**Harnessing the *energia* of kuduro and its infrastructure of circulation[[1]](#footnote-2)**

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**[Abstract: kuduro is a style of music that originated in the slums of Luanda, which has become one of Angola’s better known cultural exports. Very recently two production companies owned by two sons of the Angolan president- Semba Comunicação and Da Banda - launched the *I love kuduro Festival*. The organization of the Festival claims that such a move stems from the need to, on the one hand, internationalize kuduro, and, on the other, to rebrand kuduro so that it can be received as a genuinely Angolan product. In this paper, however, I argue that Semba Comunicação/Da Banda is primarily motivated by the need to harness the *energia* of kuduro, by re-chaneling and recalibrating its flows into the party propaganda apparatus.]**

In this paper, I want to make two general contentions. My primary contention is that *kuduro* (meaning hardass), the Angolan music and dance style, is a product of Luanda’s poverty-stricken slums as well as the product of globalization. On the one hand, *kuduro* originated in the downtrodden, electric-energy-and-running-water-deprived neighborhood of Luanda, where youths learned how to sing and dance their helpless condition. In this sense, *kuduro* is the quintessential product of the 1990s, the product of the intersection between the liberalization of the economy and the hardships of the long civil war. On the other hand, however, the condition of possibility of *kuduro* is globalization, since it gave *kuduro* the means and the instruments by which it could be articulated. Firstly, it gave *kuduro* the language, in the sense in which *kuduro* is the convergence of many practices, and ethics too, of sampling, borrowing, and performing free association among many styles, such as *zook*, *soka*, *techno*, *house music*, *breakdance*, alongside many others from Angola, including *kizomba*, *semba*, *rebita*, *bungula*, *kazukuta*. Globalization also provided the technology through which *kuduro* could be produced. Since late 1980s, there have been dramatic changes in the simplification of the techniques of recording and mastering of music. Anyone, anywhere in the world, only needs an expensive computer and access to the internet. Furthermore, globalization has given *kuduro* an audience too. Videos of dilapidated neighborhoods, where even disabled people dance with their limbs and kids do acrobatic contortions, have found a broad audience abroad through Youtube, even if this genre has been looked down upon by various sectors of the Angolan urbanized middle class and the national intelligentsia. So globalization gave kuduro its distinctive feature in the Angolan cultural landscape: an infrastructure of circulation, by bypassing the curatorial control of the state though the Angolan National Broadcast (RNA) and the Ministry of Culture. In this sense, Moorman is right when she links the national to the international circuitry of kuduro, by referencing to the opening Salvo by MC Sarcedote: “do circuito fechado para o mundo (from the closed circuit to the world)[[2]](#footnote-3)”

 My second contention is that I don’t ascribe to *kuduro*, as musical genre, any subversive and utopian appeal. This argument is a staple in a significant amount of writing produced by scholars dedicated to topics such as mass mediated technology. For example, tellingly dedicated to *kuduro* and *konono*, Jayna Brown makes the contention that

“…these forms, heavily mediated by technology, circulating relatively independently of market regimes, mixing styles and forms from across the global South and Europe, cannot be contained by the particular utopian desires deployed and commodified in the marketing of world beat or world music desires connected to the legacies of colonial narrative.[[3]](#footnote-4)”

 Part of Brown’s argument resides in the fact that these forms of cultural expression, coming from these places, and reaching the international arena without mediation, may habor the possibility for renewing political and social landscapes. She adds, for instance, that “the buzz and the rumble “as music melded with electronic equipment and repurposed forms of technology, its buzz and rumble refused authoritarian control and claimed a much wider space than Mobutu’s nationalist agenda.[[4]](#footnote-5)” My problem here is whether or not there is any critical purchase in situating these social forms only in global terms, without an engagement with the material conditions accounting for their emergence. My second concern, and related to the first one, is whether or not new technology and form of social interactions, such as Youtube and Facebook, may harbor libertarian possibilities. These ideas were put forth, for instance, in explaining the origins of the demonstrations that led to the ousting of president Hosni Mubarak in Egypt in 2011. Rereading Marshall McLuhan in this context may be illuminating for an appreciation of the ways in which he conceives of the relationship between the medium and the message, “the medium is that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action.[[5]](#footnote-6)” Conceptually more interesting, he deprives the medium of any “content.” If this is so, as I hope to make clear, and if we conceive of kuduro as a medium rather than simply a genre, we can see the forms of human association that derive from the circulation of *kuduro*.

 The two points bring me to what specifically I want to discuss here: the *I love kuduro Festival*. Announced with fanfare, the Festival is an initiative of two Angolan production companies, Semba Comunicação and Da Banda. The fact that those firms are owned and run by two children of the Angolan president, José Eduardo dos Santos – namely Welwitcha dos Santos and Eduardo Paulino dos Santos, also known as Coreon Dú – is an important point for my argument and will be discussed later. Even if the argument for such as initiative, as Coreon Dú has explained in an interview at TPA (Angolan Public Television), derives from the need to internationalize *kuduro*, since, as he has observed, *kuduro* has a “great potential for export.[[6]](#footnote-7)” Despite the indigenous origins of *kuduro*, however, Coreon Dú aimed at the “many foreign musical groups doing things with *kuduro*” with this initiative. The first thing one may think is that Coreon Dú is reacting to the fact that up until now the internationalization of *kuduro* has largely evaded the curatorial gaze of Angolan institutions, such as the Ministry of Culture. Before *kuduro* was accepted by many sectors of the population, it was first popularized in the international arenas by groups such as the Portugal-based Buraca Som Sistema – a less stringent version of *kuduro*, also know as *kuduro progressivo* (progressive *kuduro*), especially when they were joined by the British/Sri Lankan musician M.I.A.

 The painstaking effort to nationalize *kuduro* is evident in the video for the launching of *I Love Kuduro Festival*. The 24-second video, which features Coreon Dú, is on all accounts a work of propaganda. When it commences, Coreon Dú, in a bright orange T-shirt, is simply a small point over the city of Luanda, which appears as the background. As the camera closes in to his face, and his face occupies the entire screen, the city disappears by becoming blurred. But the arrangement of these images have to be seen side by side with the words that Coreon Dú utters:

“*Kuduro* is the sound the new Angolan generation. And I love *Kuduro* is the festival that portrays it. Don’t accept imitations. If you want to be part of I love *Kuduro*, always look for this logo. There is only one I love *Kuduro*. My name is Coreon Dú and I love *Kuduro*.[[7]](#footnote-8)”

To understand why this is a video of propaganda a bit of context has to be provided here. In present-day Angola, propaganda has become the exclusive communicative link between the state and the citizens. The Angolan government has developed an obsession with its image, or at least with the circulation of negative images of the country, which might have come about during the years of civil war (which ended in 2002), where every time the country was referenced in the global media was because of mass killings, human right violations, the plight of refugees, insane destruction, and corruption. So the work of reversing these trends was placed in very competent hands, the teams of Brazilian journalists, publicists, and political marketers, who came to Angola for the first time to work on dos Santos’s presidential campaign in 1992. The election failed to produce a president,[[8]](#footnote-9) at which point the war resumed for ten more years. These Brazilians who came, then, constituted their own firms, such as Orion, to produce propagandistic content to the state owned media, such as *Jornal de Angola*, RNA and TPA. For instance, they produced shows such as *Angola em movimento* (Angola in the move) and *Nação Coragem* (Brave Nation), whose main goal was to counter the negative image of the country by focusing exclusively on the good ones. This obsession has become so prevalent that in the state media the line between news and propaganda has been totally obliterated.

Furthermore, the effort to mobilize *kuduro* for the sake of propaganda is not the only trend that figures in the video. It is also an effort to turn *kuduro* into a copyrighted product. Expressions such as “don’t accept imitations” are not only a way of claiming that the *I love kuduro Festival* is the legitimate representative of *kuduro*; it is also noticeable that “always look for this logo” reveals an attempt to rebrand *kuduro*. As I have already said, the promoters of the *I love kuduro Festival*, Semba Comunicação/Da Banda, are two of president dos Santos’s children. Since recently coming of age, they have begun to dispute the market share in the field of “institutional communication” occupied by Brazilian and Portuguese firms. One may interpret this gesture just as a way of transfering the Angolan government’s expenditure (millions of dollars) from foreign to Angolan hands. But there is more to it.

Semba Comunicação was created in 2006, and it can be credited with bringing the discussion on branding or “brand development, and the supply of creative solutions of integrative communication”[[9]](#footnote-10) to the Angolan public. Semba Comunicação was then given the management of Channel 2, the second channel of the state-owned TV. It also developed the TPA International, which was responsible for the “rebranding” of the Angola as a mark, by the announcement “Angola eu Acredito/Angola I believe,” a millionaire advertisement which was run by CNN for more than a year. Semba Comunicação was also involved in a polemic when it won a tender to produce the institutional communication of the government.[[10]](#footnote-11)

So at a first sight it may appear that Semba Comunicacão and Da Banda are solely interesting in rebranding. This is a daring endeavor in any case, since it implies a counterintuitive operation which consists of conceiving a positive image of *kuduro* through the mobilization of a musical style, which is precisely one of the reasons why Angola has become a figure of exoticism. But let’s not allow us to be deceived by the appearances, as there is more to it. The main motivation for such a gesture is social control. They way I want to start showing this is by comparing the two videos produced for the launching of the promotion campaign, one in English, and the other in Portuguese. They run exatacly for the same time, and the only difference is in the translation from Portuguese to English (or vice-versa). Where the English version states that kuduro is the *sound* of the Angolan new generation, the Portuguese one says that kuduro is the *energia* (for energy) of the Angolan new generation.

My point here is that the shift from sound to *energia* is of crucial importance for the sake of my argument. So I am using this as a conceptual key to delve into the use the *Festival* as an apparatus to capture *kuduro*. *Kuduro* is production of *energia* and, more importantly, a form of *energia* that originates at the margins of the state or of any other institution that may exercise curatorial oversight over it. In this sense, *kuduro* has to be tamed and the *energia* unleashed by it have to be re-oriented, and rechanneled to the purpose of constructing a positive image of the country. Put differently, *kuduro* is an expressive genre that originated outside the confines of the state; given the dangers that it then poses to state control it has to be re-signified under the state’s own categories.

 Significantly for this understanding is the time in which the rebranding of kuduro has become a priority. It only came about after a group of youths staged a demonstration to oust the Angolan long-serving president, dos Santos. In the wake of the Revolution in Cairo, the demonstrations were anonymously called by Agostinho Jonas Roberto dos Santos,[[11]](#footnote-12) but it was the rapper Brigadeiro Mata Frakkuz who took the mantle of the mobilization, when in a concert he called the audience to be present at the scheduled day for the political protest on March 6th of 2011. In the preceding weeks the situation in Angola became tense, with the Angolan government reverting to legal and illegal means to dissuade the youths from joining the demonstration. Panic took over, foreigners fled the country, and Luandans stored incredible amounts of food and drinkable water at home. By the day of the protest, the fear of the government reaction was so present that only 18 people showed up at Independence Square (at least five of them were journalists). The police arrested everyone, the protest was defused, and the political situation went back to normal.

 In the aftermath of this pacific attempt to oust dos Santos, the party has displayed an invigorated interest in solving the problems of the youth. President dos Santos himself made several speeches in which polices for the youth were announced. Looming large in these speeches was the subversive nature of the youth. Referring to the fact that the Cairo revolution had been the inspiration for Angolan protesters, dos Santos, for instance, said “often times we follow fashions, we want to imitate that which the others do.[[12]](#footnote-13)” Since then many initiatives have been invoked to placate the ire of the youth. This revealed the need for harnessing the *energia* of *kuduro* – the vital means through which the youth express themselves – for the purpose of conserving the political order of things.

 However, we have to be more careful in order to understand the subversive nature of *kuduro*. *Kuduro* is subversive not because of the message that musicians may convey in their lyrics. *Kuduro* is to a great extent a musical style in which the performance exceeds the message, when the performance does not become the message itself. Some forms of music, as John Pemberton has noticed, using as example the Indonesian musical style called *Gamelian*, are not made for the ear.[[13]](#footnote-14) This is an important feature of Angolan music. In her book dedicated to Angolan popular music, for instance, Moorman has come across a number of people who remembered with nostalgia the music they used to hear and dance in the last years of colonialism in Angola, but confessed to have never paid attention to the lyrics. Indeed, *kuduro* lyrics are poor, and to a great extent the songs tend to be so badly sung that it is almost impossible to have an idea of what the singers are talking about. Besides, the volume of the beat is so high, and the singers normally scream, singing at the top of their capacity to breathe, that *kuduro* is more noise than music itself. This is so that to a greater extent whoever wants to produce music with a social message tends to choose another genre, such as rap. But *kuduro*, for being formed at the margin of the state, has brought about what I have been calling an alternative infrastructure of circulation. In other words, *kuduro* has opened up an alternative space by bringing about a counter-public, which in its nature is counter-hegemonic.

In this sense, we may provisionally say, seconding Marshall MacLuhan, that *kuduro* is simultaneously the medium and the message.[[14]](#footnote-15) As a medium, it creates its own infrastructure for circulation, and it is created by it. Key to my understanding of infrastructure is the conceptualization by AbdouMaliq Simone. He makes the case for an extension of the concept of infrastructure to encompass realities that go beyond “reticulated systems of highways, pipes, wires, or cables,[[15]](#footnote-16)” so as to include people, in what he calls *people as infrastructure*. Using the example of the Johannesburg’s Inner City, he documents the myriad ways in which people’s repertoires coalesce for the purpose of having things done in a landscape punctuated by the breakdown of formal infrastructure. This re-elaboration is in many ways reminiscent of the ways in which Heidegger conceives of technology. In his essay, *The Question Concerning Technology*, he argues that the “essence of technology is by no means anything technological,[[16]](#footnote-17)” but rather, “it is a means to an end.[[17]](#footnote-18)” In other words, technology is that which make possible the production of certain kinds of effects. For Heidegger, then, the essence of technology is the act of bringing forth or revealing.[[18]](#footnote-19) Such considerations, I hope, may allow as to see *kuduro* not just as a musical genre, but as that which allows certain things to take place.

Relevant as well for this understanding is Brian Larkin’s insightful descriptions of the material conditions that undergird the emergence of the musical genre *bandiri*. *Bandiri* is a product of Kano, in Nigeria, and consists of praise songs for the prophet Muhammad, combining Hausa words and Indian films tunes.[[19]](#footnote-20) In this sense, it may be the case that *bandiri* is something which is not only brought about by a number of intersections and interfaces - including the urban experience, Islamic revivalism, and nostalgia of the Indian films of the 1960, as Larkin describes - but *bandiri* is itself an infrastructure. And this is so for the way that bandiri becomes the infrastructure within which praise songs circulate. *Bandiri* does not overlap with *kuduro* in many instances, since for the former the lyrics are crucial. But the *bandiri* case helps us to see the ways in which a musical genre may become an infrastructure of circulation. Key to this are the ways that *kuduro* has constituted itself as an alternative infrastructure of circulation outside the curatorial purview of RNA or any state-controlled institution.

Angolan popular music has known its golden age during late colonialism, when the anti-colonial war had prompted the Portuguese to undertake massive investment in the hope they could still save the empire. One of the consequences of this was the augmentation of Angolans’ purchasing power – through the expansion of the education system and improvement in labor conditions – and the formation of new patterns of consumption. So Angolan popular music, especially semba, had a solid audience. However, recording houses, newspapers, the radio, and many other media that exercised curatorial control over music production were at the hand of settlers. When in 1975 the country was granted independence and the settler population left, Angola considerably lost the capacity for recording music. RNA took over and for almost a decade it became not only one of the few places in the country where aspiring musicians could record their music, but more importantly, it also became the arbiter of musical taste in the country. RNA was then the only radio with coverage nationwide.

So *kuduro* came to destabilize this order of things. Two different factors were instrumental for such a transformation. The first one is of political-economic order; and the second one is of technological order. The first one is explained by the transformation and liberalization of the Angolan economy, from a planned economy to a market one. One of the factors that accounted for this transformation is the demographic pressure on the city of Luanda, by the thousands of newcomers looking for the city’s security. Luanda, a colonial city in which the center was occupied by settlers and the peripheries by the natives, was changing drastically. Through the economic crisis of the 1980s, whose signifier become the stores with nothing to sell, the center became the periphery, for the fact that people increasingly recurred to the market for provision.

As for the second aspect, of technological nature, there were a number of changes in the late 1980s and early 1990s that account for the ways in which music had been produced and circulated. These transformations, as Brown as noted, accounted for the circumvention of the curatorial power once bestowed to recording companies. With the banalization of technological devices such as the personal computer, music then could be produced by simply having a singer singing over a pre-recorded beat. The internet, especially Youtube and other similar platforms – such as My Space – made it possible for a number of musicians to directly upload their materials.

The spatial embodiment of these two developments – the liberalization of the economy, and the technological changes – was the market Roque Santeiro, known as the largest open air market in Africa, where I did a substantial part of my fieldwork.[[20]](#footnote-21) For what interests us in this paper, Roque Santeiro became the nodal point for the production of the infrastructure of circulation of kuduro. So Roque Santeiro became the most important point for the circulation of music, not only because it was the largest market in Angola, which received every day more than one hundred thousand people, but also because of the fact that Roque Santeiro was the main stop for taxi drivers, who were instrumental for the diffusion of kuduro.

So this is practically the sociological basis of kuduro, the market, the system of public transportation, and the hundreds of makeshift studios that rapidly mushroomed in those locales. With such an inception, it makes sense then in *kuduro* music and dance are not the same. In fact, in *kuduro* dance has preceded the music. *Kuduro* is to a great extent a derivative of breakdance mixed up with steps and dance styles taken borrowed from many other places, in a creative process that also informs the music making, as I have already said. Relevant to this is the ways in which the self-proclaimed inventor of kuduro explains how he created it. According to him, the idea came up when he was Jean-Claude Van Damme’s fim *Kickbox*, in which the Hollywood stars dance to the rhythm of a jukebox music, by moving the hips from one side to the other.[[21]](#footnote-22) However, Amado creative gesture only instantiates the moment in which the national imagination was captured by these moves. Other processes were taking place simultaneously, namely what is called *batida*, which were dancing *intermezzos* inserted into other styles, such as zook and kizomba, by musicians such as Eduardo Paim.[[22]](#footnote-23)

Roque Santeiro is a genre style of the periphery, something that is frowned upon by the Angolan middle class and especially by the intelligentsia –this only made more problematic by Semba Comunicação/Da Banda engagement. I did a substantial part of the research for my Ph. D. thesis on this topic, and one of the things that I tried to understand was the infrastructure of circulation created by *kuduro*. I followed the various stages of production and distribution of songs, and this gave me a good understanding of how the system operates.

I was following taxi drivers, and one of the things I came to realize is that a number of young taxi drivers are themselves *kuduristas*, or aspiring *kuduristas*. They are organized in what they call *staffs*, groups of four of five cars, comprising the crews, *chamadores* (those who call taxi riders and accommodate them inside the car), which is a sort of solidarity groups, where loans may be raised, or muscles can be assembled to solve some problems. But these *staffs* have also a recreational dimension, in the sense that they can organize entertainment events, such as parties, or they can support the production of a *kuduro* album for any of its integrants.

Although Rei Leão, a *chamador* who lives in Boavista, was not a member of any *staff*, he was relying on the *bosses* (car owners) of the car he worked for to support the production of his first CD. The recording was made in a makeshift studio also in Boavista, run by two DJ’s known as Carcaça and Danny. As with many other studios, this one records every kinds of music, from kuduro, rap, semba, and even they made a song for the MPLA (*semba do número 10*[[23]](#footnote-24)).

I did not follow the trajectory of this particular song recorded by Rei Leão, but what I saw and the information I got from interviewing many people involved in this business help me to reconstruct the process. When the song is read, after being recorded and mastered, the DJ produces the CD, which includes the new song, in the midst of a confirmed and stable hit. So the DJ himself, in this case DJ Carcaça, goes to the market to sell the new CD, and a number of them are also distributed through taxi drivers. So if the song becomes a hit, it will be taken into consideration whenever other DJs produce new CDs.

What is interesting is that this process, up to this stage, does not yield to the aspiring musician any monetary compensation, even though some investment has to be made. The total investment for a *kuduro* song to become popular ranges to $ 3,000. In this sense, *kuduro* performs the kinds of work technology does in the estimation of Heidegger. The end of technology, as we have already said, is revealing, or bringing-forth. The recording of a *kuduro* song, then, is a way through which the musician crafts his social visibility. For the music has to become famous in the periphery first, and only then he is invited to participate in the shows at the RNA and TPA. The monetary gains are elsewhere, either in the cachet that can be made by performing in concert, or through political patronage by animating the rally of the ruling party.

This is for example the trajectory of the most popular band, Os *Lambas*, and the most popular *kudurista*, Nagrelha. The *Lambas* is a *kuduro* group of the municipality of the largest municipality of Angola, Cazenga, in Luanda, and they became known after being produced by Hochi Fu.[[24]](#footnote-25) Nagrelha has now become a sort of urban legend. Last time, when I visited studio in Sambizanga accompanying a photographer friend in a commission for a German magazine, a great part of the conversation was about Nagrelha, who is always referred to in a mist of awe and profound admiration. Nagrelha, who uses military jargon to explain what he does, has recently said that he is the “Headquarters of the Angolan Culture”. In the 2012 elections, he became an indispensable member of the dos Santos retinue, performing in many places after dos Santos speeches. Various people have said that they only go to President dos Santos and MPLA rallies because of Nagrelha. The organizers of MPLA rallies have always being careful to schedule Nagrelha’s performance after the political speeches, otherwise there will be less people. Nagrelha is known for constantly testing his popularity by inviting the public to abandon the room after his performance, even if there are still more people to perform.

This is the kind of *energia* created in the periphery that the power has to re-signify, by re-directing and recalibrating its flows. So the purpose of Semba Comunicação/Da Banda is less the internationalization of *kuduro* and more the conscription of the *kuduristas* into patron-client relationships. Relevant to the argument is the nature of politics in Angola. Although the socialist regime has been dismantled in Angola, political power has conserved to a great degree its totalitarian nature. For totalitarian, I use the acception of Claude Lefort when he defines its as the means by which the distinction between state and society are obliterated. Furthermore, liberalization of the Angolan economy has brought about the informalization of the state. So many functions that should be performed by the state have been siphoned to the private sector. The ways in which these process has taken place warrants us to look at the relationship between politics and kinship. Only within such a characterization can we make sense of the fact that the sons of the president, owners of Semba Comunicação and Da Banda are doing the job that not long ago was performed by RNA and the Ministry of Culture.

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1. Presented at MISR’s seminar, on March 20th 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. Moorman, *Unpublished.* [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. Brown, "Buzz and Rumble: Global Pop Music and Utopian Impulse.", p. 126 [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. Ibid., p. 127 [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man.*, p. 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O9ByI1Q4mDM [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. Ibd. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. When the guerrilla leader, accusing the government of producing rigged elections, withdrew from the war process. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. I have written about this polemic for the Angolan Newspaper *Novo Jornal*. In my piece, called the “Dance of the Sorcerer”, I alerted pointed to the dangerousness of the state paying millions of dollars for “institutional communication,” particularly under the rubric of managing the image of the country abroad. I argue, then, that there cannot be any form of accountability in such a pursuit, which I equate with the dance of a sorcerer, for the impossibility of producing the link of causality between the dance that a sorcerer performs for the rain to fall and the rain that falls. A couple of months after my text was published, the company created by the president’s Children G.R.E.C.I.A. was dissolved. See, Tomás, "Refracted Governmentality: Space, Politics and Social Structure in Contemporary Luanda.". [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. I have written about this in my weekly column for the Angolan Newspaper *Novo Jornal*. See, Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. Fake name that combines the names of four Angolan political leader, namely Agostinho Neto, Jonas Savimbi, Holden Roberto and José Eduardo dos Santos. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. <http://club-k.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=11450:muitas-vezes-nos-seguimos-modas-queremos-imitar-aquilo-que-os-outros-fazem-diz-jes-em-relacao-as-manifestacoes-&catid=9:preto-e-branco&Itemid=143>. Last accessed March 11th 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. Pemberton, "Musical Politics in Central Java (or How Not to Listen to a Javanese Gamelan)." [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man.* [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. Simone, *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities .*, p. 407 [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. Heidegger and Krell, *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings.*, p. 311. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. Ibid., p. 312 [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. Larkin, "Bandiri Music, Globalization and Urban Experience in Nigeria." [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. See Lopes, *Roque Santeiro: Entre a Ficção E a Realidade.* Tomás, "Refracted Governmentality: Space, Politics and Social Structure in Contemporary Luanda." [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
21. As it can been see in TPA’s show Conversa no Quintal. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SdmR7AZS9cE [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
22. See the recent interview Eduardo Paim gave to Novo Jornal in which he claims the paternity of kuduro. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
23. Number 10 was the number the MPLA occupied in the vote bulletim. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
24. The same one who produced Cabo Snoop Windhoek, which is by far the most known kuduro song, at least in the context of the African musical scene. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)