

Two legs, one arm: the band Katingation and its appropriation of death metal in angolan pot-civil war scene

Duas pernas, um braço: a banda Katingation e sua apropriação do death metal no cenário pós-guerra civil angolano

Dos piernas, un brazo: la banda Katingation y su apropiación del death metal en el escenario posguerra civil angoleño

*Melina Aparecida dos Santos Silva*¹

*Simone Pereira de Sá*²

Abstract *The work focuses on the appropriation of death metal – sub-genre characterised by “negative emotions” such as anger, aggression and nihilism – in “peripheral” territories, seeking to understand how this sub-genre is used to produce new meanings about social conflict and insecurity, in scenarios marked by poverty, violence, death and war. It analyses the album 2 legs, 1 arm released over the internet by the Angolan group Katingation in 2013.*

Keywords: *Death metal; Music genres; Memory; Angola*

Resumo *O trabalho tem por foco a discussão em torno da apropriação do death metal – subgênero caracterizado por “emoções negativas” tais como ódio, agressividade e niilismo – em territórios “periféricos”, buscando entender como*

¹ PhD student in Communication of the Universidade Federal Fluminense [a public university in the State of Rio de Janeiro]. Master in Communication from the same institution, Universidade Federal Fluminense – UFF, Niterói, RJ, Brasil. e-mail: melsantos1985@gmail.com.

² PhD in Communication from the UFRJ – Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Professor of the Department of Estudos Culturais e Mídia [Cultural Studies and Media] and of the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação [Postgraduate Programme in Communication] of the Universidade Federal Fluminense. Research scholarship of the CNPq (PQ – 1 D) – Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico [National Council for Scientific and Technological Development]. Coordinator of the LabCult – Laboratório de pesquisas em Culturas Urbanas e Tecnologias da Comunicação [Laboratory of researches in Urban Cultures and Communication Technologies], Universidade Federal Fluminense – UFF, Niterói, RJ, Brasil. e-mail: sibonei.sa@gmail.com.

este subgênero é utilizado para res-significar cenários de conflito social e insegurança, marcados por pobreza, violência, mortes e guerra. Para tanto, analisa o álbum 2 legs, 1 arm lançado por meio da internet pelo grupo angolano Katingation, em 2013.

Palavras-chave: *Death metal; Gêneros musicais; Memória; Angola*

Resumen *El trabajo centra la discusión en la apropiación de death metal – subgénero que se caracteriza por “emociones negativas”, como la ira, la agresión y el nihilismo – en áreas “periféricas”, buscando entender cómo se utiliza este sub-género para producir nuevos significados sobre conflictos sociales y la inseguridad, en sitios marcados por la pobreza, la violencia, la muerte y la guerra. Para tanto, analiza el álbum 2 legs, 1 arm lanzado a través de Internet por el grupo angoleño Katingation en 2013.*

Palabras-clave: *Death metal; Géneros musicales; Memoria; Angola*

Date of submission: 7/5/2014

Date of acceptance: 21/7/2014

Introduction

Hatred, violence and nihilism are distinctive elements of the musical sub-genre *death metal*. Pointed out by researchers and fans as the source of its vitality and resistance, they also became motive of controversies among religious and political groups and on the part of mediatic criticism because they represent a set of “negative emotions”, the influence of which on young people, in the form of stimulus to aggressiveness, must be avoided (DUNN, 2004; HARRIS, 2007).

By proposing another perspective, this article focuses on the discussion about the appropriation of death metal in “peripheral” territories and it seeks to understand how this sub-genre is used in order to resignify scenarios of social conflict and insecurity, which are marked by poverty, deaths and war.

In order to do this, it analyses, in an exploratory character, the album *2 legs, 1 arm* which was launched by means of the internet by the Angolan group Katingation, in 2013. In this work, narratives on the Civil War, which devastated the African country and its social consequences, as well as elements of the Angolan culture, cross the production in order to create a view of the local history.

In this direction, this approach privileges the articulation between the sonorities of the metal genre and the lyrics of the songs and it relates the work to the socio-historical and geographical context, in order to discuss the meanings the band attributes to topics such as pain, death and losses. Therefore it is not a textual analysis *stricto sensu* of the lyrics of the songs, but rather an interpretative approximation which, in dialogue with authors of the studies on sound and music (FRITH, 1998; DENORA, 2004; JANOTTI JR, 2012), is interested in understanding the work of the Katingation band *as a whole* – from the plastic aspects of the cover of the album to the lyrics and the sonorities – in its production of meanings about daily life of Angola.

Anchored in the reflection, which emphasises the central role of the musical genres and scenes as mediators of the attribution of collective meanings to cultural products and in the importance of the notion of

emotion within this process, the premise we assume is that there is a peculiar appropriation of death metal, since in this musical tendency in general, the “negative emotions”, such as hatred, violence and death, are put into action for the development of the lyrics with abstract thematics, which are distant from the immediate social reality.³ Hence, in *2 legs, 1 arm*, the sub-genre was used as a means of representation of the Angolan identity, with songs which, at the same time, interpret the social past and the present of Angola and of the African continent.

Hence we can emphasise that the treatment of topics, which are considered “negative” in this case, consists in a response to hatred and aggressiveness and not as a generator of them. That is to say that, instead of facing it as a sub-genre which “promotes” violence in its works, what we propose is to perceive it as a catalyst of symbolisation processes and attribution of meanings to experiences of death, pain and violence which derive from social conflicts in Angola. By articulating it with the first objective, we still intend to understand this work as an artefact of narrative reconstruction and framing of the memory, through which the experiences that are related to the Civil War are modernised and re-signified in the context of a culture of the consumption of niche cultural goods, as it is the case of death metal (POLLAK, 1992; NORA, 1993; HUYSEN, 2000).

We stress that, until the launch of the documentary *Death Metal Angola*, the Angolan musical scene was not well known in the circuit of the fans and specialists of this musical genre. Thus, if the bibliography about the scenes of death metal which are consolidated, such as those of Florida and Sweden or about the appropriation of the extreme metal in “peripheral” territories such as India, Taiwan, Syria, Iraq, Singapore and Brazil (HARRIS, 2007) constitutes quite a solid set of reflections – above all, in relation to the identitary aspects of resistance and collective be-

³ As exceptions, we can cite the works which approach the social and historical reality, such as the homonymous album of the Dismember group (2008) and *Opus Mortis VIII* (2011) of the Vomitory group, both Swedish or in Brazil, the album *Roots* by Sepultura and *The Core of Disruption*, of Lacerated and Carbonized from Rio de Janeiro.

longing of the fans of the genre, there are few studies on the use of death metal for the comprehension of the scenarios of conflict and insecurity; and until now there is no study which is known, that approaches the specific case of the Angolan metal scene.

So this article proposes a first approach of this thematics and it investigates the way in which Angolan musicians appropriated the “rules of the genre” of death metal in order to re-signify aspects of daily life and the recent history of that country and to which extent this appropriation subverts the very death metal – which is known for approaching nihilistic topics, but not for explicitly treating political and social topics in its lyrics.

We organise the article into two parts: in the first we situate the scene in question in relation to the musical metal genre and we discuss theoretical contributions in order to understand aspects of the local appropriations. In the following part, we analyse four songs of the album of the Katingation band, with the intention to deepen the discussion and to seek to relate the lyrics to the local contexts and to the history of the African country.

Global genres and local appropriations

The debate on the notions of musical genres and of their articulation with the scenes – global or local ones – as generators of collective emotions and meanings constitutes the axis of this reflection. Hence, in a dialogue with authors such as Fabbri (1980), Frith (1998), Janotti (2004) and Trotta (2008), we propose that the musical genre is a central mediator of the experience of musical enjoyment and consumption. This way, besides organising the productive chain of the music, the labelling of the songs within the genres above all constitutes cultural processes, in which immanent aspects, such as the sonorities, which identify each genre, negotiate with other spheres, such as, for example, the market and sociability practices. In this sense, each musical genre consists in an “affective, aesthetic and social field in which communication and the code circuit will actuate” (TROTТА, 2008).

In the case of heavy metal, its consolidation proceeded from the New Wave of the British Heavy Metal (NWOBHM), in the 1980s.⁴ According to what Janotti Jr. (2012) stresses, it is one of the most “codified” genres of the story of the rock, in which the “rules of the genre” – such as the electrified and distorted guitar, the “power chords” and the effects of sonorous “weight”, which are obtained by the use of the capture and amplification technologies, the riffs, the guttural vocal, which is mixed in the same volume of other instruments and the sonorous “filling” coming from the striking of the contrabass and the drum – are values which are shared by the band and fans in order to evaluate the belonging of a band to the genre.

Besides this, extra-musical aspects, such as the “fans’ dedicated listening⁵” and the bands’ authenticity/cooptation, which are evaluated on the basis of their strategies of circulation on more or less niche markets and traduced by the pair mainstream/underground are other central elements of the metal culture (JANOTTI JR, 2012; CARDOSO FILHO, 2004).

Among the sub-genres, which are based on underground practices in order to consolidate their dynamics, there is death metal (HARRIS, 2007), in which the guttural vocals, the rhythmic variations, which encompass rapidity and cadence and use the distortions of the guitar⁶ in an extreme way, stand out. On the basis of the interpretation of nihilistic, morbid topics, which rarely refer to specific local contexts, this tendency, that is consolidated in the city of Tampa (Florida), conquered fans all around the globe: firstly through the tape and fanzine swap and later via the internet, thus it characterised one of the examples of articulation between global, local and virtual scenarios and environments (BERGER, 1999; PURCELL, 2003; JANOTTI JR, 2012).

In this context, the notion of musical scenes (STRAW, 2006) is also productive for the discussion because it refers to the appropriations of global

⁴ The mark of origin of heavy metal, which is pointed out by musicians, headbangers, segmented media and academic researches, would be the launching of the first album of Black Sabbath [February 13th 1970].

⁵ “Dedicated listening” consists in listening to music with total attention directed at this activity, besides the knowledge of the practices which historically characterise the constitution of a genre, presupposing apprenticeships among “beginners” and “initiated” in the “taste communities” (JANOTTI JR, 2012).

⁶ Among the most well known death metal bands are: Morbid Angel, Death, Obituary, Decide, Cannibal Corpse etc.

musical genres in local circuits. Hence the scenes materialise the genres through a concrete circuit which consists of show clubs, musical instrument stores, meeting places in public streets, etc. and through a virtual circuit, which is composed of sites, blogs and social networks. These scenes which, far from “copying” or reproducing their models of reference verbatim, will negotiate these rules within their socio-cultural environments and translate them on the basis of new contexts and problems (HALL, 1992 e 1996; CANCLINI, 2009; APPADURAI, 1996; CASTELLS, 2002; ORTIZ, 1998).

According to what Janotti emphasises, with reference to the Sepultura band – one of the exponents of death metal, at the beginning of its career:

Taking into consideration the metal scene of Belo Horizonte [capital of the State of Minas Gerais], the place of origin of the Sepultura group [Brazilian trash-metal band], it is possible to imagine a gradation in which the affirmation of the sonorous territory is constructed by means of negotiations between global aspects (heavy metal genre) and local ones (musical scenes), that is to say, heavy metal versus pop, aggressiveness versus delicate sonorities like that of the *Clube da Esquina* [Club on the Corner: artistic collective in Minas Gerais; one of Brazil’s most important albums] and anger versus local Catholicism. These elements, which are quite discussed in the documentary *Ruído das Minas* [Noise of Minas; the origin of heavy metal in Belo Horizonte], in the attempt to explain why Belo Horizonte became the “Brazilian capital of metal”, permit the fans to pass between the virtual projection of a sonorous space, the heavy metal and the regionalised tensions which mark the territorialised listening (JANOTTI JR, 2012, p. 15).

However, in the case of death metal, the point, which must be stressed, is that the local appropriations have been faithful to the rules of the genre – which means that there are few examples of local bands that directly refer to socio-political contexts in their lyrics for example.

And the very case of Sepultura – that was “rejected” by the fans when they inserted elements of “local” sonority in the form of partnerships with Carlinhos Brown [Antonio Carlos Santos de Freitas: Brazilian musician from Salvador - State of Bahia; he took the surname Brown from

the Black Panther. H Rap Brown] and *índios do Xingu* [Indians of Xingu; the Xingu reserve is one of the most important indigenous sites of Brazil], having as apogee the album *Roots*⁷ – demonstrates the complexity of the discussion, which obliged us to think carefully, case after case, about the form in which the local elements are introduced and which justified the interest we took in the case of Angola.

The third aspect of this appropriation refers to its affective dimension. In a dialogue with authors who have approached this aspect of cultural consumption (CARDOSO FILHO, 2004; GROSSBERG, 1992), it is interesting to deepen the discussion on the basis of a dual understanding of the notion of affection: firstly, such as the set of emotions a song evokes, such as cheerfulness, love, sadness, hatred or pleasure and, in the second place, on the basis of the evocation of the meaning of “affectation” which refer to the set of sensorial, bodily stimuli and “of presence” (GUMBRECHT, 2010) which are also put into action in our listening to a musical work. Acceptations, which actuate together in order to delimit the specificity of the musical enjoyment of a certain genre, band or singer in front of his audience and the form in which music actuates as “technology of the self”, that is to say, as a distinctive repository of value and of self-perception for the fans (DENORA, 2004).

Finally, it is interesting to discuss the process of “framing of the memory”⁸ (POLLAK, 1992) which is involved in the process, by means of authors who propose to think about the means of communication as “places of memory” (NORA, 1993). Hence this album will be taken as a testimony that contributes to the construction of a “historical landmark” (CHRISTENSEN, 2009), which is not represented by a physical monument, but by “dematerialised and reconfigurable” remembrances, which are vehiculated by the album on the internet.

After having made these observations, we analyse the band in question.

⁷ Sepultura had already inserted other sonorous elements, such as Latin-American percussion, in the former albums, such as *Arise* (1991) and tribal sonorities, in *Chaos A.D.* (1993), but, for a series of reasons, which do not belong to the scope of the discussion, *Roots* became the band's divisive mark for this question.

⁸ Memory understood as the fruit of the collective process of interpretations of the past one wants to keep (POLLAK, 1989).

Death Metal Angola

“When we sing *death metal*, we take the pain we have inside us and the difficulties about which we can speak during our daily life. And we speak about this pain by means of music” (UOL MAIS, 2013, online).

The pain, with which Wilker and other Angolan metal musicians must cope, is related to Angola’s historical, economic and social context. It is convenient to remember that Angola gained its independence on November 11th 1975, after fifteen years of armed combat against Portuguese colonialism. Nevertheless, after this armed conflict, the country faced a civil war which was provoked by the disputes over power between the three political groups:⁹ *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], *Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola* (FNLA) [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] and the *União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].¹⁰ The Angolan population experienced a short period of “ceasefire”, from 1991 to 1992; and the war only ended ten years later, in 2002, with the death of Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA (FISH, 2002).

After having lived during decades of their trajectory in wartime, the population continues to be obliged to cope with the vestiges of their violent past. With the country devastated by the armed conflicts, the government faces difficulties to build a strong economy or a stable society in a democratic way in order to provide education, basic sanitation, public transportation and healthcare.¹¹ In politics, Angola carried out the third presidential election of its history in 2012. Another problem

⁹ In 1975, after the declaration of independence, the three movements – FNLA, UNITA and MPLA – formed a common front and signed the Acordo de Alvor [Agreement of Alvor] with the Portuguese, which foresaw everybody’s participation in the government of Angola. Some time later, the three groups became involved in a conflict over power.

¹⁰ UNITA and FNLA united themselves against MPLA and initiated a long war which came to cause 500,000 deaths. The conflict was inserted into the context of the Cold War: URSS and Cuba supported MPLA; South and the USA supported UNITA; Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) and the USA also supported FNLA.

¹¹ The economic growth was stimulated with the expansion of the oil and gas sector, besides the establishment of a public expense programme. However it still registers a low human development index (DHI), being situated on the 148th place among 187 analysed countries.

deriving from the past of armed conflicts consists in continuous post-war deaths and serious social damages which are generated by the landmines. These facts demonstrate that, to a great extent, Civil War defined the modern history of the country (OYEBADE, 2007).

In this scenario, the Angolan metal scene gained visibility outside the country with the documentary *Death Metal Angola*, by Jeremy Xido, produced in 2012.¹² The production tells the story of Wilker Flores, guitarist of *death metal* and of his girlfriend Sonia Ferreira, dwellers of the Okutiuka orphanage; it reunited bands of diverse “provinces” in the first national “rock” festival, in 2011, in the city of Huambo.

In the documentary, we see the Angolan youth’s affective link with the genre, which was considered as a way to the re-signification of the violent past and of death, or as Sonia comments it “to clear out the debris from all these years of war” (DEATH METAL ANGOLA, 2012).

2 legs, 1 arm

The first aspect which draws attention to the Katingation band is that its existence has been questioned in forums which focused on the sub-genre and, according to informants of the Angolan metal scene, among the very bands of the circuit, since the group was never been seen in live shows or in meetings of the local musicians.¹³

However, in posts on the social networks, the traces of the band, inclusively of the [supposed] physical condition of its members,¹⁴ permit to make some preliminary observations about the group – from the cover and the title of the album, which suggest the mutilation of the leg of two members as a consequence of the Civil War.

¹² The premiere occurred in Dubai, on the 9th edition of the International Film Festival of Dubai, in December 2011.

¹³ These conditions are also the targets of comments on the metal forums, such as the one which relates the Katingation drummer, Tchissakwe Matisse, to the drummer of the British group Def Leppard, Rick Allen, who lost one arm in a car accident and went back to his post in the band after having adapted the drum to his new situation.

¹⁴ An example of the curiosity around the existence or not of the band consists in the exchange of posts on the Ultimate Metal Forum: Vitor: @lifesucks, the drummer from katingation have one leg only... rick allen knows him @. Life Sucks: Well, a lot of people in Angola are missing limbs (landmine victims), so it wouldn't be that surprising. Available on: <<http://www.ultimatemetal.com/forum/general-metal-discussion/322184-death-metal-5.html>>. Access on: April 29th 2014.



Figure 1. Cover of the album.

“We are satisfied with the record. It took us much time to record the songs because it’s very difficult for the drummer to record a dual pedal set with only one leg” (KATINGATION FACEBOOK, 2013, *online*).

Trained in the province of Kuando Kubango, the trio, which is composed of the vocalist Ngombé Semedo, of the bassist and guitarist Kati-to Mutungula and of the drummer Tchissakwe Matisse, presents new songs, sung in English, which pass between varied interpretations of death, violence and other situations of menace to social well-being in the local context.¹⁵

With the opening song, “Kijibanganga”,¹⁶ the listener is transported to a sonorous environment which evokes a scenario of violence, with sounds of shots and noises of elephants and other big fleeing mammals. Everything leads to believe that the instrumental composition represents the extinguishing of elephants and rhinoceroses which is provoked by the illegal hunt for the ivory trade¹⁷ – a problem not only of Angola, but

¹⁵ The LP is composed of the songs “Kijibanganga” (intro); “Death toll rising”; “Die by the Tarrachinha”; “Back to the crica”; “Death by Katingation”; “Machimbombo flat tire”; “Moamba (aka Kryptonite)”; “Enter the musseque of death”; “Landmines & Fireworks”.

¹⁶ The equivalent of murderer in the Kimbundu language belongs to the group of African language family designated as “bantu”. It is called kimbundu or language of Angola, since it is the general language of the ancient reign of Ngola and it is the first to be studied and translated by the Europeans.

¹⁷ About 100,000 African elephants, that is, 20% of the total population of these animals on the continent, is threatened with extinction within the next decade. This kind of illegal hunting occurs in countries such as South Africa, Kenya and Cameroon. Source: <<http://exame.abril.com.br/mundo/noticias/africa-pode-perder-20-de-seus-elefantes-em-10-anos>>.

of other countries of the continent, thus, at the very beginning, it puts into action elements which compose the transnational dimension of the musicians' identity, which corroborates Hall's observation that "cultural identities are identification stitches, the unstable identification stitches or suture, which are made within the discourse of history and culture. Not an essence, but a positioning" (HALL, 1996, p. 53).

Others, which are more linked to national and local aspects, are articulated with this first identitary positioning, which can be perceived in the songs that will be analysed in the following part. In the eighth song, "*Enter the musseque of death*", for example, the fusion of tribal sounds with the weight of death metal, in the two minutes and four seconds of duration, compose the scenario of closeness to death in the sphere of the *musseques*¹⁸ of the capital Luanda. "*Enter the musseque of death, where the sun is black, and the sky is dead*", announce Ngombé's gutturals.

More than just sheltering dwellers with a low economic and social level, the musseques constituted places of resistance to Portuguese colonialism during the independence movements, at the beginning of the 1960s¹⁹ (GUIMARÃES, 2013, *online*). The verses "*Enter the musseque of death, where the dirt starts, and the world ends*" speak about the *cubatas*²⁰ which were built in these zones of reddish sands of Luanda (GUIMARÃES, 2013, *online*). These buildings are dwellings of individuals who were expelled from the centre of the city due to the urban expansion or to the new immigrants (AMARAL, 1968 *apud* GUIMARÃES, 2013, *online*). Thus the representation of this social sphere gains an "oppressing" air with the passages: "*Enter the musseque of death, where the wind don't blow, and heat reigns*" and "*Enter the musseque of death, where you'll live, die and die again*".

¹⁸ Musseque, term of kimbundu origin, indicates the zones of reddish sands, situated on the Luanda plateau. The differences between the musseques occur due to their oldness and location. The oldest, in the centre of the city, look like labyrinths, with houses which are stuck to one another in lanes without backyards. However, the most recent ones, distant from the centre, have houses which are surrounded by yards.

¹⁹ The power of the propagation of their ideas, even if it is limited, consisted in the distribution of leaflets which requested the independence as well as the Angolans' mobilisation.

²⁰ Traditional houses of vegetal materials. The term also serves the houses made of mud and wattle (GUIMARÃES, 2013).

In the sixth song, “Machimbombo *Flat Tire*”,²¹ a third aspect of the identitary positions is exploited: that of the local dweller, who faces death in his daily life because of the lack of investment in transportation and urban mobility. On the basis of the trio’s experience with the collective means of transportation [machimbombo], the lyrics refer to the force of random and to the risk in the dwellers’ displacement between the African provinces of Benguela, Huambo, the capital Luanda and Kuando Kubango. “*On the path to Benguela, The Machimbombo had a flat tire*”, “*On the path to Huambo, The Machimbombo had a flat tire*”, “*On the path to Luanda, The Machimbombo had a flat tire*”. “*On the path to Kuando Kubango, The Machimbombo had a flat tire*”.

Among passages of the shouted and guttural vocals, the listener is transported toward the disorder and to the insecurity people, who use these means of collective transportation, are facing: there are flat tyres and the vehicles “break” or circulate super crowded; the conditions of the roads and the very means of transportation are precarious; the drivers’ excess of speed puts the passengers at risk and transforms the use of the *machimbombo* into one of the routine experiences of closeness to danger: “*The boredom starts to settle among us, As we walk towards our destination: death*”.

Finally, in the ninth song, the social risk, which is narrated, is another one: the presence of landmines, “planted” in African territories during the Civil War: “*Spoils of war in your backyard. Don’t step over your crops*”.

Kuando Kubango, the group’s province of origin, served as the first base of UNITA. The verses discuss on this social context, with the interpretation of the strategic position of this territory in the armed conflicts in the past and of the presence of landmines in the present days: “*Landmines, seeds of death, Enjoy the fireworks*”. Thus the group’s song can be heard as a testimony of the way in which Angola comes across vestiges of its violent past: “*Don’t take your legs for granted, They may go out out with a bang*”.

²¹ Machimbombo is the term in Angolan for public transportation. The word was adapted in the Portuguese colonial Africa – Angola and Mozambique – derived from the English machine pump, from the installation of electric cars in Portugal by the English. More information available on: <<http://blog.lusofonias.net/?p=8197>>. Access on April 29th 2014

Hence the set of the songs maps diverse aspects of the urban life and of the relationships of the inhabitants with their recent past of wars and fights and it points to the way in which the marks of the death metal genre can be appropriated as a means of representation of the Angolan identity, with songs the narratives of which connect the present to the past of this nation and intertwine the musicians' experiences with the collective memory.

Thus, if memory is understood as a process – always involved in dispute and reinvention – in which subjects position themselves and collectively build narratives which will give sense to the present (HUYSEN, 2000) and in which the means of communication and mass media – music included in them – actuate as actors who produce “framings”, the appropriation of death metal in a peripheral social space can demonstrate a specific case of this process.

In this sense, according to what we anticipated in the introduction, hatred, violence, aggressiveness and other “negative emotions” of death metal are not canalised towards nihilism, but as productive elements, which function as catalysts of the construction of meanings for a part of the Angolan youth. Thus death metal is the conductor of emotions and an aggregating element of a group that, maybe – this must be investigated – does not identify itself with the musical genres which are culturally more legitimated in Angola, such as semba and kuduro, demonstrating how the identities encompass different forms by means of which the subjects are positioned by the narratives of the past.

Final considerations

This article sought to approach the appropriation of death metal in peripheral scenarios, on the basis of the perspective which relates the cultural subgenre codes to the processes of re-reading the episodes of social conflicts, violence and wars.

On the basis of the short analysis of an album of the Angolan band Katingation, which was carried out in an exploratory way, we collected some clues which point out two sets of questions.

The first set of clues refers to the investigation of the metal genre and to the construction of the death metal scene of Angola. With more questions than answers about this scene, which is not very visible on the global scenario, we sought to demonstrate that the Katingation band keeps faithful to some of the “rules of the genre”, such as those who refer to the sonorous marks of metal, which are convoked by means of guttural and aggressive vocals, of the distortions of the rhythmic speed, of the lyrics sung in English and of the use of death metal “classical” chords. But, on the other hand, “it redirects” the hatred and the aggressiveness of the lyrics in order to reinterpret the recent memory of their country about the Civil War and about the daily life of social conflicts and violence, thus transforming the nihilism, without apparent target, of the global death metal into a narrative which produces local meanings.

The second set of questions refers to the relation of the cultural products with the collective memory. In this case, the clue is that the musical genres can also function as “places of memory” (NORA, 1993), which, together with monuments, dates, historical figures and literature consolidate the sense of belonging and negotiate the social boundaries between the groups.

In this sense, what we propose is to think about this album as a testimony which contributes to the construction of a “historical landmark” in the form of a memorial (Christensen, 2009) for the victims of social conflicts. Memorial represented no more by a physical monument, but by “dematerialised and reconfigurable remembrance – and maybe ephemeral? – vehiculated by the album on the internet and the meanings of which continue to resound after the conclusion of this text and convoke to new “dedicated listening”, which will be registered in future works.

References

- APPADURAI, A. *Dimensões culturais da globalização*. Lisboa: Teorema, 1996.
- BERGER, H. M. *Metal, Rock and Jazz: Perception and the phenomenology of musical experience*. Londres: Wesleyan University Press, 1999.

- CANCLINI, N. G. *Diferentes, desiguais e desconectados*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 2009.
- CARDOSO FILHO, J. Afeto na análise dos grupamentos musicais. *Eco-Pós*: Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Cultura, UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, v. 7, n. 2, p. 111-119, 2004.
- CASTELLS, M. Local and global: Cities in the network society. *Tijdschrift Voo Economische en Sociale Geografie*, v. 93, n. 5, p. 548-558, 2002.
- CHRISTENSEN, C. “Hey man, nice shot”: Setting the Iran War to Music on YouTube. In: SNICKARS, P.; VONDEREAU, P. *The YouTube Reader*. National Library of Sweden, Suécia, 2009. p. 204-217.
- DENORA, T. *Music in everyday life*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- DUNN, S. Lands of fire and ice: an exploration of death metal scenes [Terras de fogo e gelo: uma exploração do cenário de *death metal*]. *Public*, n. 29, p. 107-125, 2004. Available on: <<https://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/public/article/view/30359>>. Access on: 11 set. 2013.
- FABBRI, F. A theory of musical genres: Two applications. In: *Popular Music Perspectives*, 1. ed. Horn & P. Tagg, Göteborg e Exeter: International Association for the Study of Popular Music, 1982, p. 52-81.
- FRITH, S. *Performing Rites – On the value of popular music*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- FISH, B. *Angola, 1880 to the present: slavery, exploitation, and revolt*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2002.
- GUIMARÃES, R. Luandino Vieira: a resistência nos musseques (1962). *Revista Eletrônica Boletim do TEMPO*, Rio de Janeiro, ano 4, n. 19, 2009. Available on: <http://www.temppresente.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4975:luandino-vieira-a-resistencia-nos-musseques-1962&catid=40&Itemid=127>. Access on: 25 abr. 2014.
- GUMBRECHT, H. U. *Produção de presença – O que o sentido não consegue transmitir*. Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto, 2010.
- GROSSBERG, L. *We gotta get out of this place*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- HALL, S. Who needs identity? In: *Questions of cultural identity*. HALL, S.; DU GAY, P. (Eds.). Londres: Sage Publications, 1996.
- _____. *A identidade cultural da pós-modernidade*. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 1992.
- HARRIS, K. K. *Extreme metal: Music and culture on the edge* [*Extreme metal: música e cultura no limite*]. New York: Berg, 2007.
- HUYSEN, A. *Seduzidos pela memória*. Arquitetura, monumentos, mídia. Rio de Janeiro: Aeroplano, 2000.
- JANOTTI JR., J. Gêneros musicais, *performance*, afeto e ritmo: uma proposta da análise midiática da música popular massiva. *Contemporânea*, Bahia, v. 2, n. 2, 2004, p. 189-204.
- _____. War for territory: Cenas, gêneros musicais, experiência e uma canção heavy metal. In: XXI Encontro da Compós, *Anais*. Juiz de Fora: UFJF, 2012. Available on: <<http://www.compos.org.br/>>. Access on: 25 abr. 2013.
- NORA, P. Entre memória e história: a problemática dos lugares. In: *Projeto História – Revista do Programa de Estudos de História PUC-SP*. São Paulo, PUC, n. 10, dez. 1993.
- ORTIZ, R. *Mundialização e cultura*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1998.

- OYEBADE, Adebayo. *Culture and customs of Angola*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007.
- POLLAK, M. Memória, esquecimento, silêncio. In: *Estudos Históricos*. Revista do Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, FGV, v. 2, n. 3, 1989, p. 3-15.
- . Memória e identidade social. In: *Estudos Históricos*. Revista do Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, FGV, v. 5, n. 10, 1992, p. 200-212.
- PURCELL, N. *Death Metal*. The passion and the politics of a subculture. Carolina do Norte: Macfarland, 2003.
- STRAW, W. Scenes and sensibilities. *E-Compós* – Revista da Associação Nacional dos Programas de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação, v. 6, 2006. Available on: <<http://www.compos.org.br/seer/index.php/e-compos/article/view/83>>. Access on: 20 maio 2013.
- TROTTA, F. Gêneros musicais e sonoridade: construindo uma ferramenta de análise. *Ícone* – Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação, UFPE, v. 10, n. 2, dez. 2008.

Sites

- AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. ANGOLA. Perfil do Setor Privado do País. Angola: AFD, 2012. Available on: <<http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Evaluation-Reports/Angola%20-%20Private%20Sector%20Country%20Profile%20-%20Portuguese%20Version.pdf>>. Access on: 13 set. 2013.
- ÁFRICA PODE PERDER 20% DE SEUS ELEFANTES EM 10 ANOS. *Exame*. Mundo. Available on: <<http://exame.abril.com.br/mundo/noticias/africa-pode-perder-20-de-seus-elefantes-em-10-anos>>. Access on: 30 abr. 2014.
- UOL MAIS. Death Metal Angola fala de guerra e heavy metal. Available on: <<http://mais.uol.com.br/view/l9xk0o8voa8l/filme-death-metal-angola-fala-de-guerra-e-heavy-metal-0402CC9A3568D4914326?types=A&>>. Access on: 13 set. 2013.

Album

- KATINGATION. *2 legs, 1 arm*. 2013. Available on: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W8GYAez3-lo>>. Access on: 29 abr. 2014.

Documentary

- Death Metal Angola*. Produção de Jeremy Xido. EUA: Cabula, Coalition Films, 2011.

Forum

- ULTIMATE METAL. DEATH METAL. Available on: <<http://www.ultimatemetal.com/forum/general-metal-discussion/322184-death-metal-5.html>>. Access on: 30 abr. 2014.

Facebook

- <<https://pt-br.facebook.com/katingation>>. Access on: 29 abr. 2014.