The origin of rap practice in Argentine (1982-1992)

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this work, part of a research project conducted at the Universidad Nacional Arturo Jauretche during 2018-2020, is to foster reflection on the origin of the practice of rap music in Argentina, mainly in Buenos Aires City and its surrounding suburban area, pinpointing the emergence of composers and singers on the local rap scene. The lack of archive material and scarcity of documentary sources protecting such records – which might have served as input for this research – prompted us to tap a diversity of untraditional sources. Mainly, we had to resort to oral history as the primary method of data and personal files collection. In this sense, this works recovers testimonies from Argentina's first rappers, DJs and local party organizers, thanks to whom we were able to identify three sources of origin.

Key Words: Buenos Aires, rap, origin, hip-hop, history.

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1. Introduction

This article is the outcome of a research project[12] the aim of which was to explore, describe and analyze, through a qualitative approach in the field of the social sciences, the beginning of rap practice in Argentina. Another objective was to carry out a survey to identify and understand the historical processes and the specific manner in which the practice of this music genre developed in Argentina.

Our field work was performed between January, 2018 and December, 2019. It consisted in selecting a group of local rappers – recurrently singled out as pioneers – from interviews and articles about local rap. Resorting to the method known as snowball sampling technique (where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from their acquaintances with similar backgrounds), we were able to identify and come into contact with other rappers with whom they shared their first experiences.

A spatio-temporal selection was applied, circumscribing Buenos Aires City and its surrounding areas between the years 1982 and 1992. The lack of archive material and scarcity of documentary sources that could serve as input for our research dictated that data needed to be collected from a diversity of unconventional sources, namely using oral history as a method of data collection and searching for personal archives.

In-depth interviews were conducted as a means of collecting and constructing oral sources for the production of knowledge, the reason why we intend to explore their use in the framework of oral history. (Aceves Lozano, 1994; Collado Herrera, 1994) We regard interviews as an important tool inasmuch as they allow us to access reference information about specific facts or events, but mainly because of the way this information is relayed and interpreted by the subjects, as well as the experiences, senses and meanings built upon them. In Leonor Arfuch's words, interviews allow the interrelation of two existential universes – one public, the other one private; she also underlines that (interviews permit) "a calm articulation between life and work, an approximation to the phenomenon known as creation, to the hidden side of authorship which the product per se does not allow" (Arfuch, 1995, p. 24). Although generational differences are evident among the interviewees – regarding not only their age group but also the sociological implications thereof – we found, in their testimonies, temporal elements and experience in common. In spite of the different instances

[1] UNAJ Investiga Project 2018/2020, Universidad Nacional Arturo Jauretche (Florencio Varela, Argentina).

and roles our interviewees gradually assumed, it is our intention to recover the senses inscribed in the practice of rap. In order to triangulate the data, specialized journalists were interviewed and a diversity of sources was traced on the Internet, including press articles, blogs, social media and documentary video on the subjects, which enriched or, on the contrary, questioned, by way of contrast, the oral data collected.

2. Development

Tango was the musical genre most widely consumed in Buenos Aires in the 1940s, until it was overthrown by folklore in 1950. (Troncaro, 2009). In the early 1960s, the arrival of US and British rock on local radio prompted the emergence of the first local rock experiments. According to Julio Ogas, "The so-called 'rock nacional' which emerged in Argentina in the mid 1960s, apart from encompassing music proposals bearing different traits (beat, blues, rock, country, etc.), also includes features derived from its complex relation with the social milieu." (Ogas, 2006, p. 91). In this sense, bands like Sandro y los de fuego made a series of Spanish-language covers of classic rock, the Beatniks cut a single influenced by The Beatles, and El Club del Clan (a mainstream pop singers' collective) featured heavily on prime-time television with their Beat style; all the while, English-language rockers like Elvis Presley, The Beatles and The Rolling Stones started to get airplay on local radio. As explained by Marzullo and Muñoz (1987:6), two journalists specializing on Argentine music, "The first rock manifestations arose as simple reflections of the rhythms in vogue flowing down from the northern hemisphere in the 1950s." This was how a popular music genre started to emerge here, first known as "rock argentino" and then as "rock nacional," which evolved until becoming the music genre made here and consumed by young audiences (Marchi, 2014).

2.1 Hip-hop and rap origins

Hip-hop is a cultural movement encompassing several urban practices (including rap), which originated in Jamaica and consolidated in peripheral neighborhoods in the US in the 1970s (Chang, 2017). Outdoor gatherings, called "block parties," were held, consisting in street meetings organized by youths who did not possess the resources to go to discotheques and who did not identify with the music that was popular in those days. Jamaican immigrants

played a crucial role in these parties, as they were the first ones to popularize the so-called "sound system": they would get gigantic loudspeakers which they plugged in lamp posts, playing back music recorded on cassette tapes from Jamaica (Chang, 2017; Chuck D, 2017). The disc jockeys were in charge of mixing the music, and the role of the masters of ceremonies or MCs, at first, was restricted to introducing the deejays; however, as time went by, their participation grew and they started to tell more elaborate stories about their daily lives. It was in this context that the first rap experiences appeared.

At first, this practice was limited to the underground or fringe circuit, and the early forms of rap distribution was through cassette tapes handed from one listener to another, and it was only with the release of Sugarhill Gang's single *Rapper's Delight* in 1979, which sold more than eight million copies around the world, that rap started to carve a commercial niche in the early 1980s (García Naranjo, 2006). The record by Sugarhill Gang was released in Argentina by RCA in 1980 under the colloquial Spanish title of *Delicias de un charlatán*. In Venezuela, Chuto Navarro, the general manager of the record company Promus, commissioned a rap song from comedian Perucho Conde, leading to the recording of *La cotorra criolla*, widely regarded as the first rap song in Spanish. Along the same lines, Arnaud Rodríguez and Miele put out *Melo do Tagarela*[3], a Brazilian versión of *Rapper's Delight* with satirical lyrics and a critical view of its subject matter. (Martins, 2015)

In the US, hip-hop earned a privileged spot in popular culture through heavy media exposure, which popularized the genre. At first, information about this new genre appeared in the printed media, with a remarkable example like the publication on "Break" by Sally Banes (1981), and later in several Hollywood mainstream movies like *Flashdance* (1983), and the low budget productions *Breakin'*; *Breakin' 2*; and *Beat Street*, all three from 1984. The film *Wild Style*, today a cult movie considered the cornerstone of hip-hop[4], premiered in the US in 1983. In this way, the expansion of hip-hop culture and the components thereof achieved worldwide reach, boosted by the globalization process of communication technologies and mass media.

2.2 Rap lands on Argentina

[3] Tagarela: chatty as a parakeet.
[4] This film, commercially unreleased in Argentine movie theaters, was only made available years later on video format.

During the 1970s, several Argentine musicians started to travel abroad to purchase equipment and records. One of them was Charly García (widely considered as one of the founding fathers of "rock nacional", first as frontman of various bands and then as a solo act). After the *Adiós a Sui Generis* shows at the Luna Park arena and the band's split, García earned a solid standing in the recording industry. On several trips to the US, García bought new equipment and records, which allowed him to embark on music experiments, from Sui Generis' last album, *Pequeñas anécdotas sobre las instituciones*, to his new band La Máquina de Hacer Pájaros. In the year 1979, García and his band Serú Girán put out the song *La grasa de las Capitales* (penned by García and included on the eponymous album), with a fragment of the lyrics sung in rap style[5] over the music chords; this may be considered the first rap in Spanish. Serú Girán continued to renew its style, incorporating and appropriating new musical resources:

> Progressive rock, as its name suggests, arises from a special appraisal of innovation and exploration based on the artistic assumptions of modernity: originality, resistance to rules and ordinariness, among others. The progressive rock style evolved from one record to the next until the late 1970s with groups like La Máquina de Hacer Pájaros, Crucis, Serú Girán, Invisible, among others. The evolution instituted a practice that has come to characterize rock to this day: constant appropriation. (Madoery, 2010, p. 4)

In the year 1981 the band Malvaho released the álbum *La Puta Plata* in Argentina, including the local version of the song *La cotorra criolla*, and in 1984 Charly García put out his *Rap del exilio* (included in his album *Piano Bar*). As a parallel development, following the release of the local edition of *Rapper's Delight*, other US rap albums were published in Argentina: *The Breaks,* by Kurtis Blow, put out by Mercury in 1981 under the Spanish-language title of *Los Frenos*. Two years later, the local edition of the 1983 album of the band Whodini was published by RCA. As rap still lacked mass circulations, these albums were marketed as novelties in the disco or funk segment.

[5] Rap is an African-American rhythm consisting in talking or reciting rhymes following a beat or musical foundation. Its elements are the content of the verse, the fluidity with which it is introduced in the rhythm (known in the jargon as "flow"), and the delivery (cadence or tone). (Adinolfi, 1989; Toop, 1991)

After the start of the armed conflict with the United Kingdom known as the Malvinas/Falklands War, in April, 1982, the military junta[6], through the mass media regulation boards, ordered the eradication of all music sung in English:

> After that measure, national rock, until then mostly played live, achieved an unprecedented presence on the airwaves and went on to occupy a massive space, including new TV shows. Far behind were the days when the Comfer[7] released lists of banned songs, and far behind too were the days when big record companies showed no interest (in local music). (Lucena, 2013, p. 09).

This scenario started to change with the democratic transition, as regards not only musical tastes, but also the liberation of cultural practices priorly banned, such as public gatherings. As author Daniel Salerno explained, "The abolition of censorship allowed more fluid access to and promotion of record productions from the English-speaking world. Thus, new bands and new styles were added to the already existing ones." (Salerno, 2008, p. 90)

This was how music from the English-speaking world started to penetrate the Argentine market again through the mass media. One of the most influential US artists on the Argentine scene was Michael Jackson, mostly after the release of his six solo album, *Thriller*. Launched in late 1982, the album garnered seven Grammy Awards and eight American Music Awards, including Award of Merit honoree, the youngest artist to get such distinction. The following year, Jackson, nicknamed The King of Pop, was a heavy player in the Argentine media: Channel 9 hired film critic Domingo Di Núbila (see Figure 1) to host *El show de Michael Jackson*, which aired the artist's video clips and similar products. The show featured break dance contests (Montero, 2016), from which several dancers emerged, such as Mike Dee and Edu Caro (later a dancer for local rapper Jazzy Mel).

[6] The government that came to power through a military coup, ruling Argentina between 1976 and 1983.
[7] "Comité Federal de Radiodifusión." National Agency controlling the mass media in Argentina.

Figure 1: Young Edu Caro with TV host Domingo Di Núbila (Courtesy Caro family)

In this setting, the young boy Roberto Martín Alieruzzo, who hailed from the BA western suburbs and would later become known as Mike Dee, started to imitate the King of Pop thanks to his prowess as *bboy*[8] and his physical resemblance with Jackson (see Figure 2).

Speaking in an interview, Mike Dee, member of the Morón City Breakers dance group and also founder, in 1990, of the band Bola 8, reminisced:

> I resembled Michael very much, and my first public appearance was impersonating him on the tv show *Mesa de Noticias* on Channel 7. That performance opened the doors to appear in shows at different venues (discos, towns and provinces), I would do breakdance gigs and rap. (Personal communication with Roberto Alieruzzo, in the western BA suburb of Morón, March 5, 2018).

[8] Kids performing breakdance are known as Bboys.

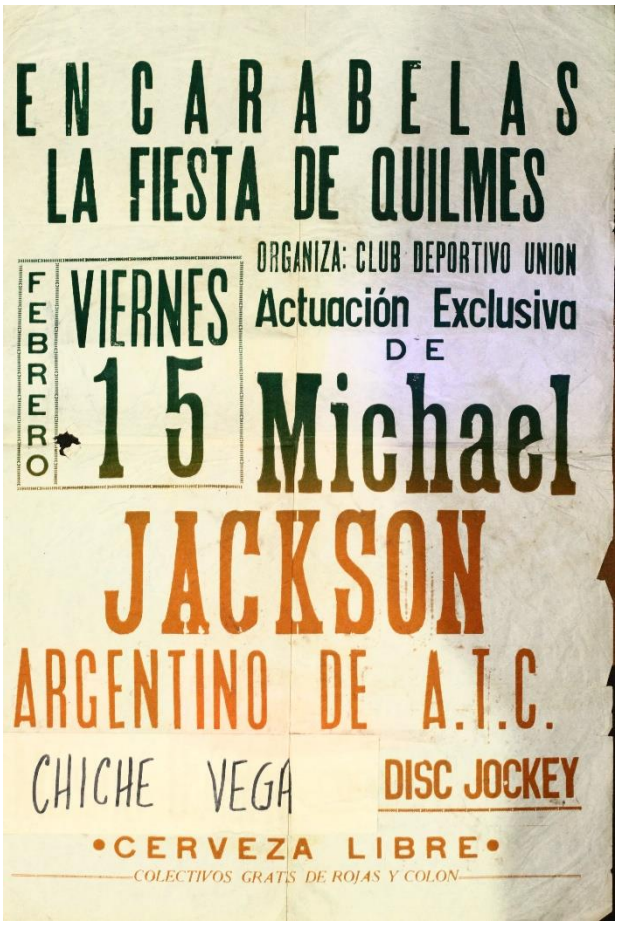

Figure. 2: A 1985 poster promoting the Michael Jackson impersonator.

(Courtesy Mike Dee)

In this context, other similar bands emerged on the local scene, such as Break Machine, who released the song *Street Dance* (1983) and a video clip with the three singers, all of African American stock, performing breakdance as they sang. The same year, they played three gigs at the Luna Park arena[9], with bboy Edu Caro) as one of the dancers.

The above-mentioned films were commercially released, break dance became visible on TV shows, disco contests and cigarette advertising.

[9] Traditional, large-capacity roofed stadium in downtown Buenos Aires City, housing sports and artistic events.

Bboy Tito Caro, later a DJ for MC Ninja[10], thus remembered his start as a dancer:

> I had been watching these things and I really liked them. I always say I was not a bboy, I was a breakdance performer, I didn't really know what the name was. There was no one to teach us. When the movies opened, we would go to watch five times in a row, hiding in the toilet (and sneaking back in the screening room). We watched attentively to see who the musician was, details of the dance numbers, etc. (Personal communication with Tito Caro, in the northern BA suburb of Vicente López, February 12, 2019)

Bboy/DJ Bar recalls how he started to know the elements of hip-hop culture:

> When the movie *Beat Street* opened I went to see it. That movie hit the spot with everything that had been going on in my head for a long time. It was there that I envisioned the DJ, the dance, the graffiti, and there were no more doubts left. I needed that. In those years you had information about nothing. If you heard about something it was from someone else. (Personal communication with Fabián Caruso in the BA western suburb of Villa Madero, March 11, 2018)

Bboy/DJ Funky Flores thus reminisces about his beginnings:

> In those days the film *Breakdance* was showing, and there was another one called here *Street Dance* (*Breakin'n'Entering*, 1983). The dancing days were over, the films were no longer showing at movie theaters, but this film, *Street Dance*, was playing at a movie theater in my neighborhood, Lugano. I went to the theatre and sat down. There was no one else. In the darkness I hear a commotion: a group of kids sat on the opposite side. When the film was over and the lights went up, on the other side I spotted Mike Dee, Marcos Vincent, Money, Claudio, I think, and some others. They were talking about the movie and suddenly Mike spoke to me, they all did, asked me if I danced, and we became friends. (Personal communication with DJ Funky Flores, in the western BA suburb of González Catán, October 3, 2018)

[10] Mc Ninja, Argentine rapper who received media attention in the 1990s.

Frost/The man of steel/Bboy and member of Morón City Breakers and one of the founders of Sindicato Argentino del Hip Hop (Latin Grammy winners in 2001), thus recalls:

> The film *Breakdance* opened and along with it came the fashion, the denim clothes. In those movies you started to see certain things: the back spinning in *Flashdance*, and then the film *Breakdance*. Break Machine and Michael Jackson came here. "Yo *flashié*[11]' with all that, so I became a dancer. We tried to do things following those images because there was nothing else. How did we manage? We compiled a cassette tape, say, Charly García singing "*No voy en tren, voy en avión*." When the beat started, or halfway through it, we paused the tape, repeated it and stretched the beat. Unknowingly, we were making a 15-minute base, and tried to dance with what we saw. (Personal communication with Frost, in the western BA suburb of Morón, February 23, 2018)

As we can see, the premiere of the above mentioned movies was a cornerstone in promoting the elements of hip-hop culture in Argentina, giving way to its practice in Argentina. The process was similar in other Latin American countries: in Brazil, Chile and Colombia, for instance, we find that the first manifestations of hip-hop practice go back to the mid 1980s, when the first break dancers emerged thanks to Michael Jackson's video clips and the release of the priorly mentioned films. (Martins, 2015; Poch Plá, 2011; García Naranjo, 2006)

2.3 The births of rap in Argentina

In order to establish the origin of rap practice in Argentina, we deem it necessary to explain that not one single experience but several experiences existed in its development, sometimes colliding with and/or complementing one another. One such "first experience" is the one I call rap hip-hop, or the rap emerging from the groups or crews that started to make an inroad in hip-hop culture thanks to its dance expression (breakdance). Running parallel to this "first experience," there is a "second experience" arising from Buenos Aires' underground music movement, gathering different bands that chose rap as their music genre because they had

[11] Argentine slang term describing a state of exacerbated joy or madness.

access to records. Finally, there is a "third experience" emanating from the DJs who, traditionally, would rap against the music base of their records at the discos where they worked as resident DJs, emulating the hip-hop parties from the US. Along with these practices, we find other rap expressions that may be considered as a "fourth experience," which Hammou, in his analysis of French rap, calls "the specific use of rap," gathering artists and producers, mostly with long trajectories, who dabbled in some rap song with the sole aim of blowing some "fresh air" into their record output. (Hammou, 2012)

2.3.1 First experience: rap hip-hop

"Dance ballets" were organized at some discos in Buenos Aires and suburban areas (see Figure 3), serving as antecedent for the many youths who, imitating the dance steps they saw in movies, video clips and even advertisements (case in point: the famous Conway cigarette commercial), started to gather *crews*[12] sharing their taste for break dance and oftentimes becoming identifiable for their attire and musical tastes. The military dictatorship had just ended, and public spaces began to congregate people in need of a means of expression. This is how different groups emerged in downtown Buenos Aires, the neighborhood of Caballito and the city of Morón in the western suburbs, among other places. These groups were made up of the pioneering break dancers, a dance consisting in movements at once elastic and sharp, in which the legs, the arms, the torso and the head may resemble a doll with its limbs out of joint. (Martins, 2015).

[12] The term "crew" refers to a group of hip-hop performers who get together to identify with or differentiate themselves from other organizations.

Figure 3: Flyer promoting a rap party at the Pandemonium disco in the western suburb of Laferrere, La Matanz.a (Courtesy Mike Dee)

Bboy/rapper Mario Pietruszka recalls:

> In those days, when these movies were all the rage, everyone went out on the streets to dance, this coincided with the return to democracy, people were back on the streets, street art was back, mainly in the downtown area of the cities. That spirit and (people's) optimism were so great that everybody went back to the streets in a climate of hope. (Personal communication with Mario Pietruszka, in the western suburb of Monte Grande, March, 2018)

The majority of these "break" practitioners lived in different suburban areas of Buenos Aires City, with those in the municipalities of Morón and La Matanza (western BA outskirt) clearly standing out, started to organize themselves into groups and to use public spaces (see Figure 4). At first, the members of these groups were not fully aware that dance was just part of a bigger movement called hip-hop. However, the arrival of imported books (lent and borrowed, photocopied and then passed around), the information culled from record sleeves, and the films premiered in the mid 1980s, all served as tutorials for these pioneers to make an inroad in other branches of hip-hop. In this way, a process similar to the development of Argentine rock took place: in its nascent years, when the frontrunners of local rock imitated US rock singing in English by phonetics and later in Spanish. Hip-hop culture thus began to

shape groups of youths who, for the first time, identified with the attire, the dance and the street as performance space. Worth mentioning among the first dancers are Tito Caro (later DJ to Mc Ninja), Mario Pietruszka (later known as Jazzy Mel), Mike Dee (who, in the 1990s, founded Bola 8), Frost, Dereck y Fabry (who would go on to form the Sindicato Argentino del Hip-Hop in the 1990s), DJ Black (later DJ to Encontra del Hombre and Actitud María Marta in the 1990s), DJ Bart (organizer of the *Tatin*[13] parties and DJ to 9 mm).

The first experience allowed the emergence of several rappers (and DJs too) who later played a key role in the movement in the following decade.

Figure 4: Breakers at an old school premises in the western BA suburb of Villa Madero, La Matanza. (Courtesy Frost)

2.3.2 Second experience: rap in the underground scene

A "second experience," running parallel to the first one, emerged from the Buenos Aires underground music scene. The "underground" or "fringe" scene in 1980 was made up

[13] Hip-hop parties called Tatín, held at a venue in a Buenos Aires suburb. The band Sindicato Argentino del Hip-Hop, later winners of the Latin Grammy Award 2001, emerged from these parties.

of a series of heterogeneous initiatives, which appeared partly thanks to the technological development that made it possible to record tapes for domestic use. (Di Cione, 2012) Musicians were thus able to record tapes with four-channel portable studios and to work independently from big record companies, which were the natural outlet for the development of national rock. (Alabarces et. al., 2008; Pujol, 2006) In this context, many bands, having listened to rap records, adopted the genre and included it in their music production. This was the case with Club Nocturno, Los Adolfos Rap, Presa del Odio, and the Coprófagos Rap, among others (see Figure 5). However, they did not conform a true "local rap scene," if we are to consider "scene" the networks made up of groups, spaces and audiences sharing the same cultural consumption. The majority of these experiences from the late 1980s continued well into the following decade and found a spot in the "hardcore" music milieu. Although, on some occasions, they shared the stage, they did not form what might be called a local "rap or hip-hop scene," and they never partook of the music market, bent on national rock, and the only cases of commercial distribution were those of Adolfo Rap and Club Nocturno. Adolfo Rap contributed a song to a rock compilation as a result of a contest organized by a magazine specializing in "rock nacional," and Club Nocturno managed to put out a record after being selected on a radio show devoted to rock.

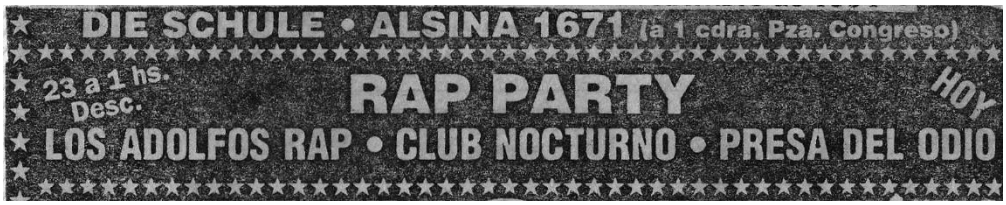

Figure 5: Ad for a rap party on September 27, 1991. (Youth supplement *Sí*, published by the mass-circulation daily *Clarín* in Buenos Aires)

Gustavo Ferraiuolo (known in the milieu as Iolo), founder of Los Adolfos Rap, and today a Barcelona resident, thus recalls:

> Truth be told, it was unplanned. I had a schoolmate who traveled a lot and we would gather to listen to music, it was an upper middle-class school, in fact. We would listen to many genres and were always ahead of what was being promoted in Argentina. (Telephone communication with Gustavo Ferraiuolo, January 22, 2019)

For his part, Luis Baracochea, founder of Club Nocturno, thus reminisces:

> We started putting the music together when a DJ friend of mine showed up, (saying) he had received music from the US, and told me:
>
> -Look, I've just received this, it's not quite my thing but you might be interested, it's (the music) they are listening to in the US, I'm sure you'll like it.
>
> It was the Run DMC record, it was related to what we were doing, I thought it was all machines, I never imagined there was a DJ behind. Getting material was very difficult. It was in line with what I wanted, but better yet. It blew my mind. (Personal communication with Luis Beracochea, in the north western BA suburb of San Martín, September 2, 2019)

Adds Andrés Bonomo, guitarist of the band Presa del odio:

> The band started out in 1989, it was a beat machine purchased by Hugo and Néstor[14], the two singers, and we fans of the Beastie Boys, very popular then. The band was made up of two guitars, a rhythm box and two vocalists, our first gig was at (underground LGBT disco) Nave Jungla. I was in bed with hepatitis, Néstor and Hugo, my two best friends, would come home with the machine, a Roland, and we would compose songs; I played guitar and the two of them rapped. My background was on heavy metal, and Gonzalo came from rockabilly, it was the moment these two genres converged with the Beastie Boys, distorted guitars and rap. (Personal communication via telephone with Andrés Bonomo, June 6, 2019)

2.3.3 Third experience: rapper DJS

There was a "third experience," produced by disc jockeys who, in their usual practice, would rap on a music base assembling their records, thus emulating US hip-hop parties. Worth mentioning is Antony White, an African-American basketball player who acted as resident DJ at the Gatona disco in the western BA suburb of Isidro Casanova, La Matanza. Since the year 1983, he rapped for the audience in the fashion of US hip-hop parties.

[14] He is referring to Néstor Frenkel and Hugo Naiman.

Ricardo Brusela, the first assistant to DJ Antony Whites, reminisces:

> "El Negro" deejayed at Gatona, patrons were not very fond of him because he would always play undiluted funk, and not mainstream music. One day I dropped by asking for a l*aburo*[15], and was put in charge of lighting. I befriended "El Negro." Antonio would just play music; he had no DJ technique, so he would let me play the records. There was this song, titled *Un DJ salvó mi vida esta noche;* at the end of the chorus, (Antonio) would rap over the song chords, I did not understand the words, because he rapped in street slang. This thing, a guy who rapped, caught people's attention. In those days, Kurtis Blow's *The Breaks* was known here, but then (Antonio) would show you fantastic rap stuff; I was not aware of it then nor am I now. It was then and there, by his side, that I started to get to know funk music. I was thanks to him that I got to know Michael Jackson before he became known here. Thing is, his friends from the US would send him stuff. The guys from Break Machine were friends of his, when they visited Argentina they stopped by the *boliche*[16]. (Personal communication with Ricardo Brusela, in the western BA suburb of San Justo, June 13, 2019)

Along the same lines, we find Néstor Arduino, resident DJ of the Juan de la Cosa disco. Apart from rapping at the disco, in 1990 he managed to publish some records – an ironic, superficial kind of rap, under the name of Mr. Flippy Rap.

DJ Chippy recalls:

> Pato C[17] told me we had to do a rap record by an Argentine rapper, so we went to see this guy, and he started to pen lyrics while I, armed with maxi single vinyl records and splitting and segueing analog tapes, started to put together the first music chords, over which he would rap. The first record we put out was the *Rap de la cotorra*, on the album *Oklahoma* (1990). (Personal communication with DJ Chippy, in Buenos Aires, September 1, 2019)

2.3.4 Fourth experience: specific uses of rap

We may add to these practices other rap expressions that may fall into a "Fourth category," as explained by Hammou in his analysis of French rap, which Muñoz applied to

[15] Local slang term for "job."
[16] Argentine slang term for dance hall or disco.
[17] He refers to a famous Argentine DJ thus known.

the case of Argentina, a similar situation in which there existed "a specific use of rap" by some artists and producers, most of them with extensive trajectories, with the sole aim of "blowing fresh air" into their record output. (Hammou, 2012. Quoted by Muñoz Tapia, 2018). By way of example, we may mention the raps recorded by Charly García (the fragment from *La Grasa de las Capitales*, the *Rap del exilio*, the *Rap de las hormigas* and *Radio Pinti*, the ensemble album recorded with Pedro Aznar and comedian Enrique Pinti in 1991, with the participation of teen rap/hip-hop sensation Illya Kuryaki and the Valderramas); the version of *Loco por tí* (Makaroff), recorded by Andrés Calamaro in 1988, featuring Derek López rapping; and the band Los Intocables with the song *Me hunde y me aplasta* (included on the album *Antihéroes*, 1988), among others. In addition, in 1989 Pedro Aznar featured as guest performer in the album *Exilio doméstico*, by rappers La Gente, who hailed from the northwest Argentine province of San Juan. Also, Los Fabulosos Cadillacs feat. Mike Dee put out the rap *El golpe de tu corazón* on the album *El satánico Dr. Cadillac*.

3. By way of conclusion

This work was built on testimonies collected at meetings with and from interviews with the local pioneers of rap practice in Buenos Aires, the capital city of Argentina, and its suburban areas. The data thus collected was checked against the information on Web pages, personal documents and audiovisual products, and therefore it collects and compiles information from oral sources that will serve as reference on future works on Argentine and Latin American rap. In fact, this cultural heritage does not exist on its own but rather as a collective experience when a group of people appropriate it to give its own significance, cultural and social value to specific elements of the cultural and symbolic material of the society they belong to.

On the other hand, the analysis of the above mentioned sources shows that the practice of rap arrived in Argentina as a result of the process of globalization, the media exposure and the gradual incorporation of the country to the culture of consumption of material and symbolic goods, mainly from the US. The local appropriation of the practice of rap did not come about spontaneously, the reason why we identified three experiences born in the underground scene, and a fourth experience in the mainstream music market, which encompasses different musicians who used rap only on specific occasions. As for the first three experiences, Argentina's case was not unlike that of the US, where the peripheral areas

of New York may be identified as the birthplace of the practice of hip-hop and its elements, including rap. In Argentina, it was in the BA western suburbs, as a geographical space, that most pioneers emerged. They later ventured into rap (First experience, which we call rap hip-hop), while the underground musical scene, as a symbolic space, concentrated all bands and ensembles who identified as rappers and rapper DJs (Second and Third experience). The latter emerged and consolidated outside the music market, which focused mostly on "rock nacional," the reason why the rappers' participation and inclusion in commercial songs and albums was specific and isolated.

For a future development of this work, we propose, on the one hand, to continue the analysis of these practices, incorporating the political effect of rap through concepts tackling the genre's tactics and strategies. On the other hand, we put forth the need for territorialization of our ongoing analysis of the historic and social practices of the said experiences during the following decade. Bearing all these elements in mind, we shall continue the analysis that started with this work, with the objective of giving way to historical reflexion in a field hitherto little explored, finding new territories to think about the relations between artistic practice and space.

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