global perceptions of blackness have and continue to impact foreign policy. At the time of Dunham, Hurston, and Hughes, a stringent respectability politics formed the basis for African-American survival. These politics stretched across the Diaspora, and their renewal in the era of the Welfare Queen and structural adjustment of international aid point to correlations in U.S. domestic and foreign policies. I hear and transcribe this present moment of articulation from a collective of teachers, eager to strip away the mis-educations regarding "the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere."

Right around the time when we we were planning to move the tour forward and program an U.S. leg, my hometown of Chicago, where I was also doing my graduate work, was in the news repeatedly for a rash of violence along its southern and western sides. The city was colloquially nicknamed "Chiraq," a multi-referent that took advantage of the U.S. long-term engagement in Iraq and the surrounding region and "Bombs Over Baghdad," a song by rap duo Outkast. This violence was coded in the media as exclusively effected by and affecting African-Americans. Although it seemed ludicrous to me at the time, I had no concept for how these repetitive soundbites impacted external and internal perceptions of Chicago until Cartright asked exactly where in the city I lived, and if I felt secure. I responded in the affirmative, but from that

point on, was more aware of news reports of gang violence, University emails about armed robberies, and the protests from some students and the local community about the lack of a trauma center in a reasonable radius of the school.

The United States leg of our tour began at the University of Chicago, where I was a graduate student studying ethnomusicology. I requested and was given music department funds by the chair at the time, Robert Kendrick. I also sought funds from other campus organizations to offset the performance costs. The Center for Latin American Studies responded, and thus we began a low-budget affair that was an experiment in more ways than one. Once Cartright's plane ticket was purchased by the University, doors immediately began to open up – many fellow camp volunteers had institutional homes in the United States that would be willing to host a performance of Haitian classical music. We had reckoned that a month would be enough time to perform everywhere we were requested, but that month filled up quickly. The performance program of the University of Chicago asked for a second performance at the end of our tour, during a afternoon series called the Tea Time concerts.

# (RE)MEMORY

A recital remembering the Haitian 2010 earthquake



## SUNDAY, JANUARY 12, 2014 at 7 PM

### FULTON RECITAL HALL

1010 E. 59th Street, Goodspeed Hall, 4th Floor

JAMIE CARTRIGHT, MEZZO-SOPRANO | LAUREN ELDRIDGE, PIANO

Works by 20th century Haitian composers: Brouard, Woolley, Jaegerhuber, and Lamothe

Celebrate a time not so long ago, in a land not so far away.

CLAS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

*Figure 6. Tour promotional poster*

The process of pulling together the budget and navigating the bureaucracy of the university was instructive, but perhaps the most memorable, stress-inducing component of our preparations was related to the how we would advertise this concert. It became clear during this process that this activity was representational, in a way that might be understood as intensely political. The stock images of Haiti accessible by a Google search would not be appropriate, because those were precisely the images about which many of my interlocutors complained. How could I return to Haiti the following summer, knowing that I had contributed to that one-dimensional portrayal? Moreover, how might Cartright have responded if I had explained that this was the context that she was entering in order to perform, and that the people who attended the recital came, in part, because of tugged heartstrings pulled by that portrayal? Instead, I resorted to providing images that I had taken myself of campers in Cap-Haïtien, pictures that were safely inoffensive. Adorable children, with brows furrowed in concentration, may not have precisely matched the ostensible theme of the recital, but they shifted the focus from poverty to activity. The concert at the University of Chicago was not a benefit concert, though many attendees presumed that it would be, because many representational productions involving Haiti are promoted with the intent of collecting money for various causes. Such is the power of representation and reputation. However, Cartright and I proceeded to have the aforementioned conversation about complicity in and countering the one-dimensional portrayal of Haiti throughout the tour.

We were invited to Bradley University by John Jost, a longtime volunteer with EMST. Dr. Jost is a choral professor at this university in Peoria, Illinois, a city south of Chicago. We packed up my small car, and blew through the wintry cornfields. Kelsey Klopfenstein, another

volunteer from Bradley University, had come up to Chicago for the initial performance, so she hitched a ride back downstate, chuckling at Cartright's wonder at the absolute flatness of the American Midwest landscape. We pulled up to the Dingeldine Music Center, hoping that the door we were outside of would be open because Cartright was unsure of how her voice would handle the crisp cold. After our simple set up and anxious run through, we were invited to Kelsey's house for a pre-concert dinner. Her parents, kind Midwesterners with straightforward food and manners, were brimming with questions about Haiti, this place that their daughter had gone off to for a year. Their questions were pointed, shaped by American media discourses. Like many people whom we encountered, the manner in which these questions were asked betrayed the surprise with which both of our middle-class identities and educational narratives were encountered.

Lawrence University is home to a musical conservatory far north of Chicago in Appleton, Wisconsin. Janet Anthony is a professor there, where she teaches cello performance. This date was the largest source of performance anxiety for me, as I carried a rather large, rather secret chip on my shoulder. I was intimidated by the reputation of conservatories in general. I had attended a small liberal-arts college for my undergraduate degree, and had double-majored in music and international studies. The program was lenient enough to allow for a semester abroad, where I studied at l'Ecole Normale de Musique de Paris Alfred Cortot (National School of Music of Paris). I did not understand a word that came out of my teacher's mouth until my final lesson, but nevertheless, enjoyed nearly every minute of the experience, even the solfege class taken with children less than half my age. When I continued to graduate school in music, even though it was a program that heavily emphasized theory instead of performance, I became acutely aware

of the divide between a conservatory training and everything else. Though the critical writings of Bruno Nettl and Henry Kingsbury, I developed ideas about the foreign worlds of conservatories, visions fueled by my interactions with Lawrence students who were volunteering in Haiti of intense pedagogues and future stars vying for supremacy.

We arrived in a much different space, in the midst of an expansive campus blanketed with snow. The students and faculty who showed up to the performance came in a spirit of curiosity and support for the initiatives of Anthony, known in the Lawrence community in part for her involvement with music education in Haiti. My fears of ridicule were ultimately unfounded, and the concert served as another opportunity to disseminate Haitian repertoire.

Whereas the conservatory at Lawrence University made me nervous, our stop at Bethel Gospel Tabernacle was a source of innumerable anxieties for Cartright. This church supports her parents' mission, and she felt heavy pressure to represent them well. Both of her parents are Haitians who emigrated during their youth, eventually meeting and marrying in New York. Her father heard and accepted the call to ministry, and her mother responded in tandem, eventually moving their young family back to Haiti. Though the official purpose of our concert was to raise funds for a scholarship that would send five Haitian youths to university, it also served to embody for the church one of its expenses. The immense psychological buildup was palpable as I moved through church spaces with her. During a church announcement to publicize that evening's recital, the First Lady of the church emphasized the soloist's position as a collective daughter, who is "one of us," along with her ominous task of "representing her entire country."

By the time we arrived in Fort Worth, Texas, most of our performance jitters were settled. Cara Pollard, a trumpeter and fellow volunteer whom we had met in Cange, had ties with Texas Women's University, where we would perform during an afternoon departmental seminar. We were made acutely aware of how experientially distant we were from Haiti after the recital. We met a woman who gushed effusively about the work we do in Haiti, yet in the next breath, sharply critiqued the "level" of the music. Another person earnestly tried to connect us with an orphanage. Both of these were shrugged off with a "bless your heart" smile from native Texan Pollard.

Texas, particularly the region that we were in, is ideologically a part of the "Bible-belt South." A profession of Christian faith is expected from most, and although we were yet negotiating our own feelings about the Vodou-inflected repertoire and reputation of the music we were performing, Jamie and I decided to downplay those aspects in our concert notes. The result did not feel dishonest, but rather, like our showing was lacking something. The reception of the audience, mostly college students in their late teens and earliest twenties and their professors, was politely disinterested, except for when I screened a trailer for Kenbe La. Audience members then seemed eager to latch on to the visual evidence of what we were speaking, singing, and playing about, even though the documentary constitutes a sharp departure from (stereo)typical footage of Haiti. There are no dusty, dirty children in this film, only impeccably groomed children learning music. The one image in the film that hews most closely to the prevailing aid aesthetic is a shot of a man strapping items to a tap-tap, the most common mode of transportation in Port-au-Prince, but especially everywhere else, called *pwovens yo*, or "the provinces." A crowd forms around the tap-tap, and the frame contains the bustle of the marketplace, a crowded street scene that is visually loud, if muted on the trailer's track. In fact, the soundtrack to the

trailer serves as a sonic counterpoint to this scene - a single melancholic male voice sings between the observations, made in Kreyòl with English subtitles, of Haitians involved in music schools.

After I took Jamie to O'Hare airport, and came back to my apartment to deflate the air mattress and set things back in order, I did a fair amount of processing. I had unintentionally brought my research field back home, and the past month had been a constant barrage of information about the ways in which white Americans, black Americans, and Haitian Americans receive a particular sort of music by a particular sort of people. Every encounter served as a data point, each conversation demonstrating how people really felt about Haiti, classical music, race, and (perceptions of) poverty.

I also had not anticipated the frisson that I would encounter post-performance. In the moment of the idea, in the process of planning, and in the month of performance, I functioned almost on auto-pilot. I did not ask myself what capacity I was doing this in, whether I was an ethnomusicologist dabbling in performance, or a performer with a lot of cultural and musicological knowledge. In the aftermath of the tour, when my life returned to its normal schedule of serving as a course assistant and pulling together my dissertation proposal, I had to face the repercussions of not being clear about this. Music for music's sake was the furthest justification from the minds of many people with whom I spoke, and though some questions may have been intended as innocuous, they kicked off internal dueling selves, or rather, a dueling perception of selves on my part. Was I a scholar, a performer, or neither? Did I do any of it well? Was it worth it? Assessing the value of a musical performance is not within the purview of this present work, but it does hearken back to issues raised in Chapter Two about the methods

available to justify musical action. In "The Gift of Music: Working at Playing in Haiti's Summer Music Camps," I discussed the ways in which summer music camp participants debate and defend their participation. In this chapter, the mirror is rotated to musicians living and working in the United States. Their presentations depend even more than campers on perceptions of Haiti.

The imaginations of my Haitian students are huge. They are awkward and painfully self-conscious, not only about themselves, but about their country. They know what international perception means, and they guess at what impact it might have. They are little cosmopolitans. The words of Heidi Feldman may assist in this conceptual leap. "In its classic definition, a 'cosmopolitan is a citizen of the world. Unlike diasporic culture, with its center(s) and peripheries, cosmopolitanism is better envisioned as a 'metaculture' that has no single place of origin but instead consists of links between various locales, often organized around power centers." Feldman goes on to insist that "world music artists are part of what some scholars perceive as a postcolonial personnel change in the category of cosmopolitans, originally envisioned as those able to choose their status as 'citizens of the world' (free-floating and privileged Western intellectuals) but now broadened to include the globally connected citizens of formerly colonized nations."[4]

This newer definition of a cosmopolitan is still connected with that of old, and with the performance of *mizik klasik* as a choral-friendly world music. The compositions of Sydney Guillaume have gained great popularity in this art world, and numerous performances that took place around the globe can now be found in the tiny universe of YouTube. Chapter One of this dissertations extensively references one of these performances, that of the world premiere of

[4] Heidi Carolyn Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan, 2007), 218.

"N'ap Debat." In this chapter, I proceed to describe the world music cultural clash that occurred around the instrumental sextet Imbroglio.

An ensemble composed of summer music camp volunteers that are also professional performers performed a three movement composition by Haitian composer Sydney Guillaume titled *Imbroglio* for much of the 2014-15 concert season. Modeled after the Quatour pour la fin du temps by Messaien, the sextet was an unusual grouping of trumpet, clarinet, and strings. They met in Cange while teaching at the camp, and would go on to tour Spain and the U.K. the following autumn, bringing the music back to Haiti for a winter volunteer trip. The lead trumpeter, Cara Pollard, assembled the Texas-Louisiana tour as a means for bringing the repertoire to the states. I attended the New Orleans stop, at the Trinity Episcopal Church Labyrinth.

The piece is written for featured trumpet. Cara Pollard is a two-time volunteer at l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité, and was recommended to the camp by Jeanne Pocius, another white female trumpet player. I mention these connections because the musical networks that exist inside and outside of Haiti are vital to the summer music camp system's continued sustainability, but the complexity of these networks are easily obscured by the simplicity of individual camps. Pollard currently works as adjunct faculty at Texas Women's University, one of sites where Cartright and I played during the winter of 2014.

The tour, arranged primarily through email contacts and phone calls, had gone smoothly heretofore, and the musicians had no reason to expect otherwise. I hiked the large stairs to the sanctuary just a few minutes after six o'clock, having wound my way through New Orleans in a rental car. From the base of the steps, the sextet sounded like a recording, aided by the acoustics

of the vaulted ceilings and the polish that comes from playing together repeatedly. They breezed through a light arrangement of a mid-twentieth century Haitian composition, probably by Werner Jaegerhuber, and then patiently waited for their introduction. What proceeded baffled both performers and guest audience members.

Apparently, they were to be featured as part of a recurring series at the Church that incorporated musical sounds with the chantings and teachings of a Buddhist monk. After the curator of this series spoke briefly, the monk stepped out in full regalia and sat at a low desk with a microphone and his instruments set up. His lecture went on for ten minutes, then fifteen. As the musicians shifted uncomfortably in their seats, he proceeded to speak for forty-five minutes on the nature of music and associated topics. Finally, at the end of the abbreviated concert hour, the musical director signaled the sextet to begin playing. Sydney Guillaume rushed to the podium, as if not to miss the opportunity to play the Quartet's namesake piece. The first movement was a bit rushed, but the second movement relaxed into the slower pacing necessary for the tempo marking *doloroso e poco rubato.* As the musicians took a breath between the second and third movements, one last nightmare occurred. There is a regularly scheduled harpist for this event who was present, and was cued to play a benediction in the midst of the composition. When she finished, Guillaume and the Sextet moved through the third movement as if exhaling from a most unusual experience.



*Figure 7. Also notable are the people "walking the labyrinth to the immediate left of the sextet, under the guidance of the monk.*

The day of the performance was also Pollard's birthday, and as the musicians packed up their equipment to head back to the hotel, she suggested/demanded that they go busk that night in Jackson Square. Pollard works frequently as a jazz musician, and Jackson Square holds a special significance in the register of historically musical locations in that historically musical city. I dropped off my rental car, and followed the sextet, now with a small entourage of friends, for a stroll down Bourbon Street. The Spaniards in the Quartet had never been to New Orleans, and for foreigners, Bourbon Street is possibly as fabled for imbibing alcohol as their native Pamplona is for the running of the bulls. They hardly attracted attention, though nearly everyone held some piece of musical equipment, and they picked up fishbowl drinks along the way to celebrate the birthday in their midst. When our motley crew arrived at the gate to Jackson Square, in front of

the church, one lone elderly black man was singing “When the Saints Go Marching In” at the top of his lungs. Pollard approached him and arranged for the Sextet to take his spot for an hour, and the musicians quickly set up, arranging themselves in a broad semicircle underneath the street lights.



*Figure 8. The Imbroglio Sextet, Jackson Square in New Orleans, Louisiana*

They began to play, and a crowd immediately aggregated, attracted to a different sort of attraction on the streets of New Orleans. Many stayed for several songs, and the crowd was extremely racially and socio-economically diverse. The Sextet took sips of their fishbowls between movements, and the audience, though nodding to conventional concert behavior by sitting and standing at least ten feet from the performers, chatted softly about this novelty.

During this evening of performances, the Imbroglio Sextet were objectified on at least two separate occasions. First, they were treated as curiosities at Trinity, a sideshow compared to

the main event, which was a religious service. The irony is that the classical music quartet, not the Buddhist monk, was the oddity. Subsequently, they caused a stir in Jackson Square, busking between singers and saxophonists. They were not typical street fare, and as a result, attracted enough attention and adoration to buy the group two rounds of beverages after the impromptu performance.

Imbroglio is a three-movement sextet named after a concept with resonances in multiple languages. In verbal performance program notes, Guillaume defines it as "a complicated situation" and often joking about the camp system being just that. Jokes aside, I have included the lead trumpet motive from the first of the movements here. Several elements in concert connote what I consider to be cultural markers.
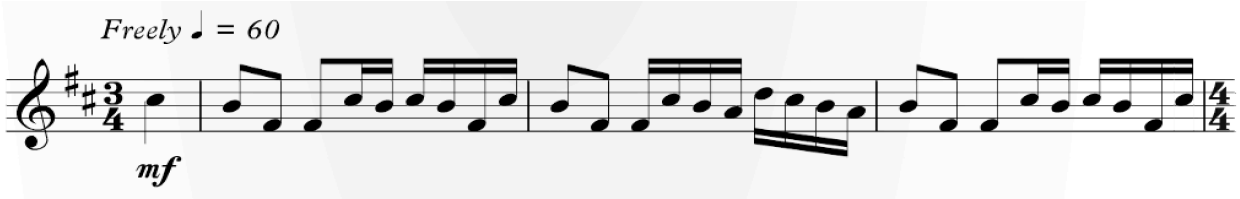



*Figure 9. Lead trumpet motif for Imbroglio. Score by Sydney Guillaume.*

The first movement begins with solo trumpet in a referent capable of both alluding to Mexican mariachi music through rhythm and melodic placement and the Spanish influence that contributed brass instruments. Within the context of the New Orleans performance, however, amidst so many world music sonic symbols, I heard it as a beautiful, misunderstood novelty - its very performance was interrupted and impacted by this misunderstanding.

Anacaona: The Flower Songs has a libretto written by Edwidge Danticat and performed, at the premiere, by Emeline Michel. The cycle is narrated from a ceremony celebrating Anacaona's marriage and ascension to the throne, to the time when the colonizers come, and violence becomes the legacy of the land. Anacaona is thus deified as a foremother of the Haitian

people, though she fought her battle and lost. This interpretation, supported both by program notes and an editorial response in the newspaper the next weekday, was confirmed by Roumain in personal communication.

*Anacaona: The Flower Songs* is not the first Haitian musical work to imply that the Arawaks are the ancestors of the Haitian people. This articulation was quite common during the early 20th century, and one of its principal musical proponents was Justin Elie. Michael Largey notes that "rather than take his musical materials from the vodou ceremony, Elie based several of his works on his impressions of Native American music in the Caribbean. In *Kiskaya*, Elie named his work for the Arawak word for the island of Hispañola: Quisqueya…Rather than trace their musical lineage to the drum beats of the vodou ceremony, many elites did and still do insist that the "real" basis for an authentic Haitian music can only be found in the music of the original inhabitants of Quisqueya: the Arawaks."[5] Conveniently enough, the original inhabitants of Quisqueya provide a blank slate for composers. Because of the total decimation of those populations, there is no remaining evidence to contest these visions and claims on a musical identity. Part of the affective work that DBR's Anacaona performs is the binding together of First Peoples and black Haitian heritage. In this work, these stories become one.

[5] Michael Largey, "Composing A Haitian Cultural Identity: Haitian Elites, African Ancestry, and Musical Discourse," *Black Music Research Journal* 14 (1994): 112.



*Figure 10. Daniel Bernard Roumain at Emory University's Schwartz Center with Emeline Michel and Edwidge Danticat.*

I've just discussed two performances of works by composers of Haitian descent - Anacaona: The Golden Flower Songs by Daniel Bernard Roumain and Imbroglio by Sydney Guillaume. Whereas the issues of diaspora may seem most immediately pressing in a discussion of these contemporary works, it is not the most salient aspect. Rather, a deeper inspection of these works and the backgrounds of the composers point to issues of language and heritage as the more nuanced cousins of diaspora and gender. I will review all four concepts here, after which I'll conclude by returning to the site of performance.

Daniel Bernard Roumain and Sydney Guillaume are not dissimilar on paper. Both present themselves as Haitian-American, both are men, trained in the halls of U.S. higher education (Guillaume at the Frost School of Music at University of Miami and Roumain at the Blair School

of Music at Vanderbilt and University of Michigan). Both are at high water marks in their compositional careers. These are the factors that have led me to put these figures and their works in conversation. In addition, the works presented here, Anacaona and Imbroglio, each constitute a significant departure from their respective composer's body of work. Anacaona is a song cycle for solo voice supported by chamber orchestra, whereas Roumain's only prior vocal pieces are choral arrangements and the majority of his works are instrumental. Imbroglio is especially unusual for Guillaume, who has built his career on choral works, because of its unique composition - solo trumpet, clarinet, and string quartet.

Diaspora does figure into the development and reception of the works. Both Roumain and Guillaume have large, fiscally supportive followings stemming from their educational backgrounds. In addition, neither composer began his career with explicitly Haitian music - rather, each began to insert their sense of cultural identity after garnering some degree of professional acclaim. Roumain has publicly wrestled with the finer points of this cultural identity, and this is one of his first works to deal explicitly with a Haitian topic.

"Imbroglio" and "Anacaona" do have something in common: they both sonically allude to Haiti within imagined contexts. In Imbroglio, a complicated situation hails from Spanish origin, and the motivic stereotypes of flamenco are mapped onto Haiti. In Anacaona, Haiti is actually a temporally-removed Quisqueya. These compositional, ideological devices are not novel, nor are they accidental. Remember, "Since [Elie] had no exposure to the music of Arawak people, all of whom had been exterminated by the Spanish in the early sixteenth century, Elie asserted that the music of the Quechua-speaking people of South America would provide a

suitable substitute for the "lost" music of ancient Quisqueya."[6] The aforementioned compositional devices are methods for manipulating audiences with varying levels of exposure to Haiti into an imaginative state - in hearing a bold trumpet motif or watching the familiar tale of a noble Native American demise, audiences might be moved to listen more intently to the material being presented, material that is, essentially, Haitian. This sort of temporal play echoes that alluded to by Philip Bohlman when he writes that "Music helps make the nation by altering our perception of time. More skillfully and subtly than other forms of artistic expression, music finds its way into the temporal boundaries where the myth and history of the nation overlap to create complex myths about what we want a nation to be and what it is…Music allows for the juxtaposition of myth and history, insisting that they cohabit in the ways in which nations represent themselves to their own citizens and others."[7]

That's not to say, however, that these methods are universally effective. Just as Guillaume and Roumain are in the diaspora, many of their auditors are too. Atlanta-area diaspora Haitians flocked to the Anacaona premiere, identifying themselves during the Q&A session as doctors and nurses in Emory's healthcare system, or students at the university. One by one, they stood up, until Roumain, realizing that he was no longer alone, and perhaps, never was, concluded with the coded language of "honoring" and "respecting" everyone (onè, respek), and delivered one last solo - a heavily ornamented rendition of the Haitian national anthem.

What the (Re)Memory tour, Imbroglio, and Anacaona hold in common is a methodology of connecting an individual self to a general sense of Haitianness. In some ways, the self is

[6] Largey, "Composing A Haitian Cultural Identity," 112.
[7] Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of a New Europe,* 14-15.

expanded to represent the whole of Haiti. This method is not new, and certainly not specific to the contemporary Haitian case. J. Martin Favor drafts a particularly useful image in his analysis of W.E.B. DuBois and performances of racial authenticity: "Indeed, DuBois feels the necessity to write himself into the folk through Souls in an effort to prove himself as a legitimate critic and theorizer of black culture and identity."[8] That is, it is potentially insightful to imagine the aforementioned acts of musical expression as performative strivings. Composers are particularly easy to see in this light. Justin Elie, Ludovic Lamothe, Werner Jaegerhuber, Daniel Bernard Roumain, and Sydney Guillaume are authors of Haitian experience. Through their compositions, they write themselves into populations, ranging from folk, rural, Haitian, Taino, to the generally exotic.

Although all of these composers are men who could be understood as belonging to the diaspora, Claude Dauphin raises a fascinating gender theory by claiming that women sing the national folk songs. "Celles de Lumane Casimir, d'Émerante de Pradines, de Martha Jean-Claude et de Toto Bissainthe galvanisèrant le patriotisme et la fierté nationale. Ces chanteuses demeurent des modèles pour les vedettes féminines de la chanson haïtienne à grand spectacle, qui ont imposé leur style particulier au tournant des XX$^{e}$ et XXI$^{e}$ siècles, comme la vaporeuse Yole Desrose, la versatile Ti Corn, la désinvolte Émeline Michel. La chanson féminine à texte n'a pas manqué d'influencer des musiciens masculins aussi, du romantique Ansy Desroses au jeune et inventif Bélo en passant par Beethova Obas."[9] I translate this passage as follows: "Those such as Lumane Casimir, Émerante de Pradines, Martha Jean-Claude and Toto Bissainthe galvanized patriotism and national pride. These singers remain models for the female stars of

[8] J. Martin Favor, *Authentic Blackness: The Folk in the New Negro Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 12.

[9] Claude Dauphin, *Histoire du Style Musical d'Haïti,* (Montreal: Mémoire d'encrier, 2014), 169.

Haitian song, who have imposed their particular style at the turn of the 21st century, like the ethereal Yole Derose, the versatile Ti Corn, the casual Émeline Michel. The feminine song text has not failed to influence male musicians too, from the romantic Ansy Desroses to the young and inventive Bélo and even Beethova Obas." The cultural work of Jamie Cartright, reviewed above, and Karine Margron, discussed further in the following chapter, also fit neatly into this paradigm. Ultimately, however, whether male or female, diasporic Haitian classical musicians must decide how to negotiate their nationality in relation to their sense of self.

## 5. (Re)membering Haiti Through Mizik Klasik

> The collective subjects who supposedly remember did not exist as such at the time of the events they claim to remember. Rather, their constitution as subjects goes hand in hand with the continuous creation of the past. As such, they do not succeed such a past: they are its contemporaries.
>
> -Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*[1]

The boundaries around what is Haitian and who is Haitian are under constant debate. Although we might understand notions of authenticity to be constructed, they still power the interactions and fire the imaginations of musicians throughout Haiti. In this chapter, I will explain the oft-tense nature of the relationship culturally Christian musicians hold with the music of Vodou, highlighting the ways in which Haitians negotiate these fluid boundaries through a range of musical activities known collectively as *mizik klasik*. In doing so, they reconceptualize, reconstitute and (re)member Haiti.

In "(Re)membering Haiti through Mizik Klasik," I argue that by articulating sonic citizenship, musicians and their audiences constantly redefine what it means to be Haitian, and what that entails. Repertory choice is one particularly telling dimension in this arena of performance. During the act of selecting music to perform, individuals, conductors, and ensembles are quite literally performing ideas about self and nation. This chapter can be read as a continuation of the previous chapter, wherein individuals outside of physical Haiti worked to promote their own ideas about Haiti. Those individuals, known collectively as the *dyaspora,* have a wide variety of relationships to the nation. One of my examples was born in New York of Haitian parents, but has lived most of her life in Haiti. Another was born in Haiti, but moved to

[1] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 16.

the Miami while still in childhood. These contrasting life trajectories are representative of the diverse permutations of experience grouped together under the single moniker dyaspora. Although the dyaspora at large does constitute a political and economic elite, power and influence do not come solely from this multilingual, transnational population. Haitians in Haiti are hard at work and leisure reshaping the reputation of their nation, and of themselves. They are brokering individual agreements about the ways in which they participate in abstract ideological projects informed by identity politics and the more tangible music schools and extracurricular activities that help outline their communities. This dissertation broadly, and this chapter specifically, focuses on musical participation, particularly in the genre of practice that I outlined in the second chapter as mizik klasik, or classical music in Haiti.

**Vodou and Mizik Klasik**

Vodou is arguably the central controversy of Haiti - it serves as a poto mitan, or center post of nationalist ideology and iconography, both inside and outside of the nation. A uniquely Haitian religion culled from the legacy of African animist religions and the necessity of New World syncretism, Vodou has similarities with Afro-Cuban Santería, Afro-Brazilian Candomble, and Jamaican Shango. However, unity has not made strength[2] in this case, and Haitian Vodou has suffered from being isolated and ostracized, taken as synecdoche for the nation itself. Many college instructors with a research background in Haiti reference the 1930s spate of American "voodoo" movies, the horror genre's first iteration, as the beginning of this fanciful rendering of the religion, replete with flesh-eating zombies, literal walking (un)dead.[3] The construction of an

[2] A play on the Haitian national motto "l'union fait la force."

[3] I have encountered several professors who deliver some type of lecture around this subject material. A reference in article form is Adam McGee, "Haitian Vodou and voodoo: Imagined religion and popular culture" in *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 41:2 (2012), 231-56.

aberrant mythology around Vodou in the American imaginary actually begins much earlier than film itself.

A crystal clear example of the ways in which Haiti has been imagined as backwards by hegemonic interests is the Bizoton affair of 1864.[4] It is no coincidence that Haiti was recognized by the Vatican in the same year that the American Civil War was drawing to a close - the former event would mark the conclusion of Haiti's diplomatic isolation from slave-owning powers and the latter event would mark the conclusion of legal slavery in the most powerful nation in close geographic proximity to Haiti. In exchange for this diplomatic recognition, Haitian President Fabre Geffrard publicly rejected Vodou. Most of the predominantly rural nation practiced Vodou, so it became necessary to give an impression of the "nation" as backwards peasants being reformed and modernized by the urban elite. In the *affaire de Bizoton*, several people were brought to trial and executed under the accusation of cannibalism attributed to Vodou beliefs. The sensationalist nature of this story only fueled the fire of the international press that descended upon Port-au-Prince, not to mention the armchair anthropologists and travel writers who could only imagine this strange land and its customs (black leadership, cannibalism, etc.)

The real Vodou,[5] although shrouded in mystery due to the necessarily private nature of its persecution-fearing practitioners, is, by most accounts, far less dramatic. It has been explained to me as a multi-tiered hierarchy with God, or *Bondye*, at the top, the lwa in the center, and humans

[4] Mike Dash, "The Trial that Gave Vodou a Bad Name," *Smithsonian.com*, May 29, 2013, accessed February 11, 2016, http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-trial-that-gave-vodou-a-bad-name-83801276/?no-ist. Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

[5] "The Real Vodou" is an advertising slogan of a concert series by the Crossing Borders Music Collective, focusing on *mizik klasik*. "Beyond the Headlines: Haiti in Music," *CBMC*, accessed February 11, 2016, http://www.crossingbordersmusiccollective.org.

under the influence of the aforementioned. *Vodouizans*, or those who "serve the spirits,"[6] believe that God is far too busy to address their quotidian concerns. Therefore, he has appointed the *lwa*, a class of spirits, to manage human relations. Lwa have both human and divine inclinations, and an internal ranking. *Seremonis* begin with recitations of the mass parts,[7] followed by a strict order of invocations toward the spirits.[8] A foundational primer on the practice of Haitian Vodou is *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn*, by anthropologist Karen McCarthy Brown, but there are increasing numbers of reliable sources that speak to the nonsensational nature of religious experience in Haiti.

The work of Michael Largey has been invaluable to this study of Haitian classical music. *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* has served as a cultural handbook, explaining and theorizing the historical foundation for the music camps. This text covers Haitian art music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, focusing on the period around the U.S. occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. Largey writes that "composers used Haitian folk sources as the basis of an art music tradition that both claimed a unique, Haitian cultural identity, and established an artistic tradition of resistance by elite Haitians toward U.S. Imperialism."[9] This ideology of resistance continues in the present through cultural productions such as the

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[6] Many practitioners do not refer to themselves as vodouizans, preferring to indicate that they "serve the spirits" (servi lwa yo). This may be, in part, due to a firm belief that most Haitians, practitioners or not, believe in the existence of the spirits. To believe and to serve are two different matters, however, and the persecution of practitioners over time has shaped the ways in which they refer to themselves. For example, even Marie Maude Evans, known colloquially as Manbo Maude, describes her devotion in terms of action, not actuality.

[7] The singing of Catholic mass parts has been theorized as having a syncretic masking function. See Karen McCarthy Brown, *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

[8] Some interesting parallels exist between this and the similarly strict order observed in many black American churches ("first giving honor to God, who is the head of my life," followed by spouse, bishop, pastor, mother, etc.)

[9] Michael Largey, *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 4.

summer camps, sites that defy stereotypical ideas of what Haitians do and who they are. Although I differ with Largey in a few uses of terminology (mizik klasik as opposed to mizik savant ayisyen, for example), the tenor of his thesis echoes through my own.

Largey titled his monograph *Vodou Nation* in allusion to both Haitian nationalistic composers' use of folk idioms derived from Vodou practice and the practice of Haitian elites constructing commonality with the broader Haitian population through appropriating folk culture. It is meant to gesture toward the inherent contradictions between religious belief and political ideology. In *Playing Haitian*, and particularly in this chapter, I wish to explore the tension between personal conviction and citizenship claims, demands that are placed on the nation that demonstrate what it means to be Haitian.

The Haitian Kreyòl term "mizik klasik" denotes a genre that incorporates both traditional melodies and Western European-style classical music into a Haitian art music repertory. It stretches from classrooms to performance spaces, and elicits a variety of reactions from students, teachers, and parents. The contemporary practice of Vodou is an aspect of Haitian culture that many Haitian Protestants, in particular, find discomforting. Yet as many scholars have noted, composers of mizik klasik often insert references to Vodou into their work, among them Werner Jaegerhuber, Ludovic Lamothe, and Justin Elie.[10] Though this practice may not have been obvious at the time, merely seeming modish, it is now understood by many scholars and participants to be the dominant style of Haitian composition.[11] For example, shortly after his death, remaining family members of pianist and composer Ludovic Lamothe (1882-1953)

[10] In addition to Largey, scholars following Haitian art music include Claude Dauphin and Robert Grenier.

[11] Michael Largey, *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

published a collection of his compositions for piano. Many of the pieces are brief, appropriate for a Sunday afternoon salon. Their low level of difficulty reflects both Lamothe's career as a teacher and social figure in Port-au-Prince. Many of these pieces contain reference to elements of Vodou ceremonies, such as rhythms associated with the spirits, or *lwa*, being named after *lwa* ("Loko," "Sobo"), or principles of practice ("Évocation," meaning "to evoke," can also be understood as channeling a spirit, allowing a spiritual manifestation to take place through one's body, or as Zora Neale Hurston and Katherine Dunham reported,[12] serving as a spirit's horse). They were written at a time, however, when such references were scandalous for a member of the elite upper class, as Lamothe and his patrons were, and fatal for the lower classes. Anti-superstition campaigns had been championed by the Catholic church and spearheaded by the Haitian government since the Haitian nation was recognized by the Vatican in 1860 through a concordat, and the prosecution of Vodouizans reached a fever pitch during the first half of the twentieth century.[13] Like many other national leaders at the time, leaders in Haitian government were pushing the population toward an ideal of modernity, and Vodou, with its rural adherents, mysterious logics, and oral traditions, was cast as anti-modern and therefore, undesirable. The official stance of the Haitian government was not taken uncritically. Michel Laguerre wrote that "efforts at eradicating 'superstitious' beliefs by the French clergy in their proselytizing practices produced clashes between the Africanophile intelligentsia and the hierarchy of the Catholic church."[14] Intellectual voices found much to critique in anti-superstition government policy: the targeting of the poor, the protections afforded to the rich and privileged, and the cultural

[12] Zora Neale Hurston, *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica* (New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2008) and Katharine Dunham, *Island Possessed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

[13] Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

scapegoating descriptive of the entire, often cyclical process. *Moun andeyo*, "the people outside," meaning poor and rural citizens were the focus of these campaigns, often conducted public space seremonis in slums and throughout the countryside. However, the elite, or the people inside, were rarely implicated in such campaigns, practicing in private, secure spaces that were not easily accessible to law enforcement. In addition, passes were given for "folkloric shows," cultural demonstrations intended to explain Haiti's heritage to foreigners, even while the contemporary practice of that heritage was being condemned.[15] Prominent voices had a field day with these contradictions, and musicians joined in the fray. Lamothe and his contemporaries, composers such as Justin Elie and Werner Jaegerhuber, may have been intentionally provocative in selecting thematic material that drew on Vodou, knowing that they were championed by the elite establishment as the best and brightest of the nation.

However, even presently, references such as these can strain the relationship of many Haitian students and parents to the genre of *mizik klasik*, and to formal music education. As a dynamic and highly diverse set of spiritual practices, *Vodou* is an enduring portion of the nation's history and present. It has inspired rhythmic and melodic motifs in use throughout several other musical genres. However, its place within this "respectable" genre is yet a point of contention. The consistent discrediting of religious practices with African origins has done lasting harm to the reputation of both *Vodou* and its practitioners, those who "serve the spirits."

[14] Michel Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian Americans in Transnational America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 25.

[15] For more information on the history of the folkloric show, both before and after the Duvalier tenure, see Lois Wilcken, "The Sacred Music and Dance of Haitian Vodou from Temple to Stage and the Ethics of Representation," *Latin American Perspectives* 32 (2005).

For some adherents of the Protestantism or even those with membership in the figurative Church of Respectability,[16] *Vodou* is the "evil" counter to their "good" faith.

A similar rhetorical strategy of note occurs not only in Haiti, but on the African continent, in regards to the "phenomenon" of Pentecostalism. Chimamanda Adichie refers to Pentecostalism as a sort of sweeping, cross-class phenomenon in a 2009 interview by Ramona Koval at the Sydney Writers Festival. Following a reading of an excerpt from the short story "The Shivering," Koval pushes her toward an explanation of the interaction between the two characters, a Nigerian Catholic and a Nigerian Pentecostal, both in America. Adichie responds by parsing some of the differences between an Australian and American Pentecostalism, in nations that are predominantly white, and an African Pentecostalism: "I think in the Nigerian version of it there's a greater sense of the evil spirits being traditional religion. Pentecostalism has in some ways constructed itself as something that is anti the old ways, and the old ways are uniformly demonised."[17]

Here, not only are the "old ways" old and unpopular - it is insinuated that they are evil! Neither is it happenstance that Adichie's example in Nigeria maps so accurately the phenomenon of both popular religion and the cultural politics governing taste occurring in Haiti. Both nations are wrestling with externally imposed and internally generated concepts of modernity. This modernity, intended to prove worth and worthiness in a global society, necessitates critical decisions about representation. And although Adichie uses the word "demonised" in the conversation to convey a symbolic perspective, it actually has great resonance in the manner in which Vodou is represented by some of the most strident anti-Vodouizan voices - as a collective

[16] See Chapter Two's explanation of the politics of respectability in relation to the activities of Les Petits Chanteurs of Sainte-Trinité.

of devil worship. In their renderings, the *lwa* are actually a collection of demons, instead of the more innocuous spirits that Vodouizan serve. This perspective may reflect a general discomfort of humans with holding diverse belief systems and structures in equal regard. This may also be complicated by global attitudes toward race and skin color, shaped by historical patterns of conquest and domination.

To illustrate, I recall the words of a mambo who used humor around this very scenario in self-defense, in order to deflect negative assertions about her spiritual practice. During a summer language intensive program when I was staying with her, Maude Marie Evans gave a workshop at the Haitian Creole Summer Institute at University of Massachusetts Boston. Ms. Evans is a mambo, a leader in the practice of Haitian Vodou. In her own words, she "serves the spirits." A disarmingly soft-spoken presence, she opened the workshop with a brief explanation of her life trajectory that left everyone in the room straining to catch her every word. Born in Haiti, she received a calling at an early age, but was not pressed into service until her adulthood in the United States. A diverse audience was in attendance at the workshop: medical aid workers preparing for service tours, U.S. teachers of young, recently immigrated Haitian students, the academics, and the *dyaspora* seeking to improve their linguistic skills and associated connection to Haiti. The latter group was the most vocal, vociferously and often performatively opposing Evans' narrative. In response to their verbal distancing, she explicitly stated that "My mission is not to do evil. I have to stick with what I believe. And it's simple. I can take a simple example. I have clients who come, to the house, and I do work for them. And the work is successful. So they don't want… [gesture indicating 'anyone else to know'] A friend of them will ask, 'I'm looking for a priest or a priestess, I don't know where to look at one. Would you be able to help

[17] "In Conversation with Chimamanda Ngozi Adiche," *The Book Show*, accessed January 25, 2016, www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/bookshow/in-conversation-with-chimamanda-

me?' And then, the person will say 'Oh no, I don't know…these people, please don't, don't use them, they are bad.' [laughter] And they will come to me and say 'I'm sorry, but I couldn't do, I couldn't give your number to somebody who was asking, I don't want them to know where I do my thing. And then if they come to a ceremony, and then they will see… [gesture indicating 'each other,' accompanied by speaker and audience laughter] Oh my God, yeah! You know, 'somebody invited me, I just wanted to see.' Mmhmm. [laughter] But I'm used to it, and it's okay. It's our secret."[18]

Many Haitians are in on the secret, whether in Haiti or as part of its dyaspora, whether Vodouizan, Christian, or agnostic. The dissonance comes with the assumption of the religion (Vodou) being equivalent with the nationality (Haitian). It is at that point that the secret becomes problematic, and the implicated parties seek to define themselves in relation to the practice. An art music repertory that draws from elements of ceremonial *Vodou* necessitates difficult choices and cautious negotiations by musicians and audiences who are caught between an array of contemporary beliefs and a heritage of *mizik klasik*. Repertory choices influence who participates within ensembles, and more generally, who receives formal music education. By programming *Vodou*-referencing music, ensemble leaders open sites of cultural debate. Students, teachers, and parents can choose to engage or reject *mizik klasik*. These choices do more than reflect particular cultural or religious sensibilities. They also (re)member and remake Haiti.

**The Contradanse**

During a 2014 camp stay in Jacmel, I made the acquaintance of a distinguished visitor to Dessaix-Baptiste who invited me to a private performance of folkloric dance. Karine Margron

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ngozi-adichie/3147314.

grew up in Haiti, and participated in foklò as a young adult. She also studied voice under James Smith at l'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité in Port-au-Prince. Her interest in Haitian folklore would soon take her across the country in search of rhythms, stories, and melodies. This research put her in a difficult position as the daughter of a Baptist minister. Many years later, even after having published a series of folksong readers titled *Chansons d'Haïti*, she still remembers the church gossip that swirled about her activities and the accusations that she was providing lip service to Christianity while actually serving the spirits of Vodou. These memories led her to be cautious regarding the invitation of another interlocutor, putting me in a rather awkward position.

She approached me in the first break between classes one hectic morning. In a conspiratorial whisper, she asked if Smitty had spoken to me yet. When I replied in the negative, she leaned in further to carefully describe the event to which I was being invited. It was a contradanse, with violins, in "the old style." No Vodou, but still, and most importantly, I needed to keep this a secret. My mind was immediately thrown into "ethnographer social crisis mode," as I knew one person in particular who would benefit greatly from the presentation, perhaps even more than me. Jamie Cartright, whom I wrote about in the previous chapter, is the daughter of Pentecostal missionaries who have returned to their native Haiti, sponsored by a church in Queens, New York. I had met her the previous year while volunteering in Cange, Mirebalais, and we developed a quick rapport over the Haitian classical music repertoire. She is quick to defend her identities as Christian and Haitian, and does not view these as conflicting, although the day of the event would demonstrate that tensions could and would arise as a result of doctrinal differences.

[18] Marie Maude Evans, "Haitian Vodou." Workshop, University of Massachusetts Summer Creole Institute, Boston, June 20, 2014.

Margron felt that Cartright might be scandalized by the performance of Haitian contradanse. Contradanse is a genre with roots in the colonial period – enslaved people imitated and sometimes mocked the formal dances of their masters.[19] Fortunately, the initial portion of the crisis involving me was averted: Smitty wanted his teenage son to be present, which led to a few more invitations that soon overwhelmed Margron and her sister's intentions for that evening. Even more difficult at times than the demanding schedule of the summer music camps are the close quarters which everyone occupies. It often proves quite challenging to slip away unannounced. At the appointed hour, we crammed into a sports utility vehicle to careen down the highway, out of the city of Jacmel into the countryside and to the large estate where the dance was scheduled to be held.

This performance featured about ten dancers and several instrumentalists, including a flutist. A caller announced the steps and provided general instructions for the evening, often inviting the guests of honor to perform salutes. The host readily obliged the call for salutes, but most of the guests abstained, either from confusion about the proceedings or reticence to participate.

[19] Michael Largey, "Haiti: Tracing the Steps of the Méringue and Contredanse" in *Creolizing Contradance in the Caribbean*, ed. Peter Manuel (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2009).



*Figure 11. A note about the layers of mediation: the caller is actually directing his speech to the camera instead of the audience or dancers.*



*Figure 12. The outer rim of the performance space*

Another class of uninvited guests also rimmed the ring of chairs in which the guests of honor sat. These people were poorer, darker, and generally younger than our hosts for the evening. Some danced outside of the circle, seemingly familiar with the steps that the caller gave. Little girls sat on the hill ridges that formed a natural auditorium, gazing at the *blan* ("white" foreigners) watching those in white. Their expressions were difficult to read. Were they appreciative of the evening's entertainment? Were they scornful of the privileging of the foreign guests? Their presence, inside the estate but outside of the circle, piqued my interest as I noted the concentric circles of engagement from my vantage point on the porch of the house on the hill.

Upon initial glance, there was not much scandalous about the evening. It had all the appearances of a perfectly respectable, privately hosted folkloric show. A spread of Haitian food covered a table indoors – pressed plantains, spicy relish, along with several liquors and a cooler

of Prestige.[20] I was welcomed and encouraged, prodded even to take video footage and pictures. Invited to investigate, I hovered around the periphery with my camera, striving to stay in the shadows cast by the tiki torches all about. The program had a ranging feel to it: many tunes were called on the spot, and some were stopped and restarted as the videographers present attempted to shed adequate light for the recording of the performance. The result was alternately self-conscious and naturalized, as everyone involved alternately staged the show, pulling tight the strings of precision, and drank their beers, rums, and Cokes, releasing those knots that might betray that caution.

The women were the center of the folkloric presentation. They wore special attire, all white, whereas the men wore regular street clothing. As I crept around the perimeter of the dance floor, I overheard female voices quietly coaching their partners on dance steps, often demonstrating through gesture the correct counter movement. This sort of evidence draws into question leadership roles in the physical dance as well as Caribbean dance culture. A chair in the middle with a lit candle underneath served as the center of the dance floor. As the invited guests gathered around a patio to eat and drink post-performance, those least familiar with the cultural references – a Cuban violin teacher, and two American violin teachers – asked a few questions. From those questions, a floodgate of reactions, explanations, and tussels in representation opened, and a performance of another sort began.

[20] Beer branding is a means of self-identification in Haiti. Prestige is a Haitian brand that has won two gold medals at the World Beer Cup. As such, it is a marker of pride in Haitian identity, with billboard advertisements in Kreyòl throughout the country. Its market opponent is the Dominican brand Presidente.



*Figure 13. Note the blend of costuming on women and street attire on men.*

The women in white wore red underwear. It was the sort of nuance that is very obvious, but not necessarily remarkable, except in its uniformity. The dancing style featured flipped skirts, and ample breast and bottom movements, such to emphasize the presence of these undergarments. One explanation was that the women were likely initiates of Ogou, the *lwa* of war. In the Vodou pantheon, Ogou is a warrior and a blacksmith, controlling the element of fire. The discussion of his place in the hierarchy of spirits, or *lwa*, spurred Cartright to share an account of a negative experience at Lakou Soukri, a prominent initiation site for Vodouizans. This story then prompted Margron to once again deny any connection between the evening's contradanse to Vodou. But by this time, the Cuban violin teacher in attendance was making

connections between Vodou practice and Santería and the homeowner, a Haitian artist,[21] was intrigued by the mélange of Haitians present simultaneously professing significant knowledge of Vodou yet distancing themselves from practitioners.

At least two actors engaged that night in a delicate dance that wasn't physical at all. Cartright and Margron were on the same side of an unstable ideological minefield that pits Vodou against Protestant Christianity.[22] In this field, many Protestants feel obligated to work towards the conversion of Vodouizans to a "purer," less syncretic faith. Some others understand the conflict of interest in terms closer to zero-sum – they actively pit themselves against practitioners of Vodou and understand the practice as a form of evil that keeps Haiti from overcoming a difficult history.[23] Others, such as my interlocutors, view the differences between Christianity and Vodou in far less extreme terms, but these voices of moderation tend to be drowned out by more forward proselytizers. In my experience, members of the clergy and their families maintain rigidly conservative positions in order to hold their followers to a more moderate standard. Both Cartright and Margron are the progeny of clergy made cautious by the desire to not shame their families, yet intellectually curious about the folkloric side of the practice with which Haiti has become synonymous. It is not insignificant that they are both daughters – several scholars have located the responsibility for respectability on the shoulders of women.[24]

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[21] Another line of inquiry outside the scope of this present project might be the ways in which visual artists are less constrained by a religious politics of respectability than classical musicians.

[22] Melvin Butler, "The Weapons of Our Warfare: Music, Positionality, and Transcendence among Haitian Pentecostals," *Caribbean Studies* 36 (2008).

[23] David Brooks, "The Underlying Tragedy," *New York Times,* January 14, 2010, accessed February 28, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/15/opinion/15brooks.html?_r=0.

[24] Peter J. Wilson, *Crab Antics: A Caribbean Study of the Conflict Between Reputation and Respectability* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1995 reissue). Also, another Caribbean-based perspective is offered in M. Jacqui Alexander, "Not Just (Any) Body Can Be a Citizen: The

The dance that I attended was unique in purpose – to provide Margron with video footage of contradanses, one of the few forms of Haitian folkloric dance with no explicit ties to Vodou. Contradanse emerged during the colonial period as a cultural response to ostentatious slaveholding families. The dances are light, loose reinterpretations of waltzes and other structured dance forms. However, the dance was similar to other folkloric performances in that it straddled an indistinct line between secular demonstration and religious practice, a line that discomfited both Cartright and Margron.[25]

Jacmel, where the aforementioned events took place, is a city on Haiti's southern coast. Known as a former tourist attraction, it is now regarded by people from the more prominent cities as a sleepy, "easy" place to live. Residents of other cities such as the bustling capital Port-au-Prince and the hustling northern center of Cap-Haïtien joke that the long-resident UN MINUSTAH troops (Mission des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en Haïti/United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti) jockey for assignments in Jacmel and that they vacation there when the imagined rigors of life elsewhere mount. It is uneasy humor, the sort delivered with an edge, sometimes bitter, sometimes wistful, nostalgic for the small pockets of Haitian history devoid of international interference. The point[26] is derisively sent in a singsong sonic comparison of the acronym MINUSTAH with the similar TOURISTA. UN hardship pay (when workers get bonuses because Haiti is perceived to be a dangerous place to work) is a sore spot all over the country, but nowhere is this more true than in Jacmel, where ornate homes line the road in

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Politics of Law, Sexuality and Postcoloniality in Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas," *Feminist Review* 48 (1994).

[25] For a more comprehensive review of this tension, see Katherine Hagedorn, *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

[26] A point, or *pwen*, is a technique for criticizing either a social flaw or individual. It is delivered (sent, *voyè*) through song, chant, or proverb. See Gage Averill, *A Day for the Hunter, a*

between a variety of beaches that would please any aficionado. One of the reasons that narratives around Haiti, including those of international aid, mission work, and Vodou, are central in contemporary histories of classical music is because they impact self-representation and the concern with which classical music participants push against popular impressions of Haiti. Musicians participating in the Haitian classical music community, such as Margron and Cartright, cautiously negotiate the terms by which they are understood and engaged as a means of shaping and promoting their future reception both in Haiti and abroad.

**Rememory**

I invoke author Toni Morrison's concept of rememory in order to think critically about the distance between my interlocutors and their perceptions of Haitian history and culture. Those who dream of a nation may, in fact, live an alternate reality. In her novel *Beloved*, Morrison uses the device of rememory to describe the experience of remembering a memory. It is a difficult reunion of the self with intentionally discarded knowledge. Haiti and its boundaries, both physical and imagined, are undergoing a difficult, incessant reconstitution, the same sort of reunion or rememory described by Morrison. In addition to rememory's unifying properties, the word's gerund form – remembering – is particularly useful for thinking through the complex relationship of musicians with their nationality and belief systems. My own conversation partners have proven themselves careful students and sculptors of the meaning of Haiti, both locally and in a global context. In asking, through my research, who is Haiti and who is Haitian, I defer to the rich knowledge bestowed by their negotiations of identity. I also recognize the necessity of community in what has become highly individualized musical practice: to

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*Day for the Prey: Popular Music and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

(re)member is to submit one's self to a congregation, whether that be *mizik klasik* or Haiti itself. To (re)member is to claim a group identity for the self, and to represent that identity. Much like church membership, to (re)member Haiti is to embody both its highest ideals and most common truths. It is a commitment to support it, to carry it, to *care*.[27] The students, staff, and volunteers who participate in music camps across Haiti each summer remember Haiti, despite opposing inclinations to forgo, forget, and forsake.

Several identities are at play in the following ethnographic vignettes, including institutional identity. Participation in institutions is a literal means of remembering. L'École de Musique Sainte-Trinité, hereafter referred to as EMST is an important institution in Haiti. Its influence stretches over Port-au-Prince, and its shadow over the rest of the country. Its legacy has informed the struggles and paths of numerous other Haitian music schools that followed its creation. As such, its camp is an ideal place to think through the origins and destinies of the practice of *mizik klasik*. The following three boundary negotiations took place at the EMST summer camp in Cange, Mirebalais, with an aside at EMDB in Jacmel.

**Follow Jah**

The first source of friction between sensibilities that I present from the camp in Cange was actually imported from the capital. In 2014, a special initiative took place in several music camps, funded in part by the Swiss government. A *rara* band based in Pétionville, an affluent suburb of Port-au Prince, toured several music schools, giving workshops and performances. Rara has been historically understood as a rural Lenten street festival, during which participants

[27] In the following article, Imani Perry examines the tensions of linguistic innovation existing between time and power. "Even under new conditions, our terms of art, argument, and identity are often bound up with our past." Imani Perry, "Of Degraded Talk, Digital Tongues, and a Commitment to Care," *Profession* (2012), 18.

perform spiritual devotion to various lwa (Vodou deities) through song and dance. The bann a pye (foot band) Follow Jah is depicted in the following image, which was taken in advance of their arrival at the camp. The publicity poster was hung inside the Zanmi Lasante (Partners in Health) campus where the EMST camp takes place annually. This event was marketed exclusively to campers, and not publicized throughout the wider Cange community outside the high walls of the campus.




*Figure 14. Follow Jah promotional poster*

The press releases for this tour give the impression that Haitian children need to be brought in touch with their "roots" and that *rara* is the way to do it, thus situating *rara* as an authentically Haitian practice. One quote, in particular, illustrates this point. I have provided it here along with my own translation.

> Nous sommes heureux d'offrir aux musiciens de Follow Jah la possibilité de faire la promotion de la culture haïtienne devant les étrangers qui viendront à Cange, et d'enseigner aux enfants présents l'utilisation de ces instruments liés à la tradition musicale haïtienne.[28]
>
> (We are happy to offer the musicians of Follow Jah the opportunity to promote Haitian culture before foreigners who have come to Cange, and to teach the children present the use of these instruments in the Haitian musical tradition.)

Here the press release emphasizes the pedagogical aspect of these rara workshops. Foreigners are mentioned, but children are the focus, particularly in terms of the presentations. Follow Jah was to be the vehicle for this particular sort of cultural education. When they arrived at the St. Trinité camp in Cange, Follow Jah demonstrated what they term *rara modenn*, or contemporary *rara*, a *rara* that is unmoored from firm ties to *Vodou*. This is *rara* for fun's sake, without the spiritual work that might make some audience members uneasy. The tone of Follow Jah's forty-five minute presentation matched this intention. *Rara modenn* is also contemporary *rara*, *rara* of the present, modern *rara* – another interesting rhetorical move to distance this music and the

[28] "Haïti – culture : L'Atelier rara de Follow Jah, en tournée dans des écoles de musique." *Haiti libre*, July 21, 2014. http://www.haitilibre.com/article-11638- haiti-culture-l-atelier-rara-de-follow-jah-en-tournee-dans-des-ecoles-de- musique.html.

activities of the band from *Vodou* which its detractors often represent as a field of practices often situated exclusively in the past.

Many Haitians express the view that *rara*, and by extension, "rootsy" practices that might include *Kanaval* and *Vodou*, are quintessential Haitian culture. Privately, however, they might contradict that idea, allowing more room for a broader range of cultural activity and religious identity in a conception of the Haitian nation. Gage Averill theorizes that "Haitian identities are being formed partly in the representation of Haitians and things Haitian to an external world (primarily to a Euro-American audience), in the misrepresentations that arise between these cultures (e.g., exoticism, primitivism, demonization, and ethnic stereotyping), and in the projection of these representations and misrepresentations back onto Haiti.[29]" The name of the band, Follow Jah, functions as a referent to Rastafarianism and Haiti's Caribbean neighbor Jamaica.[30] This suggests that Haitian identity is formed also in the context of the broader Caribbean, and broader African diasporic identifications.

This sort of nuance in identity formation is instinctively understood by most of my interlocutors, but difficult to articulate in encounters such as the ones that follow. These identifications, at the intersection of nation, genre, and self, are central to musical performance in Haiti. One teacher and administrator pulled me aside a few days in advance of the presentations. She wanted to make sure that I, in my capacity as an ethnomusicologist, understood the

[29] Gage Averill, "''Se Kreyol Nou Ye'/''We're Creole,': Musical Discourse on Haitian Identities," in *Music and Black Ethnicity: The Caribbean and South America*, ed. by Gerard Béhague, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1994)," 169.

[30] Kamari Maxine Clarke writes about "the formation of black Caribbean identities as a dominant sign of blackness, as a heritage category," particularly referring to "English-speaking islands such as Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and Guyana." How might Rastafarianism succeed as an acceptable sign of blackness where Vodou fails? *Mapping Yorùbá Networks: Power and*

importance of *rara* in Haitian culture, and that I would be ready with my camera. Despite the fact that I had been clear about my ethnographic intentions, and that these events occurred well into my research period, she was intentional about guiding me towards what she assumed was of greater ethnographic interest — the rara, rather than mizik klasik. Ever the educator, she also asked seemingly naïve questions of the performers during their workshop presentations, though I was unsure if this was for my benefit or for the students.

Follow Jah deployed several mechanisms, both verbal and auditory, to foreground Vodou's historical context rather than its contemporary reality. The "modern" way that Follow Jah framed their activities creatively maneuvered around the different audiences that they would greet during their tour, and the diversity within those audiences. For example, Holy Trinity is a program affiliated with the Episcopal Church of Haiti. Many of its students readily identify as Christian, but Christianity is not a prerequisite for participation. Accordingly, audience members were diverse in religious affiliation and spiritual practice. If Follow Jah had attempted to eliminate Vodou from *rara*, they would risk accusations of inauthenticity. And if they had not addressed the topic proactively, it would have emerged during the Q&A period. In fact, it still did, as a priest asked yet another suspiciously naïve question regarding the relationship of *rara* to *Vodou*. The leading question seemed intended to force the performers to make an unequivocal statement separating *rara* from Vodou, but instead, their leader launched into a long history of the genre and its relationship to spiritual praxis. By emphasizing the historical context of Vodou, Follow Jah sidestepped the thick web of contemporary tensions around Haitian musical culture.

The scruffy band, a group of about twenty young men accompanied by their tour manager, a French ethnomusicologist, completely changed the soundscape of the camp for the

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*Agency in the Making of Transnational Communities* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2004), xiv.

few days they were in residence. Their rehearsals coincided with the camp's ensembles, and I would hear the nasal *vaksin* hocketing between my own playing of the choir's parts. Each of their wind instruments was tuned to a single pitch, so they always rehearsed in concert and at maximum volume. The students did their best to feign nonchalance, as if I was the only person walking around campus in search of the source of this sound, but they dropped all pretenses Saturday morning when it was time for the workshops. Several drummers skipped their rehearsals in order to sit and listen to the same session over and over again, enthralled by the performers, who were uniformly dressed in loose fitting chambray shirts and straw hats intended to give a *peyizan* (peasant-farmer) air to this group from one of Port-au-Prince's wealthiest suburbs. After the Sunday concert let out, students and volunteers raced out of the back doors of the chapel to follow the band, now attired in orange polo shirts, into the rain as they played.

**Marassa Éyou**

I'd like to contrast this rendering of a *rara* separated from its spiritual work with another "cleaned up" performance. During the third week, the combined choruses performed "Marassa Éyou," a song by mid-twentieth-century Haitian composer Werner Jaegerhuber (1900–1953), who was known for adapting folk songs. Programming Jaegerhuber's music necessitates careful negotiations of the boundary between sacred text and secular performance, and his work tends to trigger remembering processes among Haitian musicians. Although it was released in the collection of folk songs *Chansons d'Haiti* by Karine Margron and Julio Racine as a work of folklore transcribed by Jaegerhuber, evidence remains thin regarding its actual origins in folklore. Arranger Sten Kallman notes that the melody does not follow conventions of folk music typical for the period, a point corroborated by melodic leaps inaccessible to untrained voices.

However, Robert Grenier attributes this tension to the balance that Haitian composers such as Jaegerhuber were attempting to strike between folkloric material and elite aesthetic tastes.[31]

I wondered what resonances this song had for its theologically diverse performers, especially since the previous summer, I had witnessed an uproar in Jacmel over the programming of a similar song that, like "Marassa Éyou," contained references to *Vodou*, but lacked a specific spirit invocation. In that case, members of the ensemble actually refused to perform, and the conductor was forced to alter his original program. In this case, the Jaegerhuber song would be performed, but not without a cautious negotiation of the song's meaning on the part of the performers. One afternoon, I asked the conductor about the song during a break in rehearsal. I did not intend my question to be leading, and couched the inquiry in linguistic confusion. I had a good rapport with this conductor, and like the camp administrator who explicitly pointed me toward rara as a cultural practice, he often taught me Kreyòl phrases and Haitian cultural concepts without being asked, positioning himself as a guide. In this situation, however, he hesitated initially, and then emphasized the song's focus on the poor, and connected this to many students having personal experience with poverty. He then turned around and proceeded to reiterate this same explanation to the students, perhaps to avoid any confusion on the matter. I have provided the original transcription of the song's text here and provided a translation, in order to illustrate my claims. Note that I have left the word "marassa" untranslated, because it is still unclear what is appropriate.

Moin cé pitite, moin pas gain caï pou moin
Marassa éyou,
Moin pas gaingnin papa, moin pa gaingnin maman
Marassa éyou

[31] Robert Grenier, "La Mélodie Vaudoo. Voodoo Art Songs: The Genesis of a Nationalist Music in the Republic of Haiti," in *Black Music Research Journal* 21:1 (2001), 43.

Éyou, éyou, éyou
Marassa éyou
Moin pas gaingnin papa, moin pas gaingnin maman
Marassa éyou

I am a child,
I don't have a home
Marassa éyou
I don't have a father,
I don't have a mother
Marassa éyou
Éyou, éyou, éyou
Marassa éyou
I don't have a father,
I don't have a mother
Marassa éyou[32]

The song's text lends itself to more than one interpretation, and I certainly received more than one when I began to ask around. Haitian adults at the camp had a range of responses. One respondent was certain that the text WAS an invocation, that the singer is begging the marassa, the twin *lwa*. Another was ambivalent about its actual meaning, making a fascinating general assessment – "well, you know it's old. And all that old stuff is *Vodou*. It's Haitian." A third transformed "eyou" to "and you" and claimed that it was a discussion between orphaned twins. Marassa translates to twins in Haitian Kreyòl, making this connection with no religious significance possible. In fact, just about every explanation given to me was plausible.

Perhaps more significant than these explanations is the work that these explanations perform. They are interpretive performances. I asked, "eske ou konnen chanson ki rele Marassa Éyou?"/"do you know a song called Marassa Éyou?" This question may have registered in multiple ways. Although it was ostensibly simple, my interlocutors' responses reflected a careful negotiation of nation, genre, and self. When I asked Haitians about Haitian folk material, they rarely replied with no commentary. By supplying some remark, however well-informed, my

interlocutors were able to position themselves as knowledgeable and bolster personal claims of authenticity, which as covered in Chapter Two, is important for a sense of national identity. This sort of posturing usually happens through foklò, as opposed to any other musical genre, and it is central in the presentation of self.

Just a couple weeks later in Jacmel, prominent soprano Karine Margron performed the same song with the orchestra at L'Ecole de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste. An insistent murmur ran through the audience, and Margron claims that she could see the proverbial pearl-clutching from the stage.[33] Perhaps most important here are the pressures that performers feel to signify on an ideal of respectable Haitianness. These significations and performances are also part of the boundary negotiations occurring between Haitians about what constitutes Haiti and Haitianness.

**Blogodop**

It would be disingenuous to insinuate that music camps in Haiti are always tiptoeing around the idea of Haitianness. As a matter of fact, the aforementioned rehearsal of "Marassa Eyou" contrasts to what happened with the previous week's concert, featuring the choral music of Sydney Guillaume. Guillaume is a Haitian American composer in his early thirties. Born in Port-au-Prince, he left the country with his family at age eleven to be raised in Miami, and earned a degree in composition at University of Miami's Frost School of Music. Now based in Los Angeles, he visited the EMST summer camp in 2013 as part of his first trip back to Haiti. He brought his own original compositions for the choral groups, who instantly set about these pieces with the air of handling important business. Guillaume's pieces are unabashedly contemporary, and often feature lyrics in Haitian Kreyòl, with Haitian thematic material.

[32] This transcription uses an older Haitian Kreyòl orthography, common to Werner Jaegerhuber's time.

In particular, the lyrics for "Blogodop" pull us full circle into a celebration of *rara*. This translation is provided by Guillaume and his collaborator, Louis M. Celestin.

Bliye touman mizè lakay ou
Vin danse ake tout kè'w
Vin soulaje tout fant konsyans ou
Vin ogmante filing nan bann nan
Vin devide tout mwèl nan kò'w
Vini danse, vin kadanse

Forget your worries at home
Come dance with all your heart
Come and soothe all the cracks of your conscience
Come and add to the groove of the band
Come and bare your soul
Come dance, come feel the rhythm.

The performers fully committed to his repertoire, smiling and joking at cultural insider references. In the week leading up to this performance, I heard snatches of his melodies from every corner of the campus, so intent were they on delivering this message accurately. Two tenors pushed and pleaded until they were allowed into this advanced ensemble because they did not want to miss the opportunity to sing his music. And after so much murmuring about the *dyaspora* composer, the audience received him as one of their own. More cameras and phones and tablets were raised to catch each subsequent song, and the chapel was imbued with the sense that we were witnessing something valuable, that we were hearing Haiti's heritage.

These very different environments – two folkloric presentations, a rehearsal, and a concert – demonstrate a few of the central tensions in the performance arena of *mizik klasik*. In performing these repertoires of Haitianness, several choices are available – for performers, it can

[33] Margron, interview.

mean deciding between genres, whether or not to perform, or selecting repertoire. In the case of the foklò show just outside Jacmel, it meant a heated debate over Prestige and cautious social navigation. For Follow Jah, it meant careful and constant reflection on the past, and keeping the present all about the sound. “Marassa Éyou” invoked a plethora of meanings and opinions. “Blogodop” united those opinions in performance. By any means, and by all these means, Haiti is constantly being remembered and remade in a sonic constitution that uses all its old parts: *Vodou*, Christianity, but most importantly, people.

**Conclusion**

At each performance in Cange at which Bernier, a clarinetist and composer in his early twenties, serves as master of ceremonies, giggles and raucous cheers abound. Students and faculty, usually preoccupied with some semblance of recital decorum, abandon pretense and let loose in the shadow of his good natured jocularity. Bernier takes his piece of notebook paper to the front, usually torn from the notebook that John Jost took submissions in, folding and unfolding it in a demonstration of humility. Seasoned audience members are not fooled; Bernier is far from shy. In a booming voice whose volume belies his lanky stature, Bernier, who can converse and read in English, French, and Kreyòl, amiably butchers the German titles of songs and composers. He introduces each student, affording them great dignity, especially the precocious little ones who are actually timid. He then roars, "Applaudir, s'il vous plait!" The chapel erupts in ecstasy, in a magnificent demonstration of appreciation and spirited celebration of community.

The final summer of my own camp attendance felt different. The bus carrying myself and a few other reinforcements, as final week volunteers are termed, rolled into campus. A few minutes after disembarking, I learned that Janet Anthony isn't present on campus, and John Jost was leaving the next day. It does not feel so much as if things are ending; rather, they are changing. But perhaps the change is that I am nearing the end of my involvement with the camps. The composition of the choirs has been shifting. Last year, girls were allowed to join the soprano and alto sections of Les Petits Chanteurs, a move that generated controversy. This year, Schola and Les Petits Chanteurs were combined for the camp, resulting in one choir. This was better for personnel purposes, as Sydney came for the first week of camp and Rob, JB, and Ducasse juggled the group responsibilities the following week. My arrival on the third week

meant that theory lessons could recommence and Ducasse could rejoin the bass section, which sorely needed his expertise. Most of the tenors and basses are new arrivals, an unusual development for an ensemble that promotes its most skilled singers from boy sopranos into the lower voice parts.

The change is inevitable. This dissertation is concerned with the ways in which participants in Haitian summer music camps deploy classical repertoire in negotiations of nation, genre, and self. I used five summers of research to suggest trends and themes, but just as musical performances capture simultaneities in skill, effort, and reception, the findings listed here are contingent upon the time and location of the study.

I use popular literature in this conclusion, and elsewhere in the dissertation to capture the cultural Zeitgeist of music education in Haiti. My principal interlocutors, whether Haitian or American, are teachers, and as such, are familiar with these texts. They use them as a continuing education of sorts, to stay abreast of the tides of public opinion and conversational with parents. This literature is the educational habitus of my interlocutors. I believe that my ethnographic methodology has the tools to encompass both this popular literature and more academic literature.

My principal interlocutors also produce literature that assists greatly in understanding the specific field of encounter in which I found myself for the past five years. BLUME-Haiti and l'Ecole de Musique Dessaix-Baptiste both publish and disseminate newsletters by email that contain editorials by board members and faculty. Micheline Dalencour is an occasional contributor to Le Nouvelliste, a major daily newspaper based in Port-au-Prince but with national (and international, through online mechanisms such as email and Twitter) distribution. Also,

articles written by Meret Bitticks for the Journal of the Suzuki Association of the Americas form part of the backstory for this dissertation. I have chosen to privilege these accounts in an attempt to stretch my ethnographic field.

People think about themselves. Haitians think about themselves, and American teachers think about themselves. They think very carefully about their motives, their motivations, and also their reception. What do other think of what they're doing? This question is central to the efficacy and continued support of their work. What has emerged in the conflict between U.S. and Haitian ways of understanding musical objectives is another possible framework for engaging in these activities. Participation, the very practice of community through music, is perhaps the means through which many Haitians access meaning in their musical practice (and quiet as its kept, is probably a more comfortable position for many U.S. players).

**Why Classical Music?**

In conclusion, I offer that just as one small aspect of ensemble function, repertory choice, demonstrated large truths about how Haitians define themselves, each of these chapters has taken the oft-ignored for the vital, and unearthed a richer understanding of self making through music. Much like the theory girls of the introduction, the musicians featured throughout this dissertation "world" through sound: they interpret, reject, create and embrace through musical performance. They choose to world through *mizik klasik* in the cases that I have highlighted; they choose *mizik klasik* for a range of reasons too numerous to enumerate in the present project. However, I caution the reader to not underestimate the scope of my interlocutors' desires. In describing the adornment sensibilities of South African women, Tanisha Ford states that "in this fashion context, wearing Western attire was not akin to a desire to be white; it was more about the quest

to be modern, global citizens. Modernity was important because township inhabitants could imagine and perform as liberated citizens of the world who were not bound by the spatial and material strictures of apartheid."[1] Similarly, I advise the reader to look beyond the choice of genre to the performative choices of playing Haitian. These negotiations of nation, genre, and self prove more illustrative than a concise statement purporting to justify choices in genre. At any rate, it is useful to note that music may not follow expressions of nationalism, but rather proceed them. Bohlman writes that "Music is malleable in the service of the nation not because it is a product of national and nationalist ideologies, but rather because musics of all forms and genres can articulate the processes that shape the state."[2]

In the first chapter, I challenged the perception of Haiti as a poverty-stricken, resource-poor country by enumerating some of the resources that circulate through the music camps. In the second chapter, "Racing Genre: Choral Performances of an Authentic Haiti," I discussed the interracial relations between the United States in Haiti through the lens of musical genre. In Chapter Three, "A Charge to Keep: Gendered Mission and Vocation in Haitian Classical Music," I framed participation in Haitian classical music as a gendered endeavor with religious overtones. I moved outside of geographic Haiti but within diasporic and ideological Haiti in the following chapter, reflecting upon three diaspora musicians and their articulations of Haiti. In the final chapter, "(Re)membering Haiti through Mizik Klasik," I analyzed the responses of contemporary Haitians to a repertoire steeped in references to Vodou.

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[1] Tanisha Ford, *Liberated Threads: Black Women, Style, and the Global Politics of Soul* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 16.
[2] Philip Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe*. (New York: Routledge, 2011), 5.

Many themes ran through multiple chapters. I wrote about the function of gender in Chapters One, Two, Three, and Five. Race is obviously, and most thoroughly treated in Chapter Two, but it lends important insight in Chapter Three. Religious debate features prominently in Chapters Three and Five. All of the chapters deal with elements of diaspora experience, whether through the displacement of physical materials, the displacement of nationality, the importing of religious rhetoric, the exporting of musical talent, or the creation of a boundary between nation and self through the use of musical genre.

**Looking Forward**

On the road to Cange, Tom and I conversed a great deal about his work with Crossing Borders Music Collective. One of the primary efforts of the group, encapsulated in its mission statement, is to promote the works of composers from nations underrepresented in the American canon,[3] primarily Haiti, Uganda, and Iran. In regards to Haiti, Tom wonders, not about the lost repertoire but that which is being lost, stored carefully away in some corner of a Pétionville estate. He is careful to provide royalties to living composers, and deals carefully with the legacy of those deceased, even tracking down Werner Jaegerhuber's daughter to New York to discuss her father's work and obtain permission to include it in a commercial recording. He mentions a poll that he took of living composers, the results pointing to the impression that they are most concerned with the performance of their work. They want their music to live, even at the expense of not making money. As theorized in Chapter Two, the music itself is a resource, and Haitians treat it carefully as such. Given the history of abuse of Haitian resources by outsiders, they are understandably cautious. But through all of this, Tom notes progress within his nonprofit, and

[3] The term canon is used here to indicate a collection of commonly practiced repertoire learned by teachers in their development and passed through studio lineage.

hears a future in which young students are exposed to Haitian classical music in addition to, and perhaps in lieu of the standard Western European repertory, which in the U.S. context is primarily German classical music from the Romantic period.

Students are looking forward too. Lindsay came to lunch one day in a thoughtful state. When asked, she related that she had freshly emerged from a conversation with her favorite group - the Petit Orchestre de Chambre (POC). The students are often curious about the lives of the volunteers, similar to her students back home. But during this conversation, instead of asking if Madame Lindsay had a boyfriend, they asked about her conservatory background. They wanted to know why a conservatory was called such, an inquiry that flummoxed her, but reflected the students' manner of looking forward to possible further education and careers abroad.

When I asked what type of music he liked, one twelve year old replied in a way that astonished me, unmooring me from the critical cynicism that either five years of research or two hours of rehearsal can produce. "M renmen mizik d'avenir, ki di'n koman Ayiti ka devlope." I like music about the future, that explains how Haiti can improve. The precocity of this youth did not surprise me - I have spoken to so many children in Haiti that are aware of the nation's reputation, like a poorer child in the U.S. might be aware of his parent's financial challenges and not ask for or expect expensive toys at the holiday season. What did impress me was the weight his words gave to ephemeral sound. In his estimation, music has an answer. It is not merely responsive; it is prescriptive.

One of my primary aims in this dissertation has been to avoid the habit of promoting a vision of Haiti as exceptional. Whether its people are exceptionally strong, exceptionally poor, or exceptionally resilient, this discourse is a false structure with serious impact. The conveners of

the 2014 Haitian Studies Association conference contend that it promotes an atmosphere that allows Haiti to wait for change, and that allows gross inequalities to persist. I contend that it impedes a holistic understanding of this place.

This avoidance of Haitian exceptionalism has also found a strong counterweight in my work as I strive to interrogate U.S. exceptionalism. I expected that U.S. volunteers would enter the camps believing that their way was the best way. I suspected that they would hold on to a myth of American superiority in order to keep their bearings in a social context far different from that to which they were accustomed. I did hear much of this, but I also encountered thoughtful conversation partners searching for answers about issues of race and privilege. My research coincided with a period of steadily growing racial discomfort in the United States, and my white American interlocutors carried this insecurity with them to Haiti, where they wrestled with the reality of the unrest happening back home. I was invited to several beer summits[4] in Cap-Haïtien, Jacmel, and Cange that debated the merits of white bodies helping black ones.

As I rode in a passenger van from Jacmel to Port-au-Prince in 2015, I was awed by the vastness of the mountains. They are unfathomably large masses in a place conceivably so tiny - the geographic area of Haiti is best approximated by the U.S. state of Maryland. It was in this moment, rocked by the switchbacks in the road, that I sensed the power of aesthetic force, an encounter with feeling that Sarah Lewis describes as having "weight, force enough to bring about a self-correction, the acknowledgement of failure at the heart of justice."[5] The sound of

[4] The African American professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. was arrested on suspicion of breaking and entering his own home in 2009. He, along with the arresting officer, were invited to a "beer summit" at the White House with the African American President of the United States Barack Obama and white American vice president Joe Biden. Charles Ogletree, *The Presumption of Guilt: The Arrest of Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Race, Class, and Crime in America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

[5] Sarah Lewis, *The Rise: Creativity, the Gift of Failure, and the Search for Mastery* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014), 94.

music being played in Haiti critically re-maps the landscape encountered by both Haitians and foreigners. It is more than luxury, more than necessity, more than its frame. Musicians and musicologists are intimately familiar with the gap between the musical score and the music itself. Before being played, while they are not yet sound, the dots and lines on the page are mere ideas, powerful with potential but isolated. Reading the score as opposed to playing the music contains as large of a distinction in my mind as hazy ideas about what happens in a place like Haiti versus a detailed account of activities unfolding over five years. The negotiation of weighty ideas and ideals of nation, genre, and self takes place in performance, in experience, and in the dynamic act of play.

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