Madichon pa pè nan nwit  ‘Atoufè pa pè anyen’
Curses are not fearful of the night

2. Nèg sòt se chwal malentespri
The stupid guy is the horse of the evil spirit

3. Konplo pi fò pase wanga
A plot is stronger than an amulet

4. Kote zonbi konnen ou, li pa fè ou pè ‘Menm nan lanfè gen moun pa’
Where the zonbi knows you, he won’t make you scared

5. Tout maladi pa maladi doktè ‘There are other ways to get healed’
All illnesses are not medical illnesses

6. Jijman Bondye vini sou bourik
God’s judgment comes on a donkey

7. Nèg di san fè, Bondye fè san di
Humans say without doing, God does with saying

8. Lavi se kòd sapat; ou pa ka konte sou li
Life is a sandal string; you can’t count on it

9. Nan benyen nanpwen kache lonbrit
In bathing there is no hiding the naval

10. Lamepriz vo mye ke larepons
Scorn is worth more than responding

One dedicated to Jean-Claude Duvalier and Jean-Bertrand Aristide:

1. Egzile miyò pase fizye
Exile is better than the firing squad

**Haitian Culture and Society**

Wed. = 2 pages + Bibliography. Please see format at back of class packet. 
Read:  - “Work and gender in Rara,” McAlister 2002  
Arab-Haitians, review of Miami Herald article

Lebanese-Haitian: “All of my core values, what I believe in, my basic education, I got them in Haiti”

201 out of 214,893 Haitians in S. Florida identify themselves as Arab Haitian. Notable Haitians of Arabic decent: André Apaid, T-Vice (?)

- Sold textiles to the masses
- **Struggle for inclusion over generations in Haiti...**
- Expelled through anti-Arab laws
- Arabs saw progress under Duvalier, he named Carlo Boulos as health minister

The downside: “**Frankly, they don’t have a good track record of affirming their Haitian-ness, of actually contributing to the social, political and cultural growth of the island they claim to be their homeland**” – Gepsie Metellus

Anecdote: P-au-P Lebanese shop with stickers on cash register reading: “Haiti: no electricity, no water, we love it!”

Gabriel’s drumming in Baudin, south-eastern Haiti

Drumming concepts: \( \text{rit} \) \text{tanbou} \ \text{kase}

**Rhythm:**

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Side 1} & \text{Nago} & \text{Side 2} & \text{Bal} \\
\text{Sanmba / Samba} & \text{[African]} & \text{[African]} & \text{Afwo} \\
\text{Kongo} & \text{[African]} & \text{[African]} & \\
\text{Yanvalou} & \text{[African]} & \text{[African]} & \\
\text{Djoumba} & \text{[African]} & \text{[African]} & \\
\text{Vals} & \text{[European]} & \text{[African]} & \\
\text{Igbo} & \text{[African]} & \text{[African]} & \\
\text{Kontredans} & \text{[European]} & \text{[African]} & \\
\text{Nago (again...)} & \text{[African]} & \text{[African]} & \\
\text{Rara} & \text{[African]} & \text{[African]} & \\
\text{Mayoyo, ‘simpleton’} & & & \\
\text{Tcha tcha tcha} & & & \\
\text{Dawomen} & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

Work and Gender in Rara (McAlister 2002) / The Haitian family (Rey 1970)

“work values” = “learned as the most important feature of the extended family” (89)

**Women**
- Control the household
- Respectability

**Men**
- Dominate the street corner
- Reputability and maintenance

Urban Life in the Caribbean ~ A Study of a Haitian Urban Community
What are the features of Upper Belair (and La Saline)?

- crowded
- cohesive population in terms of interactions
- social integration
- \textit{lakou vodou} \quad > \text{“trees inhabited by Vodou spirits”} \quad \textit{[repozwa lwa]}
- gossip at the well...

Laguerre’s focus: \textbf{community structural dependency}
\begin{itemize}
  \item humans and habitat
  \item we shape and are shaped by environment
  \item humans live in \textbf{niches}, they are socialized in niches
\end{itemize}

Laguerre looks at the \textbf{detail} of life in Belair. He examines both mundane and exceptional features of the community. He opens up Haiti for outsiders:

- Devotes a paragraph to lamp varieties used in Belair
- Water containers \sim \textit{kanari}
- \textit{Latanye} \sim \text{tropical palm; \textit{atèmiyò} = ‘on the ground is better’; \textit{djakout/ralfò}; \textit{tetyè}}
- \textit{Malèt} \sim \text{important documents; Sunday clothes}
- \textit{Twa wòch dife} \sim \text{‘three fire stones’ = metaphor the basics}
- The folkloric imagination. \textit{baka}; \textit{zonbi}; UFOs don’t mean much to Haitians!
- The \textit{bayakou} \quad \textit{[‘Dem a payaka’]}
- Vodou: “One temple was found as a place where an expression of homosexuality and Voodoo piety are observed equally” \quad \textit{[Of Gods and men]}
- \textit{fritay} stalls: see the interplay of social relations between men and women
- \textit{bolèt}
- Interdependence of \textit{lakou} people
- The seismic threat

Trades and the “informal economy”
- Marketers and pratik \quad 6 \text{ a.m. to 4 p.m. in the corridor}
- Charcoal vendors
- Shoe-shiners
- \textit{fritay} women
- Prostitutes
- US-owned factory workers

\textbf{Citation on page 32, final paragraph:}
Press clippings on Belair

**Diglossia and language conflict in Haiti, Albert Valdman 1988**

5% of Haitians are balanced bilinguals in French and Haitian Creole

Relationship between French and Creole is **complex**

French symbolizes the social and political privileges of dominant bilingual elite.
Conversely, Creole symbolizes the social and political **exclusion** of the monolingual masses

The role of Creole is schools. The beginning of the debate: late 70s

**Opponents**: don’t want to be denied the linguistic avenue of social advancement and access to outside communities and nations

**Proponents**: insure effective teaching

**Bilingualism and diglossia:**

Bilingualism is inappropriate in describing the Haitian situation.

Haitian Creole and French don’t really have a *diglossic* relationship:

1. Both are **distinct languages** (they are more genetically removed from each other than even French and Latin)

   Example, the French versus Haitian Creole relative clause:
   - **la personne** qui est venue a laissé ça
   - **moun** ki te vini **an** te kite sa
   - **the person** who came left that

2. Bilingual Haitians acquire Haitian Creole and French at home, unlike the typical diglossic scenario with the LOW language acquired at home and the HIGH language acquired at school.

   High German and Swiss German

3. French *does* serve some vernacular functions among bilinguals
   No communicative function is exempt from Creole (whereas in the classic model of diglossia [Ferguson 1959] some functions are excluded the LOW language...)

New model of linguistic functions for the languages of Haiti needed:

Vernacular ~ Everyday communication and expression with intimates
Vehicular ~ Communication to external groups

Referential ~ Transmission of cultural heritage

Magico-religious ~ seek mediation from divine

Membership in social groups ~ Elite versus Mass

Symbolization of power relationships ~
  French as a means of escaping poverty and low status
  French as a means of excluding the mass; French is used as a “filtering device to keep people in their place” (70).

Valdman 1988 continued...

Universal Grammar interlude...

Language conflict in Haiti, page 70

Dominance/Subordination relationship inherently engender linguistic conflict

Social differentiation and unequal power cause the majority to have “minority behavior and attitudes” (examples Occitan/French; Catalan/Spanish; Creole/French)

- Ambivalence toward vernacular
- Self-hate toward own group
- But attest strong loyalty and emotional attachment to language
- Feel alienated from dominant group, but will invest in acquiring French due to its symbolic function, role in economic and social advancement
- French as ache
- French as lang blan and baryè
- Creole seen as symbolic of san enstriksyon
- Haiti is still a LINGUISTIC COLONY

JEAN CASIMIR interlude

Valdman’s evaluation of Creole’s evolving functions:


2. Creole as subject to ‘repidginization,’ i.e. waves of new slaves continually reduced and restructured the Creole they found

Classic example: the Possessive + Definite Noun Phrase
The earlier Northern variety:

Kay an mwen / Kay an m = ‘my house’

Frè ran mwen / Frè ran m = ‘my brother’

The repidginization from the immigration waves
(c. 1750-c. 1790):

Kay mwen an / Frè mwen an / Frè m nan

3. Creole as marker of Social Identity. For colonist: Symbolic of Colonial life in contrast to ‘metropolitan’ life

4. For ‘servile population’: Gradual replacement of African languages by Creole; extension of Creole into domains previously carried out by means of African languages (Vodou). Creole as dominant language over African languages.

Irony: Independence won by Creole speaking warriors followed by re-establishment of linguistic symbol of white colonial rule.

Resolution of language conflict:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Substitution:</th>
<th>Shift to dominant language; demise of subordinate language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normalization:</td>
<td>Up-grading of subordinate language through becoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vehicular</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Referential (dictionaries)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Stable spelling</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lexical expansion</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standardization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instrumentalization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Solutions:
(1) Vernacularization of French
(2) Extension of French

Solution 1 is COST-INEFFECTIVE; Haitian schools are inadequately equipped to pursue this
Solution 2 is COST-EFFECTIVE

- Spelling system is efficient and logical
- Language is more or less unified in Haiti
- Language is increasingly home to VENERABLE and PRESTIGIOUS culture institutions like art and religion

But: depreciative attitudes and other complexities hinder any immediate change.

Only social transformation and political evolution can bring about the advancement of Creole in Haitian institutions.
Haitian Creole Language and Bilingual Education in the US: Problem, Right, or Resource? ~ Flore Zephir

• Flood of immigrant students in US schools
• 1968 Bilingual Education Act
• Bilingual Education as “transitional” toward English
• Seen as remedial

• Originally more “politics than pedagogy” = channel funds to SW

• Gradual legitimization of bilingual education

Haitians Creole speaker are the third most numerous linguistic community in NY City School system... Second in Miami?

“Home language instruction as a problem”

• Claims that such students face “cognitive problems”
• Cultural fragmentation or disruption, poor self-image and self-esteem...
• “ill advised and threatens the social and political stability of the US” (cited in Cummins 1991)
• Roosevelt: “We have room for but one language here, and that language is English”
• Thorough acquisition of English advocated as the solution

But the validity of these claims can be challenged!

In fact: “developing bilingualism and biliteracy within a ‘strong’ bilingual education situation is educationally feasible and can lead to the obtaining of higher achievement across the curriculum for minority language children, the fostering of self-esteem and self-identity, and the formation of a more positive attitude toward schooling” (Baker 1993)

“Home language instruction as a right

Language as a fundamental human right
1,800 Chinese students versus San Francisco Board of Education:

“if these students could not understand the language used for instruction, they were, indeed, being deprived of an education equal to than of other students” (226)

Citation

Under US federal law, immigrant children who do not speak English are entitled to a meaningful educational experience

Flore Zephir continued...

Second language instruction and maintenance as a RESOURCE:
• They can be exploited for cultural, spiritual, educational, economic and political gain.
• USA: heedless monolingualism
  (Strategic) language acquisition as a major US foreign policy objective (if we don’t understand the world, how can we make peace with it?)
• Common Underlying Proficiency model of bilingualism: basic skills are transferable in another
• A student who is confident and recognized in her or his primary-group relates more positively to school and society
• Use of home language facilitates the development of critical thinking
• Promotes metalinguistic awareness. Metalinguistic awareness refers to knowledge on the structure and organization of language.
• Facilitates earlier reading acquisition, leading to higher achievement.

Lessow Hurley’s 1996 findings (p. 228):

• Transfer of skills from L1 to L2
• Primary acquisition facilitates second language acquisition
• Students need time to develop!
• Bilingualism/biliteracy has positive effects on achievement
• Enhances self concept

Zephir’s evaluation of bilingual programs:

• Poor quality, lack of commitment and understanding
  Language is a central part of a person’s being, IT SHOULD NOT BE DISCARDED

Dangerous labeling in schools.

• ‘...it is an absolute fallacy to regard all Blacks as a homogeneous population’
• Haitians consider themselves ethnically distinct
• Haitians consider themselves to be multiracial
• Linguistic assimilationist model has failed
• Zephir argues that Haitians do not see assimilation as a viable alternative.

Status assigned to Creoles... deviant... dialects... underdeveloped... NO!

Chomsky’s Universal Grammar (1981, 1995):

I’m watching the film:

\[
[IP I [I’ am [VP [V’ watching [DP [D’ the [NP [N’ film]]]]]]]]
\]

M ap gade fim nan:

\[
[IP M [V’ ap [VP [V’ gade [DP [NP fim]; [D’ nan [NP t; [N’ ]]]]]]]]
\]

Educators must realize: “this Black population has its own ethnic identity and that its full-fledged language, Creole, is a strong component of its ethnicity

Using Creole takes the foreignness out of school
Lowers the affective filter, i.e. the emotional filter that can block learning

Do we spend more now preparing people for academic success or more later rehabilitating people? We have the highest percentage of incarcerated people per capita in the world: I GUESS WE’VE ALREADY MADE OUR CHOICE.

**Wyclef Jean:**

Symbol of **hope and pride** for many Haitian and Haitian-American youths and adults.

Wyclef’s exuberant display of the Haitian flag at his Grammy-win was symbolic of the Haitian potential in U.S. cultural and economic life

Dramatically symbolic of (a certain type of) American dream, i.e. the BIG bucks

Song-writer, poet, multi-instrumentalist, entertainer...

Mastery and practice of various musical genres, i.e. rap, konpa, twoubadou, regga, reggae, gospel, rock... and fluently bilingual...

Wyclef’s collaborative and unifying spirit:

- T-Vice *Live 2002: on the road*, “MVP Compas,”
- *Dega Ba li gazzz*, “I don’t want to know”

Wyclef promotes the unity and equality of the “races” living in Haiti and the world.

Wyclef provides popular entertainment and education through music.
- Pan-African philosophy (Marcus Garvey)
- Haitian awareness and promotion of Haiti
- Conscious of social and historical injustices (sequencing Jean Dominique)
- Lessons through narrative (stories).
- Master of pithy and catchy narratives that leave some room for reconstruction and interpretation in the imagination. But remember: we might read a good essay or poem several times, but we listen to Wyclef oh so many times!
- Some gangster and sexist metaphors: “guns,” “bitches”... (but this does not predominate...)
- Where is our female Haitian mega-star
Take home quiz on the portrayal of Haiti and Vodou in Hollywood and Harvard... (Anmweeey!)

1. List some things about the film that makes Haiti appear appealing.

2. List some things about the film that makes Haiti appear unappealing.

3. What different sectors of Haitian society are represented? Lower/Middle/Upper Class.

4. According to the film, does traditional Haitian religion and medicine have something to offer the world?

5. What exploitative/unnecessarily negative/false images on Haiti/Vodou are used in the film?

6. What are some of the places featured in the film?

7. What mythological/folkloric figures appear in the film? What are American parallels?

8. Explain the concept of zonbi developed in the film, i.e. is the zonbi a monster or a victim? Explain why.

9. What political issues does the film raise?

10. What kind of link does the film make between Vodou and politics?

11. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this film?

12. Why do you think my first Haitian friend (a voodooist) loved this film so much?
Notes on *Serpent and the Rainbow*:

What features of vodou culture were exhibited?

- Vodou wedding involving *zotolan* (doves)
- Govi
- Pilgrimages to natural and historical landmarks
- Syncretism with catholicism
- Candles
- “Petwo”
- Poison and potion arts ~
  - Makandal’s 6,000 victims (Davis 1985: 162)
  - Poison in African secret societies and royalty
  - Maroons: between 1764-1793 48,000 cases of maroonage officially reported
  - In 1786 of 10,000 slaves imported, 2,000 escaped (Davis 1985: 158)

Playful entertainment, pointless vilification of Haiti... both?

Métraux: *Voodoo in Haiti*, The Supernatural World

Great *lwa* of African Guinea: Legba, Zaka, Ezili, Danbala...

Local spirits varying in name and attributes from community to community: “Ti bout koulèv”

The *loa* might have been expelled from heaven, but not before they acquired many powers.

*lwa*  *dyab*

‘spirits’ (let’s do it right first) ‘devils’ (by any means necessary)

*men dwat*  *men gòch*

*outanga/manbo*  *bòkò/chòche & outanga/manbo (?)*

English word ‘god’ fails to capture the ‘snooping and comic’ spirits who cheer up ceremonies.

*Papa Bondye* as IMPERSONAL DIVINE

*Lwa* as PERSONAL DIVINE

Where do the *loa* come from?

*lwa ginen*

*lwa kreyòl*

Promotion of an individual to the status of *lwa*: *Makandal > Makanda*

Promotion of an individual to the status *nanchon*: Dom Pedro > Petwo

Promotion of *lwa* through dream-revelation
Promotion of wife’s “maiden lwa” into husband’s family

Types of major ceremonies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petwo</td>
<td>Originate in Haiti</td>
<td>Helpful and ‘human-eating’ spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rada (=Arada)</td>
<td>Originate in Dahomey/Nigeria</td>
<td>Prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fwèt kach (whip cracks)</td>
<td>gentle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimanga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bilolo</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Rada* is well-viewed; *Petwo* is viewed with some apprehension

**Possession**
The devotee expresses the character of a spirit in her/his movement and attitude

Learning about the lwa requires watching the possessed.
Possession replaces statuary and holy images...

Vodou’s heterogeneous origins create a diverse make up in the field.

**The power of the loa ~ Métraux continued...**

What powers do the *loa* have?
Suggest remedies
Hope and consolation in times of hunger
Warn of machinations of those who wish wrong
Protection from elements and bad situation
Vengeance in killing an enemy

“Possession states”
Loa asks for a job for the possessed.
Banker *loa* who lend money to devotees (???)
Money given by possessed brings luck
Money a priest receives due to the services of a *loa* must be used for the *loa* (except profits that accrue)
Money obtained from administering Zaka’s services can be spent on peas....Gede loans of interest...

How do you win favor with the *loa*
Sacrifice, offerings... vow, participation in rites, compliance with orders of the *loa* (See sacrifice in Hebrew religion)
Neglecting *loa* has consequences;
(See punishment and reward in Hebrew religion)
Loa are proprietors. The spared goat is still belongs to a loa.

Did you know?
Ezili can possess 2 people and her 2 incarnations can speak to each other...
One can be the butt of an angry loa; punishment varies
One is obliged to serve root-loa, but one can wait until financially prepared

Punishment:
Illness, madness, persistent bad luck

Laënnec Hurbon (2001), “The Catholic Church and the State in Haiti, 1804 – 1915 with added notes from:

- Pwomès kominis ak esperans legliz pou Ayiti, Dr. Jules Casséus (1987)
- Bon Nouvèl, April 1986, December 1986, etc.

Haiti’s international isolation includes the Catholic Church from 1804-1860

Hurbon’s goal in historiography is to “present a new understanding” (155).

- Few French priests survive the war and Dessalines
- Many French priests were slave owners
- Churches sacked, objects destroyed

Haiti’s 1805 constitution (Dessalinian constitution):

p. 156...

Destroy church’s privileges; marriage and divorce a civil affair

Note: Toussaint and the Church

- Roman Catholic
- He installs priests loyal to (the pro French revolutionary priest) Abbé Grégoire. (Famous in French Linguistics for promoting universal French-only education and for doing a survey of the patois languages spoken in France in the 1790s).

Pétion ~ adopts Toussaint’s pro-catholic constitution
Christophe ~ seeks in vain for priests

Boyer (1818-43)
- Seeks an agreement with the church
• He wants his own clergy, seminary, to appoint his own bishop of Port-au-Prince, unconditional support from the priesthood...

Rome refuses to “betray” (???) [ read: do the right thing and reject] French/international diplomacy (158)

**Soulouque (1847-59):**
His fall from power opens the way to the **Concordat**
France wanted to send French priests to Haiti

---

**PAGE 159**

Role of Church for the Haitian state: “civilization” and “pacification”

I ideological control and acknowledgement of Haiti’s independence

Anti-voodoo
Church as “defense mechanism against racist attacks”

Civil strife was sometimes linked to Voodoo activists:
• Boyer’s decision to pay the debt to France angered peasants and several rebellions broke out:
• Voodooist Jean Jacques Aca in 1843
• The Church could quell this (162)

Background:
Support for the “schismatic” Church in Haiti is based on the failings of the official Catholic Church in Saint Domingue.

The Church seen as ally to the colonists, and it was

The Church itself was content with itself in the 19th century and is partly to blame for the long separation
Voodoo flourishes: *lakou, ounfò*

**The Casséus (1987) review of Catholic history in Haiti**
Native Americans, Zemès
Kristòf Kolon 1492 at Môl Sen-Nikola, he plants a cross
Las Casas
Catholic religion is promoted in constitutions of
1806, 1907, 1816, 1846, 1849, 1950

Konkòda 28 Mas 1860: “fè lidè politik kowonpi yo kontan” (32)

Major contribution of Catholic Church:

Education.
“li vize sèlman yon ti minorite”
The Church over-emphasizes the ruling class.
However, **liberation theology** has been instrumental in various ways
Literacy, TKL, Bon Nouvêl...

**Hurbon continued (p 164)**

Church needs State to establish itself as prestigious power
State needs Church to consolidate itself internally and externally

**Major issues**
- The “schismatic” Church’s legacy in Haiti
- The Christian-Voodoo “confusion” in Haiti (Msgr Robert)
- But in reality the Christian-Voodoo syncretism in Haiti began at the beginning of the slave period (circa 1690 or 1640...)

Soulouque OUT, Geffrard IN
The Church in Haiti, 1860-1915
- Suspended or priest not in agreement with Rome forced out.
- Church wanted to be a peacemaker in political conflicts.
- Given right to control its finances, sacraments and educational system.
- Elite education...
- Mark of period: **persecution of the church**
- **Church wanted to keep Soulouque out of power**
- **Soulouque and black followers saw the concordat as tool of the mulattoes**

Suspended priests cause conflict
Church did not give preferential treatment to mulatto or black political leaders.
The Church resisted revolutionary movements and supported the establishment

- Seen as foreign power
- Easily manipulated
- Church expected autonomy but expected the Haitian state to pay priest salaries
- Government help organize parishes and bishoprics (170)
- Black intellectuals started emerging from Catholic schools; they expressed support for Freemasonry, divorce...

1900 ~ Situation “normalizes” (172)
Several dioceses formed
Seminary in France
150 priests in 78 parishes
**States signs education agreements with the Catholic Church**
Period of prosperity, but:
- Church marriages don’t increase
- Illegitimate children don’t decrease
1864 *Le Moniteur* publishes a letter by Geffrard advocating the
elimination of Voodoo (especially in the city)
Church confronts syncretism: banishing of Saint statues

p. 177, paragraph 1

Jan Rabèl 23 jiyè 1987
Gwoupman Tèt Ansam
**Ekip Misyonè** ~ Church groups composed of lay people
~ Church upkeep and administration
~ Literacy
~ Small scale credit; cooperative
~ Farm supplies
~ Training:
~ Organized a pilgrimage of 3,000 peasants over 30 kilometers to visit Estati Lasent Vyèj.

The conflict in Jan Rabèl:
Their faction gained control of the hospital
Farm supplies impacted merchants’ profits
Land disputes dating generations
Led law suits against grandon over their fèmaj on State-owned land
Reactionary sector of the Church, US embassy collude with grandon

**Gage Averille, *A day for the hunter, a day for the prey***

Yon jou pou chasè, yon jou pou jibye

Tropes in Haitian (political) music

(Thematic currents)

Haitian social and musical life is steeped in DIVISIVENESS. “A deeply rooted habitus...”

Bands display factionalism internally and externally

**Rivalry**
Heightens fan loyalties
Drama during kanaval
Topics for adversarial song lyrics
Spurs creativity and reaching new levels

“The synchrony experienced by audience members at a Haitian concert, dance, carival or other events is largely based in the expectation of (and desire for) collective participation and for alignment with an event that ‘heats things up.’”

Mete men nan lè
Sketch of *konpa* history

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Ricardo Widmaïer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930s-1950s</td>
<td>Harold Courlander [HOMEWORK] on <em>Folkways Records</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>Magnetic Tape!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>78s start appearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Nemours Jean-Baptiste</td>
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<tr>
<td>mid-1960s</td>
<td>Joe Anson gives Haitian industry</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a transnational structure (NYC)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Business itself:**

Royalties versus Lump-sum system

Implies continuing ownership in artistic product

Cuts the tie

SACEM = Syndicat des Auteurs, Compositeurs, et Editeurs de Musique

Bootlegging eclipses legal sales 4 to 1 in the insular market

“Pirate industry feeds large demand for cheap musical commodities under conditions of intense poverty”