

UC San Diego

UC San Diego Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Este Futuro es Otro Futuro: The role of social discourse on the [under]development of contemporary academic electronic music in Perú

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2sm8k2dk>

Author

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio

Publication Date

2020

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

**Este Futuro es Otro Futuro: The role of social discourse on the
[under]development of contemporary academic electronic music in Perú**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón

Committee in charge:

Professor Miller Puckette, Chair
Professor David Borgo
Professor Amy Cinimi
Professor Edwin Cruz
Professor Ricardo Dominguez
Professor Shahrokh Yadegari

2020

Copyright

José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón, 2020

All rights reserved.

The Dissertation of José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón
is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for
publication on microfilm and electronically:

Chair

University of California San Diego

2020

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to the complex, elusive and conflictive city of Lima, source of both the motivation and despair that have fueled this work. To Melania Santa Rios, who until her last moments in this world, by the time I presented my qualification exams, had an incomprehensible and constant faith in my work. To my partner Isabel Rojas Colchado and my son Lutgardo López Santana, immersed unintentionally into the world of electronic music. Finally, to Fernando López Tavazzani, for his continuous support to whatever endeavor I decide to pursue.

EPIGRAPH

Was the past always stalking the present, waiting to destroy it?
UrSu had told him that a two-dimensional question like that
had no solution, and therefore no meaning.
Make a triangle with a past, present, and future.
Then each two will explain the third.

— A.C.H. Smith, *The Dark Crystal*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Signature Page.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Epigraph	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures.....	viii
Acknowledgments	x
Vita	xi
Abstract of the Dissertation	xiii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1 Research Design and procedures, ethnographic methodology and our actors/structures	7
Chapter 2 Critical review of existing literature and research paradigms on the study of Peruvian music and Peruvian electronic music	22
2.1 The Peruvian musical researcher in his labyrinth.....	22
2.2 Literature review of Peruvian music research [and Peruvianess].....	30
2.3 The texts: Talking, writing and avoiding electronic music.....	37
Chapter 3 The historical role of ideology in the history of Peruvian music	48
3.1 The sounds of the nation: Peruvian nationalism and music as a colonial conversation / some bridges never crossed.....	48
3.2 Proto-nativism, Peruvian nationalism and music (the colonial common enemy)	55
3.3 What is Peruvian in Peruvian music? Peruvian musical Incas.....	58
3.4 The French Incas and the enlightened children of the Sun.....	62
Chapter 4 The challenging early history of electronic Peruvian music and its contemporary mythological revision.....	72
4.1 Cesar Bolaños: The foreign composer.....	72
4.2 The prodigal son and the motherland	74
4.3 Edgar Valcárcel and the 'Absolutely revolutionary and totally avant-garde'. Túpac Amarus that you won't be able to kill.....	82
4.4 The enemy within: belonging in the fractured land.....	98

4.5 Neo-futurist Valcárcel and some forgotten arts.....	103
Chapter 5 The foreign Peruvian. Peripheralizing modernity.....	117
5.1 Migration issues on the study of Peruvian music.....	118
5.2 the need to migrate for Peruvian academic musicians interested in electronic music	120
5.3 the need to represent Peruvianness.....	128
Chapter 6 Musical Institutions and electronic music learning.	132
6.1 Lima es un pañuelo. Cultural politics and musical training.....	134
6.2. The second wave. Musical experimentation at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música during the 1990s.....	145
Chapter 7 Tech Invaders of the ancestral land	164
7.1 Valencia andino.....	167
7.2 The five articles of contention.....	172
7.3 From Miami to the world.....	188
Chapter 8 Popular electronic experimentation as a political statement	197
8.1 Our Obreros Especializados and their Pocket Calculators: The First Industrial and Synth Pop Communities of Lima	201
8.2 Cholo sounds, Self-segregation and political activism.....	209
8.3 Frankenstein's Peruvian Labs.....	227
8.4 Power to the people's handmade synth, right on.....	233
8.5 Circuit building in academia.....	238
Chapter 9 Contemporary situation of electronic music experimentation.....	242
9.1 Conferences and publications.....	246
9.2 Taller de Electroacústica at the Universidad Nacional de Música.....	250
9.3 Alternative notation for electronic music.....	257
9.4 Ensamble de Laptops de la Universidad Nacional de Música.....	261
9.5 Laboratorio de Música Electroacústica y Arte Sonoro.....	268
Chapter 10. Conclusions : the puzzling situation.....	272
References.....	281

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Exotic costume design for an enlightened French Inca	65
Figure 4.1: At fast pace! Túpac Amaru and Velasco Alvarado.....	87
Figure 4.2: Cover page for Ñacahuasu (1970).....	89
Figure 4.3: Arte de Vanguardia. Arte Revolucionario.	94
Figure 4.4: score for Canto Coral a Túpac Amaru No.2.....	95
Figure 4.5: Valcárcel at Resistencias	108
Figure 4.6: Edgar Valcárcel - Composiciones electrónicas para los Andes	112
Figure 6.1: 1990 proposed curricula, including electroacoustic courses.....	149
Figure 6.2: Program. GEC concert 1993.....	156
Figure 6.3: Newspaper article. Música peruana de hoy.....	158
Figure 8.1: Event at No Helden. 1988.....	203
Figure 8.2: Feudales / Paisaje Electrónico.	208
Figure 8.3: Peruvian circuit building	230
Figure 8.4: KOE Desktop Mini Modular v2.0.....	231
Figure 8.5: Autobahn 303 performing at Centro Cultural El Local, 2013	233
Figure 8.6: Apolo oscillators.....	237
Figure 8.7: Students from the Taller de Circuitos Electrónicos Sonoros 1.....	241
Figure 9.1: parts of the first patch by student Carlos Arce Tord, 2017.....	252
Figure 9.2: Concierto de Música Electroacústica, CNM/UNM, 2017.....	253
Figure 9.3: Eve Matin recording at the Taller de Electroacústica and article about a electroacoustic performance at PUCP, 2017.....	254
Figure 9.4: patch by Jorge Quispe for Taller de Electroacústica, 2019.....	256

Figure 9.5: Interpolaciones, 1966.....	258
Figure 9.6: Arpa 1. My own alternative score for the 1era Muestra de Partituras Alternativas [Notación Gráfica Experimental]	260
Figure 9.7: Renzo Garces' composition for the 1era Muestra de Partituras Alternativas [Notación Gráfica Experimental]	260
Figure 9.8: Michael Magán, Saul Medina, myself, and Renzo Garces.1era muestra de partituras alternativas [notación gráfica experimental].....	261
Figure 9.9: ELUNM performing at the Plazuela de las Artes, 2019.....	265
Figure 9.10: ELUNM performing at the Trenza Sonora festival, 2019.....	266
Figure 9.11: Concierto de Música Electroacústica 2019-2. UNM.....	268
Figure 9.12: Students of the Laboratorio de Música Electroacústica y Arte Sonoro, 2019.....	271

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Miller Puckette for opening, for me, a new world of knowledge and a new way of confronting music technology. Coming from popular electronics and having been trained in the humanities, the link between these two worlds has become clearer by my contact with his work and the Computer Music program at UCSD.

I would like also to thank the authorities at the Universidad Nacional de Música in Perú for allowing me to attempt to contradict my own premonitions regarding the future of academic electronic music in Perú. Their support for the implementation of the Laboratorio de Música Electroacústica y Arte Sonoro is a vital step on the implementation of these arts in the country,

Finally, my deep gratitude goes to all those who took the time to talk to me about their experiences throughout these years regarding electronic music in the country. Each of these life experiences is invaluable and unique.

VITA

- 1997 Bachelor of Arts, Ohio State University
- 2008 M.A. Music. University of California San Diego.
- 2020 Ph.D. Music. University of California San Diego.

PUBLICATIONS

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2008a). *Constructing Musical Spaces Beyond Technological Eden: A Participative Initiative for Musical Interface Development Based in the Peruvian Context*. Master's Thesis. University of California, San Diego.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2008b). Cuando canto bajan los cerros: An Initiative for Interface Development Informed by a Latin-American Context. *Proceedings of the 2008 International Computer Music Conference*. Belfast: ICMC.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2008c). Bricherismo musical: Rbietas existenciales sobre la búsqueda de un lenguaje propio. *Acido/Coma*, 4(0). México: Editorial Paranoia.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2009). Tijuana Sound Arts Project: A Nomadic Studio Report. *Proceedings of the 2009 International Computer Music Conference*. Montreal: ICMC.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2013). Electronic Circuit Building in Perú: A Subaltern Case on Participation and Technology. *Proceedings of the 2013 International Computer Music Conference*. Perth: ICMC.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2015a). Electro Perú: Nacionalismos y cosmopolitanismos de hoy y ayer. In *Lima Gris*, 09.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2015b). Limamanta Pacha Encapsulada: Burbujas culturales y música popular. In *Lima Gris*, 10.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2017a). Hybrid Modulations: Report on the Culture of Electroacoustic Music in Contemporary Perú. *Proceedings of the Communication in/through Electroacoustic Music (EMS 17)*. Nagoya: EMS, Nagoya City University.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2017b). ¿Soñarán los androides transhumanos de la PUCP con llamas eléctricas? *Mural de Estudios Generales Letras, Año 2 / Numero 17*. Lima: PUCP.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2019). *La guardia nueva. Visiones sobre la música electrónica en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Etnomusicología – PUCP.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

**Este Futuro es Otro Futuro: The role of social discourse on the
[under]development of contemporary academic electronic music in Perú**

by

José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón

Doctor of Philosophy in Music

University of California San Diego, 2020

Professor Miller Puckette, Chair

This dissertation explores the history of Peruvian electroacoustic and electronic musical experimentation since its arrival to the country, while confronting the particular issues that have kept their practice from being academically embraced or implemented into the official channels for musical learning. It reviews the failures and successes of the Peruvian technologically

based musical arts in front of the social structures and ideologies that have historically permeated all the cultural activities of the country. By moving away from a traditional technical and formalist approach that confronts academically based electroacoustic and electronic music from the perspective of the musical object, this work unveils the highly politicized history of responses towards these arts in Perú and the direct role of the particular nationalistic postcolonial models on their development or lack of it. It is within a plural and ambiguous set of nationalists, nativist, socialist, anti-foreign and indigenist ideologies, analyzed in this work, that we can identify a constant: the suspicion towards, and ultimately, the rejection of technologically based musical traditions as an element in the construction of a history of Peruvian music.

Most actors in this work, whether composers, performers or music researchers, that have attempted to dedicate their efforts towards the implementation of technology beyond the logic of the recording studio and tech-support, have had to negotiate their participation in musical academic and popular cultures according to the way they were perceived by the political and cultural surroundings of their time. This situation would force many of them to construct the cultural identities that could allow them to participate in national institutionalized discourses and practices, moving away from technology or maintaining it as a peripheral activity. In the majority of cases, those musicians interested in technology would either migrate in search of

training and professional opportunities, or shift direction towards other musical practices.

By analyzing, in this work, the national discourses of/about our actors and the silence of the institutions (public and private) we reveal an agent-structure relational behavioral pattern toward musical technology and related sound arts that is at the heart of its historical undermining.

Introduction

In this work we argue that the setbacks and obstacles present throughout the history of contemporary Electronic Peruvian Music are produced by a social structure and overall system of relationships that sees Electronic Music as a 'musical model' that interferes with the development of national identity and is at conflict with the construction of 'the nation' and or a 'música peruana'. I will show that a complex set of assumptions that run from traditional and conservative values related to Western serious music (from classical to jazz) to neo-primitivist musical ideals of authenticity and cultural vindication, conform to tacit general agreement about the boundaries and limitations of a musical practice that can be considered as Peruvian, and therefore as appropriate for the nation. As I will discuss, while other transnational and transcultural musical cultures of the 20th century, like Waltz, Jazz, Cumbia or even some forms of Rock, have managed to find ways to be Peruvianized and accepted by different sectors of the Peruvian population; avant-garde technology-based music and its later offspring have been viewed with considerable suspicion or directly as the foreign enemy to be fought or ignored. Most attempts to negotiate the inclusion of these art forms failed, alienating the participants or forcing them to reconfigure their musical identities for the sake of their inclusion in the imagined nation. Throughout this work I will confront in detail the relationship between

particular ideological models and the way they relate to musical practices in the country, and how they differ from each other at different points of Peruvian history.

Peruvian Electronic Music is not rooted in technological development or the evolution of academic initiatives that accompany the development of new tools of the musical trade as they emerge. Peruvian electronic music¹ has grown in an independent and chaotic fashion, and, in most cases, without institutional, official, or popular support, and under the suspicious watch of academic and popular musicians, educators, and academic authorities. It is for this reason that even those Peruvian composers academically trained and interested in technology find themselves isolated from the rest of the world and lacking access to the basic training necessary to develop a professional career in Electronic Music. Most of them initiate their electronic music learning privately and without mentors or institutional support, generally migrating, at some point, to achieve their musical goals to integrate technology in their practice.

The natural progress towards a history of electronic Peruvian music is

¹ From this point on, unless otherwise stated and according to the needs of the text, electronic music will refer to all related practices including: electronic music *per se*, electroacoustic music, concrete or tape music, DSP, computer music, or any other related sound arts. Also, while most of this work relates to academic electronic music, the Peruvian case makes it difficult to draw a line between popular and academic practices, and the problems of definition will be highlighted as needed.

restricted and dependent on the social paradigms and nationalistic perceptions of individual actors, whose distinctive and wide-ranging assumptions about their role as citizens of Perú are shaped by a sense of tradition that has been ideologically molded. The role of each of these actors as agents in the process of negotiating the inclusion (or rejection) of electronic music is at the center of this work, as it serves us to outline a present landscape of the interweaving forces that have kept Perú out of an international conversation regarding musical technology. I present this landscape in a semi-chronological fashion and without the intention of constructing a historical timeline. Different moments of 'our' history are overlapped or interlocked as needed to present the different angles of approach.

In the first chapter I will talk about methodology and the problems that arise when seeking information regarding electronic Peruvian music. I will also present the main actors that I confront as sources for data and evidence for the assumptions made in this work. This includes the selection and access to the actors as well as the nature of the data collected.

In the second chapter I will review the relevant literature on Peruvian music, including those works that reveal the assumptions made by Peruvian and foreign researchers regarding the nature of 'our' music and how these assumptions affect the way electronic music has been viewed (and confronted)

in the country. This includes literature on the topic, pertinent literature on Peruvian music, literature on methodology, a mention of the holes in this literature and some of the relevant debates.

In the third chapter I will discuss the particular paradigms, ideologies and discourses that have served to evaluate and define Peruvian music, and the way these narratives complicate the development of electronic musical experimentation. This includes a series of specific social narratives, among them: indigenism, incaism, autochthonism, localism, nativism, ethnic nationalism, ancestralism, Pan-Americanism and cultural Post-Marxism. These categories and their multiple variations have been instrumental in the process of describing and constructing 'canons' and general definitions for Peruvian music. I will also assess the relevance of these categories in regards to portraying the role of foreign music. This also includes the foreign and national paradigms, the social categories involved and the musical models they have generated.

In the fourth chapter I will talk about some early Peruvian composers involved in the reception of western avant-garde electronic musical arts during the 1960s and 1970s. Cesar Bolaños, Edgar Valcárcel, and other composers from this period have been lately considered as a demonstration of the existence of a culture for electronic music in the country during those decades. At different points of this work I will challenge the statements made regarding these 'early

stages' of our story, and also present a critical evaluation of the associated processes for national identity construction.

In the fifth chapter I will talk about the Peruvian diaspora and how Peruvian electronic composers see, and are seen, by the foreign musical environments. This includes interviews and analysis of the specific work done by these musicians in relationship to their citizenship. I will also include here the Peruvian musicians who received partial training outside of Perú and returned to teach in the country.

In the sixth chapter I will talk about the different environments that have been responsible for the presence or lack of presence of electronic music in the curricula of the musical training institutions. In this chapter I will discuss the different stages of the history of musical education in Perú and the way electronic music has been seen during these periods.

In the seventh chapter I will talk about the articles written by Américo Valencia and Roberto Miro Quesada in favor and against the use of Peruvian elements in electronic music. This is the most important debate during the 1980s about electronic music in Lima. If, in other cases, information is veiled and an interpretative scrutiny is needed to interconnect and reveal a specific political positioning towards electronic music, these articles express our problems

'adopting' electronic music transparently.

In the eighth chapter I will talk about the response in popular music and the political activism related to the lack of opportunities for electronic music. Here I will talk about the Cono Norte movement and other musical experimental scenes that grew independently from regular musical training during the early 2000s as a result of laptop culture and software piracy.

In the ninth chapter I will talk about my experience during the last decade. My work since my arrival to Lima in 2011 has confronted the traditional paradigms I discuss in this work, presenting a counterpart to the lack of conceptual and historical works previously mentioned, and presenting the current situation as a possibility for development that is in progress and cannot be completely assessed yet.

The final chapter outlines and reviews the conclusions presented though this work.

CHAPTER 1

Research design and procedures, ethnographic methodology and our actors/structures

That, Detective, is the right question.

— Hologram of Dr. Lanning,
I Robot, 2004.

This work is a qualitative ethnography informed by my participant observation and direct experience, during the last 20 years, of the processes here discussed. Its purpose is for one part “to gain insight into the processes involved in co-constructions of meaning, lived experiences, cultural rituals, and oppressive practices.” (Atkinson, 2017). This being said, it also explores the diverse and fragmented communities that exists outside of very specific dominant cultural rituals, outlined in this work, and that have struggled to negotiate their participation and construct the ‘contextual meanings’ that could support their presence and subsistence.

The methodology used in this work is grounded in an ontological and epistemological model that emphasizes the participation of individual actors as

they are confronted with traditional, conservative and nationalistic power structures. Accordingly, it subscribes to an ontological perception of social context as the constant and fluid interaction between agents and structures. The use of the agent-structure model is part of a continuous debate (Tan, 2011) and some authors, like Bourdieu (2000) and Giddens (1984), have attempted to reconcile previous confrontational perspectives that tended to emphasize one side of the model over the other. This being said, I believe that it is the data itself that defines the presence, balance and relevance of these forces within the scenarios confronted by the research. Even though, and as Giddens expressed, "Structure is not 'external' to individuals" (Giddens, 1984, p. 25), it is also true that individuals are confronted by structural powers with which they interact in multiple ways and according to need. This is to say that if the traditional emphasis placed on structure by some traditional scholars, like Durkheim or Evans-Pritchard, have been confronted by a more integrative approach that validates equally both sides of the agency-structure dichotomy, this 'balance of forces' does not always reflect the field, and needs to be placed into the context of the research proposed. As it will be explained throughout this work, my research has shown the presence of strong social and ideological power structures, that while represented and enforced by specific actors, show a solid position in regards to music and technology. That is to say that according to the peculiarities of each of the actors involved in the process of segregation, rejection or suspicion towards musical technology and technology mediated

aesthetic concept for sound arts, a solid underlying model of thought can be detected. This model of thought, and its multiple variations, has helped generate and maintain a system that constantly overpower the agency of individual actors that have historically approached issues related to technologized music in Perú. The belief that “individuals act under given social structures and circumstances, [but] are, at the same time, re-creating those very same structures” (Tan, 2011, p. 44), does not necessarily take into consideration the specific positioning of individuals within the social context and the different levels of agency that the structure itself defines. In that sense, confronted with social structures and particular institutions (its actor included) that have accompanied Peruvian musical history, some actors have lacked the agency and language necessary to participate in the discussion or to transform the processes undertaken. This might be particularly true in the Peruvian case, and most actors of our story had been unable to validate their musical discourses while confronting the structures formed by those individuals that have attained the social status that allows them to define musical discourse in the country. What we can define as social structures (including musical scenes, ideologized social groups, public and private institutions and their internal cultures and members, identitarian constructions and their social products, etc.), is not be considered as a collection of rigid objects, as Durkheim had presented it (Durkheim, 1938, p. 45), but rather as a fluid construct sometimes difficult to identify and ‘capture’. That, however does not mean that social structures don’t

exist and don't hold power over individual actors, both to unify them and to segregate them. The presence of electronic music in Perú can be considered, as I will show in this work, as an example of the role and strength of social identitarian structures (conforming to and supported by social actors) in defining the possibilities for the development of opposing social forces and ideals outside their philosophical scope. It will also show the different levels of agency that are constructed around the reinforcement of specific identitarian narratives, and how these narratives serve to define communal thought and the significance of alternative narratives or identities that don't bear the fitting symbols of a geographically-based cultural heritage model.

The structures confronted for this work, however historically unstable and unclear about their own purposes, have played a substantial role in the [under]development of electronic music in the country. It is within this lack of clarity regarding the role of electronic music in the academia, and in front of public and social institutions, that we can identify the rules and norms that govern cultural and musical activities for the mutually informed manifestations of our agents and structures. If we agree that institutions are 'social facts' because actors agree that they exist (Ruggie, 1986), we must also agree that the institutionalized practice of electronic music does not exist, if our actor agree that it doesn't, or if they are unable to identify it, construct it, declare it, and therefore participate in such culture. The plurality and ambiguity (Tracy, 1985) of

discourses that we present during this work are not to be seen as an obstacle for unveiling and understanding the cultures confronted, but as a demonstration of the instability and vagueness of the models, processes, and practices that are used for the creation of meaning in relationship to music practices in Perú. We emphasize the role of structure in the neglect of electronic music arts, and the role of particular agents and their efforts toward legitimizing these arts.

On the role of agency, my inquiry focuses on the social function of lower-status individuals and groups that, faced with the intent to construct spaces for specific musical practices, find themselves confronted with a social/national communication system for music that rejects their *language* as inappropriate and irrelevant. I consider the particular stories and 'standpoints' produced by the struggle to negotiate a participation in the musical discourses of the nation, as essential elements for the construction of the history of a 'muted' community, always under development and being constantly kept from achieving a cohesion. These notions are informed by some of the concepts presented during the 1970s by Muted Group Theory that approach language as a mechanism to control a social discourse, and the idea of marginalized groups unable to achieve the 'language' necessary to participate in the dominant group (Ardener, 1975). While this model has been used mainly in respect to 'major-minorities' like women, indigenous populations, or other underrepresented groups, I find it to be useful to define the condition of electroacoustic and

electronic musicians (as a muted group of individuals) in the face of the official musical communities and essential actors of Peruvian musical training. The translation process into the dominant language of terms related to the conceptual cultures of technology-based music has failed, and its discourse is not understood or validated. Peruvian social self-representation permeates all cultural aspects determining the appropriate ways of talking about Peruvian music. Peruvian dominant musical communities, mostly based in nativist nationalism, validate themselves by declaring a marginalized condition, a discourse that, in turn, serves to invalidate global musical development for the sake of shielding and sheltering national cultural products and identities from being poisoned by the forces of cultural colonialism.

The scope of this study, running from the introduction of electronic sound arts to Perú during the 1960s to contemporary attempts to introduce the subject into the cultural and academic musical environments of Perú, allows me to construct a detailed model for the transformations and processes that have taken place, and to identify the constants more accurately. In that sense I am both an actor and a researcher in this work, as I am immersed both in the field of inquiry as a researcher and lecturer on music in Perú since 2012, and as an electronic musician, both popular and academic, and inside and outside Perú, since the 1990s. In that sense my academic work during most of the last decade has been centered around creating spaces for electroacoustic and electronic

music in Perú, and to promote the discussion regarding those musical scenes and genres not confronted by the Peruvian academic spheres. I consider, following Standpoint Theory² that the sum of points of view presented and analyzed in this work, including mine, can help us create a more accurate and objective representation of our research 'world' helping us to arrive at conclusions rooted in perspectives and dimensions of the problem that can only be understood with the inclusion of personal 'daily live' immersive experiences provided by the actors of our particular community.

If for most ethnographic work it is important to be accepted by the community engaged in order to obtain useful data, in my case, I am part of the community being analyzed and I have participated in the tensions and differences proper to the community, for decades now. In that sense we can say that I am completely integrated into the population that I am studying and am a member of the fragmented, unorganized and ambiguous community of Peruvian electronic musicians. It is clear that my condition of immersion determines the descriptions and conclusions that I provide while giving me a unique and invaluable opportunity to express perspectives for understanding and analysis difficult to obtain by a non-native, non-local researcher culturally

² Standpoint Theory idea of inter-subjective discourses as conforming a point of view, is helpful for our research purposes, as I consider that the problems in developing electronic music in the country have created unique and peculiar views of both music and academia in the country. Analyzing the position from which our actors view their activities help as declare the frontiers that have been established for their activities. For more on Standpoint Theory see Ryan (2005).

distant from the communities confronted. This being said, I also believe that my nearly 20 years resident in the United States allowed me to generate a healthy distance from the Peruvian cultural environment, and provided me with a more balanced view of my own initial cultural training. It is common for Peruvian researchers who have been trained for a small period of time outside Perú to adopt academic research models learned outside with a nationalist perspective, as the length of the period of migration is, in many cases, not long enough for them to go through a process of acculturation and the implementation of new social values and identities. The length of my stay outside of the country, as well as the current period in Perú of almost a decade, has allowed me to generate a more in-depth understanding of the cultural contrasts that helps me situate the labor undertaken by this investigation. I am in this regard Peruvian and American, native and foreign, an outsider and an insider in this research.

By being part of the communities investigated I am both confronting and constructing new data that is presented throughout this work. If I am presenting here a series of problems for the insertion of electronic musical culture in Perú, these problems are not only those of the communities I mention but my own. As I have dedicated the last years to attempt, as others have done before, to insert these cultures into the academic environments of the country, I am writing the 'last chapter' of this research. The difficulties I have encountered have helped

me understand the experiences of other electronic musicians, and relate to their efforts, achievements and disappointments. As I interviewed the different actors that have informed this work, I felt an accomplice's understanding of the dreamed musical communities they attempted to build. I could also relate to the way traditional social structures in the country were being identified by our actors, and how they were, themselves, declared either as the 'enemy' or as national 'allies' for the construction of their musical identity and practice depending on their ideological positioning.

If my actions during these years have produced any changes for the practice of electronic musical in the country, the results, if any, will be seen some years from now and cannot be completely assessed at this moment. In the final chapter of this work, I will discuss current efforts to implement a culture of electronic music in the Peruvian academic world, as they could help us see some of the patterns of rejection and suspicion present throughout the history of the nation, and how the development of musical technology in recent decades has played a role towards a more flexible position regarding electronic music in the academic environment.. Some of these attempts have had the specific purpose of identifying the perpetuation of cultural assumptions towards technology-based musical arts and have served both as part of my professional activities and as research strategies. This kind of 'active research' provides for an examination of the benefits of a life experience and a critical self-inquiry that

helps draw a parallel with the experiences of the other actors of this inquiry, while helping to construct a national knowledge on the subject by making visible the set of power and social relationships that control the process of adaptation of electronic music in the country.

To portray and identify the community of Peruvian academic electronic music, multiple data collection techniques are used, including, but not limited to: (1) the analysis of various related documents, (2) extensive interviews with the main actors presented, (3) academic records and curricula, (4) description of and participation in events, and (5) personal observation. Since this is not a historical review of Peruvian electronic music, not all the actors are equally engaged, and they are considered as they represent and exemplify particular issues relevant to our inquiry.

The history of Peruvian electronic music involves several actors and institutions. The level of importance of these actors is sometimes related to their work, and at other times to the level of exposure given to them by the imagination and revision of historical facts for the construction of politicized, nationalistic or commercial discourses. As there are no history books, in the traditional sense, on the history of Peruvian electronics, most of the works that have been published during the last decade and the relevant discussions presented during this period are not based on the use of new interpretative tools

that could help conform a better understanding of historical issues already accounted for, but revolve around the construction and validation of a historical national heritage and the overvaluation of the work of different actors for 'patriotic', and sometimes commercial reasons. National, as well as regional, concerns for the defense of particular identities play a pivotal role in the historical positioning of these actors in the history of different imagined communities: Perú, South-America, Latin-America, Hispanic-America, etc. If, in general, the practice of electronic music is not supported, it is defended, when useful, to represent the country by generating national pride. Musicians are recognized *a posteriori* as they no longer represent a threat to the dominant models, or as long as they keep a low profile, or acknowledge the superiority of other models, and their 'electronic' activities don't cross the threshold of the anecdotic or the 'elective'.

Being that the list of 'all possible participants' in the processes here discussed is relatively short, most of them are mentioned in one way or another throughout the work. However, a particular list has been made of those who have played a role in the discussion about the integration of electronic experimentation in Peruvian music history, whether this role was real or has been artificially constructed to meet nationalistic and identitarian agendas, or whether their participation has been acknowledged or not. The role and relevance of these actors are clearly discussed as they are presented.

The following chart shows a chronological list by birthyear of the main actors presented and my level of connection with them for data collection.

- Cesar Bolaños (1931-2012) – Interviewed.
- Edgar Valcárcel Arze (1932-2010) – Superficially known.
- Américo Valencia Chacon (1946- 2019) – Extensively interviewed.
- Arturo Ruiz del Pozo (1949-) - Extensively interviewed.
- Rajmil Fischman (1956-) – Interviewed.
- José Roberto Sosaya Wekselman (1956-) - Extensively interviewed.
- Fernando De Lucchi Fernald (1962-) - Extensively interviewed.
- José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón (1968-) - Extensively interviewed.
- Abel Castro (1975-) - Extensively interviewed.
- Jaime Oliver La Rosa (1979-) - Extensively interviewed.

Other composers/musicians have shown, at different points, diverse levels of interest in electronic music, or have played a role in 'our history' and will be mentioned accordingly. A basic, but non-exhaustive, list should include: Enrique Pinilla Sánchez-Concha (1927-1989), Alejandro Núñez Allauca (1943-), Edgardo Plasencia (1958-), Nilo Velarde Chong (1964-), Rafael Leonardo Junchaya Rojas (1965-), Federico Tarazona (1972-), Renzo Filinich (1978-), Juan Ahon (1980-), Juan Arroyo (1981-), Julio Benavides, , Gilles Mercier (1963-), and Cesar

Villavicencio.

With respect to institutions, I primarily discuss the different attempts to generate a space for electroacoustic music at the CNM - Conservatorio Nacional de Música (now UNM - Universidad de la Música). I pay special attention to the 1990s period and the interest showed by José Sosaya, Américo Valencia and Fernando De Lucchi to discuss and implement spaces for music technology. After this initial effort, not much was done and the culture was forgotten or partially implemented (with minor moments of exception that will be also mentioned). I also present the work I have been doing at the UNM since 2017 including: teaching the courses Taller de Electroacústica, forming the first laptop orchestra of the UNM in 2019 (ELUMN – Ensamble de Laptops de la Universidad Nacional de la Música), and other activities for promoting electronic music at the UNM. In the following months the establishment of the Laboratorio de Música Electroacústica y Arte Sonoro should become official, changing the near future situation of electronic music and, if successful, changing dramatically the conclusions here presented.

Other institutions are mentioned in order to map the current offering in musical academic training, and the lack of presence of electronic music in the national curriculum as it represents the socio-political and ideological character that is part of the selection of study subjects. The academic offerings in Lima for

musical training at the university level include: The Conservatorio Nacional de Música (now Universidad de la Música), the Escuela de Música at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (as part of the Scenic Arts school), the music program at the Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas, the Instituto de Arte at the Universidad San Martín de Porres, and the music program at the Universidad San Ignacio de Loyola. Of all these schools, only the Universidad de la Música includes electronics in the course components of the school curriculum.

Some relevant academic environments, both at the university and the 'instituto superior' levels, that thanks to the agency of particular actors have shown a specific interest, while still minimal, for electronic sound arts or technology-based popular music, are: the Instituto Superior Orson Welles, the Instituto de Ingeniería de Sonido Sonitec Perú, the Taller de Investigación Sonora of Radio ISONAR at the Universidad San Martín de Porres, and the Arte Sonoro class at the Facultad de Ciencias y Artes de la Comunicación of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

To summarize, knowledge is socially-defined and created within social institutions by particular groups of individuals who, based on the way their academic training is informed by a culturally-constructed perception of Peruvian society, try to identify the most effective ways to achieve the personal,

social and professional development of their students. By identifying the values and perceptions these actors hold, we can understand the choices made, the skills emphasized, the 'knowledge' recognized, as well as the perspectives rejected. Each actor and institution here presented is partially responsible for the construction, recognition and implementation of that knowledge. In other words, a student of music that goes through his career without ever being confronted with a conversation regarding the conceptual contribution and historical relevance of music technology, would hardly consider the subject as important or pertinent to his musical practices. The practice of avoiding discussions and/or training in musical experimentation with technology on the part of the authorities in control of the different formal learning official stages, whether having been 'implemented' out of ignorance of the subject or for the defense of a particular doctrinarian stance, has created a vicious cycle of exclusion that keep the country lagging behind, and make it difficult for new generations of students to 'catch up' with their times. I consider it is unnecessary to explain here the condition of disadvantage such tacit policies against technology in music will produce or detail the future setbacks for which a 'selective' and 'obstructive' education in music will be responsible.

CHAPTER 2

Critical review of existing literature and research paradigms on the study of Peruvian music and Peruvian electronic music

The only way to handle a Peruvian is to agree with his pessimism.

— Paul Theroux, *The Old Patagonian Express*, 1979

We are musicians and our model is sound, and not literature ...

— Gérard Grisey, 1978

2.1 The Peruvian musical researcher in his labyrinth

Before I present a general mapping of the literature related to Peruvian electronic music, we must start by recognizing the following basic conditions:

1. There is no collection of academic texts that we can define as a 'corpus' or as introductory, or that could serve to represent the particulars of Peruvian electronic music.
2. The academic works that mention electronic Peruvian music, most

of the time only tangentially, rely on non-academic sources to validate their general declarations about Peruvian electronic music.

3. The conditions related to these deficiencies in documenting electronic music has been ideologically and politically motivated, whether consciously or unconsciously.

Since the arrival to Perú of academic electronic music during the 1960s, few attempts have been made to explore its history and practice. Most references and texts about Peruvian music written between the 1960s and the end of the 20th century failed at documenting or analyzing the initial period of electronic music in the country. This lack of interest and research products is not exclusive to electronic music and is shared by other musical styles and cultures, especially those that can be more easily referred to as foreign or that could be positioned as 'alien' and by ideological extension undesirable for our country. This sensitivity towards certain musical genres, and their identification with a negatively charged notion of alienness, is shared mainly by musical styles that entered the country during the second half of the 20th century, and can be more easily defined by indigenist-socialist movements as forms of western or 'yanqui'³ cultural colonialism, sometimes regardless of the geographical origin of the musical style. For instance, electronic music could be considered by

³ The word yanqui, a variation of the term Yankee, is commonly used in Spain and Latin-America to refer pejoratively to the population of the United States. Terms like *yanquilandia* or *gringolandia* are also common to refer to the United States as a country.

some politicized sectors as a yanqui invasion whether it came from the United States, the United Kingdom or Germany. Musical styles that entered the country before, like the Waltz or the Polka, have been assimilated and transformed to the point of being accepted, in their local form, as part of the music of the nation. Most literature on Peruvian music by Peruvian actors highlights this confrontational dichotomy between an imagined Perú and an imaginary west counterpart.

This situation relates to cultural models and concerns regarding Peruvianness and the construction of 'local academic powers' against 'foreign academic powers' for the interpretation of the 'us.' The study of Peruvian music has shown the primacy of those models of national identity that could be presented as a rejection of Spanish cultural dominance, colonial and postcolonial Eurocentrism, or North American economic supremacy. An ambivalent love-hate sentiment towards an imagined west populates the basic ontologies that structure musical research.⁴ At summarizing the historical and current trends and research priorities of the field of musical studies in Perú, we could easily declare that a strong nationalistic sentiment has covered the area all throughout the history of the republic. This nationalist sentiment has been expressed and informed by different ideological models that when applied to

⁴ For details regarding anti-Americanism in Latin America see Baker, A., & Cupery, D. (2013) and Azpuru, D., & Boniface, D. (2015).

music are used to define general categories while delimitating the field. It would be difficult to encounter a Peruvian music researcher that does not take a political position regarding Peruvian music, and even more difficult to find one that does not study Perú. This condition is clearly expressed by Raúl R. Romero on the introduction to his text "Tragedies and Celebrations: Imagining Foreign and Local Scholarships":

¿Por qué ustedes, los peruanos, siempre están estudiando a otros peruanos?", me preguntó desconcertado un antropólogo norteamericano cuando le comenté mis futuros proyectos de investigación. Por un instante no supe qué contestarle, porque pensé que, ante mi evidente provincianismo, su reacción era previsible. Mis proyectos parecían de pronto una prueba clara de inferioridad académica, típica de intelectuales del Tercer Mundo incapaces de escapar de sus propios destinos para llegar más allá de sus fronteras, de trascender su lugar de nacimiento y nacionalidad para surcar el mundo en búsqueda de una investigación verdaderamente original. [Why you, Peruvians, are always studying other Peruvians? A puzzled north American anthropologist asked me when I commented to him my future research projects. For an instance, I did not know what to answer, because I thought that, in front of my provincialism, his reaction was foreseeable. My projects seem, suddenly, a clear demonstration of academic inferiority, typical of intellectuals from the third world, incapable of scaping their own destinies to get beyond their frontiers, of transcending their birth place and nationality to plow through the world in search for a research truly original] (Romero, 2001, p. 73).

In this text, Romero presents a defense of the possibility for an 'exclusive' study of a country or region and the need to address 'real social problems' in academic work confronting a series of dichotomies like local/foreign, third world/first world, etc. The text presents the problems encountered by Peruvian

scholars while confronting cultural adaptation in front of the prevalent alien culture of a foreign educational institution in which one has to participate. If Romero was asked 'Why are you Peruvians always studying other Peruvians?', I was asked during my stay at UCSD 'Why do you Peruvians have to always talk about Perú, and why do you have to be so political about it?'. These two cases share the United States academic environment as the inquirer, and are not enough to make a wide declaration. I would say, however, that in my experience they are representative of the encounter between these 'two worlds.' The text presents important precisions regarding this relationship between 'foreigners' and 'locals', that while united by a common academic practice, experience a distance between each other, that does not seem to be resolved and in which the nation plays a segregating role. It also describes a set of political agendas that include the resistance to acculturation processes in the balancing of cultures, and a suspicion that those scholars coming from the 'hegemonic powers' represent power relations that keep us (native subaltern researchers) as inferior components of the academic world.

These initial questions and perceptions force us to generate new ones. Do we act differently? Do we question Peruvians that decide to take on another subject of study not related to the country? Do we publish works about non-Peruvian musical cultures written by Peruvians? Is this declaration of difference between the 'foreign researcher' and the 'local research' functional? Does a

Peruvian researcher have a political and ethical obligation towards the country? What are the ideologies behind local research activities? Pointing them out could be considered as an act of social treason? By fighting against foreign hegemonical powers are we creating our own internal hegemonical powers? Many of these questions have not been presented to the Peruvian research communities, and are difficult to formulate in front of the urgency of declaring national identity, or as Portocarrero would say: 'la urgencia por decir nosotros' [the urgency for saying us] (Portocarrero, 2015). This 'urgency' has had an influence in the text production and the selection of academic research topics. It is impossible to think of the production of text about electronic music in Perú without taking these factors under consideration. This being said, this trend might be changing as the publication of a pocket book about academic and popular visions of electronic music in Perú of my authorship (a result of multiple short publications and conferences on the issue presented in the last years), was accepted for publication last year (López, 2019).

The list of available documents related to Peruvian electronic music (including popular and academic, published or unpublished texts) is short. This is both an advantage and an obstacle in the construction of a narrative account that could reflect a critical analysis of a established situation. This work is not the extension of work already performed or based on existing theory or a clear set of academic opinions regarding this topic, with the exception of the work that I

have been pursuing during these years. The territory is, in that sense, familiar but uncharted and I have no counterparts to contest directly or assumptions to challenge in regards to academic methodological analysis of the subjects. In that sense, the research here presented and all the prior research that I started in 2006, form a first academic integral look at the history of Peruvian electronic music.

This does not mean, however, that no texts have expressed an interest in constructing a history of Peruvian electronic music, especially in years following the presentation of my master's thesis in 2008. The related published texts and opinions will be presented and analyze to the extent in which they shed some light on the subject or obscure it. There are several possible reasons (or excuses) to be given regarding the lack of a vast literature on the topic. If the absence of a national identity to validate Peruvian electronic music has already being mention, it might also be considered as a proof of 'how small the community is' and a way to declare its irrelevancy. On the other hand, I consider that this lack of literature has complicated the development of a 'healthier and stronger community'.

Whether the egg or the chicken came first, is within this absence that we can identify how the lack of interest or inclusion of the topic within the literature on Peruvian music is, in itself, a clear political declaration. By widening the

boundaries of our exploration for relevant literature to include research related to music in Perú, in general, we can map with certain clarity the way in which music scholarship has defined particular conceptualizations and values in the declaration of a frame for Peruvian music studies. The different framing processes that accompany the study of music in Perú inform noticeably the attitude and expectations of the Peruvian music scholar, while keeping music phenomena that does not fulfill the requirements and elements from inclusion into the frame⁵. I would argue then, that if “frames are *organizing principles* that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese, 2001, p. 11), the Peruvian framing processes for ‘our’ music has not developed a space for electronic music and related arts, and therefore, its presence in the conversation is not deemed necessary. They know that it exists, they just don’t know what to do with it.

With all this being said, and in order to understand the current situation, we must review critically both (1) the general texts and paradigms present in the history of the academic study of music in the country, and (2) the specific works related to electronic music, *by* Peruvian electronic musicians and *about* Peruvian electronic music, especially the larger number of publications presented during the 21th century.

⁵ For issues related to Framing Theory see: Bateson 1972, Gittlin 1980.

2.2 Literature review of Peruvian music research [and Peruvianess]

No solamente todos somos indigenistas en el Perú,
todos somos indios de un pequeño grupo de explotadores

— José Maria Arguedas

Peruvian music research is a fragile space that reflects the fragmentation produced by the colonial process of geopolitical redistribution, the postcolonial failure to construct a functional nation-state, and the resulting lack of a well-defined national identity. This lack of social cohesion became evident, for the political elites of the country, right after the Chilean invasion at the end of the Saltpeter War, as it was clearly expressed by the famous Peruvian scholar and politician Ricardo Palma (1833-1919), "... quien siente tras la derrota ante los chilenos a un Perú fragmentado en el que el campesinado indígena muestra una falta de patriotismo que debe ser enfrentada" [... who feels after the defeat in front of the Chileans, a fragmented Perú in which the indigenous peasantry shows a lack of patriotism that should be confronted] (López, 2015, p. 428-429). Our researchers operate under the general consensus, whether this has or not been expressed publicly, that the country is 'incomplete' and thrives for a 'completion', and that this condition requires for a socially engaged academic vindication. It shows an ambivalent attitude in front of foreign methodology, research and publications, and a preoccupation towards the

local academic processes of mediation between the methods from abroad and the problems of defining the field.

The controversies surrounding the role of outsiders and insiders in researching and publishing works related to Peruvian music should not be taken lightly as they have subtly dominated the selection of appropriate and inappropriate discourses about Peruvian music. This problem was partially presented by Javier F. León who considered in his 1999 article, "Peruvian Musical Scholarship and the Construction of an Academic Other," that "much of the present situation regarding ethnomusicological research in Perú, as well as in other parts of the world, is closely related to issues of power" (Leon, 1999, p. 170). While several issues, including paternalism, intellectual colonialism, fetishization (both local and foreign), and legitimization are directly confronted in the text, it does not address a different set of boundaries present in local musicological research: the nationalistic ideologies that inform the construction of the 'us.' If some voices of the West consider that "Western ethnomusicology has no right to impose its own concerns onto the local scholarship" (Leon, 1999. P. 170); does local scholarship have the right to construct a research environment that imposes a moral nationalistic and nativist model on local scholarship? Does local scholarship have the right to reject subjects of study that don't comply with a nationalistic percentage quota? Can we talk about local scholarship as a whole when the diversity of its subjects is vulnerable or coerced? And finally, in

regards to our research, the general rejection of electronic music as a subject of musicological study, and therefore of related publications, could be considered as a failure of the local scholarship to represent its own musical communities and interests? If, at some point, there was an interest to address the autonomy of Peruvian scholars in comparison to Western academic discourses, now it becomes urgent to address the local autonomy of independent Peruvian researchers against Peruvian academia as a force in the homogenization of local discourses.

To understand this situation we must relate it to the fact that most intellectual efforts to record Peruvian musical cultures had, until recently, been focused on those elements that could be considered 'national', 'native', or 'post-native', making an emphasis on those musical styles that could fall under the broad classification of traditional music. While all Peruvian music in existence is the result of multicultural processes that started long before Pizarro captured the Sapa Inca Atahualpa in Cajamarca in 1532, and had continued throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods: political nativism and an autoctonist view of 'our' music has played an essential role in the construction of historical narratives for Peruvian music and the selection of the materials to be documented. A sense of cultural vindication informs an ideological model that portrays current Peruvian citizens as representatives of a series of cultural traits that had been deterritorialized by what is perceived as a monolithic European

invading culture represented by the Spanish crown. These perceptions can be clearly seen in the work of academic musicians and social science researchers all thru the 20th century.

We can identify several overlapping framing models for the study of music in Perú, and their associated paradigms. These models and their ideological components have served, without being its main intention, as 'exclusion' models as they have shaped the academic and social documenting endeavors for Peruvian music along the prior century.

While this must be understood as a simplification of the complex systems of categorization and organization of the study of Peruvian music, there are about 4 central models/areas of inquiry pertinent to our analysis and useful to understand some of the sources for the problems expressed in this work:

- 1. [the past as the center of analysis] Autoctonist, nativist and Incaist models and the defense of pre-colonial *survivals*. We can find this model at the beginning of the prior century (Castro 1898, Alviña 1908, D'Harcourt 1925) and even in present times in relationship to other pre-colonial cultures of the region (Valencia 2016). Authors like Julio Mendivil have moved from a rescue effort, as shown in prior works (2009), to confronting the myths of 'Inca music' (2018).

- 2. [social inequity as the center of analysis] Indigenist models and the search for a middle ground between local tradition and colonial European influence as portrayed by the 'mestizo'. We can see this model in the work of Arguedas in the search for Peruvian folkloric indigenous, but mixed, roots (Arguedas, 1953, 1962, 1969, 1977, etc) or Josafat Roel Pineda, founder of the Sociedad Peruana de Folklore and in charge of ethnomusicology at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música in the 1950s (Roel, 1959). Other more contemporary works have confronted indigenist models, both in favor and against, in regards to musical practice and musical education at different points of Peruvian musical history (Romero 2018, López 2019).
- 3. [Andean ethnocentrism and regionalism as the center of analysis] Andean musical studies, whether autochthonist, indigenist or contemporary and ideologically mixed, have been represented by the Centro Francés de Estudios Andinos (now Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos - IFEA) founded in 1948, and decades later by the Archivo de Música Tradicional Andina (now Ethnomusicology Institute (IDE) founded in 1985, and a long list of local and foreign authors and publications interested in the music of the Andes (Arce, Bolaños, Turino, Romero, Baumann, etc). In some cases, this model includes the notion of Perú as an exclusively Andean country, and the idea that the coastal region is an academic construction, 'the slope of the Andes'.

- 4. [urban 'centered' focus of analysis] Urban coastal musical studies, normally related to *Criollo* music (Stein, 1982; Borrás, 2012; Rohner, 2018), Afro-Peruvian music (Tompkins, 1982; Romero, 1994; Feldman, 2006), and Cumbia (Razuri, 1983; Hurtado, 1995; Quispe; Bailon, 2004).

While this list can be extended, and better and more complete representations of the study of music in Perú could, and have, been made (Leon, 1999; Romero 2016), I mention here those that I consider relevant to our conversation, in the sense that they express the areas where interest has been placed and the selection of subjects most of the published body relate to, and subsequently the lack of spaces, under this models, for electronic music or other more contemporary musical practices. In other words, it has been difficult for electronic practices of the 1960s on to find a way to relate to folkloric, autochthonism, or indigenist music; as it had been difficult, for instance, for the Foxtrot of the 1920s, forcing the composers to 'folklorice' and fetishize it by creating and 'Inca fox-trot' to make it native (López, 2015, p. 430). To make it ours we had to be able to identify cultural national elements. The lack of these elements would make a musical style foreign and therefore inadequate and, in some cases, unwelcome. In that regard is important to mention that Cesar Bolaños, who is considered our most important electronic music composers, published during his career several books related to pre-colonial music and the 'antiguo Perú' with texts like "Música y Danza en el Antiguo Perú" (1981) or the

book *Origen de la Música en los Andes* (2007), published by the editorial of the Peruvian Congress, but none on electronic music.

Another text worth mentioning is *La Música en el Perú* (1985), a book with multiple authors, including Cesar Bolaños and Enrique Pinilla. Pinilla (sometimes mentioned as one of our electronic pioneers due to his 1967 composition *Prisma* for magnetic tape), mentions briefly some of our first electronic musicians and their compositions on “La Música en el Siglo XX,” included as a chapter of the book.

In recent years the Instituto de Etnomusicología of the Universidad Católica del Perú have made an important turn to more contemporary musical styles and open the door to the implementation of a broader spectrum of studies on Peruvian musical practices. Its publication of *Música Popular y Sociedad en el Perú Contemporáneo* in 2015 marks a before and after on academic publications of Peruvian music with the inclusion, in the second part of the book dedicated to what it defines as ‘the transnational’, of styles like: punk, jazz, romantic ballad, hip hop, metal, and electronic music. Although this artificial separation still distinguishes the fully Peruvian worlds of ‘lo criollo, lo andino, lo afro-peruano’ (title of the first part of the book) from those styles still seen as ‘foreign practices within our territory ‘; nevertheless, it presents them as an important new adhesion to our musical inquiries.

2.3 The texts: Talking, writing and avoiding electronic music.

There is almost nothing written during the 20th century about the existence of electronic music in Perú. Electronic music is mentioned on occasion in newspapers and in relation to specific events, performances or pieces. One exception, but still within the world of journalism, might be the debate between Américo Valencia and Roberto Miro Quesada in 1984. I will discuss the journalistic articles of this dispute in detail later, as it presents some of the problems discussed throughout this work. I will present here some of the academic and semi-academic or investigate texts related to Peruvian electronic music, while dividing them between (1) texts written by Peruvian electronic musicians, and (2) those written about Peruvian electronic music. It might be interesting to note, that there are not books related to global electronic music or technical related aspects in general by Peruvians living in Perú. Peruvian musicians and researchers living in Perú only talk about Peruvian issues, while Peruvians living abroad can publish about general issues on electronics. While this can be easily blamed on the lack of spaces and possibilities for publication in the country, the issues and obstacles presented in this work make a case for the political aspects related not only to electronic music itself, but all other aspects, including publication. The only exception, to my knowledge, to this tacit rule is *Anti Preset. Sintesis Sonora. El Arte de Crear*

Sonidos, published in Perú in 2017 by the Catalanian musician Xavier Camps.⁶ The case of Camps and the book's publishing institution, SONITEC, will be mentioned on chapter 6.

Rajmil Fischman, one of our most renowned (and few) electronic composers has written a couple of articles that, although not specifically related to Peruvian electronic music, show the presence of electronic music composers in the international conversation about music and technology. In one particular text, "Global Village, Local Universe: A Statement of Identity," published on *Leonardo Music Journal*, of MIT, in 1999, Fischman addresses the issue of identity while mentioning his Peruvian background:

I was exposed to Peruvian folklore in its various guises and traditions. (I must admit that, at the time, this exposure was not necessarily welcome. For example, while a large number of radio stations would exclusively transmit Andean music, the middle classes in 1960s Lima shunned it as music of the uneducated migrants from the highlands.) (Fischman, 1999).

In this article Fischman mentions Perú not as a unique or essential source of identity but as one of many (western formal education, Jewish traditions, Latin American folklore, etc.), and declares an alliance to a more ample term commonly used to identify people from Spanish-speaking countries by 'the

⁶ The existence of this book supports most of my positions, as it becomes obvious it could not have been published by someone other than a foreigner living in the country, and that it needed to be self-published as no institution would have endorsed it.

west': Latin America. This term facilitates the identification of musicians from these countries, and helps develop useful networks of interaction outside of their countries of origin. Also, whereas he does not address the issue directly, he declares a conflict that relates to the problems presented in this work in regards to the perceived need to vindicate popular Andean music. We mention this text not as an element in the history of Peruvian electronic music but as a text written by a Peruvian electronic musician concerned with issues related to the construction of identity. The statement is also political, in the sense that it presents a perception of the presence of discrimination towards Andean music by the middle classes (to which Fischman and most Peruvian electronic musicians belong), while admitting to the fact that he considered Andean music to be dominant on the radio of the time.

On his "Music for the masses," published in 1994 in the *Journal of New Music Research*, Fischman discusses important issues related to electroacoustic music, the role of the composers, and the educational environments. These important themes never arrived to Perú, and were not included in the intellectual conversations of the country. The lack of mentioning of Perú on the text shows a liberation on Fischman's part from the national standards that force Peruvian authors to discuss Perú almost exclusively; while the lack of response on part of Perú (with comments, reviews, or even the acknowledgment of its existence) shows the disconnection between the 'global villages' and the 'local

universes.' Rajmil Fischman is part of a network of Latin American electronic musicians that stills needs an official representation in Perú. His connection and participation with electronic local activities is supported 'unofficially' by a few interested individuals. The reference section of this work includes other important written contributions by Fischman.

Coming into the 21th century, we can find more texts written by Peruvian electronic musicians living outside of Perú. The acceptance in 2006 of 2 Peruvians, Jaime Oliver La Rosa and myself, into the doctoral program in Computer Music at UCSD has catapulted a series of texts addressing electronic music in the following decade. Since most of my work is about Perú, I will discuss it in the following section and we will concentrate here on publications by Jaime Oliver. As a result of his two first years at UCSD, Oliver writes, in 2008 his Master's thesis "To un-button: strategies in computer music performance to incorporate the body as mediator of electronic sound," and the same year would present as part of his research the paper "The Silent Drum Controller: A New Percussive Gestural Interface" (together with Matthew Jenkins), at the International Computer Music Conference in Belfast. In the following years Oliver has published several texts on Computer Music and related issues, the vast majority is written in English and none on the Peruvian aspects of electronic music. Even though we find several national themes used on his musical work, he follows a similar approach to Fischman's declaration of identity, and other artists, and

declares on his webpage an interest on 'Contemporary Latin American Music in a global context.'⁷

This ambiguous situation about the definition of identity by those that under many circumstances would be defined as Peruvian electronic musicians, might sound irrelevant from a global perspective, but when confronted with the cultural intellectual isolation of Peruvian discourses it becomes relevant, as it shows a negotiation in front of a global intellectual academic market where the Peruvian elements becomes diluted and a wider categorization is needed. *Latinoamericanismo* is, for many Peruvians outside of the country, (1) a way to be described, (2) a political tool for adaptation, (3) a strategy to find a home into an already visible community and (4) an emotional response to a spirit of partnership on several simplifying constructions and dichotomies: colonial/colonized, Anglo/Latin, first world/third world, privileged/oppressed, etc.

Most of the publications by Oliver in later years relate to computer musical performance and interfaces, musical instruments and gesture. A long list of his contributions to the field can be found in the reference section of this text.

While, Fischman and Oliver do not discuss directly issues related to Perú in

⁷ <http://www.jaimeoliver.pe/>

their writing production, Peruvian elements are a strong source of inspiration for their musical work as we will mention later on. They also show an interest for sharing their knowledge in Perú through musical presentations and workshops.

The absence of new Peruvian authors writing about electronic music between Rajmil Fischman's first publications during the 1980s and 1990s and 2008 (roughly two decades) shows the lack of possibilities for Peruvian musicians to access the discourses of music and technology or pursue training in electronic music.

Interested in Peruvian academic electronic music popped up at the beginning of the 21st century. Some of our first explorers into electronic music and musical avant-garde practices during the 20th century, especially Cesar Bolaños and Edgar Valcárcel, become the object of attention by institutions like the Centro Cultural de España in Lima and a fragmented community of popular electronic musicians musically inspired by global musical trends that arrived to Perú from the 1980s on, and with no historical connection with foreign or local avant-garde communities or actors. A breaking point in the history of perceptions of the history of electronic music in Perú, was the organization of the Contacto festival between 2003 and 2004, of which we will talk later on. We can trace some of the first publications on electronic music to this particular event organized by Juan Barandearan.

Having participated on the Contacto Festival in 2004, and having started my PhD program in Computer Music at UCSD on 2006, I began to work on my Master's thesis presented two years later: "Constructing Musical Spaces Beyond Technological Eden: A Participative Initiative for Musical Interface Development Based in the Peruvian Context" (López, 2008a). This could be considered as the first academic written work on Peruvian electronic music, while not about academic music but mainly popular Peruvian electronics. This work is not only important as a first attempt to map this subject, but as a demonstration of the cultural models about Peruvians and their researched mentioned before. As part of my ideologized cultural training I considered, at that point, that it was imperative for me to talk about Perú in my research and that some political analysis should be included for the sake of contributing to society (López, 2008a, p. 17), and that, for that reason, no matter how technical my work might be, it had to be associated with a sense of loyalty towards a marginalized community that I was to represent. It is important to see this particular work as both a critical perspective on Peruvian musical studies by the inclusion of a culture not previously explored, but, at the same time, as part of the social nationalistic currents that inform scholar work in/about the country.

In 2009 a book is published under the title *Tiempo y Obra de Cesar Bolaños*. This work is, in large part, the result of the initial efforts generated by

Juan Barandearan at the Centro Cultural de España en Lima (CCE) to bridge the historical gap between 1960s Peruvian experimentation and the new electronic popular musicians of the 21th century. This book, edited by Luis Alvarado (Alvarado, 2009), can be considered as the first work related to Peruvian academic electronic music published in Perú, and follows a series of efforts to recover Peruvian electronic music including: the publication of Bolaño's work by the American label Pogus with a double CD under the name *César Bolaños Peruvian Electroacoustic and Experimental Music (1964-1970)* (Pogus, 21053-2),⁸ and the work of Ricardo Dal Farra on documenting Latin American Electroacoustic Music, thanks to the Daniel Langlois Foundation (Dal Farra, 2004).⁹

Several aspects of this text have to be reviewed in order to understand the contemporary processes for the construction of a history of Peruvian electronic music. I will address these issues in the following chapter. I will say, for now, that there are discrepancies in the way the historical situations are presented in order to construct what has become now the official discourse on the initial history of Peruvian electronic music. This book is the final chapter in the process of introducing and establishing Bolaños as an historical pioneering force and a symbol of Peruvian musical avant-garde practices during the 1960s and

⁸ <http://www.pogus.com/21053.html>

⁹ <http://www.fondation-langlois.org/html/e/page.php?NumPage=556>

1970s. It is important to note here that the core of the book is represented by two texts about Cesar Bolaños in Argentina, where he developed most of his work on electronics. One example of the interest produced during this period and represented by this new work is the chapter of the book written by Sadiel Cuentas: "El Lenguaje Musical de Cesar Bolaños." Cuentas, a composer from the Conservatorio Nacional de Música who was invited to participate and started to research about Bolaños work and analyze his music, shows a particular interest not present at the time between traditional composers. When asked about the work of Bolaños, he declares: "conocía algo del trabajo de Bolaños, pero no era de mi interés en ese momento," [I knew some about Bolaños work, but I was not interested at the time]¹⁰ This lack of interest on Bolaños work was not an individual and personal criterion but the norm within traditional composers. He also declares that, as a result of this work: "naturalmente, me interesé. Visité a Bolaños en varias ocasiones, hice registros de algunas de sus partituras, estudié su música." [naturally, I got interested. I visited Bolaños several times, made a record of some of his scores, studied his music].¹¹

What is important to note here in relation to this publication and its role in later Peruvian literature on electronic music is that: (1) interest in these arts was

¹⁰ Personal communication, June 10, 2019.

¹¹ Ibid.

not present, in Perú, at the time of Bolaños and until the beginning of the 21th century, (2) the project of the book was an essential element in the construction of a new narrative that reevaluates the role of Peruvian electronic composers of the 1960s and 1970s, (3) this reevaluation starts a new interest in the electronic works of Peruvian composers by the academic environment, which has known of the existence of these works but had prioritized other more traditional musical forms and musical studies by these composers. This work is both essential and misleading. On one hand it defends Cesar Bolaños as a "figura representativa durante la década de los sesentas ... profundamente asociada con el desarrollo de las vanguardias musicales en nuestro país ..." [leading figure during the decade of the sixties ... deeply associated with the development of the vanguards of our country,] overstaying the reception of his work in the country, while downplaying the rejection of Bolaños work by the institutions of his time. On the other hand, it unveils and reveals a forgotten world that helps comprehend both the reception of electronic musical practices in the country and the existence of composers interested in assuming the challenges of the new technological vanguards of the electronic music global revolution.

Alvarado's effort to present and defend the initial experimentation with electronics and in general the avant-garde practices of academic musicians in Perú has produced several written works, conferences, exhibitions and the publication of musical works. Most of these works are informed by a nationalistic

sense of pride and a successful marketing strategy to promote a product that in itself does not necessarily represent its new constructed relevance. The contradictions regarding the significance of some of the musicians presented by these narratives, together with an acknowledged lack of interest by institution and public during their times, will be discussed later on. Thanks to the support of the literary critic Abelardo Oquendo, Alvarado publishes in 2010 in *Hueso Humero* magazine the text "Encuentro de dos mundos: Edgar Valcárcel y la Nueva Música en el Perú" (Alvarado, 2010). This text follows similar intentions to the prior work, presenting, in this case, the composer from Puno, Edgar Valcárcel as an important figure of the 'nueva música en el Perú.' I will discuss in detail the relevance of Valcárcel in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

The historical role of ideology in the history of Peruvian music

3.1 The sounds of the nation: Peruvian nationalism and music as a colonial conversation / some bridges never crossed.

Le nationalisme c'est la guerre!

— François Mitterrand, 1995

In October of 2018 Donald Trump, president of the United States, made a controversial declaration: “I am a nationalist and proud of it.”¹² One might think that such a statement could be in order for an official that represents a nation-state, and therefore should support the ideologies behind the concept of nation and the role of a citizen of such a political entity. However, Trump himself noticed how charged the term had become and how he could receive a polarized response and a strong critique to a comment that did not only represent populism but could be considered as a call for traditional cultural segregation, an identification of the term nation with ethnic and racial profiling

¹² https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-im-a-nationalist-and-im-proud-of-it/2018/10/23/d9adaae6-d711-11e8-a10f-b51546b10756_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.305b49c8db1d

for the citizens, and anti-global and anti-migration thought. The complete quote shows these doubts and the foreseen controversy:

You know, they have a word – it's sort of became old-fashioned – it's called a nationalist. And I say, really, we're not supposed to use that word. You know what I am? I'm a nationalist, okay? I'm a nationalist. Nationalist. Nothing wrong. Use that word. Use that word.¹³

While the use of terms like 'nationalism' in the United States could raise some eyebrows, the connotations of such a statement in countries like Germany would find a more vigorous disapproval and even censure (as it might also occur, in some instances, in countries like Spain), as nationalism could be seen as the opposite of globalization and European unity, and a reminder of some of the ideas behind World War 2. A statement by German Chancellor Angela Merkel's the same year clarifies the difference: "Nationalism and egoism must never have a chance to flourish again in Europe. Tolerance and solidarity are our future. And this future is worth fighting for"¹⁴

If we can see a radical contrast in the use of the term and two moments in the history of western thought represented by the statements of Trumps and Merkel, the Peruvian case does not embody this binary opposition and has its

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20181106IPR18316/merkel-nationalism-and-egoism-must-never-have-a-chance-again-in-europe>

own nationalistic flavor. Recognizing the different concepts and ideologies present in Peruvian nationalism and their development through the history of the nation, is essential for the understanding of the forces that designate its cultural output and the way music (and other arts) were considered as pillars that maintain and bring forward the 'values' of the country.

The rise to power of extreme nationalistic discourses in Perú during the 21st century might help understand the differences with the traditional west. Ollanta Humala¹⁵, president of Perú between 2011 and 2016 was the founder of the Partido Nacionalista Peruano, an anti-imperialistic left-wing socialist and nationalist party with a strong connection with the Movimiento Etnocacerista. The Movimiento Etnocacerista is a political group based on ethnic nationalism and the defense of the 'raza cobriza' (copper or brown race). The party was founded by Ollanta Humala's father Isaac Humala. Isaac Humala was himself part of the Partido Comunista Peruano and constructed the ideology of the party based on indigenism, pan-Americanism, communism and Nazi symbology, proclaiming the need to end democracy and for it to be replaced by a totalitarian militaristic regime based on what they perceive as Inca principles.¹⁶

¹⁵ Humala's name Ollanta comes from the mythical heroic figure Ollantay, a character from the colonial dramatic play of the same name published around 1770 but of unknown origin. Ollantay is a classic romantic folk tale about the forbidden love of a commoner (Ollantay) and an Inca princess (Kusi Quyllur). Ollantay is part of the is a product of the eighteenth-century Inca renaissance. For more information regarding the play see: Markham, 1871; Brokaw, 2006.

¹⁶ However inappropriate the defense for a totalitarian military racist regime might sound for some, in Perú it can find an empathic response even in academic environments, as is the case

While once in government Ollanta Humala rapidly moved away from the radical ideals that helped to get him to power, what is important is the proximity of political radicalism, as it affects cultural production.

Peruvian radical nationalism is thriving and has a strong presence in the political and cultural institutions of the country and anti-nationalist thought is perceived as anti-patriotic. The lines that could separate terms like nationalism, patriotism and citizenship are blurred and, in some cases, non-existing. Cultural discourses and popular art representations are full of nationalistic sentiments. The historical consequences of the different nationalistic trends that have flourished in Perú during its history are strongly tied, and are parallel, to a progress of specific musical trends and to a rhetorical defense of particular ways to perform, compose and conceptualize musical practices.

The 21th century has brought us to a decline of the concept of nation, and the favoring of terms like globalization as a symbol of prosperity and historical evolution. International, multinational and supranational have come to be considered as terms that represent more accurately contemporary societies. Transcultural and transnational thought have also accentuated the multiple nature of contemporary identities, where the processes of assimilation and

with Mendieta's Master Thesis on Political Science from 2011: *Camisas verdes en el Perú: el proyecto de Estado del etnocacerismo, modernidad y nacionalismo*. See Mendieta, 2011.

homogenization as tools for national integration are being replaced by a sense of multiculturalism and the diffusion of geographical boundaries and political entities. This post-national turn recognizes the multiple layers that converge into the construction of an identity that is no longer restricted by the geographical frontier. From multinational enterprises to transnational corporations, and from colonialism as a globalizing force to contemporary migration and social media virtual interaction, both the forces of ethnocentrism and ethnoconvergence are being restructured to conform new imagined communities beyond the nation, in which identities are at the same time being reinforced but creatively integrated into the new, and more integrating, social models.

I argue throughout this work, that the notions of nation in Perú, together with the influence of foreign perceptions and discourses about national identity, are essential and integral elements not only in the construction of Peruvian music, which is in itself a nationalistic concept, but also contributing factors (and obstacles) for the development of music considered, at different times, as foreign. This includes musical styles, concepts and instruments derived from a technological advancement not present in Peruvian society at the time of their insertion or creation. Electronic and electroacoustic music are but examples of the way in which political and national discourses in Perú have affected the integration of global advancements and musical concepts based on technology as part of national culture.

In order to understand the reception in Perú of European avant-garde music of the 20th century and technology-based popular international music we must understand the political and ideological climates each revolution encountered at their arrival. Strong nationalistic sentiments as well as anti-foreign political discourse must be adequately confronted as they are useful to give us a profound insight into not only Peruvian music (in a nationalist sense), but also music in Perú, including musical cultures that have found it difficult to be included in the list of musical practices of the nation.

While it might be difficult, at first sight, to see the correlation between these political processes and the development of Peruvian music, or, furthermore, electroacoustic or avant-garde music in Perú; I argue that it is within this particular and unique history of political thought that we can find the clues necessary to unveil the polemics presented during the development of electronic and electroacoustic music in the country. No musical activity in Perú has grown outside of the parameters of a strong political and musical nationalism whose history we will unwrap in this chapter.

The study of nationalism has already a long academic history, and much has been said about it since the publication of Anderson's book *Imagined Communities* in 1983. The theme of Peruvian nationalism has also been

addressed but most of the works related stress the importance of nationalistic thought as a means for identity construction and a tool for the consolidation of the country as a political entity united and sovereign. The failure of these national dreams in the republican history of the country is also constantly mentioned with an emphasis on the unfinished character of a country constantly under construction and in a condition of fragmentation never properly tackled. This condition is commonly blamed on the lack of interest on the part of the elites of Lima, for the rest of the country and the indigenous population that inhabited it:

El problema partía de la definición misma de 'los peruanos'. Para los intelectuales oligárquicos, no estaban incluidos dentro de esta categoría los indios que, sin embargo, constituían la inmensa mayoría de la población. Los indios no formaban parte de la nación. [The problem started with the definition of 'the Peruvians' itself. For the oligarchic intellectuals, the Indians were not included in this category, however, they constituted the great majority of the population. The Indians were not part of the nation] (Manrique, 1991).

This abandonment on the part of the national elites of the country from the very time of the declaration of independence would generate a long history of conflicts on the definition of national identity. Still today, Peruvians feel, using Gonzalo Portocarrero's book title "an urgency to say us", while at the middle of unresolved inter-group identity conflicts that keep us from "becoming us".

Racism, inequality, corruption, institutional inefficiency, class struggle, and the economical failure to fulfill the needs of the population are normally mentioned as identifiers for the country until today. As Paulo Drinot has declared:

No hace falta de 'halcones' del Pentágono para saber que el Perú no ha logrado enfrentar sus problemas económicos básicos o señalar la falta de integración nacional. Lamentablemente estas afirmaciones no muestran nada nuevo acerca del 'fracaso' peruano como estado-nación, como pueden dar cuenta quienes han leído los discursos de Manuel González Prada o el informe final de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación. [There is no need for 'hawks' from the Pentagon to know that Perú has not been able to confront its basic economic problems o to point out the lack of national integration. Sadly, these affirmations don't show anything new about the Peruvian 'failure' as a nation-state, as it can be stated those who have read Manuel González Prada or the final report of the Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación]. (Drinot, 2006).

3.2 Proto-nativism, Peruvian nationalism and music (the colonial common enemy)

The Latin American Wars of Independence that took place between the late 18th and early 19th centuries, influenced by the American and French revolutions, were based on the dispute for the territories between the *criollos*, those born in Latin America but of Spanish heritage, and the *peninsulares*, the

Iberian-born Spaniards. In other words, they were conflicts between two kinds of Spaniards for political and economic power over the colonies:

After all, it was not the exploited majority as one might have expected, who initiated independence movements. The movements' Creole leaders had little interest in helping the masses or making colonial society more egalitarian. Instead, they simply wanted to rule it themselves. (Chasteen, 2001, p. 102).

One of the initial strategies on the part of the *criollos* against the Spaniards was to promote Americanism and Nativism in order to unify forces from different parts of Latin America and also to gain the support of the lower classes and the indigenous populations under the motto: America for the Americans, in a way similar to that of the Monroe Doctrine but selectively applied only to the Spanish colonies. Latin American independent forces use anti-foreign resentment as a powerful tool:

... [a]nd nativism drew on powerful emotions. Resentment is always at the heart of nativist attitudes, resentment of foreigners and foreign influence. A powerful resentment of the Spanish and Portuguese, now foreigners in nativist eyes, was widespread in America at all social levels. Finally, nativism linked arms with liberal ideology in an obvious way. "Who should govern? The People! And who are the People? Americanos!" No patriot fighters could ignore the rhetorical appeal of nativism, and all used it sooner or later. (Chasteen, 2001, p. 103).

This resentment towards the foreigner is a paradigm that is constantly revised and that has accompanied closely Peruvian history (academic, popular, and artistic) being today an important element for the construction of national identity. A personal example might be in order to understand the perpetuation of anti-Spanish sentiment as a means to construct Peruvian identity. Being born in Spain myself and arriving to Perú at the age of 6 in 1974, I was immediately indoctrinated at school about to horrific actions of the colonial Spaniard forces against the Incas as mythological bearers of national identity. This produced an immediate negative reaction by my schoolmates and positioned me as a symbolic enemy of the country. In contemporary popular culture the identification of the Spaniards not with the ancestry of the current Peruvian citizens, but with a political invasive force, controls the discourse and promotes xenophobic ideas against a vaguely defined set of cultural particularities that can include: a general racial profiling into an all-inclusive white, a selective sense of European heritage or culture, or even north-American citizenship as a symbol for economical empire and social abuse. Other imperial forces that played an important role in Peruvian history, like England, fall out of the nationalistic radar and have not being included on the current conversation. As part of my research I have encountered that variations of this traditional anti-Hispanic paradigms are present in Peruvian musical education today and still at the heart of the decisions taken to identify music as Peruvian, and help construct the sense of what should be done for music in the country. In the

history of Peruvian music, we can sense an effort to undo the colonial period, or to discover the survivals of pre-conquest cultures that can be revived or recreated, and that must be considered as truly Peruvian. This, of course had a big impact in the possibilities for electronic music to develop as we will clearly see when confronting the initial aspirations for the instauration of an electronic and electroacoustic culture during the 1960s and 1970s.

3.3 What is Peruvian in Peruvian music? Peruvian musical Incas

Las naciones requieren héroes y valores étnicos culturales, que estimulan y permiten el desarrollo de su nacionalidad y la identificación ancestral de los pueblos.

— Ernesto Nava, 1992.

It did not take long after San Martín declared the independence of Perú, to search for a musical political anthem for the country. The initial patriotic hymns included Incaist ideals on their lyrics, building new identities that mixed *creole* nativism with Inca mythology in the making of a new ideological construct: the Peruvian Inca:

Piso el HEROE la tierra fecunda
Que a los INCAS PERUANOS nutrió
Destronando la dura barbarie
Que sufrieron los HIJOS DEL SOL.
[The HERO stepped on the fertile soil,

that nurtured the Peruvian Incas.
Dethroning the harsh barbarism
suffered by the SONS OF THE SUN].
(Iturriaga, 1985, p. 106).

Enrique Iturriaga and Juan Carlos Estenssoro mention this hymn at the beginning of their classic study of the music of Perú during the emancipation and what is known as La República period, this is to say, in general, the 19th century. (Iturriaga, 1985). In the introduction to their work, they also declare that: "...hemos preferido rastrear, en la música de este siglo [XIX], el empleo de temas, asuntos, y elementos musicales peruanos, recurso mas vigente en la música de nuestro siglo." [we have decided to track, in the music of this century (XIX), the use of Peruvian themes, issues, and musical elements, resource more current in the music of our century] (Iturriaga, 1985, p. 105).

Such statement confronts us with defining the elements, themes and issues that are to be considered Peruvian in music. This discussion is not present in the text, as it is taken for granted that the parameters are related to what is sensed as the survivals of the pre-colonial period 'translated' and 'relocated' to the more modern nation of Perú. These ideas are set in contrast to Europe which is acknowledged, by the authors, as the source of our cultural heritage but also presented in contrast with the new national assurances of the XIX century, considering the distance produce by the strengthening of the nation a 'difficulty' for the characterization of the Peruvian music of the time. What is

important for us here is to understand how this initial separation would start, right at the beginning of the republic, the process of creation of an ambivalent notion, both for and against the west, that would inform the concepts that support our musical practices until today. A sense of musical identity that praises European culture as a source of a superior musical understanding has cohabited with an anti-European spirit, that was later passed to the United States, being both considered as negative imperial sources of cultural and economic oppression. Foreign music is an imperialistic and alienating force that comes from an imperial evil, so it needs to be treated with suspicion.

This ambiguous opposition is clearly present in José Bernardo Alzedo, author of the *canCIÓN nacional* in 1821 (the year of the independence), later known as the national anthem of Perú. Although Alzedo was to compose patriotic and popular music with the help of the lyricist José de la Torre Ugarte, he also wrote a book in defense of the hegemony of the European tradition under the name *Filosofía Elemental de la Música -o sea- La Exegesis de las Doctrinas Conducentes a su Mejor Inteligencia* (Alzedo, 1869). Incidentally a Wikipedia biographic page for Salcedo states erroneously that “He wrote the book *Filosofía Elemental de la Música* (Elementary Philosophy of Music) (1869), where he explored the subject of the music of the Quechuas”.¹⁷ Not only the book does not include the Quechuas as a musical theme, and the effort to

¹⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/José_Bernardo_Alcedo

retrieve the 'music of the Incas' is not present until some decades later, but Alzedo's vision was more that of a 'Peruvian americanist', offering his work to the 'American youth'. To give an idea of the significance of this book in the history of academic Peruvian music and its contemporary relevance on the perception of Peruvian music history, it would suffice to mention that the Conservatorio Nacional de Música (now Universidad de la Música) published a new edition in 2018. Alzedo was also one of the main promoters for the implementation of a national conservatory of music, presenting a proposal to the government in 1855 as he considered that: "La erección y progreso de los Colegios de Música llamados Conservatorios ha sido desde la mas remota antigüedad el objeto de la decidida protección de las naciones civilizadas" [The building and progress of the Schools of Music called Conservatories has been since the most remote antiquity the object of the committed protection of the civilized nations] (Alzedo, 1885).

Iturriaga and Estenssoro's text confirms some of the observations I have previously made about nationalistic tendencies in the country, supporting also my assertion about the relevance of these issues for Peruvian music as a whole. They declare that "la independencia que se llevo a cabo fue la de los criollos, la de los descendientes de los conquistadores." (Ibid: 108). They also mention that: "[l]a independencia se dio con un carácter marcadamente antiespañol por parte de los habitantes de las ciudades." (Ibid:111). This initial anti-Spaniard

sentiment, including its racial, cultural and other symbolic elements, marks the way we define 'our music' in contrast to the foreign. While admitting its presence, European musical aspects are undermined to give value to the colonial musical elements that we identify with the pre-colonial period as we construct a mythological history for the country.

3.4 The French Incas and the enlightened children of the Sun

During the wars of independence nativism was used as a political tool that intended to unify the populations against European rule. If nativism is now-a-days a negative term that could be related to xenophobic anti-immigration ideals, during the 19th century it was used, in Perú, to generate regional and national pride and to exacerbate a patriotic violent response against the colonial system. Several variations of this sentiment were used during the early republican period in Perú. If the independence movements led to the creation of creole states for which nativism was related to both a Pan Americanism and a national-creole nativism that excluded the indigenous populations, soon a new ideological and more efficient tool would be introduced. As Antoinette Molinié has clearly stated:

In the nineteenth century, after the separation from the Spanish Crown, the invention of the Andean nations required an autochthonous group, the independence of which could be celebrated. At first sight, it might seem that only the American

Indians could play this role, but this idea rapidly ran into a fatal contradiction with the contempt for the Indians of the promoters of the new republics. In addition, it was necessary to build a new identity on many disparate elements to set oneself apart from European origins. In this manner, a suitable mythical autochthony has been invented, built on the image of the Imperial Indian, the descendant of the Incas. (Molinié, 2007, p. 233).

The fabrication of the imperial Inca was parallel to the invention of the Inca music during the early 20th century. Incaist ideals had been used before, as it was the case with Túpac Amaru II Andean uprising on 1781, an Inca revival rebellion from Cuzco that drew from the reading of the *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, written by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1609, 1617):

... una fuente letrada de su legitimación genealógica y recuperación de su poder dinástico desafiando el poder colonial de la corona española” [A valid source for genealogical legitimization and recuperation of its dynastic power defying the colonial power of the Spanish crown]. (Diaz-Caballero, 2005).

Both the writings of Garcilaso de la Vega and Túpac Amaru's rebellion, have been used thought the history of Perú (and America in general), as political, cultural, and musical symbols for the nation. If *Comentarios Reales* is important for our conversation in relation to the 18th century, we will confront the case of Túpac Amaru later on, as Tupacamarism gains relevance after the 1940s, and especially during the military regimes established at the end of the 1960s.

Incaist imperial imaginations, including the musical, started to grow as guiding fiction for the formation of the creole nations during the American emancipation period, but it was in Europe that texts like the *Comentarios Reales* became a “...fuente primordial en la construcción de narrativas utópicas y emancipadoras, especialmente en el pensamiento ilustrado francés del siglo XVIII” [... primordial source for the construction of utopian and emancipatory narratives, especially in the French Enlightenment thought of the XVIII century] (Díaz-Caballero, 2005, p. 70). The book was first published in Europe (Portugal) and soon become a source for the French Enlightenment narratives of emancipation, having 5 editions between 1633 and 1744. Early examples of French ‘enlightened’ Incaism would be Jean-Philippe Rameau's ‘heroic’ *Opéra-ballet Les Indes galantes* (1735), Leblanc de Guillet's play *Manco-Capac, premier yunca du Pérou* (1763), and Jean-François Marmontel's popular book *Les Incas* (1777),¹⁸ inspired by *Comentarios Reales*.

¹⁸ Marmontel published the same year a text about musical revolution in France: *Essai sur les révolutions de la musique en France*.



Figure 3.1: Exotic costume design for an enlightened French Inca.¹⁹

It should not come as a surprise that the most important text on Inca music was written some decades later by the French couple Marguerite and Raoul D'Harcourt: *La musique des Incas et ses survivances* (1925). This book was for decades regarded as the academic proof for the existence of pre-colonial musical elements and was used for the 'construction of Inca music'.²⁰ Julio Mendivil clarifies the intentions of the D'Harcourt researchers:

¹⁹ Nicolas Boquet, costume pour les Indes galantes Costume imaginé par Nicolas Boquet pour l'opéra-ballet de Jean-Philippe Rameau l'Indes galantes / I (1735). [Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, Paris.]

²⁰ The cultural and ideological exchange between France and Perú is rich and declaring its complexities goes beyond the scope of this work. However, we can mention that our 'French connection' is alive and well, and in the case of music much work has been done in recent years in collaboration with the *Institut français d'études andines* including publications about Peruvian music in conjunction with the Instituto de Etnomusicología of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

...[l]os D'Hancourt ... escribieron la historia del Imperio a través de un acto de auto-representación que los ungía como los elegidos. Los autores ... habían discutido sobre la música de los Incas como narradores omniscientes; los D'Hancourt se insertaron en la trama que conformaban al mejor estilo etnográfico, presentándose incluso como redentores de la música del Imperio. [The D'Hancourt ... wrote the musical history of the empire through an act of self-representation that anointed them as the chosen ones. The authors ... had discussed about the music of the Incas as omniscient narrators. The D'Hancourt inserted themselves into the plot they constituted in the best ethnographic style, even presenting themselves as redeemers of the empire. (Mendivil, 2018, p. 119).

While it is not difficult to position the end of the Inca empire symbolically on 1533 with the death of Atahualpa, and the welcoming of the Spaniard by the Inca elite right after (Raudzens, 2003); generation after generation the Peruvians have reinvented the Inca empire, not only because of a sense of an 'incomplete identity' blamed on the conquest, but also according to the needs of several internal and external conflicting and competing forces in the search of a political, identitarian, or touristic aims.²¹ Peruvian music and the music made in Perú depends on the different national discourses that exist to be validated, not only in the political sense, but also in front of the media and the general population. If Peruvian musicologists like Mendivil or Romero are perfectly aware of the connotations of the romanticized neo-Inca fantasies and their effect on the writings about Peruvian music (while maintaining an alliance with a conceptual Andes), most musicians both trained and popular,

²¹ For some contemporary examples, see Burger, 2018.

and including the electronic and electroacoustic, would embrace these fantastic worlds as their own, shifting dramatically between several pre-colonial cultural entities artificially unified under the embracing construct of a pre-conquest Indian culture: the Incas.

If the Inca variant of nativism has served to construct an imagined common memory, the declaration of the superior values of the Incas had an unseen consequence for the creole elite. On the first hand, if the original idea, as Moliniere points out was: "... to expel [the Indians] from reality, by transforming them into imaginary creatures, into *indígenas*, or even better, into Incas". (Moliniere, 2004); in time, the newly constructed narratives to legitimize the nation would enter in conflict with the anti-Spaniard sentiment the creoles themselves have promoted. The *mestizos*, this is to say most of the population of the country, would have to choose to identify with either the Spanish or the Inca, without that many other intermediate options and regardless of the ethnic background. Through some semantic and conceptual maneuvering *Indios* have become *Indigenas*, *Indigenas* had become *Andinos*, *Andinos* had become *Incas*, and *Incas* had become the real Peruvians. All these terms become at some point interchangeable but at the same time an alienating force that purposefully maintains indigenous and Andean populations away from the conversation. As Cecilia Mendez has clearly argued: The Indian is accepted, therefore, insofar as he represents a scenic milieu and distant glory. He is 'wise' if

abstract and long-departed, like Manco Capac ... [and] ... [t]he memory of the Incas is invoked in order to spurn and segregate the Indian. (Mendez, 1996, p. 15)

On the other hand, Incaism could have been useful as a unifying model for Andean countries as a combined force against Spain, but would not necessarily help declare Lima as the center of the newly formed country, as it shifted the cultural and political center to the 'capital of the empire': Cuzco.

By the end of the 1800s José Castro, a musical teacher from Cuzco, was already presenting his *Sistema pentafónico en la música indígena y precolonial* (1897). Clara Petrozi has stated that “[e]n el Cuzco, la cercanía a la cultura autóctona andina impulsó la vocación por el estudio y la investigación musicales, que se inician con el trabajo de José Castro... [In Cuzco, the proximity to the autochthonous Andean culture promoted the vocation for musical study and research, that started with the work of José Castro ...]. (Petrozi, 2009, p. 77), following Iturriaga's and Estenssoro's consideration that:

[e]n el Cuzco – donde prevalecieron con mas fuerza manifestaciones de la cultura andina- la necesidad de afirmación de sus propios valores impulso una vocación por el estudio y la investigación [In Cuzco -where the manifestations of Andean culture had a stronger prevalence- the need to reaffirm their own values promoted the vocation for musical study and research] (Iturriaga, 1985, p. 121-122).

José Castro's text, together with Leandro Alviña's *La música incaica* (presented in 1908 to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree from the Universidad de San Antonio Abad in Cuzco) represent Cuzco's response to Incaism's ideals. I believe Ituarriaga (and Petrozzi) simplify the complex colonial and postcolonial environments that produce the work of Castro, Alviña, and others by the arrival of the 20th century, undermining the presence of European ideological social constructions at the basis of the narrative by adopting the principles of the Peruvian Incaist mythological construction: cultural imperialism by an imagined ethnic lineage as a route towards identity validation. Castro and Alviña's work are symptomatic, and represent the intellectual atmosphere that would produce the famous 1909 university reform movement in Cuzco that was to emphasize the study of Inca history and the praising of the greatness of Andean civilization, in this case in direct relationship with 'its imperial capital' (Super, 1994). If "[a] subtle semantic shift has transformed that land belonging to the *indigenas* into land belonging to us" (Molinié, 2004, p. 238), a more dramatic shift was taking away the land from both creoles from Lima and *indigenas* from the Andes and giving it to its 'legitimate owners', the children of the Incas. In a complex process of selective memory and historical imagination, the mestizo cultural elites of Cuzco found a way to identify themselves with Indians belonging to the Inca empire of the 16th century, and appropriate the term Andean as to represent the extent of their reign. The declaration of the existence of Inca Music goes beyond historical research and represents,

politically, a response to Lima's claims as the center of the country, and a retaliation against the invisibilization of 'precolonial music' by "...los *viracochas* y *mestizos* que se precian de tener pintas de sangre Española" [...the *viracochas* and *mestizos* who pride themselves of having Spanish blood]. (Castro, 1910, p. 1). On a recent publication Julio Mendivil analyzes Castro's discourse from a musicological perspective, detailing the misconceptions present in Castro's conclusions about the pentatonic nature of Inca Music (Mendivil, 2018). In recent years the possibility of confronting and challenging the 'imagined Incas' is becoming an option. The determination of what can be said and who is allowed to say it regarding these issues is a delicate subject in which particular and traditional ways of declaring 'belonging' are still at play. The mapping of the academic segregation behind the study of autochthonous music and its imagined survivals goes beyond the aims of this work, and might not even be a possibility at this point. However, is it important for this work to clarify how both subtle and direct references to the romanticized imagined glory of the Incas has determined musical output in Perú, and how it has affected, and in many cases determined, musical activities.

I consider that it has taken me twenty year of (self) exile to see through the mist of a cultural bubble that has affected the country in ways that make it impossible to talk about music without ramming into our national and nationalistic imaginations. Peruvian citizens have been bombarded *ad*

nauseam, throughout the history of the country, with a myriad of strongly politicized narratives that serve as value systems that sets the correct behavior and obligations of the citizen. These obligations include a responsibility to address the issues of the imagined nation on our artistic and cultural output. Musicians that really want to be considered as Peruvians have to represent cultures that are either non-existing or that they don't fully comprehend.

CHAPTER 4

The challenging early history of electronic Peruvian music and its contemporary mythological revision

For more than half the year Lima has a peculiar climate. It is never cold enough to have a fire, but usually cold enough to make you wish for one. It never rains, but is never dry; that is to say, it is not wet enough to make one hold up an umbrella, yet wet enough to soak one's clothes.

— James Bryce, *South America: Observations and Impressions*, 1912

4.1 Cesar Bolaños: The foreign composer.

Cesar Bolaños (1931-2012) was a musician and musicologist considered, mainly after 2004, as the pioneering figure of the history of Peruvian electronic music. He was traditionally trained, studying piano at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música between 1946 and 1953. He is also considered as part of a generation of composers conformed during that period, besides him, by Leopoldo La Rosa, Francisco Pulgar Vidal, Edgar Valcárcel and Olga Pozzi Escot.²² Although, his participation in the musical academic scene in the Lima of

²² For an official account of academic Peruvian musicians of the 20th century you can read: LA MÚSICA CONTEMPORÁNEA EN EL PERÚ, published by the Sistema de Información de las Artes en el Perú – INFOARTES, of the Ministerio de Cultura del Perú. <http://www.infoartes.pe/nuestra-diversidad-musical-la-Música-contemporanea-en-el-Perú/>.

the time is important, this work will center on his interest in experimental practices and electronic music, which is what has positioned him as a representative of musical experimentation with electronics during the 1960s and 1970s in Perú. However misleading, unreliable or incomplete a Wikipedia statement might be, the page on Cesar Bolaños gives us a general description that fits the popular contemporary (and selective) perception and depiction of his role as a musician:

... fue un músico peruano, compositor vanguardista, pionero de la música electrónica, docente e investigador en el campo de la musicología. Su obra como compositor representa la búsqueda y los cambios estéticos en el lenguaje musical de los años 60 y su manifestación en Sudamérica, con marcada influencia de las vanguardias de USA y Europa, siendo un compositor plenamente comprometido entonces con lo contemporáneo. [...was a Peruvian musician, avant-garde composer, instructor and researcher in the field of musicology. His work as a composer represents the search and aesthetic changes in the musical language of the 60s and their manifestation in South America, with great influence from the vanguards of the USA and Europe, being a composer completely committed with the contemporary].²³

The emphasis that is placed on his commitment with contemporary musical practices, and that is common to most biographic texts on Bolanos, lessens the significance of his contributions to the study of pre-colonial music in Perú. In fact, he dedicated most of his work between 1973 and 1992, the totality of his academic career in Perú, to the study of non-contemporary music and mainly Peruvian folklore, having abandoned composition at the beginning of the 1970s.

²³ https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/César_Bolaños

Before I discuss the constructed imaginations regarding Bolaños as an historical figure in a lineage for Peruvian electronic music, I will present his experience with electronic music outside of the country and his participation in Latin American electronic experimentation. Most of his trajectory has already been mapped in the compilation of texts about his work already mentioned (Alvarado, 2009), following his 'discovery' by young musicians and music lovers during the first decade of the 2000s. I will, therefore, only mention what is essential for this analysis. From a foreign perspective and under a Latin American categorization, the Argentinian composer Ricardo Dal Farra has made an important contribution to the archiving of works of Latin American composers and the compilation of historical information regarding electronic practices in the region, specially through the Latin American Electroacoustic Music Collection sponsor by the Daniel Langlois Foundation for Art, Science and Technology²⁴. This collection contains the work of 12 Peruvian composers, including a biography and a video interview of Bolaños.

4.2 The prodigal son and the motherland

I met Cesar Bolaños, at this point considered the most important pioneering figure of Peruvian electronic experimentation, in 2006, at a small and deteriorated apartment in the district of Lince in Lima, and we met again a

²⁴ <http://www.fondation-langlois.org/html/e/page.php?NumPage=556>

couple of times between 2006 and 2008. His compositions were piled up close to the entrance without much care, and he walked with difficulty. While attention to his work had started to rise and he was rapidly becoming a symbol for the history of Peruvian electroacoustic music, this newly acquired relative fame had yet to pay off. Coming from San Diego, the contrast with the image of a renowned composer in the United States was extreme, and his resources seem scarce. His conversation and attitude also appeared to reflect a sense of abandonment, of having lost a cause. He gave me a book on Nasca pre-Columbian culture with the autograph '... a friend I met today.', while I was trying to figure out, in my ignorance of his history, why would an electronic musician be writing about pre-colonial Peruvian music. I asked him why he did not dedicate his life to electronic music. His answer was sharp and direct: "they made it clear to me that they were not interested."²⁵ By them he meant the institutions, this is the official government institutions he had worked for since the 1970s. He is a little bit more diplomatic in an interview published in the book about his work in 2009. In regards to a question about his electronic work after returning to Perú he says:

Yo sabía lo que me esperaba en Lima. Aquí nada había cambiado. Además, lo constataba cuando hacía viajes de visita: Lima era la misma, bastante reacia a la música electrónica. [I knew what was awaiting me in Lima. Here nothing had changed. Besides,

²⁵ Personal conversation, 2006.

I verified it when I traveled to visit: Lima was the same, quite reluctant towards electronic music] (Alvarado, 2009, p. 189).

When asked about the position of the 'predominant sectors of the music' towards his electronic work he stated that "[e]n general si [había un rechazo], a mi me consideraban mas un electrónico que un músico." [in general, there was an aversion, I was considered more an electronic than a musician (Ibid.). In this differentiation, presented by Bolaños, electronic and musician seem to be practices difficult to overlap. The more electronic you are the more you move yourself away from the designation of musician.

This sense of being rejected by Peruvian society has been shared by different Peruvian academic electronic musicians returning to Perú after receiving musical training outside the country. They have felt Lima's unwelcoming ambiance and gone through the despair of sensing that the possibilities to develop a career in electronic sound experimentation will be unnecessarily truncated. We will mention these cases as we confront them.

While the difficulties of developing an electronic music culture are not a secret, and Cesar Bolaños, and other musicians, have made this situation clear in more than one opportunity; a more diplomatic approach has been taken by writers, researchers and journalists, who have attempted, after the time has passed, to amplify their achievements. An urge to present a more promising and

positive history, has prevailed over the necessity to present a more accurate 'history of Peruvian electronic music'. While electronic musicians of the 20th century have made clear the difficulties and the specific obstructions present during their 'musical voyage' and their attempt to generate a professional practice and career, writers make sure not to cross the line that could position them as anti-patriotic forces or impact their social and political network. As the new positive narratives are constructed, Bolaños crosses again the country's borders, this time as "uno de los más importantes compositores modernos latinoamericanos." [one of the most important modern Latin-American composers].²⁶

This general attitude has served multiple purposes: (1) to facilitate the response of institutions that would rather support a successful story than an historical failure, (2) to generate a sense of pride and heritage, in a nationalist sense, in journalists, musicians and the public in general, (3) to produce and support a new culture of listeners of electronic experimentation, (4) to serve as a marketing strategy for new experimental productions, (5) and to include electronics into the 'music of the nation.'

²⁶ Book Review by Iván Daguer for the Chilean webpage Especial 35. Recover from: <http://www.especial35.net/Reportajes/ABCDE/062010-TiempoYObraDeCesarBolanos.htm>

At the time of his death, in 2012, newspaper articles related to his passing made clear the contradictory portrait of Bolaños as an important but not recognized figure of the Peruvian vanguard, declaring him as “[u]no de los grandes protagonistas del movimiento vanguardista musical en el Perú” [one of the major players of the avant-garde musical movements in Perú] and that, in spite of “... la ausencia de un justo reconocimiento a su obra, Bolaños continuó componiendo y apoyando a las nuevas generaciones de creadores” [... the absence of a deserved recognition to his work, Bolaños continued composing and supporting the new generations of creators]²⁷ In fact, his composition work declined dramatically after returning to Perú, and we could arguably declare 1970 the end of his ‘career’ as an electronic composer with ESEPCO II (piece for piano and magnetic tape).²⁸ Also, he was not truly involved in teaching at the Conservatorio as much as one could have expected, and between 1973 and 1992 he held important leadership positions at different national institutions, but none at the Conservatorio. His involvement in academic musical training could be considered as minimal, and in electronic music training, inexistent.

²⁷ Recover from: <http://archivo.elcomercio.pe/luces/Música/fallecio-uno-pioneros-Música-experimental-Perú-noticia-1476932>.

²⁸ ESEPCO is an acronym for Estructura Sonoro Expresiva por Computación (Expressive Sound Structure by Computation).

In an article published days after his death on the webpage of Radio Filarmonía, the radio station dedicated to promote classical music in Perú, Alonso Almenara states the following:

Esta nota quedaría incompleta, sin embargo, si omitiéramos mencionar el hecho evidente de que en la vida de este hombre se ha verificado nuevamente la dolorosa verdad de que el Perú no sabe apoyar a sus grandes creadores. Bolaños es uno de esos fenómenos inexplicables ... en una sociedad a la que lo último que le interesa es la innovación y el mañana. Su obra se inició y se detuvo con el mismo fulgor inefable, sin haber tenido impacto alguno en nuestra cultura. [this note would be incomplete, however, if we were to omit to mention the evident fact that with the life of this man, it has been verified once again the painful truth that Perú does know how to support its great creators. Bolaños is one of those inexplicable phenomena in a society to which the last thing in which it is interested is innovation and the future. His work started and stopped with the same ineffable brilliance, without having any impact on our culture] (Almenara, 2012).

This text shows with clarity a contradiction commonly portrayed and present in our description of a national situation. In alignment with most text regarding the work of Bolaños, it is declared that 'the country' does not support its own creators, and that our society is not interested in innovation and the future. Furthermore, the text declares that the career of Bolaños was cut short without having any impact on our culture. One question that comes to mind is: why a composer with no support, and no cultural relevance, should be considered as one of the most important exponents of a culture that did not exist? I believe the conflict becomes clear. By the year 2012, the reconstructed

Bolaños has been already inserted into the national narrative (this is to say, for the spaces of discussion regarding Peruvian music), and what could have been irrelevant, or a non-widely credited peripheral practice, becomes the center for the vindication of a culture, as it is seen by a new generation avid for a history that might not be there. If Bolaños could have been at the forefront of a transformation regarding musical practices in Perú, after his return from Argentina, this did not happen and his situation is a sad remainder of the socio-political nationalistic approaches that have controlled for decades our cultural output and artistic practices.

Sadiel Cuentas, who, in representation of the *Círculo de Composición del Perú* (Circomper), decided to make a musical analysis of Cesar Bolaños's work for *Tiempo y obra de César Bolaños*, in grand part as the result of a newly acquired interest on avant-garde Peruvian composers; recalls, when asked about the role of electronic music in his training at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música (1995-2001), the lack of presence of these composers, and electronic music in general:

creo que podría ser valioso comentar que mi primer profesor de composición fue Enrique Iturriaga, y él es uno de los compositores que no tuvieron experiencia, ni interés, por la música electrónica o aleatoria ... Mis últimos ciclos en composición los hice con Dante Valdez, pero el tampoco estaba interesado. Otro curso en qué podríamos haber visto algo de esto es en Análisis, pero ahí curiosamente tampoco había interés. [I think it would be of value to comment that my first composition teacher was Enrique Iturriaga,

and he was one of those composers that had no experience, nor interest, for electronic or aleatory music ... My last semesters in composition I studied with Dante Valdez, but he was not interested either. Another class in which he could have seen some of this was *Analysis*, but oddly enough, there was no interest there either]²⁹

Cuentas recollection of his experience at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música (CNM) presents us with an educational environment that does not include electronic music as an option and where Bolaños is nonexistent as a founding member or pioneering figure of a culture for electronic music. While efforts to develop electronic music have been present at the CNM at different times of its history, the presence of more traditional teachers and directors played a role in the estrangement of Bolaños from a role meant for him: professor of electronic music. I will come back to this during my presentation of the different spaces for musical training in the country.

²⁹ Personal interview, 2019.

4.3 Edgar Valcárcel and the 'Absolutely revolutionary and totally avant-garde'. Túpac Amarus that you won't be able to kill.

Al tercer día de los sufrimientos,
cuando se crea todo consumado,
gritando ¡libertad! sobre la tierra,
ha de volver.
Y no podrán matarlo.

–Alejandro Romualdo
Canto coral a Túpac Amaru, que es la libertad, 1958.

las húmedas casas de arena
dicen en silencio: «Túpac»,
y Túpac se guarda en el surco,
dicen en silencio: «Túpac»,
y Túpac germina en la tierra.

– Pablo Neruda
Túpac Amaru (1781), 1950.

Most Peruvians know by heart the most important parts of the poem *Canto Coral a Túpac Amaru, que es la libertad* (1958) of Alejandro Romualdo (1926-2008). Romualdo was a Marxist and revolutionary poet of the *Generación del 50* dedicated, among other things, to promote socially committed poetry, as he was influenced by the Spanish post-civil-war poetry style known as *Poesía Social* while studying at the Universidad de Madrid (1952-1953). The poem is based on the execution of Túpac Amaru II, the leader of the 1870 Inca revival rebellion against the Spanish Crown, and an important symbol for indigenist and

Marxist nationalistic movements of the time. We will discuss here its symbolic significance and the way in which it has been used to validate Peruvian electroacoustic music through the work of Edgar Valcárcel of the same name and inspired on Romualdo's poem.

In recent decades, a search for electroacoustic national heroes has been promoted, and Edgar Valcárcel image has played an essential role in the (re)construction of a national narrative that has attempted to include us in the history of electronic music, by overstating his contributions and attributing to him, inaccurately, a deep interest for electronic music and musical experimentation. While other newly constructed heroes we will later discuss, like Cesar Bolaños, do represent this interest and show a prolific electronic output for the time, the work of Valcárcel shows an interest mainly in more traditional chamber music and music for orchestra. In some of the new historical reconstructions Valcárcel is portrayed as a pioneer for electronic music in Perú and as a promoter of avant-garde music. As we will see, despite these attempts to validate his work, he cannot be considered as a trendsetter or an innovator, and even less a promoter of electronic music. As we have mentioned, compared to his work on chamber music, his electronic production is minimal and his interest in electronic music only tangential. Declaring Valcárcel as an electronic musician, in recent decades, attempts to take advantage of his position and fame as one of the most important Peruvian composers of his time

and his belonging to a 'traditional musical family'³⁰ to construct a heritage for Peruvian electronic music. Valcárcel is presented both as a pioneer for electronic music in Perú and as a casualty in the (under)development of electronic music. Conversations about him fluctuate between declarations of what he 'was' and what he 'could have been' if he was to pursue 'his real' interests.

We will first discuss the neo-Tupacamarism of the 1960s, in order to understand and later discuss his relevance in the process of Peruvian electronic culture [under]development and historical reconstruction, as exemplified in the work of Valcárcel.

As a sort of Peruvian Che Guevara, Túpac Amaru has come to represent a complex set of narratives throughout the world that include identity politics, indigenous claims, and socialist and leftist revolutionary models. In the United States, for instance, the name has become well known because of Túpac Amaru Shakur, who was given that name by his mother, the political activist Afeni Shakur who "wanted him to have the name of revolutionary, indigenous people in the world. I wanted him to know he was part of a world culture and

³⁰ Peruvian academic music still includes ideas of heritage and family trade, and the idea as sources for validation and declaration of professional musical value, and in some cases 'musical families' represent regions of cultural sectors of the nation, as might be the case for The Valcárcels of Puno.

not just from a neighborhood".³¹ While the list of cultural products that use the name of Túpac Amaru is long, to understand its use in Peruvian music in general, and electroacoustic music in particular, we can mention *Canto coral a Túpac Amaru* No.1 (1965) and No 2 (1968) by Edgar Valcárcel, being the latter a work for choir, percussion and tape. By the time these two pieces were created Tupacamarism was already an important part of Peruvian political culture, and even though its development can be traced to the 1940s (Asensio, 2017), it came to prominence during the *Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas* (1968-1975), and some years later, again, with the emergence of the *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*, a Marxist terrorist organization infamously known by the Japanese embassy hostage crisis of 1996.³²

By the time I arrived to Lima in 1974 (at six years old), Túpac Amaru was everywhere: coins, stamps, newspapers, magazines. Juan Velasco Alvarado, who had taken power through a coup in 1968 had used Túpac Amaru's image as one of the main symbols of the revolution while identifying himself as a vindicator for the Incas. On June 25th of 1969, at a message to the nation, on the celebration of the *Día del Indio, Día del Campesino*, Velasco presented the historically relegated image of Túpac Amaru, reshaped a socialist Inca paladin,

³¹ <https://charlesfwalker.com/tupac-shakur-tupac-amaru>

³² Another example of the internationalization of the symbol of Túpac Amaru would be the Tupamaros of Uruguay, a leftist guerrilla that operated between 1967 and 1972, and of which José Mujica (president of Uruguay between 2010 and 2015) was a member. In Venezuela, a political group under the same name was founded in 1992.

to say what became the most famous and catchy slogan of the revolution: “Campesino, el patrón ya no comerá más de tu pobreza”.³³ (Ruiz, 1969). Túpac Amaru would soon become part of a visual propaganda campaign that presented the psychedelic and hippie Túpac Amaru through the pop-art designs of Jesus Ruiz Durand.³⁴ These visual images wanted to present the government as modern while demonstrating “...que el gobierno busco establecer, desde un principio, un vinculo con el mundo andino y en particular con la herencia Inca” [...that the government seeks to stablish, from the beginning, a connection with the Andean world and in particular with Inca heritage]. (Roca-Rey, 2017, p. 29), regardless of the historical fact that Túpac Amaru was a profound Catholic mestizo landlord at his time.

But, what has Túpac Amaru to do with Peruvian electroacoustic music in Perú? How could a political symbol of the 1960s socialist revolution have affected electroacoustic music in Perú? And, how could this relationship have maintained electronic musical application away from the musical practices of the times? Peruvian electroacoustic composers, and composers of any kind (popular or academic) have been, for the most part, highly politicized cultural actors, and their work is intimately related to political visions. This is especially

³³ Farmer (peasant) the landlord will no longer eat out of your poverty. (My translation). See complete text of Velasco's presentation on: <https://www.marxists.org/espanol/tematica/agro/Perú/velasco1969.htm>.

³⁴ For details on the visual propaganda of the time see Roca-Rey, 2016.

true for the 1960s where our now declared pioneers started to experiment with electronics. Confronting some of the works of these musicians would give an understanding of how relevant and essential the political positions that we discuss here are to their musical output.



Figure 4.1: At fast pace! Túpac Amaru and Velasco Alvarado.³⁵

Edgar Valcárcel Arze (1932 – 2010), an academic composer from the Conservatorio Nacional de Música, has been regarded as an avant-garde experimenter, and an important representative of the Peruvian version of the 1960s compositional international styles. Valcárcel was born in Puno, a traditional Aymara (and later Quechua) center that disputes with Cuzco the

³⁵ Oiga magazine, November, 1970

'ownership' of Inca culture, since chronicler Inca Garcilaso de la Vega had declared that according to Inca mythology, Puno's Lake Titicaca was where the founders of the Inca empire, Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, emerged.

Within the different and fluctuating ideological proposal of the Indigenist movements of the 1920s, Puno presented a response to Lima's Indigenist claims through the work of groups like Orkopata founded by Gamaliel Churata, 'the regional Mariategui' (Rénique, 2004, p. 117), and the publication of magazines like *Boletín Titikaka*. (Villanueva, 2018). In music, one of the most important Indigenist composers from the region was Theodoro Valcárcel (1900 – 1942), Edgar's uncle. Theodoro was trained initially in Perú, but then he travelled to Milan, being trained on French Impressionist composition but later on paying much attention to Peruvian folklore and the nationalistic and Incaist narratives of the times. Edgar Valcárcel inherited his uncle's passion for the ideologized representation of 'Andean imperial nostalgia' present in works like Theodore's *En las ruinas del Templo del Sol* (1940). Another important composer from Puno in more contemporary times would be Americo Valencia, who was an essential actor in the process of confronting electronic music, especially during the 1980s.

Edgar Valcárcel composed two pieces based on Túpac Amaru and inspired by the revolutionary poems of Alejandro Romualdo from 1958: (1) *Canto coral a Túpac Amaru No.1* for soprano, baritone, mixed choir and orchestra

(1965), and (2) *Canto coral a Túpac Amaru No.2*, for choir, percussion and tape (1968). Both are from around the time of the military leftist takeover of 1968 and highly influenced by Andean Indigenism and Lima's political climate, both of which were present right into the revolutionary period in 1970. Petrozzi considers *Canto coral a Túpac Amaru No.2*, together with pieces such as *Apu Inqa* (1970) by Francisco Pulgar Vidal, is an example of how Andean popular music could be used as an element for social protest because of its symbolic value. Other compositions of the time would strongly defend the socialist ideals of the time while not necessarily representing the new Andean narratives. That is the case of *Ñacahuasi* (1970) by Cesar Bolaños, that included the reading of the text *El diario de Ernesto "Che" Guevara*, and was written in homage to the 'comandante'.

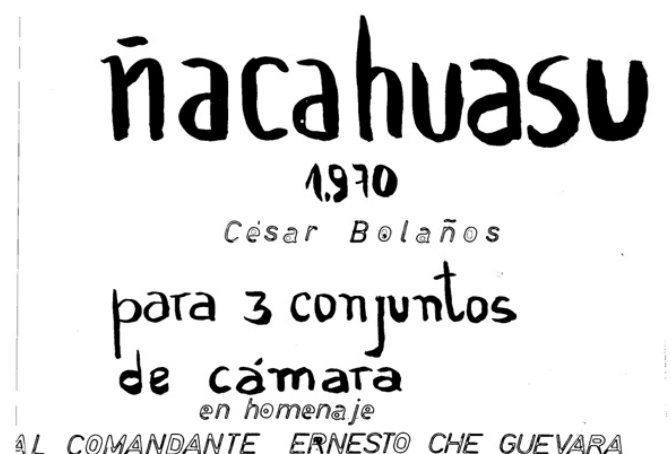


Figure 4.2: Cover page for *Ñacahuasu* (1970)

Considering the *Canto Coral a Túpac Amaru No.2* as political in essence, does not require much effort, however, Valcárcel himself tried, later on, to distance himself from the revolutionary ideals of the government of the time. In 1975, when he was interviewed by *La Prensa* he was asked if he considered his new piece *Canto coral a Pedro Vilca* as a revolutionary song and a contribution to the Peruvian Revolution (meaning the current government), to which he answered:

Es la misma pregunta que se me podría hacer en relación a la Cantata a Túpac Amaru. Esta obra la escribí hace diez años, cuando nada se veía venir de los cambios revolucionarios. Era simplemente un acercamiento personal, mío al personaje, una intuición de lo que podía venir después ... [e]stoy en contra de todas las poses revolucionarias que veo a diario en gente que se sienta en un escritorio y es 'revolucionaria' pero internamente es cualquier cosa. Por eso, en comparación con ellos, yo no soy revolucionario. [That is the same question that could have been asked of me in relation to the Cantata a Túpac Amaru. I wrote that work ten years ago, when nothing could be seen coming from the revolutionary changes. It was simply a personal approach to the figure, an intuition of what could happen afterwards ... I am against all revolutionary poseurs that I see daily sitting at desks and that are 'revolutionary' but internally they are any other thing].

If reading this declaration out of its context might seem to present us with a Valcárcel lacking political ambitions or ideological discourses and as just an artist expressing his emotions towards the Andes and his homeland. We must remember, however, that this interview was taken less than two months after the 'failure' of the first phase of the Peruvian Revolution and the *Tacnazo* coup that

ousted Velasco from power. Within this political atmosphere it is easy to understand Valcárcel critique of the 'desk revolutionary' while interviewed by a media directed by the government after the 1974 expropriation of the eight major independent newspapers.³⁶ Valcárcel tries to free himself at a controversial moment but would become himself Director of the government run Conservatory on 1979, right at the end of the second phase of the Peruvian Revolution.

In later years Valcárcel has detached himself further from the revolutionary governments of the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, in an interview published on Ricardo Dal Farra's Latin American Electroacoustic Music Collection for the Daniel Langlois Foundation for Art, Science, and Technology, Valcárcel declares:

Lamentablemente, y esto es lo que me da mucha pena comentarlo. A partir del 69 que yo regreso a mi país, y recuerdo con mucha emoción que lo primero que hice fue dirigirme a la Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, para proponer la creación del laboratorio de música electrónica ... el 69 ya fue un año en el que se preludiaba los cambios políticos dramáticos que vivió el país, y ahí murió toda esperanza, toda ilusión, de proyectar en mi país lo que yo había aprendido fuera. [Sadly, and I am very sad to comment about it. Starting in 1969 when I returned to my country, and I remember with a lot of emotion that the first thing I did was to go to the Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, to propose the creation of an electronic music lab ... 69 was already a year preluded by dramatic political changes that the country lived, and

³⁶ <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/07/28/archives/Perú-takes-over-8-major-newspapers-action-deplored-here.html>

right there all hope died, all illusion, of projecting into my country what I had learned outside].³⁷

It becomes clear that the decision to use this particular 56 seconds of an interview to portray Valcárcel's historical legacy for electronic music (or lack of it), attempts to put the blame, directly and exclusively, for the lack of possibilities for electronic music development on the 'dramatic political change' produced by the military coup of 1968. In the text that accompanies this video we further read:

Now in his seventies, Valcárcel feels that his dream to continue working in the electronic music field has become impossible to accomplish in his homeland because of the dramatic social, economic and cultural situation there. However, he has never lost hope.³⁸

If I completely agree with Valcárcel's acknowledgment of the political problems the 1968's coup presented for electronic music, his assessment does not reflect his own presence and participation during this process, and need to be perceived as part of the historical reconstruction produced in later decades and particularly of the time of the interview: 2003. Whatever his specific sympathies for the government of the time might have been, he cannot be so easily separated from the revolutionary politics of this period, neither can we

³⁷ Interview by Ricardo Dal Farra, RDF © 2003. Retrieved from <http://www.fondation-langlois.org/html/e/page.php?NumPage=1620>.

³⁸ <http://www.fondation-langlois.org/html/e/page.php?NumPage=1620>.

consider him as lacking certain political and social power at the time on the decision making regarding musical academic practices, but maybe more so during the 1970s than during the 1960s. His status is clearly presented on an interview for the *Oiga* magazine on 1977: "Valcárcel es el mas alto valor de la música peruana contemporánea, indiscutible compositor que trabaja con fe e identidad cultural". [Valcárcel is the highest value of contemporary Peruvian music, indisputable composer that works with faith and cultural identity] (*Oiga*, February 18, 1977). On the same interview, dedicated to folklore of the *altiplano* he presents his ambivalent view on foreign influences in Peruvian folklore:

La riqueza y variedad folklóricas son cada vez mas fascinantes. Sin embargo, se pueden detectar signos culturales negativos: disfraces de Superman, de astronautas, Condorito, Raton Mickey, monstruos marcianos, elementos melódicos de procedencia foránea; despliegues coreográficos mas bien gimnásticos. Solo el tiempo y la sabiduría popular decidirán la valides de estos aportes. [Folkloric richness and variety are becoming more fascinating every day. However, some negative cultural signs can be detected: Superman costumes, astronauts, Condorito, Mickey Mouse, gymnastic choreographics. Only time and popular wisdom will decide the value of such contributions]. (Ibid.).

This small paragraph is sufficient to unveil the world of cultural contradictions and identitarian insecurities of the time. Valcárcel is at the same time declaring that popular wisdom will decide the value of certain cultural practices that include the appropriation of foreign symbols and their insertion in folkloric performance, while declaring that their existence is to be considered as a presence of 'negative cultural signs'. Anti-American sentiments are also

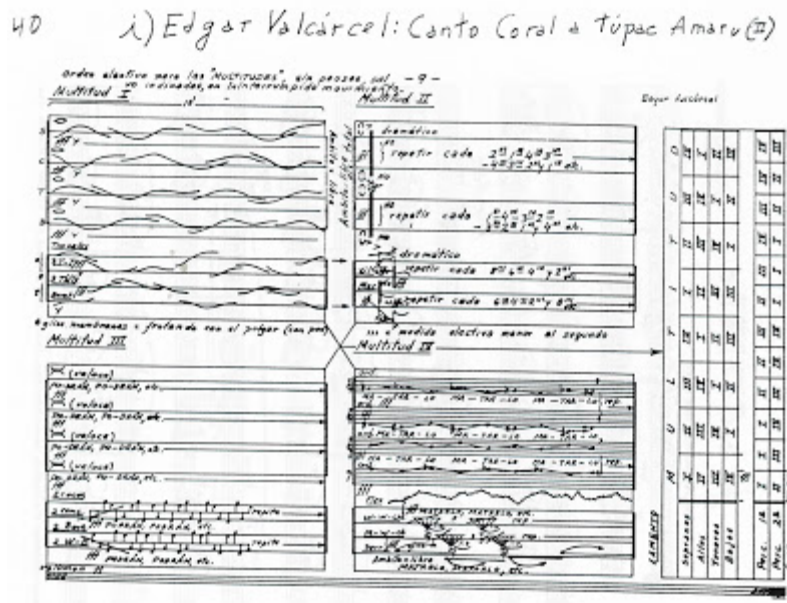
included in his denunciation of the presence of Superman, Mickey Mouse and foreign melodies.



Figure 4.3: Arte de Vanguardia. Arte Revolucionario.

While I would agree with Valcárcel assessment about the lack of hope for electronic music during that period, it is important to note that composers like Him or Cesar Bolaños, regarded as our electronic music pioneers, might have had the political power to accomplish the introduction of electronic music to Perú between the 1960s and 1970s. This is especially true for Edgar Valcárcel, regarded as a defender of traditional Andean musical values, a dedicated

revolutionary, and an avant-garde musician that had access to the highest political levels where he was validated as one of the main composers of the nation.



included percussion, electronic sounds, projections and lights in an interdisciplinary art experience was reviewed by Winston Orillo for the *Oiga* Magazine. The review was not centered on the innovative presentation model or its intent to integrate different artistic practices, but on the achievement of a vanguardist action that could be considered as revolutionary. If in recent decades much attention has been given to Valcárcel work as innovative or advanced, at the time his vanguardist intentions played a secondary role and were subordinated to his social and political compromise. It is in this lack of interest for the technological developments of the time as essential tools for creative production that the fading away of the initial possibilities of electronic Peruvian music can be located. Orillo states in his article about Valcárcel's presentation, his preoccupation for the arts and the avant-garde by stating that "No todo arte de vanguardia es revolucionario, aunque si debería tratarse de que todo arte revolucionario este siempre a la vanguardia" [not all vanguard art is revolutionary, but all revolutionary art should be always at the vanguard]³⁹, and declaring that on Valcárcel's presentation we have "...espectado, el Viernes 30 de octubre, el Nacimiento de un arte nuevo en el Perú, un arte que siendo absolutamente de vanguardia es, a la vez, absolutamente revolucionario" [...viewed, Friday October 30th, the birth of a new art in Perú, an art that being absolutely at the vanguard is, at the same time, completely

³⁹ *Oiga*, November, 1970.

revolutionary].⁴⁰ For Orillo there was, at the time, a conformist and pro-establishment and *status quo* attitude towards the avant-garde that missed what he considers the central point of these arts, which is to jump on the 'wagon of the future' and attend to the grassroots values of Peruvian revolutionary society.

Discussing how avant-garde music for tape could be in 1970 is a difficult question when seen outside of the Peruvian context, since the term could be used even today for similar arts or electronic music practices from the second part of the 20th century. Terms like avant-garde and musical experimentation are, in Perú, more connected to the unusual than to the actual historical moment of musical development. For Orillo the work of Valcárcel is avant-garde in that sense and it is only relevant because of its compromise with what is seen as a history of social struggle in Perú. Right at the center of the Neotupacamarism of the military regimes of the time, *Canto Coral a Túpac Amaru II* is more about revolution, Túpac Amaru and an indigenist sense of patriotic duty, than about electronics. The electronic part of the piece is not even mentioned in an article dedicated to the popular (in the political sense), 'lucha popular' (term later associated with the terrorist activities of Sendero Luminoso and its 'guerra popular'), and insurgency, both traditional concepts commonly used in socialist discourse.

⁴⁰ Ibid

4.4 The enemy within: belonging in the fractured land.

Decentralization is a form of democratic organization and a mandatory, continued policy of the State, whose essential purpose is the comprehensive development of the country.

Article 188, Political Constitution of Perú.

The centralization of powers in the Peruvian capital since the independence in 1821 forced several attempts, throughout its history, to generate a decentralized country. One of the last attempts was to divide administratively the country into regions. This organizational redistribution was the natural development of 'natural' pre-existing regions formed during the postcolonial period and, in many cases, connected with a combination of pre-colonial 'nations' and colonial imaginations. The development of a subnational regionalism in the middle of a globalizing process has been seen both as an anachronistic practice that subverts the construction of a nation and as a new model for the improvement of a nation-state as a system for integrating natural cultural differences (Anna 1998, Miller 2006). In Perú, regionalism (before and after its official inception in the administrative configuration of the country in 2012), has played a double role. On one hand it has secured the opportunity for specific geopolitical areas to develop according to their needs and without depending on a central government that had historically kept them in a state of abandonment. On the other hand, regional empowerment can produce

overwhelming frictions between the regions and the state, contributing to the country's eternal state of instability.

But what have all these political and administrative details to do with music in Perú, or, furthermore, with Peruvian academic electronic music? The figures of Valcárcel or Américo Valencia (both from the Puno region) can help us understand the connections and confrontations between the discourses of subnational regionalism and the idea of Perú as a unified nation-state. In this regard, electronic music can represent not only an invasive practice from the west, but an invasive practice from the central government on traditional forms of musical expression that serve as a unifying cultural force for regional identity based on a historical musical heritage.

Valcárcel was born in Puno and was the nephew of Theodoro Valcárcel, one of the most important Peruvian indigenist composers of the 20th century and, as such, a musician representative for the region. Did this family connection serve to validate a specific Andean heritage for Edgar Valcárcel, and a cultural claim to represent and, maybe, even transform 'indian' musical discourses? Could a musician trained in Lima, Argentina and New York gather enough credential by birth right and family heritage to represent the sound of 'his ancestors'? Or, did he just represent "una fantasía de capas medias en ascenso hacia una modernidad conflictiva..." [a fantasy of the middle classes

ascending towards a conflictive modernity] (Lauer, 1997, p. 23). Are his avant-garde practices and his foreign training a demonstration of his condition of 'alienness' to 'his own' culture? Is he just a *criollo* living the 'alucinacion incaica' Mirko Lauer talked about in 1997 when referring to some indigenist artists and thinkers (Lauer, 1997)? Belonging and fitting are tough issues.

Edgar Valcárcel himself give us a clue regarding how he was perceived in his region in an interview by Chalena Vasquez while talking about his participation in a music and dance festival and competition in Acora⁴¹ where he was a judge on several occasions and where his mother was born:

Era una locura... pero ese concurso no existe mas. No, porque apareció un señor Ticona que dijo 'guerra a los mistis', sabes lo que es mistis, ¿no? Son los blancos ... y mencionó 'no queremos mas ni a Valcárcel, ni a Palacios, ni a Zegarra ... siguieron con las danzas en otro sitio, pero a nosotros los jurados nos botaron. [It was absurd ... but this competition does not exist anymore. No, because some guy named Ticona showed up, and said 'war to the mistis', you know what 'misti' means, right? It's the whites ... and he said 'we don't want Valcárcel, Palacios, or Zegarra anymore ... they continued with their dances somewhere else, but us, the judges, were kicked out].⁴²

For some sectors in Lima, Valcárcel represents the indigenous (and indigenist) musical traditions of the Andes, and a continuation and reaffirmation

⁴¹ Acora is one of fifteen districts of the Puno Province in the Puno Region.

⁴² EDGAR VALCARCEL (1 de 8) Entrevista. Perú 2000
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQY_pOMSmbA 4:40 – 5:24.

of Inca culture, while for some radical sectors in Puno he is a 'misti', a white invader that needs to be expelled as he represents a danger to tradition. This example is not an isolated case, and his condition as Andean and Puneño composer had been challenged by another Puneño composer: Américo Valencia, who considered that:

Después, Valcárcel ha querido venderse como compositor Puneño, pero yo recuerdo que ... Valcárcel no tenía ningún conocimiento de la música puneña ... el 69 o después, ya lo veía yo en las fiestas de las candelarias como un turista [Afterwards, Valcárcel has tried to sell himself as a composer from Puno, but I remember that ... Valcárcel had no knowledge of music from Puno ... in 69 or later, I would see him at the *candelarias* celebrations as a tourist].⁴³

This strong discrediting of Edgar Valcárcel condition of Andean musical and defender of ancestral music by childbirth, family, and even political orientation, shows the strong, zealous and vigilant eye of ethnic regionalism. Valcárcel's intercultural communication skills were tested and, in some sense, failed to minimize antagonism. Musical technology and the 'global' concepts embedded in electronical musical arts, were, for the Peruvians of all heritages, a threat to cultural subsistence. If a cosmopolitan Lima was not ready to reflect on the globalizing conditions represented by electronic music, producing a defensive response, more introspective and self-referential ethnocentric communities would have shown a lesser interest in such arts. Traditional and

⁴³ Personal interview, 2017.

modern composers were more interested in finding ways to validate their own cultural credentials before jeopardizing their professional careers by making a bold movement towards new musical principles in front of a scene reluctant to change. Even if we speculate a greater interest on the part of Valcárcel for electronic musical arts, it was impossible for this interest to flourish and a national culture for electronics was not feasible at the time. Nilo Velarde, a student of Valcárcel and an important contributor to contemporary developments for electronic music at the Universidad de la Música, remembers Valcárcel's consideration of electroacoustic music as an important part of a composers training.⁴⁴ I believe this ambivalence was created by the set of cultural premises discussed in this work. The set of cultural values confronted by those composers confronted with the possibility of participating in the global musical discourses of the 1960s did not know how to react or negotiate a middle ground or the incorporation of new foreign discourses in the way it had been done with other musical European and American arts before. It had been easier, for a period of time, for an indigenist cosmopolitan bohemian Theodoro Valcárcel to 'unify the worlds' of classical European music and indigenist Peruvian ideals; or for traditional composers like Enrique Iturriaga (director of the Conservatorio in two periods: 1973-1976 and 1999-2002) to oppose the indigenist model and tell Valcárcel in 1949 when he found him playing Theodoro's pieces that "lo unico

⁴⁴ Personal interview, 2017.

bueno en Música es Bach o Stravinsky"⁴⁵; or even for the French musician Andrés Sas (director of the Conservatorio between 1950 and 1951), to declare, for some time, an anti-indigenist nationalism for Peruvian 'Música culta' (Romero 2018). As it has been proven with time, a culture for electronic music was not plausible nor feasible at the time of its arrival, and was never fully included in the continuous historical confrontation of nationalisms and cosmopolitanisms.

4.5 Neo-futurist Valcárcel and some forgotten arts.

Edgar Valcárcel was widely known in the national academic and popular musical environments of the 1960s and 1970s, and would later on become Director of the Conservatorio during two different periods. He was a famous composer, a 'maestro' of classical musical arts, and as we just mentioned had been the director of the Conservatorio twice (1979-1984, 1990-1993). By the arrival of the 21th century he was, however, a forgotten musician, at least in the popular sense. It was not until the end of the 1990s that new value was given to his work as an electronic musician (and that of Cesar Bolaños), mainly through the efforts of the Centro Cultural de España en Lima (CCELima) and the work of Juan Carlos Barandearan. If both composers were known outside of the country and were considered, at that time, as part of the history of Latin American

⁴⁵ EDGAR VALCARCEL (1 de 8) Entrevista. Perú 2000
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQY_pOMSmbA 7:25 – 8:05

electroacoustic music; they had been invisible, as electroacoustic composers, to their own country. A strange and confusing comment by Martin Alejandro Fumarola in an interview of Juan Amenabar (the famous Chilean composer) for the *Computer Music Journal* in 1999 is revealing : "A phenomena that has to be pointed out is the strength of Peruvian electroacoustic music at that time -at least with those three composers [Edgard Valcárcel, Luis Pinilla, Garrido Lecca]- which does not exist in Perú today." (Fumarola, 1999).

This declaration of strength is difficult to support. With the exception of Valcárcel, the other two composers were never particularly interested in electroacoustic music, with Pinilla composing only one piece (*Prisma*, 1967), and Garrido Lecca having only made electronic exercises. The mentioning of Cesar Bolaños right before this declaration is partially disregarded by Amenábar as part of the Peruvian case by responding: "Yes, but Bolaños was also working in Buenos Aires in the Di Tella Institute." (Ibid). Fumarola is right, however, in that no culture of electroacoustic music existed in Perú in 1999.

Returning to Barandearan. A film maker that had lived in Rome during the 1950s and had been fascinated by *musique concrete* and the work of Stockhausen felt at the beginning of the 2000s that Peruvian electronic music has been forgotten as an intellectual activity, and that something needed to be

done to 'activate' what he saw as an avant-garde and a world of advanced new arts that included both traditional academic electronic music and popular electronic music of the new *laptop* era:

... escuche de los músicos electrónicos aquí, que había una corriente, y lo que ellos proponían, pero que estaban como un poco perdidos y desperdigados, era una cosa un poco, por decirlo de algún modo, eran subterráneos, con un cierto sentimiento de culpa y una cosa de que nadie los escuchaba y dije: esto no puede ser, ¿no? y comencé a hablar con algunos de ellos, y me fui muy envalentonado al Centro Cultural España, y les dije, 'bueno aquí usted habla de que quiere proteger las artes modernas, o mejor dicho, las nuevas artes que están surgiendo con la web, etc., pongámonos a hacer algo con la música electrónica' [... I listened of the electronic musicians here, that there was a trend, and what they were proposing, but that they were lost and dispersed, it was something like, in a way, underground, with a sense of guilt, and not being heard by anyone, and I said: this cannot be, right? And I started to talk to some of them and I went emboldened and said to them: 'Well, here you talk about protecting modern arts, or better said, the modern arts that are emerging with the web, etc. Let's start doing something with electronic music].⁴⁶

Barandearan organized between 2003 and 2004 two electronic music festivals under the name Contacto. While this festivals have been highly forgotten in recent times, they might have been the most important bridges for the connection between the traditional academic electronic arts of the previous periods and the new culture of popular electronic musical experimentation that was rising in Lima thanks to the proliferation of personal computers and the democratization of musical experimentation through

⁴⁶ Personal interview with Juan Carlos Barandearan, 2004

musical software (and in the Peruvian case its piracy). While the repercussion and significance of the festival Contacto deserves particular attention, Valcárcel's participation on the second edition: CONTACTO - Festival Iberoamericano de Música Electrónica en Lima, is important here as it marks a 'before and after' of Lima's perception of its electronic music history.

On May 19th 2004, Valcárcel sat still at the main stage of the auditorium of the CCELima while one of his tape pieces from 1965 was presented to the public literally played from a tape cassette. He shared the night with Murcof, an IDM popular electronic musician from Tijuana that I invited to participate, and I performed the next day on the same style, as I was part of the popular electronic music culture of the time and had no participation or interest in academic electronic music. Valcárcel played two electronic works from different periods: *Invencción* (1966) y *Flor de Sancayo II* (1976). Luis Alvarado, one of the main promoters of Valcárcel's work in later years, remembers about the event that:

Hay azares en la vida que parecen totalmente planificados y hay conciertos que a uno pueden cambiarle realmente el curso de la vida ... pudimos escuchar dos piezas: *Invencción* (1966) y *Flor de Sancayo II* (1976) ... [m]i entusiasmo por ambas composiciones había sido compartido por algunos amigos allí presentes dedicados a la música electrónica y experimental, y que como yo escuchaban esas piezas por primera vez. En ese momento pensé en qué discontinua que es la historia de la música en el Perú, qué tan llena de vacíos ¿Qué especie de amnesia nos ataca cada cierto tiempo y nos hace tan indiferentes de lo que ha estado

detrás nuestro? ¿Qué pasaría si toda esa obra finalmente se pierde, desaparece?⁴⁷

I believe that many of the spectators of the concert and, among them, young electronic musicians, were captured by the idea of a 'lost history of Peruvian electronic music'. This concert served as both a means for generating interest for the early sound arts of the country, and a starting point for the construction of a mythological and idealized reconstruction of a historical genealogy and hagiography for Peruvian electronic music. While Juan Carlos Barandearan considered that something needed to be done in the sense of reactivating or constructing a culture for electronic musical practice, Alvarado became rapidly interested in constructing a 'history of Peruvian electronic music', and a couple of years later, in 2006, would present the exhibition 'Resistencias: primeras vanguardias musicales en el Perú' at the Centro Fundación Telefónica, having the work of Edgar Valcárcel as one of the main themes. The exhibition included a seminar called 'Latinoamérica y la vanguardia musical' and, as part of the seminar, a conference that incorporated Valcárcel on a panel by the name: 'Vanguardias musicales en el Perú'. The description of the event reveals some of its intentions as it states that it is "... una buena oportunidad para poder encontrarnos con nuestro pasado musical."

⁴⁷ <http://elautobus.blogspot.com/2006/10/resistencias-primeras-vanguardias.html>.



Figure 4.5: Valcárcel at Resistencias ⁴⁸

To clarify general cultural perceptions about musical participation and the need to validate and recognize the efforts of Peruvian musicians through the lens of political activism, it might be useful to analyze the way this exhibition is presented to the public by the local media. *Presencia Cultural*, a long-standing TV show broadcasted since 1982 by the state channel TVPerú, presented the exhibition in the following matter:

Rescatar del olvido la verdad sobre una tragedia. Buscar la verdad sobre las víctimas de la violencia que asoló al Perú. Así como estas búsquedas, *Resistencias*, también es un rescate de la memoria. La revolución desde la exploración sonora en el Perú fue echada al

⁴⁸ Recovered from <http://elautobus.blogspot.com/2006/10/resistencias-primeras-vanguardias.html>

olvido por mucho tiempo. [Rescuing from oblivion the truth regarding a tragedy. Searching for the truth about the victims of the violence that ravished the country. Like these searches, Resistencias, is also a rescue of the memory. The revolution from sound exploration was forgotten for a long time]⁴⁹

This initial comment at the beginning of the broadcast gives as a clear picture of the cultural assumptions and general beliefs present in the contemporary musical discussions of the nation. The presence of strong political implications on the popular discourse is frequently overlooked and trivialized, and its relevance is taken for granted as it is seen as an essential and integral element of our history. In this case, the program makes a correlation between the victims of social violence, mainly during the 1980s and 1990s, and sound exploration by the Generación del 50. The idea of a 'forgotten era' of Peruvian electronic and avant-garde musical practices gets entangled into a vision that includes 'violence', 'tragedy', and 'revolution' as important elements for its envisioning and representation. To incorporate these musical practices by the Generación del 50 into the contemporary discourse related to the social events that occurred about three decades later, fails to contextualize them appropriately.

On the other hand, the concept of 'memory rescue' in Perú is also politically charged, and does not reflect directly the recovery and visibilization of collective memory, as it was presented in the 1950s by the sociologist Maurice

⁴⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=unV0exLITTE>

Halbwachs (Halbwachs, 1950), or as it relates to specific spaces as in the case of Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1994). The concept of 'memoria' is, in Perú, a highly controversial term that relates to confrontational views regarding the same period in the country and the commemoration of the victims of the social violence that started the 17th of May, 1980, with Sendero Luminoso's first attack on Chuschi, Ayacucho. The political conversation regarding this sense of memory rescue and (re)construction ended with the building of the El Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social (LUM) of the Ministerio de Cultura del Perú in 2015. The LUM is not a site of memory in the sense of a places which are vested with historical, social or cultural significance because of what happened there in the past, and its working definition relates to the pedagogical commemoration of social events, and has become the center of several controversies regarding the appropriate recollection of historical data and its possible political representation.⁵⁰ In that sense, relating the musical practices we here discuss with a political resistance serves several purposes, including its legitimization by the new generations as a social force and as a collection of musical artifacts and ideas that need to be

⁵⁰ If the exhibition 'Resistencias: primeras vanguardias musicales en el Perú' uses the concept of resistance in a broad sense and as a common metaphor regarding cultural processes that seem to confront cultural hegemony or oppressive systems; other later 'resistencias' have shown the complexity of the term in the Peruvian world. The exhibition 'Resistencia Visual 1992' presented at the LUM in 2017, caused the resignation of the LUM's director, and the withdrawal of confidence from the Minister of Culture, as it was considered that the exhibition showed a clear bias against the government of the time. See: <https://elcomercio.pe/luces/arte/afiches-polemica-mira-obras-muestra-resistencia-visual-1992-fotos-noticia-452001> (Recovered July 17, 2019).

included into the collective memory of the country as depositaries of values important for the community. If electronic musical practices of the time were, indeed, restricted by ideological issues, it would be an inaccurate representation to regard them as a means of social resistance in the communal sense, as it was within the culture of revolutionary social transformation of the 1960s and 1970s that the limitations of the initial electronic practices were triggered and sustained.

Whether there was enough of a history of Peruvian electronic music to be recovered (in the sense of a culture), what is important for me, to confront in this work, is the political and ideological intentions for the reconstruction of a history of electronic experimentation in Perú. A strong move to position early electronic Peruvian experimentation on the map, is not based on the accomplishment of our performances or the amount of work, composers or musical corpus that could represent us as a modern nation, but on the patriotic nationalistic sense of fulfillment that such participation generates. While during the 1960s and 1970s it was important to present Valcárcel as a defender of indigenism, folkloric music from the Andes, and the popular socialist revolution; since 2004 it has become important to present him surrounded by machines and as a composer dedicated to electronic music. An example of this effort is the release on 2019, with the support of the Ministerio de Cultura del Perú, of the record *Composiciones electrónicas para los Andes (1967 - 2006)* (see image). The

record presents Valcárcel as an electronic musician while also declaring on the title the continuation of his electronic work until 2006, only 4 years before his death, while in reality the four works presented were done between 1967 and 1976. 2006 is represented by a revised version of Zampoña Sonica, work done on 1968 at Columbia. In other words, no real interest for electronic music is shown on his work after 1976. The title also attempts to reconcile the culture of electronic music and Andean music in Perú, a difficult task that was never accomplished, as these pieces don't represent the entrance of electronic music into the music scene of the time.

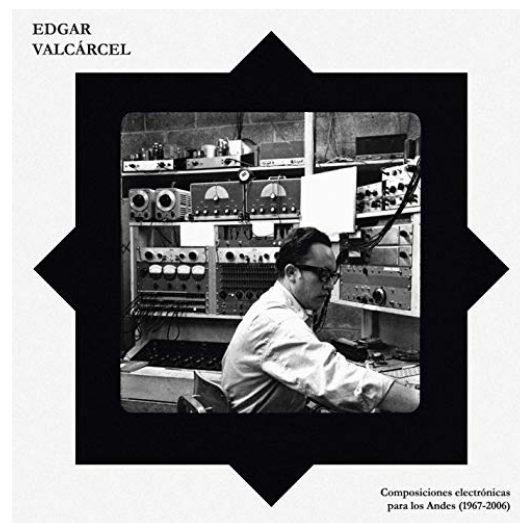


Figure 4.6: Edgar Valcárcel - Composiciones electrónicas para los Andes.

This effort or an historical reconstruction of our electronic past has continued until today, and the importance of Valcárcel as one of our central

electronic music composers has become an essential element in all discussions (whether colloquial, journalistic, or 'serious') related to Peruvian electronic music. Together with the need to declare and autochthonous electronic musical output and a clear musical lineage, it has also become important to present Peruvian electronic musicians as members of the Latin-American experience of electronic music at its foundation.

However conflictive the term Latin-America might be to unify the works of musicians from very dissimilar countries and cultures (a term that sometimes serve us more to reflect on the distance than on the proximity between them), it has been considered as a useful tool to categorize electronic music from countries in America of an Hispanic or Portuguese traditions, as it has been shown by Ricardo Dal Farra work on the Latin American Electroacoustic Music Collection, and multiple papers of his authorship on the issue during the 2000s (See reference section). I would argue that the concept of a Latin American electronic music tradition is both helpful and misleading. If commonalities might be encountered by such unifying labor, the peculiarities of each country (and even within different regions of each country), make the task difficult, and sometimes obscure and serve to conceal those cultural traits that are essential to understand a particular cultural space in a unique moment in time. Spaces for the study of Latin America have proliferated in the 'west' based on the following idea:

The assumption that Latin America (and Africa, the Middle East, etc.) are more than arbitrary geographic expressions: they define coherent cultural regions, having people with distinctive values and worldviews that make them think differently and behave differently from people of other culture. (Inglehart, 1997).

The romantic and political connotations of the term Latin America have also strongly influenced the way musical practices from Latin American countries are grouped and analyzed. A sense of complicity and cultural brotherhood is constantly raised, as a symbol of anti-imperialist unity and a continuation of nativist narratives from the independence period. In the case of music, texts dedicated to the existence of a Latin American musical and cultural identity are common. We can note the presence of some of these narratives, just to give an example, in the text of the Peruvian musicologist Aurelio Tello "Aires Nacionales en la Música de America Latina Como Respuesta a la Busqueda de Identidad" (Tello, 2004). In this text, Tello refers constantly to the citizens of Latin American countries as 'nuestros pueblos', and their musical practices as 'nuestra Música', and 'identidad americana' and the different nationalisms of the region, almost interchangeable. Under the umbrella that unifies the ex-colonies of Spain and Portugal in America, the lines that divide prehispanic music, colonial nationalistic music, indigenist and incaist musical compositions and narratives, and new musical nationalisms became blur. This Latinoamericanist discourse would become central to Garrido Lecca's Taller de la Cancion Popular at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música during the 1970s,

and his inclusion on musical training of a nativist and indigenist political view that would shift the attention towards folklore.

The radical political differences between Latin American countries at the time electronic music arrived, and the values represented by the unique cultural and social evolutions of each country, have marked and define country-specific developments for electronic music culture. This work is, in itself, a demonstration of a lack of unity in Latin America regarding electronic music experimentation initial development during the 1960s and 1970s in the region. It is precisely the distinction of the historical differences that has brought me here to present the Peruvian case as unique and unusual (at least from the perception that there is a 'usual' Latin America). If Latin America has its own history for electronic music, Perú is not part of it. It would suffice here to mention the work of composers like Bolaños in Argentina compared with his possibilities in Perú, or Valcárcel late declarations about the impossibility of creating electronic music in Perú.

While our main concern here is to understand the role of imagination in the construction of a Peruvian electronic music heritage, and in that sense, the work of Valcárcel has to be carefully assessed; we must also value accurately his historical contribution to Peruvian music and his attempt to understand the new technologies at hand. The possibilities of working with concrete or

electronic music at the time were limited and the conditions (both logistically and politically) inadequate, to say the least. Whether if the conditions having been different would have play a role, or not, in the development of a strong initial electronic music culture is a matter of speculation and impossible to state. It is possible that given the fitting conditions, Valcárcel would have develop more electronic music, but this could be the case for any other composer that did not have the opportunity to engage into these practices. What I find important to clarify is that the conditions of Peruvian musical training at the time were not favorable to the avant-garde practices of Concrete or electronic music. Once we put aside the role of Valcárcel as a possible agent of change, we must agree with him, that the conditions in Perú were not appropriate for these practices, and that with or without his help, Peruvian electroacoustic music was not going to develop healthfully during the 1960s and 1970s.

CHAPTER 5

The foreign Peruvian. Peripheralizing modernity

As the series of factors described in this work have made it difficult for the developing of sound arts related to technology in the country, the few musicians interested in these arts have in their vast majority been trained overseas, and some of them have stayed outside of the country in order to develop a career in music and technology, or even to be able to include it in their musical practices. For reasons also already mentioned, those who receive training outside and return to the country were not being able to cultivate their interest, and those who stayed outside hold teaching positions and pursued effectively careers in related arts.

In this chapter I will review problems related to migration and identity, as they relate to Peruvian music and musical electronic practices. In that sense, and as a general declaration, I consider that (1) the issue of electronic music in Perú in relation to migration remains to be confronted, that (2) the need to migrate for Peruvian academic musicians interested in electronic music has becoming historically evident, and that (3) the 'requisite' on part of our composers to represent or mention, at least superficially, exotic Peruvian

elements or values or banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) show the complexities of a fragmented identity, and incomplete sense of belonging, and a lack of resolution regarding nationality.

5.1. Migration issues on the study of Peruvian music

It is important to mention first that the subject of music and migration in Perú has been confronted by both foreign and national researchers but almost exclusively in regards to the role of Andean music in both rural to urban internal migration and the exporting of Andean. Non-Peruvian researchers like Joshua Tucker study Peruvian music in regards to indigenous identity and Andean culture, bypassing Lima as a source for musical culture and focusing on huayno music (mainly from Ayacucho) as the center of contemporary urban Peruvian music (Tucker, 2013). Tucker's exploration of studio producers, radio DJs and the music industry behind the construction of new marketing strategies for Andean music, show the interest outside of the country for music migration inside Perú, but an interest that relates to those musical styles that achieve massive popularity and those that represent ethnic and indigenous traditional models. Other ethnomusicologists like Thomas Turino have also confronted migration issues in Peruvian music but, again, in regards to Andean music (Turino, 1993). While it might be easy to understand the 'higher value' that exotic music from Perú might have for a foreign researcher, and how issues related to 'non-exotic

musical styles' might pass unnoticed for the culturally distant scholar (foreign and local), I would like to point out that such selection of topics has contributed to the reinforcement of traditions that segregate musical styles that are incapable of fulfilling an ethnic canon or quota. The discussion regarding foreign and local researchers of Peruvian music has been already mentioned in this work and deeply analyzed by Javier León on his text "Peruvian Musical Scholarship and the Construction of an Academic Other." If the text emphasizes a preoccupation for a possible dominating role of foreign scholars over Peruvian scholars, the selection of topics by both local and foreign as a political tool is not envisioned outside of this constructed realm in which the topics for the selective research might be agreed upon and not necessarily questionable. To put it simply: they know what is important to talk about, and only fight about who deserves it or who is better at it.

Can we talk about migration when discussing electronic music in Perú? Is Peruvian electronic academic experimentation massive enough to talk about a diaspora? How many electronic musicians outside of the country do we need to present to talk about a trend? What factors are allowed to be mentioned to consider an alluded migration as the result of structural and social practices rather than of individual personal decisions? Is a non-existing tradition worth the effort to map its non-existence?

If an electronic musical tradition for Perú would be hard if not impossible

to define, a series of individuals that have come to be regarded, in one way or another, as Peruvian electronic musicians can be easily identified. The entire community of Peruvian academic electronic musicians either reside outside of the country or has received academic training, at some level, outside of Perú. One particular exception is Abel Castro, who despite his status as a student at the Universidad de la Música, has developed a practice of electroacoustic music on his own. Castro is an exception to the rule, and even though he has taken one class with me and received feedback on his electroacoustic compositions by José Sosaya and Nilo Velarde (both interested in electroacoustic music at different levels and teaching at the CNM at the time), could be regarded as a self-educated electroacoustic musician. Another case worth mentioning, while not for electroacoustic or electronic composition and execution is Julio Benavides, who has also developed interest in electronics and Concrete Music on his own, and outside of the academic circuit, to the point of teaching electronics at the UNM for a certain period of time.

5.2 the need to migrate for Peruvian academic musicians interested in electronic music

Of all the actors interested in electronic music that we present in this work, those who have been able to develop a career on electronic music have done so outside of the country: Rajmil Fischman at Keele University in the U.K.; and

Jaime Oliver La Rosa at New York University.⁵¹ All others, this is those who have remained or returned to the country have dedicated their time and efforts to other activities, being Bolaños the clearest example of this trend.

At the beginning of this work I made a list of those composers and musicians (both as primary and secondary sources for analysis) that I considered indispensable for our exploration. Again, while this is list is not exhaustive, it is representative. Here the list with the international connection of our actors:

- Cesar Bolaños (1931-2012): U.S., Argentina
- Edgar Valcárcel (1932-2010): U.S., Argentina
- Américo Valencia Chacon (1946- 2019): U.S.
- Arturo Ruiz del Pozo (1949-): U.K.
- Rajmil Fischman (1956-): Israel, U.K.
- José Roberto Sosaya Wekselman (1956-): France
- Gilles Mercier (1963-): U.S.
- José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón (1968-). U.S.
- Abel Castro (1975-)
- Renzo Filinich (1978-): Chile
- Jaime Oliver La Rosa (1979-): U.S.

⁵¹ We should also mention the case of Cesar Villavicencio, who has demonstrated an interest on computer technology and music, mainly in relationship with music improvisation. Villavicencio has developed a career on music outside of the country, obtaining a PhD from the University of East Anglia, UK, with the thesis "The Discourse of Free Improvisation. A Rhetorical Perspective on Free Improvised Music". He is currently a Professor in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Of this list, all but Castro have received some sort of training outside of the country, and four have resided for long periods of time outside of the country, or still do: Fischman, López, Filinich, Oliver.

I have analyzed in detail the cases of Bolaños and Valcárcel, and it should be clear at this point, that their knowledge of electronic music practices was acquired outside Perú and that this learning experiences could not be continued in the country. Valcárcel, on his part, had the opportunity to work at important centers like the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center in New York (1967-1968), the CLAEM-Instituto Torcuato Di Tella (1963-1964), and the McGill Electronic Music Studio in Montreal (1976). Bolaños studied at the Manhattan School of Music in New York (1959), the RCA Institute of Electronic Technology (1960–63), and studied and worked at the CLAEM - Instituto Torcuato Di Tella (1963-1970). These two composers represent the connection between academic traditional practices in Perú and the possibility of conforming a *vanguardismo peruvianista*.

I would argue that while it has been historically customary for academic musicians to seek validation from the western world, and a strong connection with foreign practices is perfectly understood as part of cultural and political historical colonialism; the case for electronic music is unique. The cultural

processes that surrounded the intellectual elite that was to represent both modernity and nationalism for the musical practices of the country, did not find a match between the cultural values of the international technologically-based musical avant-garde movements, and those cultural values that would have allowed them to 'peruvianize' these practices. Both political *indigenismo* and actual indigenous and mestizo cultures failed to find ideological alternative models for the inclusion of cosmopolitanism and some of these 'modern' musical practices. Therefore, I believe that the aesthetic, technological, and cultural elements present in concrete and electronic music did not fulfill the criteria to be naturalized. Electronic music was never, in that sense, introduced into the country, and the existence of these composers trained during the early sixties in the new global tools of the trait are but a clear example of this lack of validation and the impossibility of inserting this 'foreign' model into the 'new Perú' of the 1960s and 1970s. Bolaños and Valcárcel (as well as Pinilla and others) made the right cultural move at the time, which was to travel to Rome (as an status validating practice) and do as the Romans only to return to Perú, later, and discover that when In Perú you had to do as the Peruvians.

These two composers represent a particular moment in the history of ideological confrontations between the 'world' and Perú regarding musical advancement. The lack of access to technology and the political climate played a role into maintaining electronic avant-garde practices contained. The

state dominant discourses and the political cultural training they both received generated a cognitive disruption, a space of confrontation for which nationalism and electronic 'foreign' music could not peacefully coexist.

Alejandro L. Madrid mentions, in regards to the way Mexican confronted the introduction of new musical ideas at the beginning of the 20th century, Peter Burges's differentiation between modernist art and the avant-garde:

Peter Burges considers that the difference between modernist art and the avant-garde is that Modernism could be seen as an expansion of traditional languages that may or may not go beyond the pure aesthetic experience while the avant-garde has to be understood as an attack meant to alter the institutions that produced and reproduce that art. (Madrid, 2009. P. 7).

He also states that:

... achieving modernity become the primary political goal of the elites that dominated peripheral societies, as shown in the variety of policies implemented throughout their histories to stimulate processes of modernization. (Ibid.).

This being said, the Peruvian academic musical world has its eyes, between the 1920s and the 1950s on French enlightened indigenism and the impressionist and neoclassic musical styles. Andrés Sas, a French composer that migrated to Perú on 1924, founded the Sas-Rosay music academy in 1929 (where both Bolaños and Valcárcel studies at some point), and became

director of the Conservatorio Nacional de Música in 1950, was in a big part responsible for this direction. As Petrozzi points out:

Con Sas aumentó la influencia del impresionismo y neoclasicismo franceses en el Perú y su combinación con el estilo nacional, siendo seguido, entre otros, por Carpio. [With Sas the influence of impressionism and French neoclassicism increased in Perú, and its combination with the national styles being followed, among others, by Carpio] (Petrozzi, 2009. P. 98.).

Andrés Sas represents with clarity the historical relationship between the exotization and idealization, by the French, of imagined pre-Columbian and Inca cultures in the country, and the artistic practices of an enlightened modern civilization represented by European countries.⁵² Roberto Carpio Valdés (Arequipa, 1900), the Director of the Conservatorio Nacional de Música between 1954 and 1959 mentioned by Petrozzi, would maintain a similar interest on French impressionism for several generations of national academic composers were trained by Sas. For the case that concern us, many of the electronic composers of our list received training by Sas: Cesar Bolaños, Edgar Valcárcel, Enrique Pinilla, Arturo Ruiz del Pozo. Américo Valencia, maybe the biggest detractor of electronic music application to Peruvian folkloric music during the 1980s, would consider Sas as a source for his work, as they share an

⁵² I have presented the 'French connection' on some detail on Chapter 3. See 3.3: The French Incas and the enlightened children of the Sun.

interest for validating pre-Hispanic music in Perú.

Some of our main actors had been, then, trained on the European musical styles of the pre-modern period and had no problem applying their techniques while including elements considered as survivals of pre-colonial times. Both aesthetic, the 'foreign' and the 'local' coexisted calmly until the revolutionary hegemonical models of the 1960s and 1970s restructured cultural values emphasizing non-elitist approaches to music, arts and culture, triggering experiments like the Taller de la Canción Popular, founded 'unofficially' at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música by Celso Garrido Lecca in 1975, after having leave in Chile during Allende's revolutionary period.

Besides the lack of logistic and technical resources that could easily pointed as the main reasons for the lack of development for concrete and electronic music in the country, I consider the lack of conceptual training and exposure played a major role into its initial failure to find a home in Perú. Whether our first composers were, or not, interested into these practices before confronting them in other countries, it was still an alien practice the did not represent Peruvian aesthetic and academic trainings. The conceptual language in which these practices were presented to the country lacked the 'translating' elements that could make them meaningful as revolutionary cultural additions to the Peruvian artistic practices. It is impossible, at this point,

to assess to what level the practice of electronic music by Bolaños, Valcárcel, Pinilla, Ruiz del Pozo, and other Peruvian composers between the 1950s and the 1980s, was the result of personal aesthetic searches or an obliged confrontation and exposure to these practices outside of the country given the period of time. We know that Bolaños and Ruiz del Pozo traveled as composition students (and encounter electronics under different situations), that Pinilla did not have a particular interest on electronics, and that Valcárcel had an interest that was not pursued when he obtained a position of power. Their case is radically different from that of most contemporary composers, but also different from the role Peruvian researchers have given them during the last 15 years. It is not that these composers had to migrate in order to pursue their interest on electronic music. They travelled to participated of the global discourses and keep themselves updated and current by expanding their horizon, and, in many cases, they 'encountered' electronic music. This is also the case of Américo Valencia who, throughout his career, has had an ambivalent attitude towards musical technology. If during the 1980s, Valencia had an aggressive and confrontational stance towards electronic music (as I will show and analyze in detail on Chapter 7), this changed dramatically after his experience at Florida State University, between 1985 and 1987. Even though he was interested in pursuing a Master of Music in Musicology & Ethnomusicology (an in connection with his indigenist ideals), he would be additionally trained on computer music issues and music technology. This confrontation, with what he saw during the

1980s as a symbol of yanqui invasive imperialism, seemed to change his views of a culture he was not well-informed about before his traveling.

5.3 the need to represent their Peruvianness

It is hard for me not to remember that my first Pure Data patch, after stating my education at the UCSD Computer Music program, was called *Osciladores Alimeñados* (Limeñanized Oscillators). After more than 10 years is still difficult to understand the reason behind this extremely nationalistic and nostalgic name. After all, the patch did not represent Peruvian culture in any way, other than my nostalgic assumptions regarding my role as a Peruvian musician in the middle of a 'foreign' land: there was nothing really *Limeño* (from Lima) about it. In time, and as part of both my process of acculturation and the confrontation with Peruvian culture after my return to Perú on 2010, it has become clear to me how strong nationalistic discourses had been on my upbringing. Political nationalism had not only been the cause of the rise of stronger authoritative governments, including the two periods of the *Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas* that influenced my schooling between 1974 and 1984, but a source of cultural trends that reinforced traditional *autoctonismo*, indigenist ideologies, and anti-foreign dogmas.

Plenty of Peruvian academic musicians have felt the urge to make

nationalistic declarations according to the different models of the Peruvian nation presented, at different points in time, and as a result of global and regional nationalistic philosophical models: an early Euro-centric Latin American Nationalism, an Anti-Spain nationalism during the emancipation process, an Anti-United States nationalism at the beginning of the 20th century, the rise of *indigenismo* as ethnic based nationalism, the leftist class-based nationalism of the 1960s, and other more contemporary mixed forms.⁵³ Some of these musicians are politically well-informed and are familiar with the discourses they represent, while many others act on them instinctively and following popular views strongly attached to national identity.

One of the most common strategies to declare national identity is the use of Inca and Quechua names and themes. Other elements related to Inca culture are commonly used, including musical instruments consider as native, and musical characteristics like the pentatonic scale (mistakenly taken as a symbol of Inca music as a result of the d'Harcourt couple's book on Inca music survivals). A short exemplifying list of works related to electronic music by Peruvian musicians could include: *Zampoña Sonica* by Edgar Valcárcel (1968), *Qoyllurcha* (1993) or *Piedra del Q'osqo* (1991) by Rafael Junchaya, *Ruraq Maki* (2012) by Rajmil Fischman, or *Silbadores 1-5* (2001-2019) by Jaime Oliver. I

⁵³ For a clear map of the different nationalist model in Latin American history see *Latin American Nationalism Identity in a Globalizing World* by James F. Siekmeier (Siekmeier, 2017).

believe that the search for national symbols related to pre-colonial times shows the intent to find 'locations of identity' that could be extracted from familiar images and clichés that have been socially constructed and on which most Peruvians have been socially trained. A complex set of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations, and practices (Billig, 1995, p.6) is reproduced and maintained in order for the nation to be constantly reproduced as such, In the case of Perú, Quechua as a 'mother tongue', the historical existence of a mighty Inca empire as symbol of national pride, and in some cases, an imagined racial and cultural direct link between the pre-colonial period and the contemporary Peruvian citizen; serve to perform citizenship (in and outside the country). What is important to note here for this work is that, these performances of citizenship position most Peruvian musicians as doubly foreign. In their everyday reproduction of national models, Peruvian composers look for reassurance into an unknown past that is only presented to them superficially and by means of the political and ideological models promoted by the state. As Billig mentions: "One might think that people today go about their daily lives, carrying with them a piece of psychological machinery called 'a national identity.'" (1995, p.7). In the Peruvian case, this machinery is 'foreign' to many Peruvian, as they might be talking about nationhood in a language they ignore. The different levels of commitment with specific ancestral or pre-colonial narratives construct multiple internal 'nations' that are conflict with each other. Peruvians are constantly talking about nation because they need something to remind them

that they belong and that they are not foreigners in what is presented as their land.

CHAPTER 6

Musical Institutions and electronic music learning.

Este es un país complejo. El gobierno nunca modificará los criterios en el área de la educación, pues la falta de criterio ha sido siempre el signo dirimente.

-- Luis Jaime Cisneros

For organizational and didactic purposes, I have divided the attempts to develop a culture for electronic music on the Peruvian academic world into three periods I define as waves:

- First wave (1964 – 1970): the retroactive construction of an early Peruvian electronic generation with Cesar Bolaños and Edgar Valcárcel, more as the 'generation that could have been' than an actual wave of innovation and development. This period is discussed in prior chapters.
- Second wave (1990 – 1996): the period in which several actors demonstrate and interest in technological music and the activities produced by this interest. This period is discussed in this chapter.
- Third wave (2017 – 2020): the current effort, including the new Laboratorio

de Música Electroacústica, the Ensamble de Laptops of the Universidad de la Música (ELUNM) and other activities still in a process of implementation. This period is discussed in the last chapter.

I can state that, in this case, when referring to the Peruvian academic world for music I am almost exclusively talking about the Peruvian public institution for higher education in music, under all its historical mutations: Escuela Nacional de Música, Conservatorio Nacional de Música, Universidad Nacional de Música. Also, these so-called three waves do not represent all attempts made to develop these arts, but the main conjunctural moments in which a momentum was reached. For instance, the 21st century has seen, in general, an increase in activities in comparison with prior periods, and the interest placed by the authorities, while intermittent, could be used to define this period as a whole unit, in which the possibilities have increased. This is also due to technological advance and the democratization of access to technological tools catching up with us and making its marginalization difficult.

Some technical institutes interested in popular electronics and sound recording culture have been partially connected with academic electronic training due to the intervention of specific actors. This would be the case of Instituto Superior Orson Welles with the involvement of Américo Valencia and Julio Benavides; and Centro Educativo Privado de Educación Ocupacional

Sonitec, offering classes on Informática Musical and Electrónica between 1997 and 2004, and counting currently Xavier Camps as teacher (PhD in Mecánica Sonora from the Universidad de Barcelona).

6.1 Lima es un pañuelo. Cultural politics and musical training.

Maybe the harshest to date depiction on music education and technology in Perú, is the one made by Julio Benavides for the Internet page Música y Sonido in 2012:

Tanto como alumno como docente en el Conservatorio Nacional de Música he visto que el problema no es tanto el uso de tecnologías el problema principal es que somos una sociedad rica en cultura dirigida por ignorantes-instruidos-monotemáticos. Lo he visto en todo lugar y es la tragedia de nuestro país. [Both as a student and professor at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música I have seen that the problem is not so much the use of technology, the principal problem is that we are a society with a rich culture led by ignorant-instructed-monothematic individuals.⁵⁴

However vindictive and emotionally charged his comments might seem at first glance, it is within such a strong reaction, to a question regarding his personal experience at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música and the possibility of accepting new technologies for composition and interpretation, that we can find the sense of frustration that is common to

⁵⁴ Recover from <https://mys.saninnsalas.com/contenidos/entrevistas/33-julio-benavides-en-sintesis.html>.

many Peruvian musicians interested in technology throughout the history of Peruvian electronic music. My research has shown that a similar opinion, while not expressed so severely, is shared by some of my interviewees. Both the agents and the structures they represent are blamed for the failures to achieve a space for electronic experimentation at the academic level. Most musicians interviewed would rather avoid directly pointing at specific authorities as accountable for such failures, and prefer to direct their complaints to the institutions as ambiguous social entities with invisible heads. I would argue that this decision to evade naming individuals and the idiosyncratic decisions they might have taken in the processes here discussed is a survival strategy developed during the 'trial--and-error' attempts to conform a culture for electronic music. The colonial social models of domination and subordination are, in Perú, integrated into the social structure as it is represented by institutions and those who control them. Cesar Bolaños would refer to an unidentified 'them', Edgar Valcárcel to the 'dramatic political changes' of his time, Ruiz del Pozo to a vague 'lack of official interest', Benavides to 'unnamed but terrible individuals', and I would take the fifth.

It is also true that it is customary in the country to place blame on authorities and institutions, regardless of their involvement or possible 'blame' on the issues confronted. The power of social historical mechanisms and

structures examined in this work (including cultural training), that in many cases surpass the powers of particular individuals and authorities, has produced a general sense of defeat on those interested in electronic music in the country. While I will mention some aspects of post-colonial Peruvian social-culture that are relevant to this perception, I must add the Julio Benavides was in charge of the activities related to the Laboratorio de Música Electroacústica of the CNM, at least between 2003 and 2005. Since Benavides has refused to talk about this period, it is impossible to know what possible problems occurred during his time in charge of electronics at the CNM. Even though this period under Benavides was less productive than the one I have defined as the 'second wave' during the 1990s, it can also be considered as a positive return after Enrique Iturriaga's second term as director (1999-2002), who had a more traditional approach.

Julio Benavides, who studied electroacoustic music with José Sosaya at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música during the 1990s, was one of the only composers that kept an interest in electronic music after his participation on Sosaya's classes, teaching later the class. Currently he teaches Musical Technologies at the Instituto Superior Orson Wells, and represents one of the few cases in which synthesis and related issues are taught, although they are directed to the production of popular music and sound engineering, and not at a university level, but as a part of a technical

career.⁵⁵ This being said, Benavides understands the need to implement not only technical but also aesthetic aspects to training related to musical technology:

Nosotros somos pioneros en considerar al sonidista (similar a un arquitecto) como aquel que debe manipular el objeto sonoro desde su aspecto real, físico, técnico, pero también el aspecto estético." (We are pioneers in considering the soundman -similar to an architect- as the one who should manipulate the sound object from its real, physical, technical, but also aesthetic aspect).⁵⁶

This inclusion of aesthetic aspects into a sound engineering program is uncommon, and is also the result of the lack of spaces to implement these aspects into a curriculum. As teaching environments in the country are not properly articulated teachers take the opportunities and spaces, they have to teach themes that would not be normally included in the programs they teach. This is definitely for the benefit of the students, but does not represent a well thought opportunity for implementing innovative and alternative teaching strategies but, actually, the result of the lack of opportunities in the existing musical training offering in the country. On the other hand, this problem is also related to the lack of trained people on specific areas. For instance, Julio Benavides, who developed an interest and amateur

⁵⁵ You can find detailed information regarding his teaching at Orson Welles on an article he published on the institute's webpage: <https://www.orsonwelles.edu.pe/articulos11.html>

⁵⁶ Ibid.

knowledge on synthesis, would teach on these issues wherever he could, and before arriving to Instituto Superior Orson Welles, he taught *Introducción a la Síntesis Digital* at the CNM. If he was to leave the Instituto Superior Orson Welles, the classes regarding synthesis would, most likely, stop.

In the statement we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Benavides declares a strong sentiment against institutionalized musical practices and what, in his view, is a lack of perspective and complex thinking regarding culture in general. He considers that the problem goes beyond the use of technology, and that there is a deeper and wider problem to be resolved that relates to actual people in control of the decisions regarding the practice of musical composition and interpretation. I would argue that the problem is only partially related to the actions of particular individuals in a condition of power, but the result of a social interweaved set of rules and historical 'mandates' that, as a whole, reverberated unwillingly and unintentionally on Peruvian electronic music.

The bold statement by Benavides confront us with a relevant situation that is hardly a secret, but that has been scarcely, if at all, assessed: the role of fixed networks and intricate models for personal interaction in contemporary Peruvian society, as survivals of colonial caciquism and pyramidal social structures inherited from the colonial and pre-colonial

periods.

Traditional Peruvian society is modeled in a series of social interactions and ties that define social positions and permitted models of communication and exchange. Peruvians participate of society not as individuals but as part of the collective, where their social roles are defined within a particular set of possibilities and limitations proposed by the pre-determined social structure. This condition becomes more extreme in the capital, where family relations and social connections become essential for personal development, since as the traditional saying expresses: 'Lima es un pañuelo'⁵⁷ (a place where everybody knows each other). An asymmetric relationship between the different actors, together with the social approach the emphasizes this relational-community model over the individual, have been amply studied in relationship to Spanish and Latin American colonial cultures (Guerra, 1992; Mücke, 2010).

Terms like 'caudillismo', 'caciquismo', or 'clientelismo' are commonly used to refer to political practices, in the country, and in Latin America in general, that depend on power relations developed through long periods of time or are even hereditary in nature. For the most part the study of these practices positions them in a historical moment already passed and in

⁵⁷ Lima is a handkerchief. Traditional saying.

relationship to political office and governmental activities. Their repercussion in other ambits of contemporary social relations has still to be confronted.

What is clear is that this cultural 'problem' has a long history that was already identified in colonial times. As Segismundo Moret, Minister of Overseas

Colonies (Ultramar) for the Spanish government, declared in 1883:

There is a mortal enemy, the caciquism, whose name really says it all, against which everyone protests and which nobody can talk about in the public life without applauding to battle it or in the private life without upsetting everyone who hears it." (Franco, 2014).

Much attention has been placed on the way the pyramidal social structures of the colonial and pre-colonial Periods have affected the development of large groups of people in the country, labelled as 'popular', and how that "mundo popular era más sufrido pero más alegre y moralmente superior al representado por las clases medias" [the popular world suffered more but was happier and morally superior to the one represented by the middle classes] and that "la gente de clase media, éramos beneficiarios de una situación injusta, de manera que estábamos contaminados. La única manera de dar sentido a nuestras vidas era salvar al país mediante un cambio radical del orden social." [the people from the middle class were beneficiaries of an unjust situation, so we were contaminated. The only way to give meaning to our lives was to save the

country by means of a radical social change] (Portocarrero).⁵⁸ The attempts to reverse this 'contamination' were carried out by using the same social structural model that were supposed to have produced it. Electronic musicians represented the discourses of a middle or upper middle class that should sacrifice their 'contaminated' musical affection towards modern foreign sound technology in the best interest of the national community.⁵⁹ A patron-servant model from the *virreynato* period is mixed with the nationalistic post-independence traditions of the XIX century, changing the subject of attention while maintain the structure of power. This colonial underground system challenges only particular aspects of the social status quo while maintaining strong social differentiations in the way people are ranked into a hierarchy.

Many institutions in Perú, including some for musical academic training, follow these traditional structures as a cultural survival of the colonial times, being owned and directed by a family, or by members of a social community that share their intellectual practices with long standing personal relations. To understand musical practices in the country, one must understand the social etiquette of Peruvian culture and its underlying

⁵⁸ Recover from

[https://www.mpfm.gob.pe/escuela/contenido/actividades/docs/654_el_\(des\)orden_social_peruano.pdf](https://www.mpfm.gob.pe/escuela/contenido/actividades/docs/654_el_(des)orden_social_peruano.pdf)

⁵⁹ I will present an example of this perception on the following chapter.

implications. Localized and personalized power, together with the definition of membership into the ruling elites (traditional and newly formed) conform a set of functional systems carefully designed and supported by the communities involved. This situation generates, also, a polarized society in which suspicion and confrontation between musical communities can take racial and class overtones, as different groups collide in the search of legitimacy and opportunities. This case is particularly true for the communities of electronic popular musicians that emerged at the end of the 1990s, and of whom I will talk in more detail later on in this work. If the academic musician would have to confront the aesthetic credos of the academic musical establishment, the popular electronic musician was not considered as part of the musical world at all.

The rejection of electronic musicians (both academic and popular) does not reflect, directly, Bourdieu's conceptualization of the university as a social institution that contributes to the reinforcing of social divisions by supporting and perpetuating the traditional dichotomy of 'popular aesthetics' and 'high aesthetics' (Bourdieu, 1989). The matter is complex, and electronic experimental musicians in Perú, this is those who consider electronic music as an intellectual practice, live in a middle ground between two poles that reject them equally: the academic musical world of high aesthetics and the popular music scenes of popular aesthetics. In regards to

this culture of domination of the institutions of higher education, Robert E. Ruiz has pointed out, following Gramsci, that:

... dominant groups in society, through a process of intellectual and moral leadership, attempt to win the consent of subordinate groups in society. In this terms, popular/mass culture becomes the site of struggle between forces of resistance and domination. (Ruiz, 2005, p.7).

I argue that this process is currently in existence, and that universities and institutions of musical learning in the country are constantly searching for social acceptance and attempting to engage mass culture for validation. Now, as I have previously mentioned, the selection of what musical products and traditions are to be considered as popular and massive is constructed within an ideological model that would not have a place for popular electronic music. Furthermore, the battlefield of this struggle for recognition does not support the middle ground discourses of technological musical advancement as legitimate forms of popular national music, as technology is not an 'aesthetic' but a set of practical tools. Electronic musical experimentation is not academic enough and not popular enough to participate of the conversation.

As we have also mentioned, academic music in Perú had already a long history of incorporating nationalistic, and indigenist representations as part of the music of the nation, long before electronic music appeared. In

that sense, romantic perceptions of indigenous cultures, understood as popular and mass culture, were not only allowed, but insisted upon, as elements of our intellectual musical practices. This scenario has already been mapped to the by Clara Petrozzi, who in her doctoral thesis mentions the *corriente romántica patriótica*, the *romanticismo nacionalista*, the *indigenismo romántico*, and the *indigenismo vanguardista*, among other musical practices that include folkloric sounds declared as native, together with traditional elitist European musical arts (Petrozzi, 2009). During the period of arrival of electronic music to Perú throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Conservatorio Nacional de Música pendulated between these two worlds of representation: the 'classic' and the 'national'. Aurelio Tello's "Antaras de Celso Garrido-Lecca o la perenne persistencia de la peruanidad" (Tello, 2001), present us with a clear picture of the discourses behind this communion. In front of these declarations of Peruvianness, electronic music did not count with the political currency necessary to negotiate its participation.

6.2. The second wave. Musical experimentation at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música during the 1990s

Entonces tu probarás su existencia,
pues en un país tan caótico y con tantas interrupciones
nadie antes se ha preocupado por el tema.
Un país donde fácilmente se confunde
al artista con el aficionado y,
a la música de baile con la de concierto.

José Sosaya, FB post on my work.

If, as we have proven, what is normally considered as the 'first wave' of Peruvian electronic music, has been highly overstated, and our first wave was too small to ride; by the 1990s the conditions (global and local) have changed radically, and a new set of possibilities developed and a second important attempt to develop a culture of electronic academic music took place.

Until 1979 the Conservatorio had seen a set of very traditional directors, and, therefore, no opportunities for electronic experimentation. The election of Valcárcel as director in 1979 should have marked a change in direction in regards to avant-garde practices, but this was not the case. It is not until 1990 that we see an interest for electronic music, coming from different agents at the Conservatorio, including: Américo Valencia, Fernando de Lucchi, José Sosaya, Rafael Junchaya and Gilles Mercier. The internal struggles and energy invested in these efforts, have not been included in the official records of the

history of Peruvian academic music, as, in many cases, these efforts found minimal or no response on part of the authorities of the time, with the exception of the specific periods and developments we here discuss. Is in that sense that the figure of Valcárcel would become controversial again. I will present here some of the actions taken during the second period of Valcárcel as director of the Conservatorio (1990-1993).

Several innovations and innovative proposals are presented to the Conservatorio between the second part of Armando Sánchez Málaga's period as director of the Conservatorio and the three years of Valcárcel's second period, including: (1) the first Centro de Computo, (2) the proposal for inclusion of electroacoustic courses on the musicology curricula, (3) the request for an official lab for electronic music, and (4) the purchasing of electronic instruments. Most of these initiatives did not flourish, but are, for that same reason, important for this work.

Between 1988 and 1989 the Centro de Computo (Computer Center) is established with one computer that had been purchased in 1986 but had not been in use. At this time there was no interest yet for using the computer for music, and it had been purchased with the purpose of organizing the information at the Conservatorio, and with the approval of Armando Sanchez Malaga (1986 – 1990). Fernando De Lucchi, Academic Director (1992 – 1994),

and later director of the Conservatorio (2007 – 2014) recalls that:

En el 86 se compra la primera computadora que fue toda una polémica. Según Américo, fue el quien la pidió. Américo luego se fue a Estados Unidos, y al regresar dijo, 'yo no puedo trabajar con una sola computadora'. Y la computadora se fue al archivo, nadie la usaba. Américo quería mas cosas, porque había visto los laboratorios en Estados Unidos. [In 86 the first computer was bought, and it was shrouded in controversy. According to Américo, he was the one who requested it. Later, Américo when to the United States, and at his return said 'I can't work with only one computer'. And the computer when to the archive, nobody used it. Américo wanted more things, because he had seen the labs in the United States.⁶⁰

I will discuss the ambivalent position of the musician Américo Valencia in Chapter 7 as his changes in narrative before and after his training in the United States becomes essential to understand suspicion and rejection of electronic musical arts in Perú.

In a very important statement, that qualifies the early relationship between Peruvian academic musicians and authorities, and technological development, De Lucci states:

En ese momento las computadoras eran consideradas en el conservatorio como una especie de amenaza, algo muy frio, algo a lo que le faltaba la calidez humana, Eso fue después ratificado y formalizado públicamente por Valcárcel, en el año 91, cuando

⁶⁰ Fernando de Lucchi, personal interview, november 28th, 2019.

regreso como director, en asamblea de profesores. [At that moment, computers were considered at the Conservatorio as some sort of a threat, something very cold, something that lacked human warmth. That was later ratified and formalized publicly by Valcárcel, in 91, when he returned as director, in a professor's assembly]. (Ibid).

The 1980s rise of personal computers had caught the Conservatorio off guard, as it was not prepared to find a link between the modern machines and world of musical practices, or even understand the need for computers for administrative purposes. The initial suspicion towards computers, and by extension, modern musical machines, was part of the traditional criticism inherited from the 1950s and 1960s towards machines, in which technology is seen as emphasizing technological efficiency over human values (Ellul, 1964), or as a means for social control and domination (Marcuse, 1964). De Lucchi also remembers that the Centro de Computo was closed by Valcárcel in 1991, right after taking office, as he considered the computer had 'rigidized' and 'dehumanized' the discourse at the Conservatorio. (Ibid.). While, as we have mentioned, the computer was not, at this point, considered as a machine for musical making or the organization of musical data, this apprehension towards the machine makes clear a general sense of rejection and lack of understanding of the possibilities of technology for music, as represented by Valcárcel's position.

Right around the time these 'conflicts with the machines' were taking place (this is, the late 1980s and early 1990s), Valencia, De Lucchi and Sosaya

would start to be confronted by the cultures of concrete, electronic, and experimental music; and also make different attempts to implement their practice in Perú. For instance, in 1990 two proposals were made to the Conservatory. On one part, the inclusion of two courses in electroacoustic music as part of a new curricula for the Musicology program as part of its 'formación especializada' area. I have not been able, at this point, to corroborate if these classes took place at the time, as I have not been able to find paperwork related to their implementation at the Conservatorio.

	881151 Instr.And.I	881251 Ins.Andi.II	882151 Ins.And.III	882251 Ins.Andi.IV	883151 Etnologia I	883251 Etnolog. II	884151 Teor.Folk.I	884251 Teo.Folk.II	885151 Psic.Social	885251 Linguistica
FORMA CION	881153 Psic.Gral.I	881253 Psic.Grl.II	882153 Antropol.I	882253 Antropol.II	883153 Musicolog.I	883253 Musicolo.II	884153 Musicol.III	884253 Musicolo.IV	885153 Electroac.I	885253 Electroa.II
ESPE- CIALI ZADA	881155 Piano Pri.I	881255 Piano Pr.II	882155 Pia.Pri.III	882255 Piano Pr.IV					885155 Musi.Orbe I	885255 Mus.Orbe II
	881157 T.Met.Inv.I	881257 T.Met.In.II							885157 Tesis I	885257 Tesis II

Figure 6.1: 1990 proposed curricula, including electroacoustic courses.

On the other hand, Valencia, who was at the time coordinator of the Musicology program, presented, on April of 1990, a first proposal for the establishment of a Laboratorio de Electroacústica de la ENAM. This document prepared with the backing of José Sosaya, included opinions regarding a possible location inside the Conservatorio (then Escuela Nacional de Música –

ENAM) and a long list of equipment to be purchased. While the lab was not achieved at the time, the dream of a space for electroacoustic music had started, a dream that would repeat itself several times in the following decades and with different levels of success. It is important to mention here that the intention of including electronic music in the Conservatorio's environment was difficulted not only by cultural or ideologized social discourses, there were also logistical and practical obstacles. On one part, it has been always difficult to have people trained in these arts available and willing to take the lead in the construction of spaces for such arts. While some authorities were too traditional to show and interest or comprehend the need to implement spaces for electronic music, others have been sympathetic and have historically shown the intention to include it, while being confronted by some of the cultural forces we discuss in this work. On the other hand, the Conservatorio is the only place in Lima (and Perú) where the issue has been confronted, as no other space for higher education in music has shown an interest in either popular nor academic electronic music training. In that sense, the controversies and obstacles we explore here are sometimes related to particular agents and actions, but in many cases are the result of a metacommunicative system in which musical technology has not been implemented as part of the set of messages and instructions that could be comprehended and understood as part of the cultural frames of representation that made the Peruvian musical world intelligible. Electronic music fell outside from our systems for framing and

categorizing, and was, therefore, not even part of the processes of selection, inclusion or emphasis we use to meaningfully structure the 'Peruvian social world of music.' As a Peruvian professor would put it to me in regards to the need to implement a more 'modern' approach to music teaching and include the not harmonically oriented arts of the 20th century: "you wouldn't understand because you are not a musician." It is in the framing and categorization process, and some lack of fluidity on our adaptation processes, that some developments get stuck.

This being said, it is the 1990s when we can see an influx of ideas concerning modernization and avant-garde practices, as well as creative ways to integrate the modern sound arts into the existing academic space. However, this influx was unable to flourish during Valcárcel's second period as head of the then Escuela Nacional de Música - ENM (1990-1993),⁶¹ and found a more fertile environment with Nelly Suárez de Velit as director (1993-1998). It is during Suarez's period that the title of Conservatorio Nacional de Música was recovered, and when some important events regarding experimentation and electronic music took place. It is important to mention that Valcárcel had

⁶¹ Nevertheless, some events took place during this period, and some of the composers that would become relevant a couple of years later were already working on electronic music. One example is the concert *Música Electracústica Peruana: Síntesis Digital y MIDI* presented on December 5 1991 at the Teatro Larco, and that included the work of Edgardo Plascencia, Gilles Mercier, Rafael Junchaya and José Sosaya. Another example is the concert *Música Peruana del S XX* that took place on December 11 of 1992 at the ENM, with the inclusion, among other things, of musical pieces for magnetic tape like *Piedra del Qosqo* (1991) by Rafael Junchaya, and *Metamorfosis del Sonido* (1992) by Gilles Mercier.

presented his resignation on may 6 of 1993 amid allegations of ethical misconduct and that it was considered that the ENM was, at the time, immersed in an institutional crisis. Trying to keep the boat afloat might have been enough of a task in itself, leaving no space for implementing new ideas or future projects. It is also important to mention that both Américo Valencia and Fernando De Lucchi, who had and interest in electronic music during this initial period, were involved in the allegations presented against Valcárcel. It is impossible to assess, at this point, how personal factors and/or internal conflicts influenced the specific decisions taken during that period in favor or against electronic music practices, but we can't rule out the importance of this factors. Authoritarian and patrimonial structures are customary in the country, and post-colonial caciquism more of a rule than the exception.

In any case, the events that followed Valcárcel resignation show a political will on part of the new direction to allow for the Implementation of innovative practices, as we can see with the interest and work done (and institutionally supported) starting on 1993 by José Sosaya, Fernando de Lucchi, Gilles Mercier and Américo Valencia (among others).

I will discuss now the work and involvement of José Sosaya on electronic musical practices at the Conservatorio of during this period.

Sosaya, is a Peruvian traditional composer who studied, first in Trujillo during the 1970s,⁶² and later on at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música in Lima between 1976 and 1984 (taking classes with Valcárcel starting in 1977). Trujillo was one the three Regions, together with Lima and Arequipa, that benefited from the Bustamante y Rivero government's decision to establish the Escuelas Regionales de Música in 1947.⁶³ Besides his official training, he was interested in exploring new musical styles that were not necessarily discussed but were already present, by other means, in the Latin American environment:

Compre un libro que se llamaba ¿Qué es la Música Concreta?⁶⁴ de Pierre Schaeffer... tenía curiosidad. Era mi época de rebeldía. Odiaba Mozart, odiaba la música Coral ... y Bach también, me hacían estudiar Bach, y no lo entendía, me parecía muy árido. [I bought a book called What is Concrete Music? By Pierre Schaeffer ... I was curious. It was my rebellious time. I hated Mozart, hated Choral music ... and also Bach, I was forced to study Bach, and I did not understand him, it seemed to arid] ⁶⁵

This rebellious initial attitude and an interest, outside official and private training, on music of the 20th century, would take Sosaya to search for

⁶² Sosaya was born on San Pedro de LLoc, a small district of the province of Pacasmayo, a province of the La Libertad Region, of which Trujillo is the capital.

⁶³ For the history and situation of Trujillos's scenic arts see Agreda's ANÁLISIS DE LA SITUACIÓN DE LAS ARTES ESCÉNICAS EN EL PERÚ: CASO TRUJILLO, published by the Ministerio de Cultura in 2017.

Recovered from <http://www.infoartes.pe/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/An%C3%A1lisis-de-situaci%C3%B3n-de-las-Artes-esc%C3%A9nicas-en-Per%C3%BA-Trujillo-completo.pdf>

⁶⁴ This book was published in 1959 by the Argentinian editorial house Nueva Visión, founded in 1954 in Buenos Aires.

⁶⁵ Personal interview. 2017.

information that was not being provided on his academic training on different publications of the time (mostly Argentinian Spanish editions of classic European or North American books). His cosmopolitan interests had no real practical support and the intellectual readings would stay in the books, and not have a parallel with his musical practice until his traveling to Paris in 1984, where he could encounter, first hand, what he had only read about.

When asked about his studying with Valcárcel and his exposure as student to electronic music he remembers that:

[Valcárcel] no me enseñó música electrónica ... pero me decía que era importante, que la música electrónica era importante en la formación de un compositor del S. XX. Y toda la obra de el, instrumental, tiene una concepción de música que se cruza con la electrónica, en el sentido de la estructura, timbres, ausencia de ritmo, etc." [Valcárcel did not teach me electronic music ... but he told me that it was important, that electronic music was important in the formation of a composer of the 20th century. And, all his work, instrumental, has a conceptualization that crosses electronic music, in the sense of the structure, timbres, lack of rhythm, etc].⁶⁶

As he had mentioned, when technological developments in music advanced elsewhere in the world, Perú did not 'progress' according to the new development, and a mayor emphasis was placed on both European musical traditionalism and nationalistic folkloric models. Valcárcel's perceptions regarding the importance of electronic music did not match his practices as

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Director of the Conservatorio Nacional de Música between 1979 and 1984. If there was no support for electronics at the time Sosaya studied at the CNM, the decision not (or the lack of decision we might say) to include electronic music as part of the curricula in more modern times, when Valcárcel became director again between 1990 and 1993, is hard to explain. Gilles Mercier recalls:

Fuimos con algunos estudiantes a hablar con Valcárcel y pedirle que contrataran a Cesar Bolaños para que nos diera clases de electrónica ... pero al final decidieron contratar a Malsio para que nos diera clases de dodecafonía." [We went with some students to talk to Valcárcel to ask him to hire Cesar Bolaños to teach us electronic music ... but at the end they decided to hire Malsio to teach us dodecaphony].⁶⁷

Mercier's comment, in conjunction with other factors and events previously mentioned, puts in evidence a sense of indifference and lack of concern regarding the growth of musical practices related to technology, who have yet to be appropriately assessed. Mercier, who would become highly active in helping Sosaya organize spaces for musical experimentation, right at the end of Valcárcel's second period, belong to a new generation of academic musicians that show a particular interest for electronics that also included Rafael Junchaya, who would also participate in the organization of the different attempts to develop experimental and electronic practices during the early 1990s.

⁶⁷ Personal interview, 2017.

If the period between the international arrival of electronic music to the scene during the early 1950s and Valcárcel's second period at the CNM in Perú ending on 1993, showed not to be fruitful for electronic music; 1993 marks the beginning of a short period of improvement in the relations between classical academic arts and musical technological innovation. That year, José Sosaya and Gilles Mercier would initiate the GEC – Grupo de Experimentación y Creación, as:

la primera alternativa peruana de apoyo a la creación, difusión y enseñanza de música contemporánea, especialmente aquella producida con medios electrónicos e informáticos. [the first Peruvian alternative of support for the creation, distribution and teaching of contemporary music, specially that produced by electronic and informatic means]⁶⁸

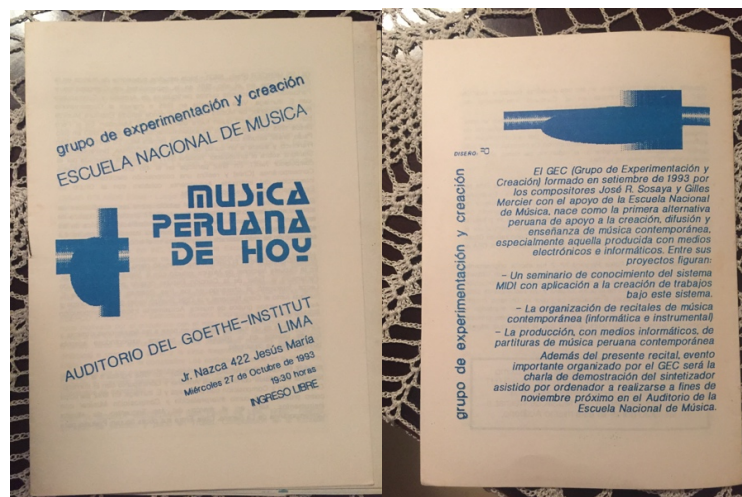


Figure 6.2: Program. GEC concert 1993.

⁶⁸ Notes of concert 'Música Peruana de Hoy'. October 27, 1993. Goethe Institut.

These comments included on a program for a concert named *Música Peruana de Hoy*, presented at the auditorium of Goethe-Institut in Lima on October 17th 1993, show the new elements of discourse for academic musicians in Lima. On one part, naming the concert *Música Peruana de Hoy* shows the intention of bringing Peruvian academic music to what they consider a more contextually contemporary environment, one that should include electronics and tape music as a part of the music of the time. The inclusion of *Escuela Nacional de Música* (name of the Conservatorio at the time),⁶⁹ attempts to confirm these practices as part of the officially 'authorized' musical circle and 'legitimate' musical practices of the nation. This concert premiered a mixture of pieces that went for piano or clarinet, to tape, synthesizer and computer; and also, a piece by Bolaños from 1970. Besides works by Sosaya, Mercier and Junchaya (who had pursued an interest in electronics); there is a computer-assisted piece for percussion and synthesizer by Armando Becerra (a more traditional composer).

⁶⁹ the military government of Velasco Alvarado changed the name of Conservatorio to that of the *Escuela Nacional de Música*, and dictated a series of regulations that ordered the absorption of the Conservatorio and other art schools by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura. This absorption was officialized by the Decree Law 19268 of 1972 that determined the functional organization of the INC.



Figure 6.3: Newspaper article. Música peruana de hoy.⁷⁰

If 1993 mark the launching of a series of activities as part of an integral attempt to develop a culture for concrete and electronic experimentation, and its validation by the CNM; Sosaya, Mercier, and Junchaya, had already started some years before on this endeavor. On December 5th of 1991, they organized the Música Electroacústica Peruana, Síntesis Digital y MIDI event we have mentioned before at the Teatro Larco, and as part of the Música en Primavera festival organized by the theater group UMBRAL. The event was planned by CIDEMP – Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Música Peruana, a group formed by Sosaya and Américo Valencia on 1988. CIDEMP had already organized two events the prior year including electronic pieces

⁷⁰ Expreso, October 19th 1993.

by Gilles Mercier. I happened to be walking by the Teatro Larco at the time of the 1991 concert, and remember a sign at the door inviting to a 'computer music' event. I entered the event briefly and listened to some of the pieces, and they felt quiet removed from my popular music practice at the time and hard to digest. This event was exactly at the center between two world that lacked a connecting bridge between them, it was an alien practice understood by none at the time.

A more conscious choice has been made by more contemporary composers who have decided explicitly to pursue training on concrete or electronic music, either as complementary or as a main career direction. However, we do see that the increment on interest does not necessarily has produced exclusive electronic musicians or careers dedicated on the subject in the country. While generalizations by definition miss and obscure some aspect of the subject being analyzed and the complex set of personal situations that affect each case, after interviewing our actors I can identify general trends based on social conditions in the country in relationship to the world and technological development.

As I mentioned at the Electronic Music Society Conference in 2017, in my paper "Hybrid Modulations: Report on the Culture of Electroacoustic Music in Contemporary Perú":

With the exception of composers like Arturo Ruiz del Pozo and Douglas Tarnaviewky who manage to promote the culture of experimental and electronic music out of the classrooms and laboratories during the 1980s and early 1990s, most academic electronic work slipped under the radar. (López, 2017).

It was not until specific actions taken by Américo Valencia, José Sosaya, Gilles Mercier, Rafael Junchaya, and Fernando De Lucchi, during the 1990s that we see a partial development of technological sound arts. However, this possibility for development would soon disintegrate and by the end of the 1990s the momentum had been lost. The interest and actions taken on this period did not produced a sustaining interest or a generation of composers interested in electronic music or related arts. In 2016 a selection of electroacoustic works created during this period was released under the name "Señales de síntesis - Música Electroacústica Peruana (1991-2000)." In this work pieces by several actors that participated of this process at the CNM is shown: Federico Tarazona, José Sosaya, Julio Benavides, Rafael Junchaya, Edgardo Plascencia, Gilles Mercier, Nilo Velarde Cesar Villavicencio (it also includes a piece by Rajmil Fischman from 1994, and a piece by Cesar Villavicencio from 2000). The notes to the release stated that:

This compilation brings together for the first time the Peruvian electro acoustic music produced in the 90s which implies the arrival of a new generation of Peruvian composers interested in creating with electronic media, showing a diversity of aesthetic options. This marks the beginning of the use of computers and software for local electro acoustic productions and it becomes an essential document to know

and important link in the recent history of electronic music in our country.⁷¹

The statement presents some difficulties, as the works presented are an exception to the environment and practices of the time. In that sense, there is no continuity or link that connects these pieces with a history of Peruvian electronic music in a linear sense (with the exception of the works of Fischman and Villavicencio outside of the country). This being said, it shows the attempt made during the 1990s to create a culture for electronics and a lost opportunity for such historical lineage to be generated. No clear answers are given to why these efforts did not flourish but what is clear is that a generation was not formed, and a continuity was not established at that point.

I believe the absence of an enabling environment where the new acquired skills could be nurtured, together with a lack of historical roots for the culture played a role in an environment that was not necessarily unfriendly to their activities. The set of structures and mechanisms we explore in this work undermined the efforts of individuals and specific authorities that might have a sympathetic approach to these arts. The 1990s is but an example of how these underlying causal mechanisms surpass the agency of

⁷¹ <https://buhrecords.bandcamp.com/album/br81-se-ales-de-s-ntesis-m-sica-electroac-stica-peruana-1991-2000-essential-sounds-collection-vol-7>

specific actors. It is also true, that the presence of Enrique Iturriaga, a more traditional composer, as director of the CNM between 1999 and 2002 might have played a role in slowing a process that might had been gaining momentum at the beginning of the 1990s. The three following directors have shown a more sympathetic position towards the implementation of electroacoustic music and have made an effort to maintain activities related to technology and music. A small but continuous activity have been taking place since 2003. During this period, Julio Benavides was able to teach a course called "Introducción a la Síntesis Digital" (class that has been discontinued), and the "Taller de Electroacústica" that is still present in the curricula. In 2004 a proposal for a Jornada Anual de Electroacústica was presented, but I have not been able to confirm if such event took place as the information regarding these activities is scarce.

Since it is not the intention of this work to make a historical report of all events regarding electroacoustic music in Perú, more attention is placed in those activities (or lack of activities) that help us generate an appropriate portrait of the difficult environment these arts encountered at the different points we here present. A question that remains to be answered is why the activities made during the 2000s were encapsulated in the CNM? This curiosity is, however, unrelated to our current inquiry, as I am more interested in unveiling the processes that keep these activities from developing. I have

been unable to find tangible results that could connect the activities from the different decades, which seems to suggest that an additional problem is isolation, a factor that requires to be explored in the future.

In the following chapter I will return to the 1980s to show the strength of some of the ideological models we have presented during this period, and the reception of foreign musical models by some sectors of the academic musical world. This chapter will present us with the ambivalent figure of Américo Valencia before traveling to the United States and his support for electronic music after his return.

CHAPTER 7

Tech Invaders of the Ancestral land

We meet aliens every day who have something to give us.
They come in the form of people with different opinions.

-- William Shatner

While the title of this chapter might remind us of a 1950s sci-fi low budget movie, it might not be such a speculative and far-out depiction of the circumstances surrounding the reception of electronic music arts in Perú since the 1960s. If, at this point, we have covered different periods and aspects of this dysfunctional relationship, a particular conversation taken place on the early 1980s will give us some light on the strength of the forces against a natural implementation of new musical technology in Perú.

Given the fact that information regarding early electronic musical practices in Perú is scarce and many chapters of our musical history have not been recorded appropriately or even been considered by the academic worlds of the country as worth of attention; articles like the ones I will discuss in this chapter become essential to understand the social sentiments and

ideological models prevalent at different moments of Peruvian contemporary history, and will present us with a clear snapshot of the points of confrontation.

Américo Valencia Chacon published on June 23th 1984 an article on the newspaper *Diario La Republica*, under the title “Música Peruana experimental ¿una realidad?”. This article (and the ones that followed it) might portray the most honest and direct presentation of Peruvian prejudice towards 20th century technological music to this date. It can give us a clear understanding of these social and ideological forces that informed the reception of foreign musical practices like concrete and electronic music during the first part of the 20th century, and how these forces perdured through time and were still present two decades after our initial interactions with technologized avant-garde western music during the 1960s. The article presents a critique of the performance of “Composiciones Nativas” by Arturo Ruiz del Pozo at the auditorium of the Banco Central de Reserva in Lima. This article produced a debate between Valencia and the art critic Roberto Miro Quesada, who thorough a total of 6 publications on the same newspaper engaged in a heated debate regarding Peruvian music and identity in relation to the use of technology. As of today, this controversy was considered by Valencia as one of the most important moments on his musical career as he presents it as one of its central publications on the

cover page of his personal webpage.⁷² On his publication on 2018 of the articles on his webpage, Valencia observed that not only that the polemic was extremely commented at the time and 'transcendental,' but that:

A pesar de haber transcurrido 34 años, los conceptos que se vierten en ella están, como se podrá comprobar, aún vigentes y cobran actualidad en estos tiempos en que a pesar del aparente triunfo de la ideología hegemónica del capitalismo neo liberal, comienzan a soplar vientos de reivindicación de lo nacional y la lucha por nuestra identidad." (Event though 34 years have passed, the concepts presented on [this polemic] are still current and become relevant in these times in which despite the apparent triumph of the hegemonic ideology of neo-liberal capitalism, winds of national vindication and the fight for our identity star to blow].⁷³

Valencia also published all the articles on the Facebook page of his organization (Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Música Peruana - CIDEMP) on January of 2017⁷⁴

In this chapter I will present (1) a brief exposition of Valencia's background until the point of these publications and his background of interest in Andean nativist music, (2) some specific arguments presented in these articles and the ideologies they defended, and (3) a second period on Valencia's perception of

⁷² <http://americovalencia.com> (the page has disappeared right after Valencia's death on September 1st 2019)

⁷³ <http://americovalencia.com/polemica-avach-miro-quesada-1/> accessed on July 2019. The page is no longer available after Valencia passed away.

⁷⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/252836121418833/photos/a.1136315356404234/1206222266080209>

electronic music, develop some years after the publication, its relationship with popular electronic musicians in the country, and what this 'change of position' reflects.

7.1. Valencia andino

Américo Valencia was born in Puno in 1946, and was one of the first musicologists to graduate from the Escuela Nacional de Música in Lima (Later Conservatorio Nacional de Música and now Universidad de Música), with the thesis "El Siku Altiplánico. Estudio de los conjuntos de sikus bipolares del altiplano peruano" presented in 1982. Together with Edgar Valcárcel (and his uncle Theodoro Valcárcel), is considered as a symbol of the defense of Puno's musical history and relevance, and a supporter of Pro-Andean discourses that in many cases represents a confrontation with Lima as a political and historical cultural opponent. He maintained his interest and defense of Puno's musical heritage and 'música altiplánica' in general, until his death, on September of 2019. During his life he represented a series of traditional autochthonist, ancestralist, and political models that would initially position him against some of the musical practices of the 20th century European avant-garde, including concrete and electronic music. His attitude of suspicion towards certain foreign musical

practices as invasive and alienating was not uncommon at the time of his musicological studies, and even though many Indianist composers from the Andean region have based their musical output on European musical formulas and romantic Inca stereotypes, the idea of a cultural identity in need of protection and isolation from all possible foreign imperialist powers (including Lima) had long been present. In regards to Teodoro Valcárcel, maybe the most important indigenist composer from Puno, Gerard Behague has mentioned that:

Among the numerous Peruvian Indianist composers reflecting such an attitude was Teodoro Valcárcel (1900-42). A mestizo and a native of Puno, Valcárcel grew up surrounded by the traditional music of the Indian and mestizo puneños, and yet the Indianist spirit of his compositions is limited to a rather artificial Romantic stylization of highland Peruvian Indian music." (Behague, 2006: 33).

This idea of a culture of 'low level' Indianist musical composers is refuted by Romero, who sees a Eurocentric bias and an attack on localist and regionalist musical trends on part of academic composers that have been trained by the "incesante reiteración de la idea (de la supremacía europea)" (Romero 2003, 81). The war against and for localist and regionalist musical practices has produced several confrontations, most of them unrelated to musical details.

The difficult position of defending popular discourses about pre-conquest music and at the same time giving value to academic European music, has

been an issue constantly confronted by Valencia, who by 2006 was still defending the need to create a “música académica de molde andino” (Valencia, 2006). This idea of accepting foreign musical influence only under certain conditions has been a constant in Valencia’s discourse. Valencia would challenge the validity of those musical products (and the discourses that accompany them) that propose to be part of (or simply include) an Andean musical ideal, and are conceived as a continuation of a cultural trait that has survived untouched through contemporary national history; specially if these products are conceived outside of the culture boundaries that are declared for its validation. Andean music becomes proprietary and for the exclusive use of those who can demonstrate a ‘cultural belonging’ and to be declared as lawful inheritors of ancestral musical practices. In this context, specific formulas for cultural membership and representation become essential for the protection of ‘musical survivals’ and cultural traits that are seen in opposition to the interests of the homogenizing forces of the nation-state. Under these conditions, Valencia could declare to be ‘more Puneño’ than Edgar Valcárcel and therefore have a clearer understanding of Andean music and its traditions.

Before confronting the articles directly, we need to evaluate the culture that surrounds Américo Valencia at the time, and his political positioning, and including the evolution of his thinking regarding the use of electronics for music. By examining some aspects of his academic training, the strength of ideological

thought over academic training becomes clear. Valencia is an ethnomusicologist and composer, but also an electronic engineer. He studied music at the National Conservatory of Music and electronic engineering at the National Engineering University in Lima. This training that includes both traditional music and the technology of electricity, was contrasted by the nativist ideological premises of the Peruvian leftist movements of the times. He had been initially confronted by concrete and electronic music during the 1960s:

Cuando yo estaba en tercero en ingeniería fue Edgar Valcárcel a dar una charla a la UNI, mas o menos en el 66 o 67, creo que recién había llegado de Argentina, y llevo unos carretes de música, y yo me quede impresionado de había una conjunción entre la música y la electrónica. [When I was in my third year in engineering, Valcárcel went to give a talk at UNI, it was around 66 or 67, I believe he had arrived from Argentina, and he brought some reel tapes with music, and I got really impressed of that conjunction of music and electronics].⁷⁵

However impressed Valencia might have been with the futurist electronic musical discourse of Valcárcel, one important aspect for him was the ethnic, regional and cultural background of musical representation. He was interested in Valcárcel as a composer from Puno and his memories of the conversation reflect on the cultural tensions present in regards to 'authentic' cultural representation and the identification with particular regions of the country. In

⁷⁵ Personal interview, 2016.

this case a possible tension between *puneños* and *puneñistas*, or between the real native and a 'counterfeit' native:

Lo único que yo recuerdo es que le pregunte, porque me entere que era puneño, le pregunte Ud. hace música electrónica, pero es también puneño, no ha pensado en mezclar electrónica y música puneña, y recuerdo que me contesto me dio a entender que el folklore estaba muy por debajo de lo que el hacía, porque el hacía algo de vanguardia o de *avant-garde*." [The only thing that I remembered is that I asked him you make electronic music and you are also Puneño, haven't you thought about mixing electronic music and music from Puno, and I remember that he answered, made it clear to me, that folklore was way below what he did, because he did something at the leading edge or Avant garde].⁷⁶

Valencia takes this opportunity to declare that Valcárcel is not a real Puneño, and did not defend traditional music from Puno as political etiquette would require. Valencia also uses this opportunity to present us a different Valcárcel from the one portrayed at later times, that of a defender of Puno's traditional music and a participant on popular validating festivities like the annual Fiesta de la Candelaria in Puno. This differentiation between the avant-garde and the traditional folklore is at the heart of most of the disputes regarding the implementation of foreign technological musical advances. Whether Valcárcel made such comment or not, what is important is the perception that such contrast between these two words imagined as opposite.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 2016.

7.2 The five articles of contention

A total of five articles, published within a period of two months, conform the unveiling conversation/confrontation between Américo Valencia and Roberto Miró Quesada:

1. Música Peruana experimental ¿una realidad? Américo Valencia (June 23 1984).
2. El intolerable camino de la integración. Roberto Miró Quesada (July 3 1984).
3. Vigencia de la música andina. Américo Valencia (July 26 1984).
4. El Derecho a la igualdad. Roberto Miró Quesada (August 4 1984).
5. Música andina y dominación cultural. Américo Valencia (August 27 1984).

I will here discuss the pertinent elements of these articles and how they relate of specific ideological tenants that would see the use of modern technology in music as an intrusion and the interruption of traditional models that needed to be preserved and maintained intact in the defense of the cultural identity of the country.

In the article that opens this dialog, Valencia confronts the musical practices of Arturo Ruiz del Pozo, a Peruvian musician trained at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música, and later at the Royal College of Music in London, and who had returned from the U.K. with a series of electronic compositions that included native instruments and that he called Composiciones Nativas. Both the use of such instruments and the claimed having composed pieces of a native character caught Valencia's attention who presented a series of arguments against the recital and against Ruiz del Pozo's use of traditional instruments and music. At the beginning of this first article, Valencia declares that:

La música concreta (grabación de sonidos y ruidos diversos para utilizarlos como elementos de composición) fue un acontecimiento musical del primer mundo que hace ya varios años pasó de moda; pero, puede parecer novedad a algunos círculos de diletantes ciudadanos, sobre todo con la inclusión de la música electrónica basada en los modernos sintetizadores y órganos electrónicos, y algunos efectos de video.

This strange perception of concrete music as a European out of fashion musical practice, as no other academic musical practices in the country were more modern (in the technological sense) at the time, and especially if we consider that it had never been in fashion in the country, what would make it an innovative practice within the country. He concedes, however, that the use of synthesizers or video effects would make the presentation novel for some. He

also states that there is nothing wrong with this kind of musical demonstrations “para la especial satisfacción de los admiradores de las modas y acontecimientos culturales foráneos”, making clear that these practices are not universal but foreign imports culturally unrelated to the country. However, as we continue to read, we will notice that the main interest of Valencia is not to relate these practices to the initial historical period of Concrete Music during the 1950s, or the cultures of tape music and recording in prior years. Valencia’s main concern is the use of native discourses in conjunction with the machines. There is no apparent problem with the use of technology for music, but:

... pretender hacer música disca experimental peruana nativa, introduciendo, por ejemplo, dentro de un contexto de moldes y principios estocásticos, un huayno de corte altiplánico con su armonía tradicional inserta, es indudablemente, por decir lo menos, un despropósito. [... to pretend to make so called native Peruvian experimental music, introducing, for example, within a context of stochastic models and principles, an altiplanic *huayno*, is undoubtedly, to say the least, an absurdity].

It is in the inclusion of Huayno, a colonial musical genre of popular Andean music, where Valencia finds the problem. For him, Ruiz del Pozo’s attempt to connect mathematical processes (from stochastic music methods) and Andean harmonies is an absurdity. He would continue to explain why such an attempt cannot be defined as ‘native Peruvian musical experimentation’. In a few lines, Valencia reveals his disapproval of prior works by Ruiz del Pozo, particularly his previous ‘improper’ use of what he calls the ‘siku bipolar-

colectivo altiplánico'⁷⁷ For Valencia only a traditional interlocked performance by two people complementing a scale with two Andean pan flutes was culturally representative and therefore the right way to utilize the native variation of this instrument. Any variation of this use could be considered as negative cultural appropriation, or as he puts it a 'pobre técnica individual.' Music that he considers as ancestral should maintain its cultural logic through its correct use. While Valencia seems not versed on the musicological discussions regarding cultural exchange, cultural dominance, cultural exploitation or transculturality, he does consider that the 'música aleatoria-electrónica-concreta experimental' has no socio-cultural basis in Peruvian or Andean music that would allow it for such (mis)use and distortion.

In the following paragraph a traditional prejudice towards electronic music is laid down, as Valencia considers that Peruvian musicians should learn the tools of the trade presented by the developments of musical technology but attempt to strip them from any ideological aspects that might accompany them. Technology in music is but a medium and we must be vigilant of its imperialist dangers of admitting foreign idiosyncrasies:

La música de proyección universal -experimental o no-, contemporánea, de escuela, peruana, andina, está por hacerse

⁷⁷ Valencia obtained his musicology degree in 1983 with a thesis called "El Siku bipolar altiplanico. Estudio de los conjuntos orquestales de Sikus bipolares del altiplano peruano".

todavía; ésta recién vendrá cuando sus auténticos músicos populares tengan la oportunidad de estudiar en las escuelas de música del país, y de tecnicarse; sólo de tecnicarse, no de adquirir idiosincrasias ajenas. [The music of universal projection – experimental or not- contemporary, of a Peruvian Andean school is still to be made; and this will only come when the authentic popular musicians get the opportunity of studying at the music schools of the country and get trained in technology, only get trained, and not acquire foreign idiosyncrasies.

Variation of this notion of musical technological development merely as a technical support for artistic practices have kept technology isolated in the recording studio and 'technical support' and away from the conversations regarding the 'arts of making music.'

Finally, he makes a closing statement against people that listen to other invasive foreign musical genres like jazz or rock "a pesar de haber nacido en el Perú", in opposition to the 'real' Andean musicians of the future, who will make Peruvian experimental music with deep Aymara and Quechua roots and in tune with their mestizo idiosyncrasy.

In only this short article Valencia manages to present us with an overview of most problems for the development of electronic music in Perú during the second half of the 20th century. In that sense, his opinions are not uncommon and are part of an endogenous cultural set of beliefs that govern social

interaction in the country. In fact, the discourses of both composers reflect specific discrepancies within a regularity: the intention to validate a diverse collection of pre-colonial musical cultures perceived as the heritage of contemporary postcolonial Peruvian citizens and as the cultural domain of specific sectors of the nation based on ancestry and land. The dispute is not about the central point regarding cultural identity, but concerning the appropriate way to obtain what is, after all, a set of agreed upon national values. What is at stake is not the existence of the institution or its objectives, but the validity of membership credentials as expressed by the knowledge of the appropriate cultural actions to be taken to safeguard sovereignty.

Musicians like Arturo Ruiz del Pozo have felt this social pressure to follow appropriate behavior towards music by fellow musicians, as well as an imposed sense of inadequacy as they failed to construct transcultural models of cultural acceptance for electronic music that would help them produce music that could fulfill both their national identities and their passion for the machines of the future. Ruiz del Pozo had received nationalistic training, like most of us, and had a strong sense of commitment to the country and its cultural products, but his desire to implement precolonial musical instruments from his place in Lima's creole middle class was to be considered as part of that creole nation that was constructed without the indigenous population, as some kind of phony and superficial vision of an ancestral culture that was maintained 'somewhere

else' but those with the right to represent it. The nation, in this case characterized by Lima as a distorted Eurocentric mirror, and understood from a Marxist perspective as a political form designed to legitimate violence, dominion and the surrender of personal liberties, is comprised by citizens situated in a cultural limbo, deemed unqualified to maintain a traditional cultural lineage by radical ethnocentric groups but national enough to be exoticized by the citizens of other nations. This internal segregation was for many decades at the heart of cultural confrontations and musical disputes in Lima, and between Lima and other regions of the country. This unpleasant situation would antagonize musicians with the same nationalist principles and similar political commitments according to validated levels of affiliation. Both Valencia and Ruiz del Pozo consider themselves politically as part of the left, both were passionate about Perú, both studied at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música, and both were interested in working with pre-Columbian music. For instance, in 1991 Ruiz del Pozo would present his *Canto a Nasca* (a pre-Columbian culture south of Lima), and Valencia would publish a book on Nasca music in 2016 (Valencia 2016). If one might think that such ideological coincidences could make these 'fellow countrymen' close; regional, class and several other issues were at stake. In a conversation with Valencia in 2017, he shared with me that he believed he was more radical at that time than we would have been in the present, while acknowledging that the musical academic world of his time was highly

politicized. As Ruiz del Pozo told me when I asked him if he consider himself left wing, he responded: “todos eramos de izquierda.” [we were all leftists].⁷⁸

The confrontation between these actors, Ruiz del Pozo and Valencia, or I could say, the situation presented by Valencia's response to Ruiz del Pozo's musical activity, show the particularities of Peruvian political agency during the period. The changing historical situation produced by the emergence of new musical machines during the second half of the 20th century had Peruvian musicians confused about their moral obligations towards a multiheaded fatherland. Integrating musical technology into the structural environment already proposed and centralized around a precolonial time to be safeguarded and exalted, required imagination and social maneuvering. The social patterns of thought and action that maintained the functioning of the fragmented identities of the nation, shared their socio-cultural space with revolutionary political notions of a possible trajectory of action, one that did not include foreign invasive voices of technology, and for which a space in the narrative had to be made. If by political agency we understand the “strategic capacity to coordinate with others in order to have one's own predetermined preferences adopted by the political system (Koremenos 2004), none of our actors showed a capacity to influence any of three main spheres of power:

⁷⁸ Personal interview, 2019.

state, market and society. Electronic music did not find a place in the already highly structured nationalistic, localist and territorialized communal model.

On the second article of this dispute, and the first response by Roberto Miro Quesada, the condition of multiculturalism and hybridization of Peruvian postcolonial society is stressed, as a response to Valencia's arguments:

¿Cuál es el proceso de la música peruana en general? La puramente indígena no existe, si con eso se requiere entender mezcla o influencia foránea ... [e]l señor Valencia reduce lo peruano a lo andino (lo dice en su artículo) en una postura indigenista que no comparto y que revive, a la inversa, discriminaciones que deberían estar fuera del programa. [What is the process of Peruvian music in general? The purely indigenous does not exist, if with it we need to understand mixing of foreign influence ... Mr. Valencia reduces the Peruvian to the Andean (he says so in his article) in an indigenist posture that I do not share and that revives, inversely, discriminations that should be out of the program].

Miro Quesada highlights the fact that all Peruvian music in existence is the result of the colonial process, and 'mestiza' in nature. He also mentions the existence, on Valencia's text, of an ethnocentric and reductionist view of the music of Perú as exclusively from the Andean region, and in that sense, he considers Valencia's indigenist arguments as an example or reversed discrimination. This discrimination would be not necessarily directed to a dominant group in particular, but against all other possible models for Peruvian

music. While much can be said about these issues, what will become important for us, is the way in which particular ethno-national discourses become a source of contention in regards to electronic music. Valencia does not only reduce Peruvian music to Andean music, but he also reduces the practice of Andean music to those musical aspects regarded as traditional or as survivals of a moment prior to the colonial period. Electronic musical practices will become validated only when they are performed by Andean musicians who have not allowed foreign musical concepts and idiosyncrasies to poison them.

In the third article and first response to Miro Quesada, more important issues related to the way the arrival of foreign musical genres is perceived. In this second article his strong political position against 'foreign music' and 'those people that come from the occidental tradition' is clarified:

... solo los sectores dominantes de la alta burguesía que a traves de toda la historia del Perú han estado siempre en contra de los intereses del pueblo peruano y ajenos a su cultura e idiosincrasia, o son las amorfas y desculturizadas capas medias principalmente capitalinas, generalmente coparticipes de esa ideología. A ambas les corresponde, es cierto, una cultura y música que si bien podría llamarse peruana únicamente porque se difunde y/o produce en el Perú; son mas bien en general y mayoritariamente, cultura y música extranjerizante y alienada, ajenas a las tradiciones e intereses del pueblo peruano, y por ende música y cultura antinacional. [... only the dominant sectors of the high *bourgeoisie* that throughout the history of Peru have always been against the interests of the Peruvian people and uninterested of its culture and idiosyncrasies, or the shapeless and deculturated middle classes mainly from the capital, generally coparticipant of this ideology. To

both, it corresponds a culture and music that despite it could be called Peruvian because it is distributed or produced in Peru; they are in general rather mainly an alienizing culture and music, external to the traditions and interests of the Peruvian people and therefore anti-national music and culture.

In this highly politized response, Valencia goes as far as to declare that music from the capital (Lima), as represented by the high bourgeoisie and the middle class, is antinational. He considers that making music in the country is not enough to declare that music as part of the nation, and furthermore, that certain social classes are excluded from participating in Peruvian musical culture, as they don't represent 'the people' of the country. However extreme these comments might seem from afar, these remarks are common in Perú, and were even more common during the 1980s, a period of extreme social crisis in the country and of the rise of what was later defined as the 'Internal conflict' with the rise of leftist terrorism. Musical hybrids that are at odds with nationalist ideals or divert from the politics of location have been seen, by musicologist like Valencia, as in opposition to the interest of the country. In a forced binary opposition, the geographical composition of the country is replaced by an imagined notion of nation in which ethnic and class relations become the right measures for citizenship. Under this view, globalization, deterritorialization, transmigration and other contemporary forms of cultural intertwining are seen as poisonous.

As it is my intention here to highlight those ideological positions that have been obstructive to the development of electronic music in the country, not all parts of this discussion will be analyzed. I pay particular attention to Valencia, as he represents with clarity, in these articles, some of the specific problems confronted in this work.

In the final article of this saga, Valencia makes a series of contradictory statements. On one hand, he declares that:

De ninguna manera sostengo que sólo es peruano lo que participa de la cultura andina ni afirmo que la importancia de la misma se deba a su mayoría demográfica. Destacó únicamente que, en la actualidad, la música andina tiene un carácter mayoritario de expresión de las clases populares del país y desempeña un rol fundamental en la adquisición de nuestra identidad. [In no way I sustain that only those who participate of Andean culture are Peruvian. I merely stress that, contemporarily, Andean music has a predominant character in expressing the popular classes of the country and plays a fundamental part in the acquisition of our identity].

It is perfectly understandable that his positioning of defense towards regional Andean music is related to a perception of 'popular classes' that automatically invalidates musical practices that could not be certified by traditional regional history or class. He is interested in declaring Andean music as the central element of Peruvian culture as a whole. In many occasions Andean

culture supersedes Peruvian culture, and the concept of a collective identity of an 'Andean community' grounded on historical and cultural issues goes beyond the nation, and against Lima as the political center of the country and as the home of an anti-national treacherous bourgeoisie:

... coincidirá conmigo que esas "gentes de la tradición occidental" para las que reclama igualdad y tolerancia, tienen mayoritariamente la ideología de ese sector, y están volcadas en la actualidad hacia la cultura y música alienante y antinacional que son incompatibles con las verdaderas expresiones musicales peruanas. [[he] will coincide with me that those 'people of the western tradition' for which he demands equality and tolerance, have overwhelmingly the ideology of that sector [bourgeoisie], and are currently dedicated to that alienating and antinational culture and music that are incompatible with those truthfully Peruvian musical expressions].

For Valencia, the separation between Andean and Coastal culture, is roughly equivalent to the initial confrontation between Spanish colonial forces and native culture. This is why they are seen as antinational members of an alienating bourgeoisie that has its eyes on the 'foreign' and are traitors to the local, this is a locality to which they could not belong on the first place.

This Andinity and Andeanness, as a non-western force continued to be defended by Valencia years after these articles, who in 2015 declared that:

[e]n el mundo de hoy, la Música occidental ha multiplicado su influencia en las diversas culturas musicales, y desde luego, también en la Música andina." (In today's world, western music has multiplied its influence on the diverse musical cultures, and, of course, also in Andean Music).⁷⁹

If Lima's cultural elites engage in the romanticization and the fetishization of Andean music as both marginal and remote, regionalist musicians (Like Valencia) celebrate its purity and its authoritarian declaration of 'stronger identity' against Lima's cultural appropriation. In that sense. Trying to 'turn native' from Lima's colonial modern 'barrios' is an invalid move. Music cannot be deterritorialized, and the modification and cultural filtering of tradition is not considered as a source for identity construction but as an alienating force were intruders had attempted against it in front of a 'successful resistance':

[p]ero el músico andino en ese trance, resistió y mantuvo su identidad ... y supo mantener intacto el núcleo de la esfera de la cultura musical autóctona. [But the Andean musician in this situation, resisted and maintained its identity ... and knew how to maintain intact the nucleus of the sphere of autochthonous musical culture.] (Valencia 2015, 9)

Valencia had already made a similar declaration on 1984 on the fifth article of the series we are analyzing:

⁷⁹ Valencia 2015, 8.

Creo, pues, que la música andina ha logrado resistir y resistirá a los factores de dominación cultural, asimilándolos, al contrario, para su propia evolución. [I believe, that Andean music has managed to resist and will resist the factors of cultural dominance, assimilating them, to the contrary, for its own evolution].

Finally, Valencia would demonstrate the relationship, in Perú, between anti-hispanic, anti-american, and anti-western sentiments, and even how they relate to technology and the new means of globalized communication, considering modern means of communication as tools for cultural invasion and domination. In that sense it becomes clear that technology is understood, throughout Valencia's articles, as an exclusively foreign influence with no particular characteristics that could be useful, at least at this time:

Ciertamente, el mundo occidental ha dominado a la cultura andina social y económicamente a través de España por algunos siglos, y hoy sufre también la penetración cultural de Occidente facilitada por los medios modernos de comunicación ..."
[Certainly, the western world has dominated Andean culture socially and economically through Spain, and now it suffers the cultural penetration of the west facilitated by the modern means of communication].

For someone outside the Peruvian sphere of thought, it might be difficult to understand how Peruvians manage to get 'out of the subject' and always return to the issue of nation, as this is not only the case of this work but a

constant in the country. In these articles both Valencia and Miro Quesada manage to write five articles about a presentation that becomes invisible. Almost no mentioning of the performance by Ruiz del Pozo or the pieces presented can be found, and his work seems to become irrelevant in front of the 'real issues' to be confronted: nationality, identity, cultural appropriation, class, the Andes, authenticity, cultural domination, alienation. On September 17th 2019 I presented a talk at the Universidad de la Música under the title "Electroacústica en el Perú. Espacios y retos en el S. XXI". Predictably, most questions from the public revolved around millenarian culture and ancient Inca sounds and the possibility of implementing them into a culture of electroacoustic music. After I mention that, in my opinion, part of the problem of developing an electronic musical tradition of our own was related to our cultural ideological and nationalistic obsessions, the questions continued in the same vein. The strength of the ideological processes mentioned throughout this work, and present in these articles, goes beyond a rational conversation and comprehension as most Peruvians are emotionally invested into a morally-loaded yet uncompromised patriotic perspective, that coexist with a disenchantment for the possibility of building a nation. This bipolarity, together with an internal division into regional and community-oriented identities and a lack of resources to build a comprehension of foreign musical practices (especially those related to technology), conform a model for musical nation-making that does not include yet a notion of technology transfer. Issues like

innovation, technological application and technology transfer have been tackled by the government in recent times, but mainly in relationship to areas unrelated to the arts or education, and mostly in relation to industrial production.⁸⁰

7.3 From Miami to the world

Having mentioned this initial confrontation that, using as an excuse the work of the experimental musician Arturo Ruiz del Pozo (whose work deserves to be extensively documented on its own right), pretended to give us reasons to reject electronic experimentation, especially in regards to the use of what is seen as traditional native music; a change of mind on the following years would give new discourses in favor of electronic music on part of Valencia.

No long after the controversy we have presented took place, Valencia would travel to the United States thanks to a Fulbright scholarship to study at the

⁸⁰ Some examples of a long list could be the Instituto Tecnológico de la Producción (ITP), or the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación Tecnológica (CONCYTEC). No themes related to the use of technology on the musical arts is present in a formal way on the governments discourse. In my experience with both the Ministerio de Cultura and the Ministerio de Educación, during the last decade, I have not found a knowledge or interest in incorporating these issues. I believe, however, that this situation is about to change, as I will explain in the following chapters, and particularly in relationship to the Universidad de Música.

Florida State University, where he obtained a MA in ethnomusicology in 1987. While his studies centered on pre-colonial musical instruments in the Andean region, and his thesis was a continuation of the work done for his undergrad degree at the Conservatorio Nacional,⁸¹ he encountered two realities that changed his initial perception: 'gringos' and electronic music:

Yo cuando fui a estados unidos yo tenia una idea anquilosada de los gringos, yo pensaba que eran egoístas ... que, todo lo que se hablaba acá en la izquierda de los gringos, y me encontré con gente totalmente amable y totalmente que cuando alguien sabe lo reconocen. [When I went to the United States, I had a stiffen idea of the gringos, I thought they were selfish ... that, everything that was said here in the left about the gringos, and I found people completely friendly and totally that when someone knows they recognize it].⁸²

Valencia was confronted rapidly by the contrast between ideologized constructions from the Peruvian left about north-American culture and his immersive experience in Florida. Not all anti-American sentiments in Perú have been produced by communist influence, but certainly the kind of anti-American sentiment that Valencia held until his traveling to the United States had been fueled by the soviet discourses that populated the country between 1969 and 1989, as "Perú was the first post-Cuban revolution centre of Soviet operation in

⁸¹ The Altiplano Bipolar Siku: Study and Projection of Peruvian Panpipe Orchestras. Master of Music. School of Music, Florida State University. Tallahassee, E.U.A. 1987.

⁸² Personal interview, 2017.

South America" (Berrios 1991, 365), and was to establish a direct relationship with Perú during Juan Velasco's government after the coup of 1968.

During his time in Florida, Valencia also found at the Florida State University the Center for Music Research, a space created in 1980 "to bring together the already strong research component of the College of Music with its newly created computer facilities."⁸³ While the center is not dedicated to electronic music, in all future biographic depictions Valencia claims to have studied electronic music at the center. In an interview in 2016 he mentioned specifically that he had studied electronic music during his stay in Florida: '... estude todo el programa de Computer Music ... música analógica, electrónica, lo que yo quería' (I studied the whole program of Computer Music ... analogic music, electronic music, what I wanted).⁸⁴ As far as it is known, there is no research or publication regarding his work with electronic music at the Florida State University and we do know that he mainly worked with Dr. Dale A. Olsen, a musicologist and flute performer who had lived in Chile and was particularly interested in 'music of the world'.⁸⁵ He also claimed to have brought to Lima the BM-PC-based integrated software package for music processing

⁸³ <https://music.fsu.edu/programs/music-research-centers/center-for-music-research>

⁸⁴ Personal interview, 2016.

⁸⁵ <https://music.fsu.edu/library/specialcollections/olsen>.

Personal Composer developed by Jim Miller in 1983.⁸⁶ He also mentions that, right after his return to Perú, showed this program to José Sosaya who according to Valencia was 'still working with magnetic tape', and with whom he organized the Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Música Peruana (CIDEMP), with the partial intention to develop spaces for electronic music.⁸⁷ Valcárcel tried to make an official cooperation agreement between CIDEMP and the Conservatorio Nacional de Música, at that time directed by Edgar Valcárcel, but after an initial promise on part on Valcárcel he would back doing and tell Valencia that 'el conservatorio no suele hacer ese tipo de convenios.' [the conservatory does not make that kind of deals]⁸⁸ What is most important regarding these declarations by Valencia, thirty years after his experience in Florida, demonstrate, if not a particular interest in electronic music, a change of direction regarding the use of technologized music. This being said, it becomes evident that in 2016 the use of computers for music has been standardized to point where it would have been more difficult to present a position against its use.

While more research will be needed to assess the level of training Valencia might have received on electronic music, or related arts, during his

⁸⁶ Ibid. Also see: Miller, J. (1985). Personal Composer. *Computer Music Journal*, 9(4), 27-37.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

stay in Florida, what is clear is that his view of electronic music as an invasive force had changed dramatically. I believe the need to include his electronic music studies in future descriptions of his work responded to a need to validate the interest and expectation produced by a confrontation similar to the one Arturo Ruiz del Pozo had met in London some years before, and that Valencia was not able to digest at the time of the newspaper dispute. At the time Valencia confronted the work of Ruiz del Pozo, he believed he had the obligation to defend traditional music from Puno, not only from electronic music, but from what electronic music represented for him at the time. Valencia would maintain in later years his discomfort with the appropriation of huayno music from Puno by Ruiz del Pozo, but tone down his discourse considerably:

Yo en ese tiempo era muy impetuoso, ahora ya no lo hubiera hecho ... ahora ya me he moderado. Lo que mas me molesto, se puede decir, en ese tiempo, ahora ya no, cuando fui a su concierto, se notaba que no tenia ni idea de lo que era el estilo de un huayno puneño, sea tocado en lo que sea. Tu notas cuando es artificial lo que esta tocando y cuando no. Lo que toco Ruiz del Pozo era una cosa totalmente artificial. No tenia conocimiento de lo que estaba haciendo. Ahora, yo no lo hubiera criticado. En ese tiempo yo era muy impetuoso. [I, at that time, was very impetuous, I would not have done it today, I am more moderate. What bothered me the most, at that time, and not anymore, when I went to his concert, you could notice that he had no idea what the style of the huayno Puneño was, played in whatever you play it. You can tell when it is artificial what is being played and when it is not. What Ruiz del Pozo played was something completely artificial. He had no knowledge of what he was doing. Now, I would not have criticized him. At the time I was very impetuous].⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Personal Interview, 2016.

During this conversation with Valencia, he acknowledged not only how extreme his position was at the time, but the influence of leftist activism in music, and even the internal conflicts between the different leftist movements involved in music, specially at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música during Garrido Lecca's time as director. I mention this last comment here, regarding the newspaper discussion, since I believe is most likely one of the last opportunities Valencia had to clarify his new views and the result of thirty years of experiences, before his passing on September 2019.

Understanding electronic practices in the Peruvian environment was difficult and only a direct experience of environments that would have electronics as a normal practice could do the trick. Even today, with no historical network to support electronic music practices in the country, traveling becomes a rich source of motivation and understanding and a way to underpin the effort to pursue technologized musical practices.

This new interest and exposure to musical technology by Valencia would result in an effort to discuss electronic music in the Peruvian environment. For instance, many years later, he would publish an article on the Conservatorio's magazine under the title 'Música electrónica. Historia y Posibilidades' where he declares that:

... en general en nuestro medio hay una falta de información del proceso seguido por la música electrónica, sobretodo en estas ultimas tres décadas, esperamos que este resumen despierte en los lectores el interés por el tema y contribuya al conocimiento y el aprecio de las posibilidades de aplicación de la moderna tecnología a la música. [...in general, in our environment there is a lack of information about the process followed by electronic music, especially during the last three decades, we hope this overview would wake and interest in our readers about this matter and it would contribute to the knowledge and appreciation of modern technology to music]. (Valencia 1995, 12).

Before returning to Perú, Valencia writes a letter to Richard Ajello, founder of the Instituto Superior Tecnológico Orson Welles, and in 1988 helped organize the curriculum for the Sound Engineering Program, including themes related to synthesis and sequencing. Later on, Nilo Velarde and Julio Benavides would start teaching at the institute. Julio Benavides is still teaching courses related to musical technology there. Popular electronic musicians, that would encounter electronic music training at the institute, given it was one of the only spaces for related technical learning, remember Valencia as a source of information regarding electronic music. This is the case of José Gallo, and important popular electronic musician who came to prominence during the beginning of the 2000s with the project Theremyn 4, and who recalls: “Américo Valencia me enseñó historia de la música electrónica, síntesis, todo eso.” (Américo Valencia taught

me history of electronic music, synthesis, all that).⁹⁰ Also, some contemporary electronic popular musicians found on Valencia's nationalistic discourse a possibility of communion between electronic music and 'ancestral music', and the netlabel would release in 2018 "Nazca I - interpretaciones electrónicas desde las arenas del tiempo",⁹¹ a collection of works by Peruvian popular electronic musicians, based on Valencia's theory of the existence of a 'hyperbolic thirteen tone scale' in the pre-colonial cultures of the region.

In this chapter I have use the case of Américo Valencia as an opportunity to map a cultural landscape, one in which electronic music was a source of discomfort and confusion, of suspicion and communication failures, of controversy and prejudice. Nationalist academic musicians (as no other kind existed) of all flavors did not know what to do with it. They knew it was there and that it was part of the musical practices of a musical world they also regarded as important, but had no idea how to implement it and have it dialogue with their traditional and nativist political formulations. Including music technology into their discourse would have required a rhetoric maneuvering and conceptual processing they were not prepare to articulate. Their gut response was to reject it and to maintain a status quo in which other transformative,

⁹⁰ Personal interview. June 3, 2018.

⁹¹ <https://caralelectronica.bandcamp.com/album/nazca-i-interpretaciones-electr-nicas-desde-las-arenas-del-tiempo-mmxviii>

administrative and bureaucratic aspects became a priority. The different levels of resistance towards electronic music were not necessarily shared by popular musicians, at least in Lima, and artistic avant-garde presentation at different cultural spaces of the city were quite successful during the 1980s. I myself witnessed several concerts by Ruiz del Pozo during the early 1980s, being right out of high school on my late teens, and without a particular understanding of the issues regarding electronic or native music. Concerts had a good response on part of the public, and the confrontation was part of an internal conversation between professionally trained musicians regarding ethics and nationalist responsibilities. Enclosing a defined identity and configuring the details of its musical outputs in the middle of a political and economic crisis was an impossible task. Perú and the 'rest of the world' were not synchronized, and musical technology seemed afar in front of the problems at hand. A new arrival of music technology to the country during this period felt abrupt (again), as the seed could not be planted on the 1960s and 1970s.

CHAPTER 8

Popular electronic experimentation as a political statement

As I have discussed in the previous chapters, the (under)development of electronic music in Perú is closely related to social dynamics and structures that go beyond the role of the particular artists or authorities involved in the processes I here analyze. The different western sound art movements related to technological development during the 20th and 21st centuries found a weak echo on the official musical networks of the country and, in many cases, a deaf ear on part of the Peruvian social institutions for musical training. If, as Bourdieu has pointed out “the artistic field is a *field of forces*, but it is also a *field of struggles* tending to transform or conserve this field of forces”,⁹² in the Peruvian case, traditional forces have been able to maintain an status-quo that is informed by a reluctancy to change and a lack of understanding for technological musical developments. Those actors involved in the *struggle* have, for the most part, failed to produce the changes their social environment and produce spaces for technological sound arts.

⁹² Bourdieu 1993: 30.

The lack of agency or social capital to produce social changes in the intellectual and academic musical communities of the country, was confronted by the rapid implementation of musical technology in popular music worldwide. Several pop-oriented musical genres that implemented technology as the center of their musical practices arrive to Perú during the early 1980s, and right after the end of the 'second phase' of the Gobierno Revolucionario de la Fuerza Armada (1975 – 1980). I have previously discussed in some detail the initial communities generated in Perú as a response to global musical forces in relationship to technology (López 2008). Global popular music of the 1980s, and its relationship with musical machines, overflowed nationalistic ideologized discourses, as it redefined the range of possibilities for music making and the training needs for both the performer and the composer. All the communities that started to be formed between the early 1980s and the first decade of this century have in common a lack of professional training in musical arts or musical technology, and also share a cultural subaltern and underground practice, as a natural response to the lack of opportunities for professionalization or training of any kind. While this work confronts mainly the academic musical worlds of the country, the presence of these communities shows us a social response to a weak educational system unable to provide solutions to those interested in pursuing a career in music and technology. If in contemporary Perú is not uncommon to find trained musicians dedicated to popular music, as the result of the implementation of several university programs for music learning, that was

not the case in prior decades, and the options for musical training were scarce in general, and not existing for musical technology-based musical genres (whether popular or academic).

The conventions of musical education in Perú did not include a possible space for new musical machines or mechanisms for the breaking of tradition. Newcomers, bringing the avant-garde ultimate advanced 'revolutions' from the 'civilized future' were rejected, making the popular music world the only possible route for the reception of novel musical practices. If we can trace Robert Moog's work on modular synthesizers to his training at Cornell University,⁹³ or the development of several popular synthesizers to the work of John Chowning with FM synthesis at Stanford University⁹⁴; Perú not only does not count with such important figures in the history of synthesis, but does not count with the appropriate channels to comprehend the possibility of relating music to technology professionally. The seemingly simple idea that a machine needs a creator, and that musical machines are constructed by trained professionals that could also be musicians or understand musical worlds, is not present in the

⁹³ Moog, R. A. 1965. "A Voltage-Controlled LowPass High-Pass Filter for Audio Signal Processing." Audio Engineering Society Convention, Preprint 413(Oct.).

⁹⁴ J. M. Chowning. The Synthesis of Complex Audio Spectra by Means of Frequency Modulation. J. Audio Eng. Soc. 21, 7, 1973.

country, and music and technology are not seen as belonging to the same space of thought or practice.

In this chapter I will present some of the communities and spaces that conform this 'not informed', 'not trained' sphere of musicians, communities that I consider express, while not necessarily in a conscious, a disdain for musical training and institutional training, as a result of the set of ideologies that have conformed musical learning in the country. This communities and spaces include: (1) a synth oriented generation of musicians influenced musically by the New Wave and other musical trends of the 1980s and early 1990s; (2) the rise of semiprofessional spaces for the performance of sound arts during the 2000s for informal experimental electronic musicians; (3) the noise and experimental musicians from the northern area of Lima as an example of self-defined marginality and segregation in the Peruvian social contexts; and (4) the building of Peruvian circuits for sound generation and a potential community that never got to emerge.

While this chapter seems to deviate from my intention to clarify the processes related to the implementation of academic sound arts and music technology in Perú, the existence of the cultures I here present reveal the struggle on part of sectors of the Peruvian population to reach the new musical developments as they were presented to them by mass media and the

international music industry. If some Peruvian popular electronic musicians have aligned with specific anti-commercial, anti-consumerist, anti-imperialist, self-organized and DIY cultures, is not only because of the appeal these political positions might have, but as a result of the lack of opportunities presented to them. We will never know if, given the opportunities, they would have chosen a more traditional path or an academic training. Peruvian DIY culture is not just a Peruvian mirror to the international models for marketplace motivations or social empowerment, but a social necessity. Is in this sense, that the existence of these subcultures can help us envision a wider social picture to which academic musical training on electronic music and related arts is connected in several levels.

8.1 Our *Obreros Especializados*⁹⁵ and their Pocket Calculators: The First Industrial and Synth Pop Communities of Lima.

The second chapter of my Master thesis at UCSD included a section under the name “The Rise of the Synthesizer: Peruvian Synth Pop.” This section was dedicated to the first communities that included the ‘keyboard aesthetic’ of the

⁹⁵ El Aviador Dro y sus Obreros Especializados is a Spanish group of electronic music that served as an strong reference for Peruvian musicians during the 1980s, and as a connecting point between Spanish speaking countries and German electronics of the 1970s. The concept of specialized or skilled laborer refers the Peruvian musician to the mechanization of labor derived from the new manufacturing processed generated after the industrial revolution, and shows their infatuation with synthesizers as ‘machines’.

European New Wave, Post-punk and partially the Industrial Music movement, in their 'social performance'. If English and American Punk had help generate the Rock Subterráneo movement in Lima, during the middle of the 1980s;⁹⁶ youngsters of the new generation, who were too young to participate completely of the Punk revolution, and were listening to the European musical tendencies some years after they appeared started the mimetic process of generating Peruvian versions of the new international idols.

The first official space for this new music in Lima was the No Disco, opening its doors in 1979; but it was not until 1984 with the opening of the No Helden in downtown Lima and Piz Pix in Miraflores, that we could talk about a small but consolidated scene.

⁹⁶ For a study regarding the young subcultural and countercultural social formation known as Rock Subterráneo see "Pertenencias pasajeras. La escena subterránea en Perú durante los años ochenta" (Rodríguez-Ulloa 2015).



Figure 8.1: Event at No Helden. 1988.

If in 1979 it was a sort of avant-garde activity to participate of the New Wave or Industrial music culture in the capital, by 1984 the situation had change and what the American music industry had called 'new music' was by that time part of the mainstream. The Second British Invasion hit the United States in 1982, and therefore soon after, Perú. We could buy vinyl LPs, watch Kraftwerk, and Devo on Disco Club (a TV show hosted by Gerardo Manuel since 1978 and running on the state channel), and Listen to Don't You Want Me by The Human League on the car radio. I remember my excitement while listening to the first sounds of Don't You Want Me, but I don't remember being able to recognize the instrument use to produce them in any local store. We could spend hours taking about the different synthesizers used and see the pictures on foreign magazines but we hardly so any of those toys around. The new culture was here

to stay, but it was a sort of virtual presence.

For many English and American New Wave artists “the use of minimalist arrangements and synthesizers or the cross-cultural borrowings of groups like the Talking Heads symbolized a new modern sound.”⁹⁷ Thanks to the development of MIDI and the cheap modular synthesizers being produced by Robert Moog and alike, new musical paradigms and performance strategies were developed. New instrumentalists like “the new wave synthesizer players transformed the instrument’s symbolic domain in ways that de-emphasized its status as a virtuosic solo instrument, while highlighting its properties of mechanization and artifice, and the blurred line between ‘man’ and ‘machine’.”⁹⁸ The Buggles with Video Kill the Radio Stars, Gary Numan’s Cars, Alice Cooper’s (We’re All) Clones, and of course, Kraftwerk’s The Robots (all available on Peruvian television); had at the end of the 1970s and beginnings of the 1980s connect the logic of the modular synthesizer and the drum machine with that of a new futurism. If the 1950s have been about extraterrestrials and UFOs, the 1980s were about automatic machines, robotic like behavior and technology for comfort.

This musical revolution produced a new rupture of the distinctions

⁹⁷ <http://blog.press.umich.edu/2011/05/qa-with-theo-cateforis-author-of-are-we-not-new-wave/>

⁹⁸ Cateforis. Introduction.

between 'low' and 'high' culture, a rupture preceded by the minimal revolution in academic music. Minimal synth harmonies and simple chord progressions (if any) killed the trained musician, drum machines killed the drummer, and sequencing killed the 'big band' of Rock and Roll. In this simplified world, all Peruvians could be now welcome into the new ways of producing pop-hits, or that is what it seemed, until they read the fine line: minimum income required. I believe this paragraph by Carlos Alberto Gomez clarifies the situation:

Living standards for Peruvian people were unbearable in the late 1980s due to an unmanageable debt and hyper-inflation. The two administrations prior to the crisis of the 80's dealt lethal blows to the Peruvian economy: General Alvarado and his staff applied a realist form of policy-making, which emphasized protectionism and questioned foreign assistance. Belaunde succeed General Alvarado in 1980 and began to implement a liberal model of economy by eliminating tariffs and getting Perú to re-join the international economic field. The latter administration resulted in a collection of weakened industries that were softened by government protections, which the former then opened to the world market. From timber to agriculture, no Peruvian industry withstood the shock of entering a highly competitive world market."⁹⁹

In simple words, Peruvian artists ready to receive the synthpop revolution of the early 1980s were too poor to buy the tools of the trade. While in 1984 Argentina's Virus had released Relax without guitars or a drummer, relaying on drum machines and synthesizers, and in Chile, Los Prisioneros released in 1986

⁹⁹ Perú's Debt Crisis and Subsequent Shock Economy: A political and economic overview of a developing nation. UCLA International Institute. 2005.

Pateando Piedras under similar conditions and even replacing the bass for a synth bass in many songs; Perú was still producing music, for the most part, under the traditional rock format. While we are discussing here a less commercial ramification of the synthpop culture in Perú, and the response in the underground systems of music distribution; never the less, the success of commercial bands based on Synthpop culture in other countries of Latin America is not casual. Several reasons can be found to explain the lack of commercial success on part of the band we will mention here. The dictatorship of Juan Velasco Alvarado is commonly blamed for the slow evolution of rock derivatives during the 1970s and for breaking the historical evolutionary chain of Peruvian rock, making it difficult for it to regain its initial fame of the early 1960s. As I have mentioned on my Master's Thesis:

For the sectors of the population living in Lima at the moment of Velasco's revolution, and more connected to foreign music than to the traditional musical styles of the country, Velasco represented censorship and a sudden stop in the evolution of Peruvian rock, getting to the extent of declaring that "Velasco was who killed Lennon"¹⁰⁰

I have discussed the problems of accessibility to information and music during the 1970s in more detail elsewhere and it should suffice here to say that, while the New Wave era did not produce big commercial and successful bands for Perú it did produce a community that has been the base of future

¹⁰⁰ Mancho, "Inicios del Rock Peruano," Confesiones del Tiempo, <http://manxo.blogspot.com/2007/08/inicios-del-rock-peruano.html>

generations of technology receptive musicians. Of all communities discussed throughout this work, the Synthpop community of Lima will be the less politically oriented. If the Rock Subterráneo, following Punk ideals, was anti-government, anti-establishment, and more of a leftist leaning, the Synthpop movement of Lima was, and following also their European parallels, for the most part, unconcerned with political issues or political participation.

This being said, right in the middle of the 1980s, some projects related to the Rock Subterráneo, as we have mentioned, a more politically oriented anti-establishment movement, showed interest in the new technology, the sounds produced by the new machines, and English and German 'robotic' cultures. While many closet musicians would start to take advantage of the small keyboards with no programmable internal drum machines as the easiest way to produce a song; those bands performing in Rock Subterráneo are the ones that have had mayor media exposure afterwards and had the opportunity of a mayor audience. Fernando 'cachorro' Vial, for instance, released the cassette tape 'Feudales / Paisaje Electronico' in 1986. Vidal, founder of one of the most important bands of the Subterráneo movement, Narcosis, formed in that year the band Feudales and in the side b of his tape include some experiments made with a Casio keyboards.

In 1983, only three years before, Paisajes Sonoros by Manongo Mujica and

Douglas Tarnawiecki was released. A work influenced by Murray Schaeffer's Acoustic Ecology and that incorporated field recordings and subtle ambient sounds; it included the participation of Arturo Ruiz del Pozo, a musician professionally trained in electronic and concrete music at the London Royal College of Music. If this release represented the highest levels of academically influenced Peruvian avant-garde experimentation; Paisaje Electronico represents quite the opposite: the rise of the amateur popular musician in the era of technological democratization (kids playing with toys vs. 'serious' musicians constructing complex musical works).



Figure 8.2: Feudales / Paisaje Electrónico.

8.2 Cholo Sounds, Self-segregation, Resentment and Political Activism

Nuestro imaginario está más poblado de desorden, migración, discriminación, reapropiación, huachafada, coches bomba, piratería, corrupción, que de cualquier estética vanguardista, para la creación sonora o de cualquier pretensión de figurar una decadencia “fashion” propia de las ciudades caóticas del mundo que desde ya hace tiempo son un cliché de la massmedia.¹⁰¹

Aloardi

Lima city is about to become a megacity soon, being now close to the 10 million inhabitants. The Cono Norte, otherwise known as Lima Norte, is the most populated of the six areas in which the city is divided. The Cono Norte is itself divided into 8 districts: Ancón, Carabayllo, Comas, Independencia, Los Olivos, Puente Piedra, San Martín de Porres, Santa Rosa. Of this districts, Comas, Independencia, San Martín de Porres and Los Olivos are particularly important for our research, since some of the musical projects that were formed in these districts during the 1990s would help us: unveil a series of issues related to the fragmentation that exists between the different electronic music communities of Lima, and clarify notions of solidarity and community present in specific sectors of Lima's population.

Lima Norte is the result of a constant migration of rural people, mainly from

¹⁰¹ <http://lamula.pe/2011/12/31/terrorismo-sonoro-3-los-cholosruidos-que-invaden-lima/kromosapiens/>

the Andean regions, a migration that started on the mid twentieth century. Several waves of migrants have helped conform this and other, relatively new, areas of the city, which started to develop independently from the urban planning of the central government. I have discussed on a prior work how difficult it is to consider Lima as a unity since the first migrations to the capital during the 1940s. Not only the traditional areas of the city were drastically transformed by the influx of a mix of cultural heritages and identities, but also, new areas, later defined as 'conos', brought to the city new cultural contexts that were to grow almost with complete independence from the cultural traditions that historically represented Lima. In time, we found these areas setting their own cultural rules and manifesting new identities that at the same time represented a contradictory sense of patriotism while rejecting the colonial traditions of Lima, almost as that of an enemy. Wrestling and negotiating for recognition and self-determination, the 'conos' (and particularly Lima Norte) have successfully redefined Lima as a city with multiple centers of power. While at the beginning, the settlements that grew in the different Conos, had to progress on their own and had a development parallel to that of the 'traditional' Lima, after decades of economic and social advancements they have become not only part of Lima but also an essential player on the development of the city as a whole. The way in which the northern areas of Lima have improved their condition since their initial constitution, and the different stages they have gone through could help us understand the cultural

movements that represent them. As Hoeger states:

Progressive consolidation, legalization and commercialization strengthen the new middle class, but there is also a need to recognize and protect the origins of the collectively self-built pueblos jóvenes as well as to understand their appropriate traditional approach of settling in a desert region."¹⁰²

The new middle classes of the northern Lima are conscious of how informality, uncontrolled and unregulated commerce, social polarization and segregation, and the self-revaluation of cultural heritage in an adverse environment, preceded their current –almost stable– condition. This awareness of their birth being filled by conflictive processes of segregation, and an initial rejection on part of the city's official administration, has helped develop a sense of independence and self-reliance as well as one of resentment and disbelief in authority and democracy as a possibility.

It is within this environment the several cultural and musical communities unique to Lima Norte materialized. Important to us here will be those projects that influenced by international musical trends related to technological development start to produce musical experiments. Much interest has been placed in the way hybrid musical styles develop in Lima after the big migrations,

¹⁰² Lima Megacity: La Tercera Lima. Kerstin HÖGER, Juvenal Baracco. Norwegian University of Science and Technology and Universidad Ricardo Palma. Spring, 2013., http://www.ntnu.edu/documents/139680/17142369/AAR4605_LimaMegaCity_Hoeger_2012-09.pdf. Pag 3.

being the most important of them the Cumbia Peruana or Chicha. However, less attention, in many ways, has been given to the local response on part of the new generations, in the *conos*, to the foreign influence of contemporary musical styles derived from American and English rock.

Of the many groups and sub-scenes that emerged by the end of the 1990s, there are several related to the experimentation with machines. We will focus on the more important and use to identify the characteristics of our research territory.

While the term *avant-garde* should be used to characterize extreme and radical musical works that test the frontiers of music, it is more often used, as is the case in Perú, when we talk about strange, difficult to accept and digest musical forms. This is to say: those styles that reside for the most part outside of the contemporary postmodern musical mainstream, have less media exposure, or are only listened to by small segments of the population. For Peruvian musicians, certain styles of European or American music that are part of an international musical industry, had the added value of exoticism and could therefore be more easily related to an 'odd' way of doing music. If the *Rock Subterráneo* had a strong infatuation with English Punk and even the English New Romantic movement; the new generations continue this tradition by listening to bands like The Jesus and Mary Chain, Cocteau Twins, My Bloody Valentine or

Spacemen 3; or soon after Sonic Youth or Slow Dive. Goes without saying that the commercial impact of most of these bands is what make them accessible to a Peruvian public, however they are viewed in some cases by Peruvian musicians as non-commercial artistic endeavors. To manifest a connection with English and American subcultures requires a process of alienation, ethical reevaluation and social negotiation; and as it is to be expected, Peruvian 'shoegazers' or 'space rockers' don't share the social and cultural conditions of their Westerner counterpart. The process that helps musicians from Lima adapt to foreign musical styles requires more investigation that what we can present here, but for our purposes is enough to say that musicians from Lima and from Lima Norte, in this case, found a way to make coexist two conflictive enunciates: a patriotic sense of belonging to a community with a strong social and class conscience, and a strong connection with foreign musical styles as their source of influence and motivation.

Much debate has been later generated in regards to the intentions, membership, participation, authenticity, and relevance of the collectives and groups form at the Cono Norte;¹⁰³ but was is important for our conversation here is the participation of two of the musicians that would later represent and defend the importance of Cono Norte through their record labels: Wilder

¹⁰³ We can find here an article by a well-known rock critic (Hákim de Merv) and an agitated and clarifying discussion on the comments section:
<http://hexagonocarmesi.blogspot.com/2009/12/crisalida-sonica-recuerdos-del-futuro.html>.

Gonzales Agreda who later formed Superspace Records, and Christian Galarreta founder of the Aloardi Collective. Though, of the two, the only direct member of the collective was Gonzales Agreda, Christian Galarreta would participate in most of the reunions and some of the concerts.¹⁰⁴ It is important to mention here that the defense of Cono Norte as a significant symbolic center for artistic marginal work is not always made by people from, or living, in the Cono. Belonging to other districts bordering Lima Norte could be, for instance, enough of a reason to claim to be part of an artistic movement center in that area. For instance, Christian Galarreta is from El Rimac, a district adjacent to downtown Lima but also adjacent to San Martin de Porres and Independencia, this is to say: at the entrance of Lima Norte. I will talk more about the work of Christian Galarreta when we discuss the Aloardi Collective. Here is noteworthy however the connection between both collectives and the advertisement strategies they use.

While the logic of local representation was still to be developed by some members and friends of this collective, the idea of being constructing a unique group of experimental artists and a claim to lead an avant-garde scene has been made implicit and in some other cases directly mentioned in later years, mainly by Wilder Gonzales of Fractal who, nowadays, announces his label Superspace Records in his Blog in the following manner:

¹⁰⁴ idem.

Sello de música avantgarde y/o transgresión localizado en Lima Norte, PERÚ. We are really not interested in gaining a commercial success. We are here only for the music and for our soul's sake. Manténganse elevados kids from nowhere pues como dijo un amigo del futuro "todo trato que no eleva, rebaja" VEN Y VUELA CON NOSOTROS))))."¹⁰⁵

Important of his presentation here are: the intention to attract foreign markets by mixing the languages, the mentioning not only of Perú but specifically of Lima Norte, and the declaration of making avant-garde music. Wilder Gonzales makes a similar affirmation by naming his personal blog: Perú Avant Garde: Vanguardia Peruana: Space-Rock & Sonidos Contemporáneos.¹⁰⁶ This attitude is common to many Peruvian scenes and we will see this kind of declarations of ownership of generic terminology in other musical communities presented in this work. This might be in part related to the exotic nature of certain foreign musical styles for the Peruvian pedestrian which helps avoid competition and makes it difficult for other groups with similar claims to appear. Many musical scenes of Lima try to declare ownership on one particular aspect or concept of an international musical trend in order to add value to their work and attain to gain control over it. For instance, by declaring to 'be' not only avant-garde but 'the' avant-garde movement of Perú the possibilities of serving as a bridge, and therefore a controlling entity, between the outside world (and

¹⁰⁵ <http://superspacerecords.blogspot.com/>

¹⁰⁶ <http://peruavantgarde.blogspot.com/>

even internal musical tourism) and the musicians is increased.

It is within this environment that an important part of Aloardi's ideals emerged. While coexistence between the Cono Norte and Lima Metropolitana is, for the most part, peaceful, in many artistic subcultures you can still feel the lack of cohesion between the different areas of the city, and a sense of constant suspicion on part of the members of the cultural scenes when confronting cultural 'collectives' from other areas of the city, especially those that don't share the same difficult recent history. Aloardi members would agree that 'colonialism continues now through corporations and institutions' and take for granted, following Peruvian variations of classical Marxist thought, that the superstructure is by definition a system of oppression that must be taken advantage of by finding alternative ways of redirecting its resources to the benefit of particular social groups. There a couple of texts written by members of the Aloardi Collective that are of much help to understand their political conceptualization of Perú, one of them use here as a reference for many of our statements is: Aloardi: Los Cholos. Ruidos que Invaden Lima.¹⁰⁷ This text written by Gabriel Castillo y Christian Galarreta in 2007 shows the evolution of thinking on part of the collective. It has been published widely by the collective in different formats and with some variations (magazines, Internet, etc) and used

¹⁰⁷ <http://lamula.pe/2011/12/31/terrorismo-sonoro-3-los-cholosruidos-que-invaden-lima/kromosapiens/>

as a sort of manifesto, outlining their opinions about art in general, and the sound arts in particular. In the text they declare the use of concepts like 'popular music', 'sound arts', 'experimental' and even 'art' itself as examples of cultural colonialism; at the same time as they declare their sympathy for terms that would help define them as belonging to the 'oppressed' sectors of Peruvian society: 'subterráneo' (underground), 'marginal'. While it is difficult to know what they really think outside of the rhetoric they use to negotiate both their internal identity and their exoticness, more informal commentaries made by friends of the collective and other sound artists of Lima Norte give us a clearer understanding of how they view these issues. A comment on a video about the Peruvian Sound Arts I presented for the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in 2012 by Peruvian musician Norvasc from Lima Norte sheds light on the issue: "el arte sonoro es solo un nombre pituco de la experimentación sonora q hace la gente aca desde facil los noventas, no me vengam a decir q el arte sonoro es reciente." [Sound Arts is just a snob name for sound experimentation that people here make since, probably, the 1990s, don't come here to tell me is recent.]¹⁰⁸ Pituco can be roughly translated as snob, and is traditionally used as a derogatory term to represent members of the upper social classes of Lima and in opposition to both Peruvians more 'ethnically related' to the country and belonging to the lower socio economical stratus, and therefore, in this case, living perhaps in the Cono Norte. In this comment Norvasc tells us that Sound Art

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aCLxNAXHfrg>

is a new name, and that this new name is used to represent the activities of snob artistic communities, when, according to him, that artists of the popular scene have been doing it way longer and, apparently, before the term was coined or applied to artists in Perú. He mentions the 1990s, most likely in reference to the scene that emerged at that time, mainly in the Cono Norte, with bands like Fractal and Dios Me Ha Violado. There has been an effort on part of a group of musicians from this area of the city to declare the manifestation of an avant-garde movement at the end of the 1990s. The relevance of this new avant-garde community in the development and history of musical experimentation in Lima still needs to be assessed. However, what is important for us here is its connection with the birth of the Aloadi Collective and its participation in the construction of the Identity Politics performed by experimental musicians from the Cono Norte. Much work has been placed on part of both the Aloadi Collective and its 'predecessors' for the generation of a 'minority influence' in order to gain attention to their work. Following traditional mechanisms of the countercultural movements of the 1960s in the United States and the class identity logic of early Marxism, the collective has worked hard on declaring itself as part of an oppressed community (whether by the government, the institutions, corporations, or other sectors of the population). This identification with oppression has served several political purposes for the collective both inside and outside the country. On one part, it has helped maintain a sense of solidarity with some social sectors of the city that share that sense of oppression

based on an historical lack of commitment and support by the central government. The dramatization of some social factors is, also, a marketing strategy that helps propagate their work outside of the Peruvian circuits to the musical tourist from the first world, anxious for exotic musical trends.

Some of the characteristics we find in the development of Lima Norte are present in the Aloardi Collective. In the same way that the Subteraneo movement of Rock in Lima found ways to recycle European and American ideals of the Punk movement to explain Peruvian conditions; Aloardi found ways in which global trends of electronic music (and also the Punk and other international movements) could be adapted to represent social conditions that form part of the history of the Cono Norte.

A non-exhaustive list of characteristics present in Aloardi's discourse that come from foreign trends would include: (1) the application of do-it-yourself (DIY) ideals to the generation production and distribution of electronic and digital based music, (2) the generation of communal work through the establishment of musical 'collectives' non officially or legally conformed, (3) the use of alternative venues for the performance of music, including: homes, public spaces, unofficial cultural institutions, (4) the generation of horizontal networks of interaction and exchange (more outside the country than inside), (5) a radical political posture, normally a leftist or Marxist variation (from the mild to the very

radical), (6) the defense of specific Peruvian popular cultural heritages, (7) the support of informal markets for the distribution of the sound produced (together with the support of piracy), (8) the use of the Internet as a mean to go global and search for support (netlabels, Blogs, Facebook, etc).

Some of these characteristics grow naturally from the boom of DIY traditional ethic of the Punk revolution, or, in this case, from the Subterráneo musical movement of the 1980s in Lima. Much has been written during the last years of the Peruvian Rock Subterráneo Movement, but for the most part this work is not scholarly in nature, and does not help us go beyond the anecdote level. The reference section of this work includes several titles on the issue for those interested, however for our current discussion would be enough to consider the Rock Subterráneo as a countercultural movement strongly related to Punk idealism while full of Peruvian references. The way in which the Rock Subterráneo movement, although not necessarily formed by members of the lower economical classes of Lima, come to symbolize social struggle against traditional institutions by these sectors of the population; is similar to way in which Aloadi confronts the idea of political power and government institutions. The shock factor of the Punk movement can also be seen in the name of the first project published by Aloadi: *Di-versiones: (Dios Me Ha Violado)* compilation. Aloadi 1995-97. The name *God Has Raped Me (Dios Me Ha Violado)* for Christian Galarreta's initial band, and first release by Aloadi, show an inheritance of the

Punk and Rock Subterraneo language, prior to his appropriation of more subtle subcultures of electronic music in the following years.

If the end of the 1980s marked the beginning of a new electronic musical culture in Perú, through the proliferation of cheap synthesizers, and the influence of European and American synth based pop music; it is at the end of the 1990s, at the time of the increase of personal computers in the Peruvian market and more access to the internet, that a new musical electronic revolution is found in the streets of Lima.

Several social factors allowed, during this period, for the propagation and production of new sounds in the capital. While there was not a moment between this initial period and this second musical wave in Perú where no music was produced, there are still several reasons to believe that the groups conformed during this second stage have very distinctive characteristics that make them differ radically from their predecessors. Both the connections between these periods and their differences need to be examined to have a clear perspective of the scenery.

The Aloardi collective can, not only by the sounds they produce but, primarily, by their political conceptualization of the Peruvian history of the sound arts, clarify some of the social and rhetorical forces that are at play during the

development of the new sub cultures for sound at the end of the 1990s.

Christian Galarreta, a musician working since 1995, decides in 1998 to generate an independent record label under the name Aloardi. His idea was to “create an experimental music label, as a platform for publication, since there wasn’t a visible entity dedicated to the promotion of experimental music in Perú.”¹⁰⁹

It is not a coincidence that the Aloardi collective decided to turn its attention to western stylistic developments of that point in time, right when certain issues regarding electronic and computer music were being broad to the attention of intellectuals of sound by the works of authors like Ostertag and Cascone. While from an academic perspective, Bob Ostertag had declared, the same year Aloardi started, that ‘computer music sucked’ and that it was “at something of a dead end”¹¹⁰, popular musicians were starting to have access for the first time to a computer. When Ostertag talked about “all those kids goofing around with sampling on the family Macintosh”¹¹¹ he was definitely not talking about the Peruvian kids of that moment. It is true that the computers had made their entrance in Peruvian popular culture, but with a completely different

¹⁰⁹ Aloardi, Los Cholos, ruidos que invaden Lima in Pesanervios #1. No-Ediciones, 2010, Lima Perú, Page 104.

¹¹⁰ Ostertag, B. 1998. ‘Why Computer Music Sucks.’
<http://bobostertag.com/writings-articles-computer-music-sucks.htm>

¹¹¹ Idem.

set of rules. The computers at hand for most of those musicians newly converted to computer music was not an Apple computer but a PC running a pirate version of Windows. At least this would be the case for Aloardi. The conviction with which Osterlag specifies the tools of the trade that have “helped to stir an interest in novel musical approaches in general and music made with computers in particular”¹¹² is helpful to understand the differences that make our case unique. Aloardi belongs in deed to this new generation of kids confronting the computer revolution and taking advantage of the technological circumstances around them. Their confrontation is, however, crippled if we consider expensive tools as essential, or enhanced if you consider creativity as a possible byproduct of certain deprivations. Aloardi received with open arms the laptop performance explosion that emerged in the second half of the 1990s¹¹³ and became part of the non-academic musicians entering the field of computer music in the early 1990s. The conditions in which this acceptance of a global revolution is represented and symbolically reconstructed in Aloardi’s discourse is, perhaps, the best way to understand their uniqueness and relevance in the Peruvian social context, and maybe their lack of relevance for the equivalent global trend that help them exist. An expensive Apple computer would be considered here as a show of indifference to certain social stratus of Perú, if not simply inaccessible. Even a laptop of any kind could

¹¹² Idem.

¹¹³ Do We Still Need Computer Music? Eric Lyon (Talk given at EMS 2006, Beijing)
http://www.somasa.qub.ac.uk/~elyon/LyonPapers/Do_We_Still_Need_Computer_Music.pdf

be considered as a status symbol that does not represent

We must understand here that both, the discourse of computer music scholars regarding the 'globality' of Computer Music issues, and the 'history from below' reading by some Peruvian musicians of the situation of computer music in the developing world, south America, or Perú; are extremely naïve. On one part, most faculty at Computer Music programs and scholars participating on the conversation are highly ignorant, as one might expect, on the particular conditions that inform the work of Peruvian electronic experimental musicians. What Peruvian musicians might consider essential might be considered by academics from the west as irrelevant. The general lack of training, on part of scholars of computer music, on social sciences and their lack of knowledge of the methodological tools necessary to confront and develop a contextual understanding on social issues related to computer music and sound arts based communities, make it difficult to present a case for the significance of discussing the Peruvian instance of computer music history, or any other Latin-American instance for that matter. Cultural anthropologists, postmodern historians or scholars from postcolonial, comparative, critical, subaltern and other anti-essentialist contemporary schools of thought would find all 'cases' as valuable without much of a discussion. Musical academic environments are yet to develop a concern for the participation of certain marginalized areas of the world. When the computer music establishment, talks about the 'we', Peruvians

and nationals from countries of the developing world, are, for the most part, not included.

Aloardi, as a collective, takes this sense of abandonment, or lack of attention and recognition, from the international community, as one of its main themes. Furthermore, they consider themselves excluded, also, from their own cultural environment. If they might be presented in electronic music and sound art international circles as 'music from the periphery'¹¹⁴, they would consider themselves as musicians from the periphery of the periphery, and would feel more comfortable with bridging the capital city of Perú and contacting directly the international markets. In the last years, Christian Galarreta, director and founder of Aloardi, has been traveling to different countries and residing for the most part outside of Perú. He is currently in Europe, and from there he continues to promote the activities of the collective.

Capitalizing from self-victimization is a strategy widely used in the artistic discourse worldwide. The sense of lacking participation in global development is a natural byproduct of globalization that forces undeveloped areas to gain access to the international markets through stereotyping their own shortcuts. The combination of pride and deception characterizes some of these discourses,

¹¹⁴ Sounds from beyond the bubble - Victor Gama
www.victorgama.org/pdf/discography/SANGama0708.pdf.

produces positive and also negative reactions on part of international environments. Most social scientists would feel inclined to declare a need to support academically and morally underrepresented communities. On the other part, musical professionals that lack training in the social sciences might be unable to follow the discussion or find these issues relevant to musical performance and analysis. This situation was made even clearer to me back in 2010 when an anonymous reviewer for my paper for ICMC (International Computer Music Conference) declared that my proposal to discuss musical strategies in developing countries was irrelevant since 'poverty' was not an important issue to present: I get it, they are poor, so what?

While this issue is relevant to our understanding of all the subcultures present in this work is it particularly important for the Aloardi case, since their awareness of the discriminatory conditions they confront and the difficulties surrounding their participation of the global trends is an essential element of their discourse. In the case of Aloardi and other independent musicians from the Cono Norte analyzing the situation becomes even more difficult, since, for the most part, they would not even consider some Peruvian academics, as myself, as capable to understand the conditions in which their music is created and performed. I would be considered as much of an alien (probably even more) as any European expert, and in some instances a direct enemy. I would represent several evils at the same time: racial inadequacy, academic training by an

imperial enemy (the United States), a non-popular social status, residing in the wrong sector of the city, and academic snobbism as a university professor. Rejection and discrimination are widely used by electronic musicians of the Cono Norte to defend their right for cultural self-representation. This strong defense of their 'turf' has both helped develop a small but constant musical scene, that while stronger during the beginning of the 2000s has still a presence; and alienated them from other small scenes of the country, helping further the fragmentation of the electronic experimental music of Lima.

8.3 Frankenstein's Peruvian Labs

By the time I wrote my Master Thesis at UCSD, the 'grand moment' of Peruvian circuit building was passing. Some years later we can assess the progress or decline of this subculture in Perú. If I, and some other might have, considered romantically that the fabrication by Peruvians of their own tools was positive for the generation of new and unique local ways to produce music, time has shown us differently. I had already considered by 2008, in regards to the two companies building homemade sound generators that:

[t]he growing foreign customer that made Aliaga include English texts in the Internet explanation for his products and the moving of Carlos Garcia to Europe might make these originally homemade products not affordable anymore for the electronic experimental musician of Perú.

Garcia and Aliaga crossed the line between the home-made product and the professional company many years ago. A big part of the initial mystique of their work was lost in the process. While some might consider that they have succeeded by going to the next step of becoming 'professionalized' and economically self-sufficient, from a social perspective their success is counterproductive. This transition is more evident in the case of Carlos Garcia and his company Zebranalogic, while Aliaga seem to be have interested from the very beginning in the commercial (and not artistic) angles of sound circuit building. I have talked with both in several occasions during the last years, trying to get a feel not on the development of their products but on their perception of the cultural implications of their work. I consider that, until now they are not aware, nor interested, in the cultural results of the use of their machines for the Peruvian musical world. This being said, and while both use somehow similar terminology as well as similar economical the interest (for instance they both use the term 'labs' for their companies and write in English); Carlos Garcia had maintained a connection with the home-made origins of his work by declaring in 2008 in the company's blog that:

I, Carlos Garcia, creator of zebranalogic, have done all this for my love to music, because I love the idea of having an instrument, modified, recycled and re-invented, considering all the formulas to make it. Because as we know this is a world where nothing is invented, but everything can be reinvented. Because of this zebranalogic takes a pattern of life and takes this concept not for money, fame or to sell billions but with the idea of making music

cooperation.¹¹⁵

This statement by Carlos Garcia can clarify the way in which he envisions his work. He has considered important to explain that his intentions are not purely economic. Whether this is true or not, the statement clarifies the conceptual views behind the company, together with a connection with certain DIY ethical ideals: communitarianism, collaboration, recycling, support your scene, etc. Atomo Labs (or Atomosynths) takes a different and more executive approach and has a stronger interest in the technical specifications of its product, and in accessing the international markets and standards. For instance, in the last years, has started to build for the 'eurorack' standard, a modular synthesizer format taken by several manufacturer and that allows for interconnecting different modules and customizing your 'rack'. Supporting this format allows Atomo Labs to participate together with bigger companies in the manufacturing of modular synthesizers like Doepfer or Analogue Systems. Atomo Labs was producing in 2012 the KOE Synth Voice and the KONEKO Midi to CV modules under the eurorack format.¹¹⁶ During 2008 and 2009, Zebranalogic developed different versions of the Circular Oscillator, challenging the standard formats for analog synthesizer design.

¹¹⁵ http://zebranalogiclabs.blogspot.com/2008/07/zebranalogic_28.html

¹¹⁶ <http://www.atomolabs.blogspot.com/2012/01/koneko-midi-to-cv.html>



Figure 8.3: Peruvian circuit building.¹¹⁷

There are many similarities in the way the two companies present their products: they use a 'blog' instead of a regular page,¹¹⁸ they write mostly in English, they claim their products are handmade, and until recently they both used a transparent acrylic top making the circuitry visible. While this last aesthetic decision is common to other international companies dedicated to sound circuitry and its used by both companies produced a small but relevant copyright and plagiarism debate, Atomo Labs has for the moment changed the appearance of its products with the release of the KOE Desktop Mini Modular v2.0 in 2013.

¹¹⁷ Two of the first homemade synths by Zebranalogic, one of the first prototypes for the Circular Oscillator, and the KOE Desktop by Atomo Labs.

¹¹⁸ zebranalogiclabs.blogspot.com and www.atomolabs.blogspot.com



Figure 8.4: KOE Desktop Mini Modular v2.0

As we have mention before, moving away from their initial simplicity while maintaining the home-made third world uniqueness as a marketing strategy ca be consider by foreigners as a triumph, but this would not be necessarily the way this is read by the subcultures and communities making musical experimentation in Perú. Those musicians making music with Zebranalogic products during the beginning of the 2000s would, as we have mentioned before, hardly be able to buy a new Zebranalogic or an Atomosynth. As they maintain carefully and by choice an amateurish look, their prices and the development of the internal architecture of their products tells us a different story. Also, the lack of recent interaction between prospective customers, old users of their machines and the musical experimental scenes of Lima; makes it more difficult for their products to

be integrated as compositional or performance tools in Lima. If between 2003 and 2010 I had been able to see (or have been told about) some of these machines used in live performance (while slowly decreasing through the years), I have missed their present in the last 3 years. Other than myself, I have lately only seen Wilder Gonzales Agreda performing with a Zebranalogic and Max Salas from Autobahn 303 performing with an Atomosynth machine. Autobahn 303 might be considered as a special case since he works for Atomosynth which makes their products obviously more accessible. Carlos Vasquez (from Unidad Central) and Dante Gonzales also own Atomosynth machines, mostly because of their personal relationship with Alfredo Aliaga, but they do not necessarily use them for performance. In the following picture we can see some of the hardware used by Autobahn 303 in its performances. The first one shows on the far right two of the first machines by Atomosynth: its first experiment, the Eclipse synthesizer; and the Atomo Photo Synth from 2007. The second picture shows the same performer preparing to play at Centro Cultural El Local, with a set that includes several machines by Atomosynths, including the AtomoSynth Mochika XL from 2011 (to the right of the laptop).



Figure 8.5: Autobahn 303 performing at Centro Cultural El Local, 2013.

8.4 Power to the people's handmade synth, right on

After returning to Perú by the end of 2010, and having already considered the problems mentioned in the prior section about a possible decrease in sound circuit building, and also a decrease of performances and compositions made with Peruvian hardware; I decide to investigate a little bit into the problem and attempt to generate solutions to what I considered was in detriment of the artistic output by Peruvian experimental electronic musicians. Neither Zebranalogic nor Atomosynth had thought about the possibility of passing their knowledge to other Peruvian musicians or creating new generations of musician able to construct their own machines for performance. On the other hand,

other musicians that started to experiment with sound (some that we will mention in the following chapter) during the beginning of the 2000s have a more political reading of the role of the experimental musician in the Peruvian social context. In the following chapter we will discuss with more detail the political aspects of certain musical communities, but we will say here that their interest in political and social issues changes the way in which they relate to the cultures of DIY and homemade analog circuit building. Of these musicians Rolando Apolo, formerly a member of the Aloardi Collective, has been the most productive.

The Aloardi Collective is partially responsible for maintaining the interest that was being lost into homemade sound generators, while their strong political reading of Lima's cultural map as one of class struggle divisions, has produced confrontational discourses that have helped the fragmentation and internal hatred that exist between several musical subcultures. Their attitude of suspicion towards their surroundings has been instrumental in their isolation and kept them from developing a stronger community, in this case for circuit construction and performance. The effort of Christian Galarreta, Aloardi's founder, to generate a culture for noise music and sound experimentation, have brought younger musicians interested in experimental music and the use and fabrication of homemade machines (and others). Of these musicians, Gabriel Castillo and Rolando Apolo have been the ones that developed an interest in sharing the

knowledge and have generated multiple workshops in the last years, teaching everything from microphone experimentation and electric transduction for sound, to circuit bending and analog circuit building.

Rolando Apolo has during the last years organized several workshops for circuit learning and building, and also developed sound generators for sale under the name Osciladores Apolo. For this, he has approach different cultural centers like the Centro Fundacion Telefonica and the Instituto Superior de Artes Visuales Edit Sachs He might be, at this time, the only one after Zebranalogic and Atomosynth to generate a semiprofessional analog oscillator for sale. His oscillators have stayed within the basic level but this might help his students and Peruvians interested in general closer to understanding the instruments they use. A student of one of Rolando Apolo's workshops could easily understand an OsciladorApolo. His labor of teaching new generations of kids and youngsters about sound arts, if successful, will only produce results some years from now. In 2018 Apolo presented an undergraduate thesis on Peruvian experimental electronic music¹¹⁹ were he discusses predominantly those communities here mention that share a particular political discourse and maintain a segregating idea for sound electronic arts that separates them musical spaces with not 'socially committed' or not representative of a more nativist representation of

119

http://cybertesis.unmsm.edu.pe/bitstream/handle/cybertesis/10182/Apolo_vp.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

the country. Racial, class, and geographical backgrounds become relevant elements that need to be declared to articulate a social frontier that divides the population. Apolo's thesis, for instance, presents me as a Spanish sound artist, instead of Peruvian, in an effort to declare a social distance (Apolo 2018, 13). Apolo's thesis confronts the problem of musical technology at the educational level, and on a similar tone to my work declares a lack of professional training at the academic level on arts related to sound:

Lamentablemente en el Perú, a la fecha no existe ninguna asignatura a nivel académico (con el respaldo de alguna universidad o instituto) que se relacione al arte sonoro, lutería electrónica, artes electrónicas, tecnología musical o temas afines. (Apolo 2018, 89).

This commentary shows a sentiment shared by many experimental popular musicians of the country. A sense of a forced isolation and segregation from the academic worlds is shared by many of the musicians that have kept an interest for musical technology during the last two decades. It is also possible that as a result of the highly invisible and underestimated condition these musicians have in front of the worlds of academic musical learning, some of them maintain a distance from the activities being developed at the institutions. This would explain Apolo's lack of knowledge of the current efforts being undertaken at the Universidad Nacional de la Música and that I present in the following chapter in detail, or the implementation of the Arte Sonoro class at the Pontificia Universidad Católica. Both a natural suspicion and an historical lack of

connection between different musical worlds and readings of musical activity prevent communication. Gabriel castillo's presence at the last conference on electronic music I presented at the Universidad Nacional de Música on September 17 of 2019,¹²⁰ shows an interest in breaking some of these artificial frontiers.



Figure 8.6: Apolo oscillators

¹²⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/events/2586319731390305/>

8.5 Circuit building in academia

Having the possibility of entering the academic environment of Lima, and having become a professor at the Escuela de Música of the Universidad Católica del Perú, I thought about ways in which I could make circuit building and related arts a part of the professional training for Peruvian musicians. Some of the work I developed regarding this issue, starting in the year 2012, can be read in my 2013 ICMC paper entitled: "Electronic Circuit Building in Perú: A Subaltern Case on Participation and Technology." As I mentioned in the text, since the Escuela de Música:

... was one of the first two in the country to bring us a unique compromise between the world of popular music performance and that of academic training at a university level, I thought it was the perfect environment to attempt to open the door to the basic world of sound producing circuitry to people trained mostly as performers.¹²¹

During the summer of 2012 I offered a workshop for the music students under the name: Taller de Circuitos Electrónicos Sonoros 1. This workshop was the first of a series of workshops that have continued afterwards at my house, where students (mostly from the musical schools) work on sound generators. I had a series of objectives in mind when preparing this initial workshop: (1) to generate awareness on alternative ways to generate sound, (2) to develop a

¹²¹ ICMC 2013

basic knowledge on the Sound Arts and the basics of electronic music, (3) to help my students develop a conceptual and philosophical connection with electronic music, (4) to help them consider circuits as a source of sound instead of just an intermediary, (5) to have them consider non-dance electronic sound as a possible tool for composition and performance, and (6) to pave the way for the possible future inclusion of circuit building in the university curricula.

The initial workshop was successful as a first step and there has been a continuity of workshops until today with a constant flow of new students. Most of the students, however, have not passed yet the first stages of circuit building and have assembled for the most part simple oscillators. Some of the initial objectives of the workshop are still to be completed. For instance, since the students I teach come from a traditional training in music and are, for the most part, performers of popular music and variations of rock, their initial view of a circuit for sound is that of a guitar pedal, a mixer or an amplifier. Most of them arrive to the workshop hoping to be able to build a pedal for their guitars and consider that building a sound oscillator is entertaining and a learning experience, but mainly a step towards something more important: guitar pedal fabrication. I consider that this is the result of the lack of exposure and knowledge and I hope the workshops will have a delayed effect on the students. Some students have attempted to include their oscillators into their performance but still find it difficult to connect the different musical languages into one. Lack of control of

the specific frequencies, harmonies and scales with the sounds being produced, together with the lack of rhythm is initially thought not as an opportunity but as a lack of order and an obstacle to music composition. In the positive side, I consider that teaching youngsters completely unaware of the cultures of electronic noise and sound electronic experimentation accomplishes the spreading of these cultures to wider audiences, expanding their decision making as students and musicians in the future. It would be impossible to hope for a new generation of electronic experimental musicians without giving the students of music the knowledge necessary to make informed decisions for and in their future.

With the same intention mentioned just before, I have included the fabrication of sound circuits in two classes I started to dictate during 2013 at the Universidad Católica: Creatividad Musical and Arte Sonoro. Students from these classes have one week dedicated to circuit building, and during this week they are confronted with a whole new set of assumptions about sound and music including the basic steps for the creation of sound through electricity. While the results of these 'experiments' remains to be seen, the initial objective of exposing students to circuit building has been achieved. Since the first workshop about 300 students have already built a sound generator, and many of them have participated in more complex projects.



Figure 8.7: Students from the Taller de Circuitos Electrónicos Sonoros 1.

CHAPTER 9

Contemporary situation of electronic music experimentation in the academy.

the present is valid only by virtue
of the potentialities of the future

— Poggioli, 1968.

In this chapter, I will present an exploration of the contemporary condition of electroacoustic music in the country, mainly in relationship to my experience since my return to Perú on 2011. This chapter is an account of my confrontation with a specific set of social contexts with which I share so much and differ in so many ways. It is an experience-based report and might even be considered as an interventionist participatory action research, in the sense that it evaluates the functionality of particular strategies to promote musical practices related to electronic music and sound arts in both academic and public spaces of the country. This work not only examines historical and contextual aspects of prior decades and their effect on the contemporary situation of electronic music culture, but it also shows the results of strategic actions designed to foster the construction of spaces for these sound arts. Local problems require local

solutions, and the coexistence of global universalizing musical technology and local cultural tendencies conform interpersonal social networks that reflect, in the case of Peruvian electronic music, a dissonance that maintain some universal globalizing forces from engaging directly traditional local models for musical practices, even though these models for 'locality' have originated outside of the country, mostly in as discourses of representation in the social sciences. If we have previously confronted the construction of localist paradigms at the center of Peruvian musical activities and forms of categorization, and hopefully clarified the ideologies that nurture them; we must also consider, that once these models of representation have been installed, all activities regarding the implementation of technological musical practices have to be anchored in conversation with that already established symbolic framework, as its point of departure. This being said, conditions have clearly changed since the 1960s, and the significant causal processes that operated the local rejection of electronic music have gone through several transformations and adaptations, and the believed counterposition between the 'global invasive forces' and the 'local surviving powers', however still playing an important role, has reduced its presence in front of new globalizing waves. A process of adaptation and interpretation of musical practices related to electronic music is currently being implemented as Peruvian trained musicians and the institutions that support them can no longer afford to dismiss them. Nevertheless, if global discourses promote an international language, the

academic environments of the country still show resistance towards some global aspects while defending others. The fear of globalization as a force for cultural homogenization plays a role in the rejection of electronic music as a clear example of a prototypical non-national technological model, fashioned by others and passively received in the country. Philosophical and cultural localisms have prioritized the significance of what is constructed as 'localized musical traditions', pointing at their value in the shaping and maintain national identities, and their barricading against foreign invasive forces. Electronic experimentation and 'educated' sound arts represent a western-dominated global value system that challenges culturally situated local pride, while popular electronic music is easily admitted, appropriated and localized by youngsters that find no problem in construction their local identities around the western models provided by the international music industry. It is within the intellectual environments that resistance towards technology in music can be found, as they consider themselves responsible for amplifying the local, not as the intellectual debate they declare to represent but as a political agenda that needs to be maintained to justify the existence of spaces that, given the conditions, has not seem able to compete in a world race of development. If "The assertion of any place-bound identity has to rest at some point on the motivational power of tradition" (Harvey 1989, 303), and "[g]eographical and aesthetic interventions always seem to imply nationalist, and hence unavoidably reactionary, politics" (Ibid, 282-283); it is also clear, that "[t]o study something is not necessarily to

glorify it; indeed, it can be an important part of exposing myths, of locality and place as much as of anything else." (Massey 1991, 280). I believe this Peruvian space in which political agendas (and their mythological counterparts) and intellectual inquiring meet and shape each other, is where our most significant flaws in musical conceptual development can be found.

I also believe that the place of conflict constructed around musical technology, as it encompasses traditional formulations and fears of inadequacy, is at a moment of diffusion in the country. In that sense, the 'actions' I present in this chapter can, nowadays, perfectly coexist with contemporary notions of country, tradition, and identity construction from a localist point of view. If we understand the present as the place where tradition is performed and constantly renovated, electronic music (and following developments), can perfectly fit the struggles for local autonomy and representation,

Whether it is necessary to formally integrate or negotiate the insertion of electronic music into a predefined uncontradictory sense of national identity remains to be defined, as the spaces of interaction are being articulated as I write this work. It is also unclear, at this point, if this place-based actions will become place-bounded, and the extent of compromise that will be needed as political forces in the country (and the regional in general) are going through a critical stage.

9.1 Conferences and publications

A multi-headed strategy, on my part, for positioning electronic music under the spotlight in different social and academic fronts has included all possible levels where the culture of writing can find a place. Therefore, in an effort to visibilize the culture of academic electronic experimentation I have been, constantly, organizing and participating in conferences at different venues in the country (mainly in Lima). These conferences have been aimed at the general public while attempting to show the participating institutions the importance of these issues and bring attention to the problematics we have historically confronted. In parallel I have also attempted to include Perú in the international conversation regarding electronic academic music by presenting my research at several international conferences. A not-exhaustive list of both national and international presentations on the issue made in the last three years would be:

- *Hybrid Modulations: Report on the Culture of Electroacoustic Music in Contemporary Perú.* EMS17 Conference. Communication in/through Electroacoustic Music. Nagoya, Japan. (2017).
- *Nostalgia, migración e identidad nacional en la electroacústica peruana contemporánea.* XXXV International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association. Lima, Perú (2017).
- *Interpolaciones Discretas e Incas Electrónicos. Sueños de Nación y Electroacústica en el Perú Contemporáneo.* V Congreso Nacional de Pesquisadores em Filosofia da Música. Sao Paulo, Brasil (2018).

- *La Electroacústica Peruana y las Nuevas Maquinas en el Espacio Académico Musical*. I Conversatorio De Música. Comisión Arte y Derecho PUCP. Lima, Perú (2019).
- *Del gesto inmóvil al instrumento invisible: la electroacústica peruana y las nuevas maquinas en el espacio académico musical peruano*. II Simposio de Filosofía de la Música PUCP. Lima, Perú (2019).
- *Electroacústica en el Perú. Espacios y retos en el siglo XXI*. Jornadas de Ponencias 2019-II Universidad Nacional de Música. Lima, Perú (2019).

These 'promotional' efforts have been so far self-financed and even though in many cases an institutional affiliation has been mentioned, that affiliation did not represent a formal connection between the work at the institution and the research presented. This is due to a series of factors that need to be clarified to understand some of the difficulties to maintain a research and publication on musical technology in Perú. The processes to become a professor in the country are different from those in, for instance, the United States. In that sense, I have been something similar to a 'visiting assisting professor' for the last 9 years, and I am contracted every quarter, paid by the hour and lack social benefits or a socially safety net. Many professors in the country maintain that condition for decades without ever being allowed to participate in a process towards a career in teaching at a university level. This condition, together with a low paying rate per hour force professor to do multiple jobs for different institutions during the same periods of time, being their possibilities for research

and quality teaching affected dramatically. At the time an international publication or conference requires a Peruvian researcher to mention the authors affiliation, they might be under the assumption that the research has taken place at the institution being presented on the text. This is not necessarily true, and in many cases the affiliation is symbolic, in the sense that no resources or time or contractual relationship is at the basis of the research being work being presented. A new switch towards the research university paradigm might be changing that situation at the time, as research has become a central point of attention for universities trying to compete in a global market. The relationship between academic research and institutions in Perú requires a deep exploration that has not been undertaken.

Until 2014, and the implementation of the Ley Universitaria 30220,¹²² was not even necessary to hold a graduate degree to become a professor at a university level. This condition diffculted a meritocratic selection, as the level of academic training, research, or experience were not necessarily compulsory factors in the selection of personnel by the universities. Law 30220 aimed “to regulate the quality of higher education through a series of specific conditions” (Lavalle 2017, 446), and while it was mean to replicate the international models of the research university paradigm, it also served to organize and unify the national discourse on university education. As a means to implement this law,

¹²² http://www.minedu.gob.pe/reforma-universitaria/pdf/ley_universitaria.pdf

the “National Institute for Higher Education (SUNEDU, 2014) was established as an autonomous organization of the Ministry of Education.” (Lavallo 2017, 450), with the main aim of “proteger el derecho de los jóvenes a recibir una educación universitaria de calidad y, de esta manera, mejorar sus competencias profesionales,”¹²³ and soon this new institution (SUNEDU) would include the norm of having a master’s degree as a minimum requirement for teaching at the university level. This national educational ‘revolution’ is still in the process of being implemented and its results cannot be assessed at this time.

Many of these conferences (and other alternative forms of presentations) have also been of great significance, as they have allowed me perceive more directly many of the positions I discussed in this work. As we might expect after reading previous chapters of this work, the reactions have been diverse and colorful.

At international settings I received a mixed reaction to my presentations that goes from (1) the sense of solidarity by Latin-American researchers, sometimes based on the same Latin-Americanism I tend to discredit, and others as a true sense of cultural connection related to the sense of a similar political set of difficulties; (2) some ‘points’ for the exotic of the theme (as Perú is not commonly present, as a country that is) paired with a lack of real interest in the

¹²³ <https://www.sunedu.gob.pe/historia>

subject; and, in one case, (3) the assertion that I was fabricating a 'victim role' for Peruvian electronic music to gain sympathy unnecessarily. This last perception is also informed by the canon presented by Del Farra, who as I have explained, has constructed a defense of Latin American electronic practices by, in the Peruvian case, overstating our achievements as a country (or possible being misread by non-Latin-American researchers). However subjective this information might be, I believe it is important to mention as it portrays some of the cultures that are being confronted as played by specific actors within the culture of electronic music and musical academic research in general.

At national settings the response follows the expectations and (1) some traditional researchers would find my work improper, irresponsible and non-related to musical issues, as a response to what is perceived as an anti-national position and lack of traditional academic or musicological rigor; (2) young students would feel comfortable and agree with the need to develop spaces for musical technology, with the exception of (3) some musical students that perceived technology as supplementary to the real issues of musical learning (harmony, performative practice, orchestration, counterpoint, traditional notation, etc.); and (4) unexpectedly, a favorable response from the student of the Universidad Nacional de Música, who in their vast majority find electronic music an interesting field. While, these perceptions are not statistical in any manner, and only show a small sector of the population needed to assess

national responses regarding the issues presented, they seem to express already well established ideological positions and popular opinions regarding electronic music in the country.

9.2 Taller de Electroacústica at the Universidad Nacional de Música

In 2017 I got invited by the Universidad Nacional de Música to teach the courses of Taller de Electroacústica and Informática Aplicada a la Música at newly inaugurated Laboratory of Electroacústica. The project for inovating the space used for electroacoustic music at the then Conservatorio Nacional de Música was propoced by the Direccion Academica area in 2016. At the time, the Direccion Academica was directed by Nilo Velarde, whose interest and relationship with electronic music has been already mentioned. As the project was completed and the space become ready for use I started teaching the first classes on musical technology at the Lab. These first classes were reserved for the composition students, and while in the future I hope to be able to tech students from all areas of study at the UNM, for now this functional limitation remains. As far as I know, this was the first time a visual programming language was taught at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música or the new Universidad Nacional de Música in the making. All social factors previously discussed in this work have factored in the lack of evolution of a space that have maintained a low profile and low production level for many years. During that first year

constructed. The first patches were based on a single sample that included the whole library and that reproduced the different sounds of the library through analyzing their location within the sample. Two concerts were organized to show the work of the quarter (1) a live improvisation for harp, marimba and computers at the Conservatorio Nacional de Música, under the name Concierto de Música Electracustica. Ejercicios, Improvisaciones y Música Aleatoria Electracustica para Computadora, Harpa y Marimba, and (2) an improvisation for harp and computer at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (See Fig.)



Figure 9.2 Concierto de Música Electroacústica, CNM/UNM, 2017.



Figure 9.3: Eve Matin recording at the Taller de Electroacústica and articulo about a electroacoustic performance at PUCP, 2017.

A new generation of students that have taken my two Taller de Electroacústica courses between 2018 and 2019 have arrived to the classes at a time the space starts to consolidate and the possibilities to develop a wider set of practices increase. I also expanded the objectives of the courses and the student did not only have to produce electroacoustic musical pieces but they had to develop alternative notation systems for their pieces. We also multiply our library sources by recording Saxophones (both individually and as an ensemble), voice, flute, and piano. The new libraries allowed for a more versatile timbral base for composition. At the end of the 2019-1 semester, several new compositions and individual patches were presented, with the work of composition students Jorge Quispe, Michael Magan, Saul Medina, Renzo Garces, and Issias Alonzo, Of these composers, Jorge Quispe and Michael

Magan were already interested in electronic music before taking the class, and had received basis training on Pure Data programming by different sources (including workshops by Jaime Oliver, private classes with Abel Castro and participation at Rodrigo Sigal's CMMAS in Morelia, Mexico), which was very beneficial for the development of the class. Not only they were able to assist the other composers in the class in understanding basic programing in Pure Data and constructing their patches, but they also help other students feel more comfortable with working with elements uncommon to their musical training. Having some fellow students knowledgeable and already motivated towards electronic sound arts made our work less of an exception to their regular and future practice as composers. These new generation has also witness and participated in the new developments being pursued at the Universidad de la Música that I will present immediately after.

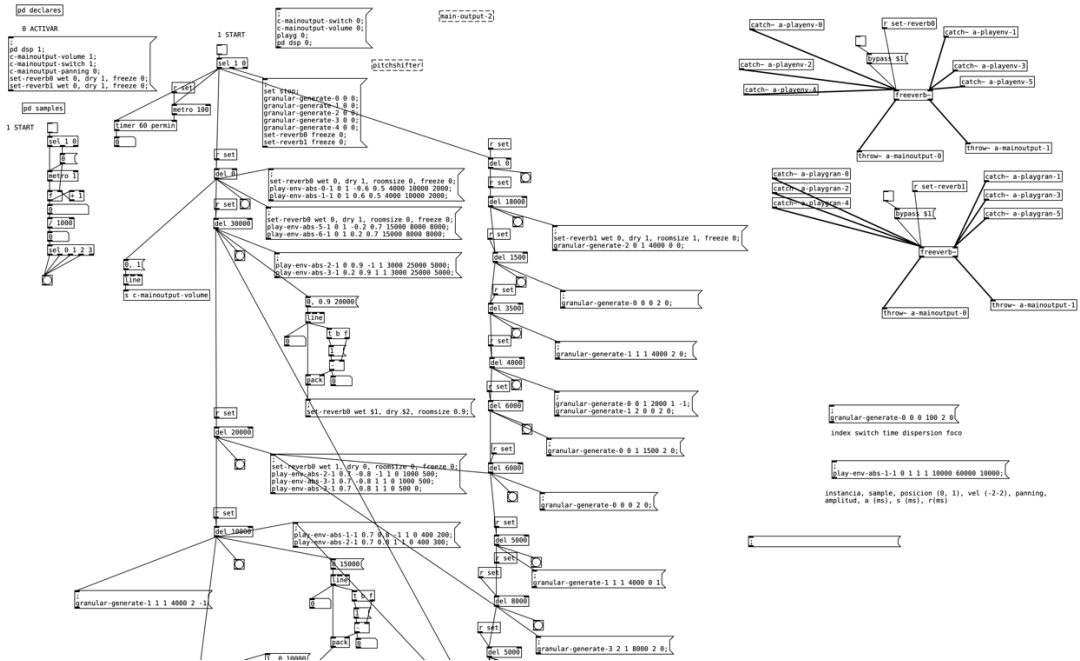


Figure 9.4: Part of patch by Jorge Quispe for Taller de Electroacústica, 2019.

Having that number of students working on computer music at the Universidad Nacional de Música is unprecedented. Again, the repercussion of these efforts in the future generation of composers remains to be seen, and will be also defined by the level of exposure these new composers will have outside of the learning environment. The intent to innovate and to participate of these, for them, new musical paradigms is present, but as no other spaces exist for the development of academic music electronic composition, the continuity of their interest remains to be determined.

9.3 Alternative notation for electronic music

The notation is more important than the sound

Cardew, 1971

The 1950s were notorious for the implementation of new experimental practices for music, and with them the breaking of the 5-line music staff by experimental composers looking for ways to represent their work that went beyond the traditional canons. These new ways of representation included a liberating aspect and a practical one. Electronic music for instance was impossible to represent by means of the traditional staff and required new symbols, a new aesthetic, and a new instructional logic. While there is, now, a long history of graphic alternatives to represent music 'beyond harmony' in general, and electronic music in particular, our national history with these experimentations is limited. Our *first* wave of electronic musicians followed the world lead and our composers look for alternative ways to put music on paper. That is the case of Bolaños with pieces like *Interpolaciones*, or Valcárcel with *Canto Coral a Tupac Amaru II*, and other pieces by these authors. In the following decades few other examples have existed (1973 Pedro Asato's *Quasar III*, for percussion and tape, for instance) and a national history or culture for alternative musical representation was never established.

"INTERPOLACIONES" (1966)
para guitarra eléctrica y
banda magnética

c. bolaños

The score consists of three systems of notation. The first system includes staves for 'Guit. Elect.', 'Rit. Guit.', 'Rit. Ban. El.', and 'Tpo. Total'. The second system shows a detailed musical staff with dynamics like mf, sfz, f, and mp, and includes a 'Tpo. Total' line with numerical markers. The third system continues the musical notation with dynamics like f, mp, mf, and sfz, and includes a 'Tpo. Total' line with numerical markers. A decorative box with a floral pattern is present at the end of the third system.

Figure 9.5: Interpolaciones, 1966.

In general, we can declare a big gap in alternative forms of notation that is only now being bridged with the new students of composition at the Universidad Nacional de Música. In that regard, I have placed as a new requirement for the Taller de Electroacústica courses the fabrication of an alternative 'score' for the musical pieces presented for the class. If in the future they will be working in fully functional scores that could actually be used as a set of instructions for performance, at the time I am interested in having them

explore the visual possibilities of an electronic or electroacoustic score thought an experimental graphic interdisciplinary score.

The first alternative notation works of the students were presented at the entrance of the UNM in an exhibition under the name 1era Muestra de Partituras Alternativas [Notación Gráfica Experimental]. If during the history of the CNM, as we have mentioned, we have had more than one composer working with alternative notation (Bolaños, Valcárcel, Asato, etc), their work has long been forgotten and most student population is unaware of such possibilities. I should also mention that those scores by our first electronic composers were not developed as a result of training at the CNM, nor they represented a practice common to the CNM. This is the first-time composition students have been asked to develop alternative notation representations of their new compositions as part of their academic work. The exhibition was well received and a second exhibition will be programmed for the following semester, followed by another exhibition outside the UNM. The scores from this first new generation of electronic composers from what I call the *third wave* of Peruvian electronic academic music will be included, in the following months, on a wave page designed by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, in conjunction with the Centro Mexicano para la Música y las Artes Sonoras – CMMAS.

arpa1: descomposiciones y automatismos (2017)
José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón

Figure 9.6: Arpa 1. My own alternative score for the 1era muestra de partituras alternativas [notación gráfica experimental]

Figure 9.7: Renzo Garcés' composition for the 1era muestra de partituras alternativas [notación gráfica experimental]



Figure 9.8: Michael Magán, Saul Medina, myself, and Renzo Garces. 1era muestra de partituras alternativas [notación gráfica experimental]

9.4 Ensamble de Laptops de la Universidad de Música – ELUNM

The concept of the laptop orchestra has been with us for some years now, and several laptop ensembles have made their appearance in the 2000s, including: the Concordia Laptop Orchestra, the Princeton Laptop Orchestra, and the Stanford Laptop Orchestra, or the Moscow Laptop Cyber Orchestra. Latin America also counts with laptop ensembles as is the case of the Ensamble Electroacústico DAMus-UNA from Argentina, established in 2014.

Dan Trueman, from the Princeton Laptop Orchestra, considers that the notion of a 'laptop orchestra' represents the pairing of two concepts: "an almost archaic institution whose continued existence is something of a miracle, the other a technological newcomer that has become common place and seems likely to be with us, at least in some form, for quite some time" (Trueman 2007, 171). I think the perception of laptop ensembles as futuristic and traditional orchestras as antiquated is not surprising, specially coming from those engaged in musical practices from a technological perspective. Laptop orchestras, like the ones we have mentioned, serve the purpose of experimenting under a comfortable experimental environment and count with the logistic support of spaces dedicated to these arts. The problems they reflect differ radically from the social conditions and historical circumstances we encounter in Perú, making this kind of musical configuration difficult to develop.

Given the larger number of students participating by 2019 in the Taller de Electroacústica courses, I proposed the formation of the first laptop ensemble in Perú, with several ideas in mind. On one hand, I wanted to confront the traditional perception of musical instruments in the country by using the ensemble model to contrast with the traditional perception of ensemble configuration used throughout the history of the Conservatorio Nacional de

Música. On the other hand. I wanted composers trained by constructing musical pieces for multiple voices with traditional instruments to consider the possibility of the computer as one more instrument, and as a new way to consider a sound source for new understandings of 'orchestration'. The computer changes the traditional paradigm that connects one instrument with one timbre. The multiple possibilities for sound processing and performances by a computer, would force them to rethink their options and strategies for composition, and reconfigure their sense of performative practice. The observation of "the necessity of separating the roles of the electroacoustic music 'composer' from that of the electroacoustic (or electronic) 'interpreter' [that] was noted as far back as the 1950s at the Cologne Studio for Electronic Music" (Zattra 2017) is no longer a primordial issue. Whether or not they had considered before the possibility of interpreting their own musical work (or even interpret someone else's work), the ensemble has made it plausible and, at this, point, all composition students in the classes have performed at least once with the ensemble. No longer constricted by pre-determined functions, the members of the ensemble become programmer, sound designers, interpreters, and composers. If in a classical music context, a musical interpretation requires knowing the vocabulary and the syntax, and mastering the instrument, the students of the Taller de Electroacústica and members of the Ensemble de Laptops can create their own vocabularies and do not require the same level of involvement and training required to become a virtuoso musical interpreter, since they are the

ones constructing the instrument they use to perform. In that sense, the ensemble is not, at the moment, preoccupied with the need of interpreting an existing classic repertoire and developing specialized techniques for electronic musical performance. At this time the ensemble only performs pieces constructed communally by the members of the ensemble. This practice also challenges the traditional perception of the composer as an individualist romantic genius¹²⁴ giving place to the idea of moving towards "an age in which musical and technical developments suggest the possibility that mathematical formulas and computer machines or "chance" may take over essential areas of musical creativity" (Lowinsky 1964, 321); and where we will be released from our obligations as creative geniuses or artistic heroes. In that sense the ensemble wants to present to the students the problematics and paradigm changes produced by technological development during the 20th and 21st centuries.

For the first performance of the ELUNM, the sonorization of a Russian silent 1928 movie at the Plazuela de las Artes of the Teatro Municipal, each musician made his own patch. We declared particular function for each member within a structure that also allowed them to improvise at pre-determined points. The ELUNM has had 3 presentations, besides the one already mentioned, so far: a

¹²⁴ For the history of the concept of the musical genius see Lowinsky, E. (1964). Musical Genius-- Evolution and Origins of a Concept. *The Musical Quarterly*, 50(3), 321-340.

concert at the Trenza Sonora festival, an outdoors concert at PUCP, and another outdoors presentation at the Ermita of Barranco. The ELUNM will also be traveling to Mexico on march of 2020 to present its work at MUSLAB 2020, a festival organized at the Universidad de Xochimilco in Mexico City. We also hope the ensemble will be accepted for performance at the ICMC 2020 conference that will be held in Chile.



Figure 9.9: ELUNM performing at the Plazuela de las Artes, 2019



Figure 9.10: ELUNM performing at the Trenza Sonora festival, 2019

The work of the ELUN has been granted official space practice and its members official credit by the UNM and by the end of the 2019-2 semester, the students will be presenting their work as part of their Professional Practice course in a concert at the Sala de Usos Múltiples Armando Sánchez-Málaga of the Universidad Nacional de Música. This concert will include 4 individual electroacoustic pieces by the students, and two configurations of the ensemble:

- Individual pieces:
Electropsicosis - Diego Berrospi Gutiérrez

Dislexia - Sinestesica Bryan Yep Valencia

Icaros - Mark Contreras Waiss

Terceto Electroacústico - Alvaro Ocampo Grey

- Ensemble (variation 1)

José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón

Michael Augusto Magán Palomino

Issias Alonzo

Saul Medina Valenzuela

Paolo G. Arce

Teté Leguía

- Ensemble (variation 2)

José Ignacio López Ramírez Gastón

Mark Contreras Waiss

Alvaro Ocampo Grey

Diego Berrospi Gutiérrez

Bryan Ki San



Figure 9.11: Concierto de M Electroacústica 2019-2. UNM

9.5 Laboratorio de Música Electroacústica y Arte Sonoro

2019 has seen also the inclusion of the Laboratorio de Música Electroacústica y Arte Sonoro as a new entity in organizational chart of the UNM. This laboratory has been proposed as a space to centralize all activities related to music and technology at the UNM, and will be considered as part of

the Vicerrectorado de Investigación thanks to the support of Lydia Hung from the Comisión Organizadora of the Universidad Nacional de Música, a committee selected to guide the transition from Conservatorio Nacional de Música to Universidad Nacional de Música. The general idea for the laboratory is to generate a research unit that can provide support for all fields related to music and technology at the UNM. Following that line, its main objective is to develop activities that can foster the knowledge and application of sound arts related to technology, and integrate Perú to the global panorama of musical technology. As I have presented in this work, Perú does not participate in the global musical discourses related to sound arts and technology, and this laboratory will attempt to bridge that gap and position Perú as an active participant. While is still premature to discuss the implementation of this space, I think it is important to mention that work being done to 'reverse' the processes that have distanced Perú from certain musical discourses associated to technology.

In some respects, this chapter present us with a new set of social conditions that might partially revert some specific historical difficulties I have explored throughout this text. Many factors are at play in this possible transition towards a more technology friendly musical environment: (1) the triumph of electronics in popular music during the last decade, (2) the relative and

debatable emergence of Perú from the economic crisis, (3) an undeniable need to meet global goals in a more globalized environment, (4) the new position of the Ministry of Education on innovation and technology as part of the country goals, and (5) certain agency obtained during the last almost ten years of work promoting and lobbying for the creation of spaces for electronic music and sound arts. Only time and a proven continuity of these conversation could be considered to declare the success of the work carried out. Given the current volatile political situation of the region (and with the Peruvian congress just having been dissolved) it would be premature to take anything for granted. This chapter presents mainly what has been achieved in the last years to give a pulse of the contemporary situation, and only mention tangentially what has been projected for the next year (2020) as it represents work that has already been done regardless of the expected results, as I rather don't count my chickens before they hatch.



Figure 9.12: Students of the Laboratorio de Música Electroacústica y Artes Sonoro, 2019.
Photo Lucero Pariona

CHAPTER 10

Conclusions: the puzzling situation

The work I have presented here revolves around what I have perceived for many years as a puzzling situation: an historically evident, yet mysterious underdevelopment of academic electronic music in Perú. This puzzlement started to build at the time I initiated my graduate studies at UCSD in 2006 and has accompanied me stubbornly during the following years. Things did not fit together as a banal reading of reality might have anticipated, and no attention to such condition has been placed by any of the interested parties. Another superficial reading could attribute this condition as natural for an underdeveloped or, more politely, developing country: underdeveloped countries must have underdeveloped musical technology. A third common reading, and the one I have more often encountered during the last 14 years, declares this situation as unproblematic, non-existing, or as the result of discrete and unrelated individual acts that could not, in anyway, be considered as part of a process or observable structure.

As I continued with my academic studies, as well as my practice as a popular electronic/noise performer, a world of philosophical assumptions not explicitly recognized started to make itself evident. For the Peruvian academic world, electronic music was not music and therefore had no space in (1) the conversations regarding the making or learning of music, or (2) the construction of identitarian models for Peruvian music.

It is difficult to see from the distance, and this work unveils a series of processes invisible for the 'mainstream eye'. More importantly, it confronts a general failure to notice the part played by specific ideological models in the identification, assessment, implementation, and evaluation of the participation of musical technology in musical education and practice in Perú. During the history of Peruvian electronic music, choices have been made, models implemented, agendas executed, actions taken, exclusions effected, and conflicting interests revealed. I have presented in this work the underlying ideological factors behind these activities, and the ways in which they have contributed to the construction of an unofficial model that has played a direct role in undermining the development of academic electronic music in the country.

If scarcity of resources and funding, or the lack of trained personnel could be contributing factors that have to be taken under consideration to understand some of the historical failures here discussed; these elements pale in comparison to the role played by the specific political discourses I have presented and the agendas they produce. I believe I have clearly shown the primary role of social discourses in this matter, making evident that placing the burden of responsibility exclusively on economic or logistic conditions would present us with, to say the least, an incomplete picture of our research universe. Emphasizing 'physical aspects' and giving a secondary role to cultural and social conditions, keep us from identifying the core factors, attitudes, and practices that have affected the history of academic electronic music in Perú.

This work has presented and analyzed the social actors and structures responsible for the underdevelopment of academic musical technology-based experimentation in Perú since the emergence of electronic music as a global force in the 1950s. I have defined a 'timeline' of suspicions and rejections that have conformed an ambiguous, yet firm and effective, system of exclusion for these arts from the music of the nation. The set of ideologically-based assumptions that have informed this unofficial system have served as deterrence for those interested in developing spaces for sound arts related to technology, and has maintained electronic musical practices in a retracted and hidden

position, and as a subaltern practice in front of other musical practices in the country. I have highlighted the main reasons for such adverse climate and, hopefully, made clear the correlation between particular political positions and beliefs and the historical fate of Peruvian academic electronic music. After 35 years as a 'Peruvian' musician, 20 years as a computer music performer, and more than 10 years of research on the subject (since the publication of my Master's thesis in 2008), I hold a clear understanding of the forces at play. The difficulties and confrontations here presented have been my own, as since 2012 I have shared the road previously traveled by several Peruvian musicians of different generations with the intention of generating a space for the development of sound arts related to electronic musical experimentation. I have shared their initial motivation and following frustration, and finally come to an understanding of what should have been their role and what kept them from successfully representing their historical moment. I must admit that, in comparison with prior decades, the future seems to be at hand. Nevertheless, the problematics we have unfolded in this work are current and active, as they represent aspects present in most constructions of Peruvian identity.

For instance, anti-foreign sentiments, particularly in their anti-Spanish and anti-yanqui formulations, are well and alive, informing our value systems for the authentication of music as national and 'ours'. Electronic music is still seen as

foreign in nature and alien in essence. No matter how many attempts have been made to *Peruvianize* it, its perception as unfamiliar remains, for the most part, untouched. As we stand on the threshold of a musical era with computers at the center of all musical activities, Peruvian musical institutions remain, for the most part, unconvinced of its conceptual capabilities, and is only accepted as a mediating tool to realize the traditional dreams of musical practice. As I finish this research, the possibilities of closing this long historical chapter of segregation become more and more plausible. I hope, in that sense, for this thesis to become in a few years a conversation about a long gone past. It must be also said that my participation in the process has change the rules of engagement and my constant nagging and complaining, during these last years, regarding the problems we have here presented, has rigged the game and my writings and participation in the very conservative Peruvian musical academy has yielded concrete outcomes and enhanced the possibilities for development. Whether these new possibilities are to flourish is hard to say, as I believe a single voice might not be enough for a radical change of paradigms. This being said, results are being produced and considerable progress obtained.

As I have uncovered throughout the different chapters of this work, a set of very specific and ideologically-constrained models of thought have historically served as a tacit restriction towards electronic music as a possible

part of academic musical training. These mental models, used to interpret and understand the Peruvian environment, as well as to create a set of Peruvian identitarian obligations, have informed the particular practices of musicians, professionals of music education, and academic authorities. The strength of these positions, considered as a 'shared understanding of our communal historical needs', has normed the development of musical institutions and the national discourses about the music of the nation.

The social narratives I presented have been, as I have shown, instrumental in the underdevelopment of electronic music, as they have directly affected decision making processes that, in turn, blocked the possibilities of development for technology based musical arts. Understanding the efficiency of these ideological models to defend identity constructions that did not include electronic music in their musical worldview is essential to illustrate the specific moments of neglect and the lost opportunities for growth for electronic music in the Peruvian academia.

A vicious cycle of contempt towards electronic musical practices has been present all thru our contemporary history, and both (1) a negative automatic thinking, and/or (2) an actively expressed general lack of interest

towards electronic music, have been regularly present in our musical history. This 'constant' has defined the 'appropriate' thoughts and actions concerning musical technology as 'natural' expressions of a Peruvian nation in the way of being conformed. While it is normal for ideology based mental models to be widely shared by the members of a society were those ideologies have been successfully implemented (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Zerubavel 1999), it is also true that the particular nationalistic narratives present in the country have played a negative role in our musical development.

I consider that these ideologies, as they define the mental models of the musical communities of the country have been and, in many cases, are "out of sync with the real world, [and] substantially limit the amount of information decision makers use, and may cause them to fill in uncertain details of a situation with incorrect assumptions".¹²⁵ As Western art music developed at the middle of the 20th century, Perú maintained a conservative position and in general, an 'anti-futurist' approach towards sound arts. This position was inflamed, as I have unwrapped, by a variety of nationalistic approaches that emphasize the need to validate autochthonist, nativist and indigenist

¹²⁵ Mind, Society, and Behavior. World Development Report 2015. A World Bank Group Flagship Report. Page 63.
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/645741468339541646/pdf/928630WDR0978100Box385358B00PUBLIC0.pdf>

imaginations as the exclusive models for nation building. As these approaches attempted to define the country based on a colonialist/native dichotomy, the 'music of the future' became a casualty. With the eyes placed on the recovery and survival of the past, there was no much space for the future, and even less space for a 'foreign future'.

I hope that this study can be seen as a contribution to different fields related to the sound arts, as it clarifies the important effect of particular ideologies and localist 'ways of thinking' in the history of electronic music. Participating of the Peruvian culture of electronic academic and popular music has proven challenging as well as enlightening. Much has been said regarding the situation of post-colonial and subaltern communities in order to understand the effect of the colonial process, but not much has been said regarding the way ideological constructions that attempt to unfasten political and cultural processes from the past can play a negative role in the development of a culture. If the general position against music and technology by the main actors and powers of the Peruvian musical 'collective intelligence' might be seen by traditional subaltern analysis as a defense against 'imperialist futures'; I have argued and established in this work, that the hopes of such approach for a 'local independent modernization' fail to take under account several important aspects of value on those modernization processes that it sees as invasive and

imperialist in essence. The construction of a local knowledge requires moving away from a confrontational attitude towards technological development or foreign practices as 'evil' in nature. The case of Peruvian electronic music, specially throughout the 20th century, is exemplary. If contemporary experimentation with electronic music is to gain presence and empower itself in the near future, this will be achieved by moving away from those theories that see the concepts of development and modernization exclusively as forces engaged in the destruction of indigenous cultures or, as dependency theory, might consider, a way to maintain impoverishing the poor and underdeveloped states. This is especially true in front of a contemporary social setting in which the access to technology for musical production has been democratized and the political and economic conditions of a country do not determine anymore the possibility of making electronic music. This being said, as I have discussed in this work, I believe the problems confronted by electronic music don't lay on access to technology but on the way musical technology is perceived.

This, and other works I have written during the last decade, represent the only critical attempts, at this point, to clarify the issues and problems I have presented. I expect this work to serve as the basis for several inquiries and research projects that could help us attain a clearer picture of the world of Peruvian electronic musical experimentation.

References

Adorno, Theodor. (1938). *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. 7. Frankfurt: Institut für Sozialforschung.

Anna, Timothy. (1998). *Forging Mexico 1821–1835*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Almenara, Alonso. (2012). César Bolaños y los vestigios de la generación del cincuenta. In *atheodoro...* Recovered from <https://atheodoro.wordpress.com/2012/10/24/cesar-bolanos-y-los-vestigios-de-la-generacion-del-cincuenta/>.

Alvarado, Luis. (Ed.). (2009). *Tiempo y obra de César Bolaños*. Lima: Centro Cultural de España.

Alvarado, Luis. (2016). In *Various – Señales de Síntesis - Música Electroacústica Peruana (1991-2000)*. (CD insert). Recovered from https://noisy.vice.com/es_co/article/68npxv/seales-de-sntesis-msica-electroacstica-peruana-1991-2000.

Álvarez-Fernández, Miguel. (2008, 27 de diciembre). Música por ordenador. *Ars Sonora* (Programa de radio). Madrid: Radio y Televisión Española. Recovered from <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/audios/programa/ars-sonora-Música-ordenador-27-12-08/366437/>.

Alzedo, José Bernardo. (1869). *Filosofía elemental de la música: o sea, la exégesis de las doctrinas conducente a su mejor inteligencia*. Lima: Imprenta Liberal.

Atkins, Martin & Andrew Bentley, Tom Endrich, Rajmil Fischman, David G. Malham, Richard Orton, Trevor Wishart. (1987). *The Composers' Desktop Project. Proceedings of the 1987 International Computer Music Conference*. Illinois: ICMC.

- Azpuru, D., & Boniface, D. (2015). Individual-level determinants of anti-Americanism in contemporary Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 50(3), 111-134.
- Baker, A., & Cupery, D. (2013). Anti-Americanism in Latin America: Economic Exchange, Foreign Policy Legacies, and Mass Attitudes toward the Colossus of the North. *Latin American Research Review*, 48(2), 106-130.
- Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.
- Berrios, R., & Blasier, C. (1991). Perú and the Soviet Union (1969-1989): Distant Partners. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 23(2), 365-384.
- Béhague, Gerard. (2006). Indianism in Latin American Art-Music Composition of the 1920s to 1940s: Case Studies from Mexico, Perú, and Brazil. *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Spring - Summer, 2006), pp. 28-37. University of Texas Press.
- Bolaños, Cesar (1981, 2008). Música y Danza en el Antiguo Perú. *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, 39, No. 1, pp. 219-230.
- Bolaños, Cesar. (2007). *Origen de la música en los Andes*. Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú.
- Bostrom, Nick. A History of Transhumanist Thought. (2005). In *Journal of Evolution and Technology* - Vol. 14 Issue 1. CT: The Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technologies.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, (1989). The Corporatism of the Universal: The Role of Intellectuals in the Modern World. In *Telos* 81 (Fall). New York: Telos Press.

- Braun, H. (Ed.). (2002). *Music and Technology in the Twentieth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Brennan, Timothy. (2001). World Music Does Not Exist. *Discourse*, 23.1, Winter 2001, pp.44-62. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Byrne, David. (1999, October 3). I Hate World Music. *New York Times*.
- Dal Farra, Ricardo. (2006). Something Lost, Something Hidden, Something Found: Electroacoustic Music by Latin American Composers. *Organised Sounds* 11(2): 131-42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dal Farra, Ricardo. (2014). El archivo de música electroacústica de compositores latinoamericanos. *Fondation Daniel Langlois*. Recovered from http://www.fondation-langlois.org/pdf/e/Dal_Farra_Es.pdf.
- Degregori, Carlos Iván (1995). El estudio del otro: cambios en los análisis sobre la etnicidad en el Perú. In Julio Cotler (editor), *Perú 1964-1994, economía, sociedad y política*. Lima: IEP.
- Dery, Mark. (1999). *The Pyrotechnic Insanitarium: American Culture on the Brink*. NYC: Grove Press.
- Durkheim, Emile. (1938 [1895]). *The Rules of Sociological Method*. New York: Free Press.
- Eimert, Herbert. (1957). What is Electronic Music? *Die Reihe* 1. London: Theodore Presser Company.
- Ellul, J. (1964). *The Technological Society*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fischman, Rajmil. (2013). A Manual Actions Expressive System (MAES). *Organised Sound*, 18(3): 328-345, Nov. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fischman, Rajmil. (2015). What Do We Know that Varèse Didn't? *Organised Sound*, 20(1), 23-29.
- Franco Martinez, Agustin. (2014, September). Spanish Caciquism: Chronicle of an Underdevelopment Foretold? *Journal of Economics and Development Studies*. Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 79-93. American Research Institute for Policy Development.
- Fumarola, Marfín Alejandro and Juan Amenábar. (1999, Spring). Electroacoustic Music Practice in Latin America: An Interview with Juan Amenábar. *Computer Music Journal*. Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 41-48. The MIT Press.
- Gallarreta, Christian and Gabriel Castillo. (2007). Los Cholos/Ruidos que Invaden Lima. In *Sounds from beyond the bubble*, libro-cd. United Kingdom: Sonic Arts Network.
- Gallegos, Álvaro. (2016). Celso Garrido-Lecca: Un artista no debe repetirse a sí mismo. *Entrevista a Celso Garrido Lecca. Radio Beethoven*. Recovered from <https://5metrosdepoemas.com/index.php/novedades/20-americas/438-celso-garrido-lecca-un-artista-no-debe-repetirse-a-si-mismo>.
- García, Amaya. (2016). The New Peruvian Electronic Renaissance. *Bandcamp Daily*. Recovered from <https://daily.bandcamp.com/2016/06/16/Perú-electronic-music-guide/>.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Guerra, Francois-Xavier. (1992). *Modernidad e independencia. Ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas*. Madrid: MAPFRE.
- Guerra, Francois-Xavier. (1992). Los orígenes socio-culturales del caciquismo. *Anuario del EHS*, VII, Tandil.

Halbwachs, Maurice (1950). *La mémoire collective*. Presses Universitaires de France.

Hurtado Suárez, Wilfredo. (1995). *Chicha Peruana. Música de los Nuevos Migrantes*. Lima: ECO Grupo de Investigaciones Económicas.

Jensenius, Alexander. (2012). *Disciplinarity: intra, cross, multi, inter, trans*. Recovered from <http://www.arj.no/2012/03/12/disciplinarity-2>.

Katz, Mark. (2010). *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lauer, Mirko. (1997). *Andes imaginarios. Discursos del indigenismo-2*. Cusco-Lima, Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas-Sur.

Lavalle, C. & Niocalas, V. (2017). Perú and its new challenge in higher education: Towards a research university. *New Trends and Issues Proceedings on Humanities and Social Sciences*. [Online]. 4(1), pp 446-453.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2008a). *Constructing Musical Spaces Beyond Technological Eden: A Participative Initiative for Musical Interface Development Based in the Peruvian Context*. Master's thesis. University of California, San Diego.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2008b) *Cuando canto bajan los cerros: An Initiative for Interface Development Informed by a Latin-american Context*. *Proceedings of the 2008 International Computer Music Conference*. Belfast: ICMC.

López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2008c). *Bricherismo musical: Rabietas existenciales sobre la búsqueda de un lenguaje propio*. *Acido/Coma*, 4(0). México: Editorial Paranoia.

- López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2009). Tijuana Sound Arts Project: A Nomadic Studio Report. *Proceedings of the International Computer Music Conference (ICMC 2009)*. Montreal: ICMC.
- López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2013). Electronic Circuit Building in Perú: A Subaltern Case on Participation and Technology. *Proceedings of the International Computer Music Conference (ICMC 2013)*. Perth: ICMC.
- López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2015a). Electro Perú: Nacionalismos y cosmopolitanismos de hoy y ayer. In *Lima Gris*, 09.
- López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2015b). Limamanta Pacha Encapsulada: Burbujas culturales y música popular. In *Lima Gris*, 10.
- López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2017). Hybrid Modulations: Report on the Culture of Electroacoustic Music in Contemporary Perú. *Proceedings of the Communication in/through Electroacoustic Music (EMS 17)*. Nagoya: EMS, Nagoya City University.
- López Ramírez Gastón, José Ignacio. (2017b). ¿Soñarán los androides transhumanos de la PUCP con llamas eléctricas? *Mural de Estudios Generales Letras*, Año 2 / Numero 17. Lima: PUCP.
- Lowinsky, E. (1964). Musical Genius--Evolution and Origins of a Concept. *The Musical Quarterly*, 50(3), 321-340
- Marcuse, H. (1964). *One Dimensional Man*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Martínez, Marino. (2002). La música como existencia real. Conversación con Celso Garrido-Lecca. *Lienzo*, 23. Lima: Universidad de Lima.
- Méndez, Cecilia. (2000). Incas sí, indios no: apuntes para el estudio del nacionalismo criollo en el Perú. *Documento de trabajo*; 56. *Serie Historia*; 10. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- Mendivil, Julio. (2012). Arguedas y la música andina. Recovered from <https://suburbano.net/arguedas-y-la-Música-andina>.
- Miller, J. (1985). Personal Composer. *Computer Music Journal*, 9(4), 27-37.
- Miller, Nicola (2006). The historiography of nationalism and national identity in Latin America, in *Nations and Nationalism* 12 (2), 2006, 201–221. ASEN.
- Minsburg, Raúl. (2010). Apuntes para una historia de la música electroacústica argentina. In Espinosa, Susana (comp.). *Escritos sobre audiovisión: lenguajes, tecnologías, producciones*. Libro 4. Buenos Aires: UNLa.
- Molinié, Antoinette. (2004). The resurrection of the Inca: the role of Indian representations in the invention of the Peruvian nation, *History and Anthropology*, 15:3, 233-250.
- Montero-Díaz, Fiorella. (2017). YouTubing the «Other»: Lima's Upper Classes and Andean Imaginaries. In Thomas R., Stobart H., Tan SE (Editors). *Music, Indigeneity, Digital Media*. Hilder, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- Montero-Díaz, Fiorella. (2018). La música fusión, ¿verdadera inclusión? Una exploración de la escena fusión en Lima. In *Anthropologica*, año xxxvi, 40. 97-119.
- Mücke Ulrich. (2010). *Política y Burguesía en el Perú. El Partido Civil antes de la Guerra con Chile*. Institut français d'études andines, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Nora, Pierre. 1984–1992: *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Gallimard), abridged translation, *Realms of Memory*, Columbia University Press, 1996–1998.
- Oliver, J. y Jenkins, M. (2008). The Silent Drum Controller: A New Percussive Gestural Interface. *Proceedings of the International Computer Music Conference*. Belfast: ICMC.

Oliver, J. (2010). The MANO Controller: A Video Based Hand Tracking System. *Proceedings of the 2010 International Computer Music Conference*, New York, USA.

Oliver, J. (2010). Puede la Computadora ser un Instrumento Musical. *El Grito*, Volúmen 2, Lima, Perú.

Oliver, J. (2012). Theremin in the Press: Construing Electrical Music. Presented at the *EMS Network Conference*, Stockholm, Sweden.

Oliver La Rosa, J. (2016) Design and Appropriation in Open Source Computer Musical Instruments: A case study of the Silent Drum. *eContact!*, 18.3.

Oliver, J. and Jenkins, M. (2008). The Silent Drum Controller: A New Percussive Gestural Interface. *Proceedings of the 2008 International Computer Music Conference*. Belfast, UK.

Petrozzi, Clara. (2010). Identidades en la música peruana del cambio de milenio. El caso de Circomper. *Cuadernos de Música, Artes Visuales y Artes Escénicas*, vol. 5, núm. 2. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Pinch, Trevor y Trocco, Frank. (2002). The Social Construction of the Early Electronic Music Synthesizer. In Braun, H. (Ed.), *Music and Technology in the Twentieth Century* (pp. 67-96). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Pinilla, Enrique. (1985). La música en el siglo XX. In Bolaños, César y otros. *La música en el Perú*. Lima: Patronato Popular y Porvenir pro Música Clásica.

Portocarrero Maisch, Gonzalo. (2015). *La urgencia por decir nosotros. Los intelectuales y la idea de nación en el Perú republicano*. Lima: PUCP.

Puckette, Miller. (2007). *The Theory and Technique of Electronic Music*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing.

Rajmil Fischman. (1991). Musical applications of digital synthesis and processing techniques: realisation using Csound and the Phase Vocoder. UK: University of York.

Rajmil Fischman (1995). A Systematic Approach to the Analysis of Music for Tape. *Proceedings of the 1995 International Computer Music Conference*.

Rajmil Fischman (2002). Application of Mathematical Models to the Generation of Organic Musical Structure and Discourse in Composition: Research Summary. *Proceedings of the 2002 International Computer Music Conference*.

Rajmil Fischman. (2003). Clouds, Pyramids, and Diamonds: Applying Schrödinger's Equation to Granular Synthesis and Compositional Structure. *Computer Music Journal* 27(2): 47-69.

Rengifo Carpio, Daniel. (2014). *El reestreno de la ópera Ollanta. Lima 1920: cultura, nación y sociedad a inicios del Oncenio*. Lima: UNMSM.

Reese, Stephen D., Oscar H. Gandy, Jr., and August E. Grant. Mahwah (eds.). (2001). *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rodríguez-Ulloa, Olga. (2015). *Pertenencias pasajeras. La escena subterránea en Perú durante los años ochenta*. PhD thesis. New York: Columbia University.

Roel Mendizábal, Pedro. (2000). De folklore a culturas híbridas: rescatando raíces, redefiniendo fronteras entre nos/otros. In Carlos Iván Degregori (ed.), *No hay país más diverso*. Compendio de antropología peruana. Lima, Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales.

Romero, Raul R. (2001) Tragedies and Celebrations: Imagining Foreign and Local Scholarships. *Latin American Music Review* 22.1. 48-62.

- Romero, Renato (2018) Nationalisms and Anti-Indigenismos: Rudolph Holzmann and His Contribution to a "Peruvian" Music. In Héctor Fernández L'Hoeste and Pablo Vila, (eds.) *Sound, Image, and National Imaginary in the Construction of Latin/o American Identities*. Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Ryan, Michael (2005) 'Standpoint theory', in Ritzer, George (ed) *Encyclopedia of Social Theory, Vol.2*. Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: 789.
- Schumacher Ratti, Federico. (2007). 50 años de música electroacústica en Chile. *Revista Musical Chilena*, Año LXI, julio-diciembre, N° 208, pp. 66-81.
- Tan, S. (2011). Understanding the "Structure" and "Agency" debate in the Social Sciences. *Habitus* (Undergraduate Journal of the Yale Sociology Department).
- Tello, A. (2001). Antaras de Celso Garrido-Lecca o la perenne persistencia de la peruanidad. *Revista Musical Chilena*, 55(196), p.7-26.
- Tello, A. (2004). Aires nacionales en la música de América latina como respuesta a la búsqueda de identidad. *Hueso Húmero* 44, mayo, pp. 212-239.
- Trueman, Dan. (2007). Why a laptop orchestra? In *Organised Sound* 12(2): 171–179 B. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Tucker, Joshua. (2013). Gentleman Troubadours and Andean Pop Stars. Huayno Music, Media Work, and Ethnic Imaginaries in Urban Perú. *Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology*.
- Valencia, Américo. (1984). Música peruana experimental ¿una realidad? *Diario La República*, 23 de junio. Lima.
- Valencia, Américo. (2016). *La música nasca. Fundamentos, permanencia y cambio. Descubriendo los sistemas musicales prehispanicos andinos*. Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Música Peruana – CIDEMP.

Valencia Chacón, Américo - Música electrónica. Historia y Posibilidades
Conservatorio -- No. 4 (Sept. 1995).

Valencia, Américo. (2018). *Polémica AVACH & Miró Quesada*. Lima:
<http://americovalencia.com/>. Recovered from
<http://americovalencia.com/polemica-avach-miro-quesada-1/>

Varèse, Edgar, y Chou Wen-Chung. (1966). The Liberation of Sound.
Perspectives of New Music. 5, no. 1 (Autumn-Winter): 11-19.

Villavicencio, Cesar. (2009). Considerations in the use of Computer Technology
in Contemporary Improvisation Are Computers Musical Instruments?

Zagorsky, Marius. (2009). Material and History in the Aesthetics of «Serielle Musik».
Journal of the Royal Musical Association, 134:2, 271-317. London: Routledge.

Zattra, Laura (2017) "Alvise Vidolin interviewed by Laura Zattra" in *Live Electronic Music: Composition, Performance, Study* Friedemann Sallis, Valentina Bertolani, Jan Burle, Laura Zattra (Editors). Outledge.

Zerubavel, Eviatar. (1999). *Social Mindscapes: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Zimmermann, Bernd Alois. (1951). Material und Geist, *Melos*, 18, 5-7. Berlin: Melos Verlag.