Luanda Final Report
Fabio Vanin
table of contents

3  2.2.1 Physical and ephemeral devices for urban security: the case of Luanda
9  2.2.2 Panoramic report
60  2.2.3 List of public artworks, landmarks and cultural spaces
118  2.2.4 Perceptual maps
2.2.1 Physical and ephemeral devices for urban security: the case of Luanda

The Manifesto of Aubervilliers and Saint-Denis adopted during the international conference “Security, Democracy and Cities: the Future of Prevention” (2012) by the European Forum for Urban Security (Efus) points out how “social prevention policies are especially effective in terms of the fight against violence and crime” and that “prevention is less expensive than other policies, both in terms of costs for our economy and our society” (2012: 3).

Despite the focus on European cities, the document traces a direct connection between public spaces - defined as shared spaces by diverse population groups that “embody social cohesion and symbolise the relationship between citizens and their city” in which the safety of all must be ensured - the way they are designed and the role that art and culture play in enhancing urban security.

Moreover, public spaces are acknowledged as “spaces for mediation”, where the needs of citizens, residents and users must be taken in account for design and where art and culture can be strong elements in preventing isolation and social fragmentation and in fostering new social practices towards a “peaceful coexistence”.

The recognition of the importance of those aspects and their relation in preventing urban insecurity provides a significant vision that might be reasonably extended beyond the European borders. Additionally, the Manifesto indirectly highlights how much the link between space and practices is fundamental and how urban forms can not be detached from social and cultural meanings, which have the ability of playing a key role in reaching good levels of urban safety and security.

City form and security
Today Luanda can somehow be described as a prototypical African city – it would be better to say post-colonial – as composed by three different parts, each of which corresponding to three distinct urban forms, that are representative of a diffuse grammar of the built space recognizable in similar contexts. The city center, the bairros (“neighborhoods”) and the southern area (Luanda Sul and Belas) are in fact expressions of Luanda’s urban history, but they also layout patterns of socio-economic differences and ways of living that are mirrored by architectural forms, spatial blueprints and physical traces of daily uses.

Even looking at Luanda from above, one can easily recognize the mentioned divisions that compose the landscape of the city: besides the topography, there are clear fractures and formal differences between the former colonial center of Luanda, the southern gated neighborhoods and the precarious conditions of the peri-urban bairros surrounding the city – called Musseques until recently – that are the so-called “spontaneous” settlements where people from the outlying areas, migrants from all over the country, in fact most of the population live. They have been entry points for families and individuals who migrated from war-torn areas of Angola. As Marissa Moorman (2008) argues: “The musseques, while on the physical periphery of the ever-growing city, have always been at the center of urban discourse and life”. 
Understanding and recognising those formal differences is important not only for a correct reading of the city but also because of the direct relation that exists between urban spaces, the perceived and real security and the production of cultural events and artworks specifically.

Coming from over thirty years of civil war and ten years of conflicts for the independence, the city appears as the result of experienced unprecedented violence. Political chaos has caused perceived fragmentation that can also be traced in the physical condition of the city as divides have been politicized and militarized since the years after independence in Angola and its capital.

Luanda has just recently - after the ceasefire in 2002 - started to reestablish planning rules and a sort of urban design, including the provision of basic facilities, although with significant contradictions related to spatial and class differences.

New developments and buildings, that concentrate in wealthier areas (Center and South) do not go hand in hand with the provision of diffuse public services – water and electricity – but on the contrary new projects, mostly designed by foreign firms, are often costly and not sustainable constructions with independent water and electricity supply and with no relation with the rest of the city. The “gated community” models together with Dubai-like aesthetics are the driving paradigms behind most of new constructions.

Looking at Luanda’s urban spaces, security issues emerge in different ways. In the last decade the city center, that corresponds in general terms to the former colonial city and grew until the early 70s according to various planning interventions, has been extensively modified through demolitions and new constructions. This process has caused a rapid changing of the socio-economical geography of the downtown area where weaker groups have been forced to move away without planned alternatives. Moreover, mapping the number of military departments, institutions, private housing and facilities, barracks etc. only in the centre of Luanda, one can easily realize that the city is constellated and largely occupied by militarised areas. The presence of different military forces that circulate in Luanda, some of which survey sensitive spots, is very high. Additionally, traffic police stand in small groups at almost every major crossing in Luanda and private guards companies patrol in front of bank offices, malls and other facilities. The result is that on the one hand the center can be perceived as secure thanks to the presence of patrolling forces, on the other hand the large distance between the population and the decisional power that modify the city produce a general sense of insecurity.

Another interpretation of security standards is given by the blueprints of Luanda Sul and Belas. Planned in the 50s as new residential areas in the city outskirts, the neighbourhoods appear today as a sum of gated communities with no open public spaces, enclosed malls, facilities and services, organized according to a mash of roads where it is difficult to navigate
and even walk. Large non-linear roads are surrounded by high walls and defensive systems are strengthen by cameras and electrified wires, seen as efficient devices against crime by the high and middle class of Luanda living there.

The *bairros*, which represent the other face of Luanda, because of the precarious constructive and living conditions are generally perceived from the outside as dangerous places. For that reason inequalities are strengthen not only by physical separation but also by the perception of insecurity. Forced evictions, military control, lack of information and basic infrastructure (water, electricity, sewage system), social recognition (no census) keep the population of the *bairros* under a constant status of insecurity. Moreover, these dense settlements are a true challenge for the State as they are nearly impossible to govern and they are seen as impossible to upgrade. In fact, little effort is registered to try to improve the living conditions in these parts of the city.

**The role of artworks**

Understanding the impact of public artworks in Luanda on urban safety and security is challenging, both for problems related to recognition and accessibility. Luanda is a city with (apparently) a very limited presence of permanent artworks.

Most of the public permanent artworks visible in the city are monuments and murals, both dating back to the colonial times or realized in more recent years. Many pedestals of colonial statues, witnessing their ancient presence, can be found in important public spaces or have been replaced by monuments celebrating the independent Angola. Almost no contemporary artwork can be found. The most renown contemporary sculpture is called *Mitologias* (“Mythologies”, 1986) by the artist Antonio Ole, placed on the *Marginal*, the wide public space that faces the bay of Luanda. Besides its prominent position, even according to the author (Ole 2013), it never played a significant role in that space, both from the viewpoint of the usage of the surrounding space and in terms of safety and security.

Other minor examples can be found in private, enclosed areas, next to hotels or in front of gated public buildings and they weakly contribute to the beautification of those spaces rather than bringing an important message or having a strong presence in relation to the surroundings.

Besides that cluster, well known monuments celebrating the political power (MPLA) or important political figures from the Angolan history are a considerable number and they represent a specific case for the relation between artworks production, public space and security. The monument of Agostinho Neto in Largo da Independencia is a good example in that sense. The statue of the father of independent Angola, commissioned to a North Korean firm, represents Agostinho Neto on top of a tall pedestal at the center of a large roundabout. If one compares the colonial monuments that have been removed after the independence and the new ones - this, the *Monumento as Heroínas* and others - the similarity is tangible. The
way they work in public spaces as well as their use is in fact very similar to the ex-Portuguese ones. The difference lies in the way they are controlled, since some of them, including Largo da Independencia, are considered sensitive military spots so they are therefore patrolled by the police and not freely accessible. As it happens in the center of Luanda, security is guaranteed but at the same time the control on space is pervasive.

**From physical to ephemeral**

We could argue that, for a variety of reasons, artworks in public spaces do not play a significant role in Luanda. For the Angolan capital it is therefore necessary and particularly fruitful to expand the definition of artwork to a wider range of pieces and objects that embed similar meanings. Landmarks, buildings, ephemeral events and artworks, movable objects constitute in fact an important group of cases with deep cultural meanings and tangible influences regarding the perception of security and the use of public spaces.

For example, landmarks play a key role both for moving in the city and for the identity and memory of its inhabitants. Street names are generally substituted by an orientation system based on visual references. Urban landmarks like the BPC tower, Teatro Elinga or the Mausoleo Agostinho Neto embed historical and artistic values as well as cultural ones. But new constructions do not seem to reflect on Angolan identity and today massive demolitions occur, threatening the actual heritage stock and generating a physical and mental sense of insecurity. Luanda, as other African “new” cities, well reflects the dichotomy between superimposed, external patterns and local use. Moreover, the rapid and drastic urban transformations highlight the ambiguous relation of the government with its patrimony and its recent and far history. Demolitions of historical buildings (like the one of Kinaxixí market by Vasco Vieira da Costa), the cancellation of the label “architectural heritage of the city of Luanda” from some protected buildings can be considered attempts to transform the capital into a distorted future dream.

On a more ephemeral level, the two photo series made by the Angolan artist Kiluanj Kia Henda called *Redefining The Power – 75* (2013) and *Homem Sò* (“Lonely man”, 2011-2012) exhibited at Art Basel in 2012, are interesting examples of artworks that play a role between physical and mental spaces (Njami 2012). The first set of photos represent lively sculptures on existing pedestals of former colonial monuments in the squares of Luanda while the second one show the dismantled statues next to tanks and cannons inside Luanda’s fortress. The images are internationally renown and discussed by a large audience that exceeds the national borders. The fact of representing urban spaces of Luanda transcends the limits of the city and construct an immaterial, “mental space” where the meanings of art in Luanda start to take new forms.

Similarly but with different intentions, the recent work of the photographer Edson Chagas, who won the Golden Lion for the Angolan Pavilion at the Art Biennale in Venice in
2013, is a set of photos representing “informal monuments” in the streets of Luanda. The echo generated after the award and the refined images of everyday objects found in the streets of Luanda and repositioned against different walls, revealed Luanda to the international public and to the art world contributing in shaping mental spaces, not only the ones of those who have never been in Angola but especially the ones of Angolans (Njami 2012; Alvim 2013).

**Cultural events**

Today cultural events and ephemeral artworks in Luanda have got perhaps the most relevant impact on the city. The *Trienal de Luanda*, the complex triennial event that was set up in 2003 by the artist-curator Fernando Alvim, is for sure the most important and famous Angolan cultural event worldwide. However, besides that there is a number of other institutional and independent art and cultural centers that constitute an interesting constellation in the capital. Their production often show how the cultural and art scene is lively in Luanda: universities (Lusíada, Agostinho Neto), foreign cultural centers (the Goethe Institut, the Alliance Française, the Portuguese Embassy), private foundations and associations (Teatro Elinga, CELAMAR, Fundação Arte e Cultura), public ones (Associação Cultural Cha de Caxinde, KALU, CeFoFor – Centro de Formação de Jornalismo) independent initiatives (E-studio, independent UNAP artists) are able to promote various sorts of events for different publics.

Understanding the impact that cultural events can have in reshaping the city, especially for what concerns the relation between spaces and urban security, the Luanda Triennial can be considered in itself the most relevant artwork for the complexity of the intentions, the number of events and the effect it produces. The Triennial is a regular large-scale exhibition organized every three years (average) in Luanda and it includes exhibitions, temporary outdoor installations, multidisciplinary events and educational programs. Its duration and extension varies according to the edition and each one is anticipated by a number of *ante projetos* (preliminary events) that have national and international visibility. As Fernando Alvim argues, the concept of the Triennial is the one of a long-term “cultural movement” and not principally an exhibition, with Luanda as the main ground. In this sense the city is seen as a “laboratory” where Angolans can experience it as citizens, reflecting on the relation with the history of Luanda, their intimate history and the collective one, and the relation with the war. “It is not a Triennial *in* Luanda but the Triennial *of* Luanda” Alvim states. According to the curator the idea was to unfold Luanda including its contradictions and highlighting the city’s inconsistency, its limits and hybrid nature, that do not mean a place without identity, but on the contrary a place with many identities together. Reconstructing the cultural identity of the country after three decades of civil war - as addressed in the first Angolan Triennial of Luanda - was the main goal: “what is your geography in a country during the war? It is characterized by the places where you escape. You escape and your emotional state is profoundly altered” (Alvim 2013). Therefore everyone’s “emotional
“geography” is far more relevant than the physical space and the influence produced on Angolans as well as on a broader audience is the main goal. Accordingly, Simon Njami insists on the importance of the non-physical, immaterial aspects, which are the most important achievements, arguing that the spaces transformed by the Triennial have been in fact just simple containers: “everything was done to build mental spaces” (Njami 2012).

The Triennial clearly shows how the relation between security and the city is played first of all on an immaterial basis. The event is a way to heal from the devastating violence of the civil war and the colonial period and the Triennial is seen as having a sort of cathartic effect on the city and its inhabitants, shifting existing perceptions and memories, overlapping new ones, and projecting the compressed energies to the construction of the future society.

References
2.2.2 Panoramic report

Politics, power, resources

The majority of the population of Angola lives in poverty and is still facing terrible conditions, in most cases deriving from the 40 years of war, despite its enormous oil and mineral wealth, which represent the fundamental paradox of the nation. Oil and diamonds make Angola one of the richest African nations with extremely profitable resources: if they were managed properly, “people would be amongst the best fed, best educated and the healthiest on the African continent. The reality is quite the opposite” (Hodges, 2001). The paradox of mineral wealth in Angola, like in other mineral-rich nations, brings to the conclusion that it engenders conflicts due to corruption and mismanagement. There is in fact a tremendous pressure to keep control over the oil industry as well as the resources to consolidate the central power. As a matter of fact, the State is the only beneficiary of such wealth and controlling the state becomes therefore crucial.

Since 1979, when the first president of Independence Agostinho Neto died, president Eduardo dos Santos has been in power, as a leader of the MPLA – Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (“the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola”), ruling party and literally controlling almost the entire political machinery of the country. Moreover, the “dos Santos regime” has had control over many state-owned companies, benefitting from any sales and loans from and for oil production instead of the state. The President’s level of control is, in fact, one of the distinctive factors that sets Angola apart from other oil-rich African nations (Collins, 2008).

The diamond industry is also a critical aspect of Angola’s economy. Diamonds were discovered at the turn of the 20th century and oil in 1955, but both have remained export economies, with no direct advantage for the majority of Angolans. In the 1990’s UNITA – União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (“National Union for the Total Independence of Angola”), the opposite party to MPLA, together with “artisanal” miners controlled nearly all of the diamond industry: their control over diamonds is what makes UNITA able to contend with the MPLA. But since the end of the civil war in 2002, the MPLA government has secured the control over diamond mines, undertaking a campaign in order to get rid of “artisanal” miners and secure those concession areas for large companies who partner with the state-controlled company Endiama.

Angola is transitioning from a militaristic society to a civil society and the current configuration of power hampers that transition. Most agree that Angola is an autocratic one-party state that still depends on a militaristic regime to secure power and wealth for the few. Ultimately, the state has failed as an entity to provide social services and general securi-

---

1 Since several interviewees are public figures and/or belong to semi-public institutions, in order to protect them from possible negative repercussions because of their declarations, we decide to not associate their names to their quotes.
ty for the majority of Angolan citizens and instead takes care of the President’s (and now his daughter’s) inner circle. Moreover, Sindika Dokolo’s ventures and his marriage to Isabel dos Santos is indicative of the locus of power and the state in Angola.

It is important to get a brief overview of the main power and political relations existing in Angola in order to understand their geographical dynamics as well. During the war, the ideological conflict was played on the opposition of rural and urban contexts. It was a very practical division and as the civil war progressed, Luanda became a locus for resources that were not available to UNITA or to rural Angolans. Before the war ended, the divide between rural and urban could be framed according to the two main factions: the MPLA and UNITA.

Luanda, urban growth
If on one hand Luanda appears as a typical overpopulated African city and a conglomerate of creative and unofficial spatial practices, on the other hand it is the result of a specific history. Together with Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, Luanda has been for almost four centuries the center of one of the two main African colonies belonging to the Portuguese Empire first and to the Portuguese dictatorship later. Thus the city is deeply linked to the particular aspects of Portuguese colonialism.

After the first Portuguese arrived at the Ilha de Luanda (“Island of Luanda”) at the end of the 15th century, establishing there what would eventually become the most important center for slaves trade in Africa, especially towards America, the first settlement remained rather small until the 19th century. It was only after the independence of Brazil (1822), which represented the main resource for the Portuguese Empire, the end of slave trade (1836) and the opening to international shipping companies that Luanda quickly developed as a commercial harbor center. Moreover, after the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) with the “run to Africa” by the European countries, Portugal started a strategic policy and massive investments in Angola and Mozambique to guarantee its leading position onto the geopolitical world map and in order to exploit the large resources of those two territories.

Luanda grew starting from the bay, its harbor and the Marginal, first consolidating along the coastal line and the Baixa ("downtown") and progressively expanding towards the inland. Unlike Maputo, the first plans and urban representations emphasize the role of certain buildings and landmarks (churches, fortresses, but also public facilities such as the hospital) that are clearly visible in the plans of 1755 and 1862. Drafted during the 19th century, the urban structure of Luanda did not change until the beginning of the 20th century when it started to expand towards the upper grounds. New roads and railways connecting the Baixa, the harbor and the new neighborhoods (Ingombotas, Maianga) and facilities (hospital, military barracks) were based on a grid layout that imposed a number of rigid, rectilinear axis over the complex topography of the city. After the end of the Second World War thanks to
the agrarian plantation economy, the boom of coffee, the emigration policies from Portugal *(povoamento)*, the industrial progress and the consolidation of the harbor, Angola and Luanda experienced a rapid growth. Thanks to new investments in civil construction, starting from the end of the 1940s, Luanda was hit by the wave of the Modern Movement that resulted in an impressive production of the so-called “tropical architecture”, with specific declinations. New neighborhoods were built to replace the old *musseques*, the uptown and downtown were renewed and devoted to new functions, new parts of the city started to be structured together (such as Ferreiras, Carmo, Ingombota, Maculusso, Maianga). Since then, different parts of the city have been designed following independent logics, but with high quality of production and approach, such as the large chessboard corresponding to the Kinaxixi square, the base point of the gradual modernization of the city. From the mid-1950s until the independence (1974) the city grew at an incredible speed, not only in terms of dwellings but also of infrastructures.

Luanda has a central role in the history of modern architecture and especially in the history of the Modern Movement. We can highlight the most important architectural constructions and urbanization processes in Luanda by dividing them into two periods: the period between the 1920s and 1950s embraces the first planning activity *(Plano de Urbanização de Luanda, 1944)* and the construction of important buildings that structured the layout of the city as it is today. During the second period from 1960s to 1975, the modern city was largely built and consolidated.

Starting from the conflicts for the independence in the late 1960s and especially after 1974, during 30 years of civil war, until the cease-fire of 2002, Luanda arrested its formal growth, with only consistent peripheral occupation of the land caused by the flux of migrants escaping from the conflicts in the countryside and then concentrating in the peri-urban areas outside the city center and constructing the current *bairros* (“neighborhoods”) such as Marçal, Rangel, Cazenga, Penda, and others.

In the last decade, with the booming economy derived from the exploitation of natural resources, oil and diamonds, Luanda is invested by huge transformations. The historical radial growth is today reinforced by the ongoing expansions and new constructions, especially southward. In fact, today the city can be schematically described, starting from the bay, as constituted by the historical ex-colonial center, a large belt of informal settlements *(bairros)* around it, and a third crown outside them, developing southwards, where the new rich and high middle class neighborhoods are concentrated (Belas, Luanda Sul). In this recent configuration, the *bairros* occupy a central position that places them under a huge pressure, and the constant risk of being erased and their inhabitants evicted. At the same time, while the South is developing following infamous urban models such as the Brazilian or South African gated cities, the historical center of Luanda is threatened by extensive demolitions that do not pay any attention to the architectural and urban heritage.
Luanda as a contested space

It is important to layout briefly the urban history of Luanda in order to understand the existing city and its current transformations. The colonial formal and planned urban development described above gives only a partial portrait of the city: the formal center grew together with the “other city”, the so-called informal one.

Looking at Luanda from above, we can recognize a pattern of socio-economic divisions that form the landscape of the city. Even today, there is a clear fracture and formal difference between the buildings of the ex-colonial Luanda, the southern rich neighborhoods, and the precarious conditions of the peri-urban Bairros – for a long time called Musseques – surrounding the city. The bairros or musseques can be described as “informal”, “spontaneous” settlements – although many of them are under a process of consolidation – where people from the outlying areas, migrants from all over the country, live. They are, both in structure and in culture, the liminal areas between the rural and the urban, and their pattern is a peri-urban model that developed from an original rural pattern. The bairros act as entry points for families and individuals who migrated from war-torn areas of Angola. As Marissa Moorman argues: “The musseques, while on the physical periphery of the ever-growing city, have always been at the center of urban discourse and life.” The musseques were the center of nationalism during the independence struggle and the site of tension between factions during the civil war. They constitute the actual heart of the city. By number of inhabitants and working force, they represent the resource and the threat for the political power that manages the city. The peripheral areas of Luanda have grown exponentially since 1970 and especially in the years since the end of the civil war. Since the 2002 ceasefire, the population has grown between 4.5 and 5.5 million, but since Luanda was built for 400’000 people, it is estimated that 70%-90% of the urban population live in the bairros under harrowing conditions. Even today, despite the huge investments in infrastructure (dams for water and power), these neighborhoods do not offer running water, trash disposal, electricity, and drainage.

Coming from over thirty years of civil war and ten years of conflicts for the independence, the city appears as the result of experienced unprecedented violence and chaos. Political chaos caused psychological fragmentation, and this can also be traced in the physical condition of the city. Luanda has just recently started to reestablish planning rules and a sort of urban design, including the provision of basic facilities, although with significant contradictions related to spatial and class differences.

New developments and buildings, that concentrate in the wealthier areas (Center and South) do not foresee the use of public services – water and electricity – and most of them are not sustainable. On the contrary, new projects – mostly designed by foreign firms – are often costly and highly degradable constructions, with independent water and electricity supply and with no relation to the rest of the city. The “gated community” models, together with Dubai-like aesthetics, are the driving paradigms behind most of new constructions.
The *bairros* – which represent the other face of Luanda – are a true challenge for the state, as they are nearly impossible to govern, and perceived to be impossible to upgrade. In fact, little or nearly no effort is registered to try to upgrade the living conditions in this part of the city, besides the ones coming from the humanitarian international sector.

Today, the cityscape of Luanda witnesses the fact of having been for a long time a contested space. Just like many other African colonial cities, since its foundation by the Portuguese and during the colonial era, Luanda was inhabited by a white, foreign population, and the city was the direct expression of the colonial power. Its white population grew from 9’000 persons in 1900 to 290’000 by 1970. Though almost every Portuguese citizen left Angola after independence, the general idea outside Luanda is that the city is not authentically Angola.

After the independence, Luanda has been the center of power for MPLA (since its inception in 1956) and was accordingly a source of contention for UNITA. For UNITA, MPLA members were elite city dwellers, not “authentic” Angolans – most of the members of the MPLA in Luanda were *mestiços* ("persons of mixed race") – who had no sense of the hinterlands. Just like Maputo and other African centers, Luanda is a cosmopolitan city. At the same time it is unique the way divides were politicized and militarized in the years after independence in Angola and its capital.

**Cultural and artistic context (public art and cultural events)**

**General context after the Independence, 1974**

“...The postcolonial condition in Angola contained ruptures and continuities with the condition of Portuguese colonialism, not the least of which was the continued violence in Angola as they immediately transitioned from an independence war to a civil war. Many Independence-era artists chose to continue the rhetoric of revolution, transferring the enemy from the Portuguese to the “puppets” of Portugal, the enemies within the MPLA and UNITA. Independence art seamlessly transferred the visual forms from anthropology books to their canvases." (Collier 2010).

Until the independence, the arts community was underground, embedded in the *musseques*, exiled in Portugal, Cuba, and other countries, or imprisoned. The rhetoric of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism did not leave Angolan artist, but rather the *Angolanidade* ("Angolan-ness") was defined anew: it was from a hybrid notion of Angolan identity that was formulated in the urban realm, close to the *assimilado* ("integrated") population of Luanda. It was partially embedded in the poetic and political influences from African post-colonies, Brazil, as well as from other socialist countries.

The motto by Agostinho Neto “*Havemos de Voltar*” ("We must return") clearly shows the ambition of a return to the culture of Angola embodied by masquerade and music, as well as to the material resources of Angola such as diamonds, oil, and soil. Angola’s rich
post-colonial cultural production was born from a search for the “real,” conditioned of violently forced alienation from land and resources.

The Independence and the new Angolan, embedded in the new Marxist-Leninist State under MPLA, showed the effort to construct a cultural program in tension with the notion of *Angolanidade*, a cultural movement of the 20th century rooted in *Créolité* (“Creoleness”) and decentralized Angolan culture. Under the Marxist-Leninist government, cultural officials used the classic Marxist dialectic between the superstructure and the material infrastructure in theorizing the place of the cultural production, where art was propelled by the material condition of “the people,” namely all Angolans. In this frame, artists started to work on interpretations of art forms, images, representation and symbols through debates in journals, conferences, and in their own work, examining the political conditions under which they were producing art.

The so-called scientific socialism (1979) imposed to Angolan nationalist artists a negotiation between new discourses on art and cultural production and the African identity. After Independence, ethnic identity became an object of desire for the competing MPLA and UNITA, and it was many times claimed through violence. The violence of contemporary Angola is expressed in the writing and art of Viteix (Vitor Manuel Teixeira, 1940-1993), who also exemplifies this transition: the pictograms are symbols, which reveal their revolutionary aspect, negotiating a consensus among the masses. “For Viteix, the pictograms and the murals generally were not only ‘pre-colonial’, but also more aggressively anti-illusionary and anti-bourgeois.” (Collier 2010).

The pervasiveness of the civil war is present in many artworks, despite the MPLA rules and construction of what could be accepted as national, truly Angolan art under its conceptual condition. The MPLA socialist policies and processes of transition from colonial rules to democracy were imposed from the top down, including the ones on cultural production and art. The MPLA’s institutionalized unity was weak and misleading, somehow as sectorial as Portuguese colonial institutionalized segregation was. For example, the MPLA conceived of the Chokwe people and other groups as unities, monolithic groups, “nationalities” that coexisted under a multi-ethnic rational, “neutral” state. In fact, for UNITA, the MPLA was an urban party of elite and upper class privileged Angolans educated abroad, with no connection to “real” Angolans, although even UNITA’s self-asserted authenticity was an attempt to claim and control the hinterlands. But from both sides the claims of authenticity and sovereignty were highly rhetoric, being both parties deeply linked to foreign forces present in Angola.

“The MPLA’s Marxism nationalism was in sharp contrast with UNITA’s ‘blood and soil’ nationalism. Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, claimed indigenous rights to Angola, accusing the MPLA of an intellectualism that was removed from ‘real’ Angolans. MPLA in the early seventies claimed that UNITA’s Portuguese alliance and its pacts with South Africa in fact demonstrated that UNITA was the party most ingratiated to foreign influence.” (Collier 2010).
Luandino Vieira – who in 1964 won an award from the Society of Portuguese Writers with his novel *Luuanda* – written in the language of the musseque as opposed to the high Portuguese of Agostinho Neto – argued that “Certainly a white man can be an African writer. [...] I am an Angolan writer, therefore an African writer”. This definition of African writer, therefore Angolan, is precisely what UNITA used to mount a political attack against the MPLA, claiming that it was elitist, intellectual, and inauthentic.

The comparison between Luandino Vieira and Agostinho Neto is particularly fruitful because it represents the two sides of an existing spirit, that can be called utopian and dystopian, which emerge also among the artists.

After the violent Independence, as a matter of fact, the MPLA had little desire to maintain any tie to Portugal. When they left, Portuguese nationals sabotaged every sector of Angolan infrastructure, leaving the country in a state of chaos.

This frontal opposition against Portugal, throughout the 1970s and 80s, led Angolan artists and writers to identify themselves with the new representatives of the liberating party and their alliances. They were increasingly influenced by their ideological counterparts in Cuba, the USSR, and East Germany. In this new geopolitical setting, many visual artists, including the founding members of UNAP – União Nacional dos Artistas Plásticos (“National union of plastic artists”), which was conceived precisely for the reason of the applicability of arts to the people of Angola – left Angola and trained in the School of Fine Arts in Havana and in other friendly countries. However, many of them did not identify to the socialist realism they learned, realizing that it did not fit the context of Angola and indigenous Angolan culture.

The independence for the MPLA was followed by a sudden shift in defining the enemy of Angolan nationalism from the Portuguese to what MPLA called “the puppet regimes of the Portuguese”: FNLA and UNITA. Thus Angolan nationalist artists, especially those in the MPLA, faced a complex transition from anti-colonial nationalists to state workers, charged with initiating a cultural infrastructure and a practice of collectivity. As Collier (2010) well summarizes:

“Angola’s colonial and postcolonial identity formation occurred within a network tied to Portugal’s own peripheral status in relation to global superpowers. For Angola, the ‘metropole’ varied between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. As far as the politics of culture, Angolans conversed with anti-colonial activists from Brazil, Portugal, Cuba, East Germany, and the USSR. They were influenced by the tenets of *antropofagia* in Brazilian modern art as well as theories of cultural superstructure formulated in Marxist scientific socialism. While some Angolan artists and writers were drawn to the Francophone negritude movement and pan-Africanism generally, they also had strong ties with Latin American activists who held a more pragmatic view of anti-colonial activism”.

---

Moreover, she points out how the full story of art policy in Angola is yet to be told: studies of Luso-African art are limited in the field of contemporary African art and the MPLA holds many records that they will not release, while archives are just now begin to be reconstituted.

These conditions and influences highlight some exceptional characteristics of Angolan art and culture. After the 2002 ceasefire, Angola’s position within contemporary African art started to be established outside Angola, as artists and researchers are just now able to maneuver around the information that is available. Angolan artists had been struggling for more than thirty years, as material and educational networks were highly volatile during the civil war. The instability of Angola had deep consequences on art making in general, to the extent that medium determines the content of art. The war destroyed the possibility for artists to procure materials and find spaces to work and produce. It also severely constricted the art market, and unless artists went to Cuba or other countries, their work was not widely shown. Today, the status of the MPLA’s cultural policies is well exemplified by the current state of the UNAP, which struggles to find funding, while its fellow artists struggle to find exhibition spaces, and the building that hosts the art school and galleries is literally falling apart.

**MPLA cultural policies: the museums**

In Angola, during the late 1970s, cultural heritage was claimed by the MPLA as being a ward of the state: it was treated as an important resource as diamonds, oil, and the Angolan soil. Under a decree of 1976, all cultural patrimony was then declared the property of the People of Angola. The re-appropriation of Angola’s cultural heritage accompanied also a detailed program for the newly nationalized museums. The conceived network included, among others, the museum of Anthropology, Nature, Slavery, Archaeology, Armed Forces, and Colonial History.

Museums were meant to play an important role in unifying the nation culturally: an intellectual and practical endeavor. In fact, the museum manual (1979) is one of the clearest statements on the MPLA’s cultural program at the time of Independence: it explains that museums are the storehouse of cultural capital, “the objects of culture” and the educational apparatus that spread cultural capital to the Angolan people.

Museums had a pedagogical role as presenting “objective” proof of Angola’s genealogy. Thus, pedagogy was particularly urgent for the MPLA as they fought to control the vast territory of Angola and all of the political, ethnic, and social factions within it. The MPLA’s attempt to culturally integrate rural Angolans coincided with the historical struggle to gain control over the entire society and therefore all the sectors of Angolan economy: agriculture, mining, industry, and so on. Thus in the new system, the museum was to be a laboratory where to reach the shared respect for Angolan “cultures”, through educational programs and working in concert with the various local chiefs and power structures, even in Luanda. Thanks to the museums it would have been possible to observe the processes of change and
progression toward the new, controlled cohesion, which could be realized by also improving the living conditions of Angolans.

The rigidity of the MPLA’s museum program was somehow a violent struggle to control the cultural and social heterogeneity of Angola. MPLA officials believed that all art production had to support the revolution, and therefore cultural divisions could be bridged if all Angolans were conceived of as one egalitarian class. The museum program clearly refutes the theory of Négritude (“Nigritude”) of primordial unity and black authenticity. The MPLA did not purport to create a division between races and their sources of creativity. Instead, they sought to accurately reflect the changing material conditions of the African – not necessarily the black African – in forming a new culture.

Viteix and the UNAP

Theory and Practice of Angolan Plastic Art (1983)³ by the artist Viteix – (1940-1993) an anti-colonial activist, refugee in Paris before Independence, general director of UNAP from 1987 to 1989 – is “the only comprehensive post-independence volume on Angolan visual art” and it answered Neto’s call to research Angolan culture. He was of the same generation of António Ole (born in 1951), whose early work also had a subversive intent; both artists studied the Chokwe murals and images as an attempt to discover an essential “Angolan” form.

The above mentioned book by Viteix is a summary of the work he completed for the MPLA, that tries to define the social history and function of art in Angola and also to unify visual characteristics of his body of work – he worked to establish a post-independence body of visual art and practice. In his words Viteix defines the book as a sociological study of plastic art in Angola, and stresses the idea of an underlying logic of Angolan art that does not necessarily manifest itself in a stylistic affinity reflecting the “new” Angolan society. Viteix defines it an “ideo-sociological” system of classification of art, arguing that political action is the original function of art and listing the types of art produced by various “groups”, defined as both ethnic and territorial groups. He also faces the challenge of integrating the production of artists and artisans and including so-called decorative and functional arts into Angolan plastic art.

The interesting aspect of Viteix’s study lies in the pragmatism and concern with the systematic logic of Angolan art, where his effort is to connect rural game playing to innovation in urban games, linking strategically the rural and urban, especially in the section on mural painting in Angola. The most valuable common characteristic that Viteix sees as unifying Angolan art is its non-hierarchical practice, and realism as defined by the people.

What in his opinion connects Chokwe house painting and the MPLA mural on the military hospital in Luanda is populism and non-elite practice.

The MPLA established the UNAP in 1977. The goals of UNAP as described by the MPLA Worker’s Party were to involve the public in Angolan art in order to transform Angolan minds, to progressively transform heritage from bourgeois to the stock for a new society and to create the conditions to transmit these ideas.

For the author the limits to UNAP are the lack of materials, of participation by the members across the country and of qualified teachers, which were seen as devastating to UNAP’s ambitious program, that included teaching painting, design and sculpture, hosting conferences, and exhibiting artists from other friendly countries such as Nigeria, Yugoslavia, the USSR, and others.

The Trienal de Luanda
The Trienal de Luanda is an institution and an event created in order to “take the pulse” of the Angolan nation with the explicit aim of supporting Angolans in the process of reasserting themselves after colonialism and a debilitating thirty-year civil war. In 2003, shortly after the 2002 official ceasefire in Angola, the vice-minister Andrea Mingas invited Fernando Alvim to produce what would eventually become the first Trienal de Luanda. The Ministry of Culture was interested in creating a major exhibition of art and asked Alvim – at the time an Angolan artist living in Brussels – to return to Angola and lead the project. Alvim had been already working as an artist and as curator of projects, including the project Camouflage in Brussels, a precursor project of TACCA: Territorios de Arte e Cultura Contemporânea Africana (“Territories of Contemporary African Arts and Culture”), which was conceived as a satellite operation while he was looking forward to the time when he could open a contemporary art center in Luanda. For Alvim, the invitation by the Angolan Ministry of Culture was the bridge between TACCA and his concept of a major project on contemporary African art in Luanda.

While the Minister wanted a Biennial, Alvim proposed to have a Triennial in order to have one year of time to reflect on the previous edition and to prepare the following one. Fernando Alvim was appointed main curator of the event, among others who were interested in the current state of Angola from a social and political point of view, expanding that interest to the African continent in general and its state of art. At this point he defined the general parameters for the first Trienal de Luanda. Simon Njami was directly involved in constructing the Triennial due to his interest in the relationships between cultural policies and power. He also shared with Alvim the idea that the set of events should have a political side.

The partnership with Sindika Dokolo – a wealthy Congolese art collector who is today married to the daughter of the President of Angola, Isabel dos Santos – allowed Alvim to create a foundation (Fundação Sindika Dokolo) as a platform for producing the Trienal.
The Concept of the Trienal de Luanda
Alvim has insisted on the concept of the Triennial as a cultural “movement”, and not principally an exhibition. He sees the past and future exhibitions as periodic upsurges of activity within a long-term “cultural movement”. In the official website of the Triennial one can read: “Our proposition is the exercise of art and culture as an essential vector for the humanization of contemporary society. [...] To reflect on the current moment and the social facts that contextualize us, there is an urge to diagnose the image- and thought-base of Angolan as located in the global era. [...] Our aim is to spread aspects of the Angolan culture with aesthetic and philosophical value, encouraging the fixing and recreation of the image-base of the country translated into a contemporary language and attaining a universal memory of African contemporary aesthetics”.4

Simon Njami argues that the basic principle of the Triennial is that one cannot produce a Biennale in Frankfurt in the same way he conceives such an event in Africa, because the mission there is completely different. If we consider the contemporary conditions and problems of the art world globally and we think about the African situation in general, we reach the conclusion that we need something much more organic, that is able to change the physical and mental landscapes with social and political implications. This is exactly why the curators of the African Pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 2003 did not exhibit large pictures of artists on the walls but rather political figures. According to Njami “without a political cut it didn’t make sense. It is that reading the one that can change things in Africa. If Art has got a role, it is precisely that one” (2012).5

The underlying philosophy of the Triennial is that Africa and African artists should become able to produce their development models and also able to construct their own critical sight. Starting from the European superimposed model that was injected in Africa, Africans must decide what they accept, what they take and adapt to their society, and what they reject. The claim of the Triennial is that they created “systems that can impact on self esteem”, triggering the desire for a self-perpetuating Angolan cultural production.

In a recent article about African collectors on the magazine Jeune Afrique (November 2012), Sindika Dokolo, unlike other collectors who discuss about African beauty, claims that art should be used as a weapon.6 Simon Njami argues that the Triennial works equally on people’ mental spaces rather than on their physical spaces because mental space is where it is possible to build new modalities, in order to provide people with tools that they do not im-

---

4 Quotation from the website of the Trienal de Luanda, no longer available.
mediately understand how to use but that they can start to handle. Starting from those tools people can construct their own “weapons”. The philosophical principle expressed by Njami is existentialist, as he claims that Africans are able to construct their future, yet they need to acquire more trust and start to learn how to use their tools. But in order to achieve that it is necessary to have a toolbox that until recently – the independence process and the period of peace – was neglected to most of the population. Njami claims:

“In most of the countries in Africa the difficulty is that everything has to be constructed: we need to reconstruct the past, understand the present and invent the future. All that must be done in a short span of time, limited and quick, if you also take into account globalization processes. For these reasons that’s an extremely difficult exercise.”

In his words, culture is the only space for emancipation and that is the only real political space.

“If we look at the global economy, in Europe and elsewhere, the ways you can operate are limited and if we base on that principles the distinction between Left and Right thinking, the result is very blurred. On the contrary, if we look at cultural issues, like gay marriage or abortion, there we can see clear cultural fractures and distinctions.”

Thus, according to Njami the space for real ideological discussion and its best arena is culture, not economy, but there is today a urgent need to redefine what culture is on a global level, especially the so called “high culture”.

“For us ‘high culture’ is the books we read, a Ph.D. etc., but all that makes us forgetting the basic things. When we worked on the idea of immaterial spaces, for example for the Triennial, we went back to the ontological and anthropological definition of culture and we restarted from there. What is ‘high’ in the African context? We need to redefine the term culture, art and re-found their meaning: you don’t start from the roof to construct a house, you start from the foundations.” (2012)

On the same line, Fernando Alvim (2013), talking about the first Triennial, argues:

“I start form the principle that it would be a contradiction to conceive the space for art and culture in just one way, following just one shared notion of art and beauty. For centuries there was one, there was an imposed mono-esthetic but today it’s clear that it doesn’t work like that anymore. Beauty depends on each one’s perception, it varies according to everybody’s chemicals.”

Thus aesthetic matters depend from the perception and the emotional status of every person. This is why, for example, the use of spaces and even climatic aspects were taken into account when the Triennial was designed.

Alvim did not want to conceive the Triennial as something imposed, given, but rather to propose a much more shared event: “We wanted to seduce and not to impose something: after 30 years of war it would have been such a violence to impose something” (Alvim, 2013).
For that reason, and in order to distinguish the Triennial from all the other existing events worldwide: “We wanted to do all that did not exist in other Biennials: an event entirely accessible, for free, inclusive, with no value judgments. We all had to learn together” (Alvim, 2013).

The rhetoric of an open Triennial had to be visible also referring to the mechanisms employed in the past. The link to the past was a way to talk about the history of Angola although in a very soft way, referring to certain periods of time, to historical moments of Angolan history but not openly and without declaring it directly. For example “right after independence, in the time of the Central State, schools were maybe not great, but health and education were both available for free” (Alvim 2013). Making all the events freely accessible to everybody was a way to create indirectly a connection with that period. By opening the doors and allowing somehow the city to influence the Triennial, Alvim wanted the artists to define, invent and redefine their own esthetics:

“For example a 16-year-old guy came to me while we were mounting one of the exhibitions to show his work and I let him immediately hang his paintings on the wall because they were interesting. This wouldn’t be possible in a Venice Biennale because the posture is different there, the history of that event and of that country is different than here” (Alvim, 2013).

This is why, according to the curator, the attitude of the Triennial towards the city and Angolans in general has to be humble: “We have to make abstraction of our own taste because it would be extremely violent to impose one. Often exhibitions are the expression of the taste and ego of the curator, his specific eye. Here we created a platform in order to give the people the possibility to grow” (Alvim 2013).

In this sense also the ante-projectos have been conceived exactly for that reason: to let people understand that the future Triennial was going to be an open art exhibition, a large set of spaces where it was possible for artists to experiment, where they could have the possibility to show their work. It was a way to make artists and the general public understand what the Triennial wanted to achieve, also using Angolan media and broadcasting system.

One of the main goals of the Triennial was in fact to enable the admission of local artists into the international art world. The Triennial is in fact about establishing a new “territory of art” on the African continent by actively shifting the former centers, and therefore challenging the hegemony of the art world.

Alvim claims that the concept of the Triennial is similar to an interpretation of Luanda:

“What does define Luanda? It’s indefiniteness. We wanted a hybrid, undefined Triennial because it was going to be the first one. It would have been ridiculous to impose a system to people that didn’t want it. It’s just the same as the aid system: they want to help you, but you don’t want it, need it or
asked for it. [...] It’s about the way I see you and not how you really are: that perspective has dominated for so long and it is such a violence. It’s like saying we all have to be democrats; the way others try to impose democracy without understanding how you are is extremely violent. In this sense I do not accept anybody from outside to tell me how I am, because it’s ridiculous for me to ask someone else how you are!” (Alvim 2013).

From a curatorial point of view the statement of the Trienal de Luanda was very clear: it had to be an Angolan event made by Angolans for Angolans.

“We were very straight when it came to decide who had to be the curator of the Triennial. We claimed this right, that the Triennial was ours, that it belonged to Angolans. We didn’t want to invite people from abroad because there was not anyone here highly educated enough according to western standards. We wanted something entirely made and produced here” (Alvim 2013).

According to Alvim, the European Union in the beginning of the process of the creation of the first Trienal de Luanda, wanted to sustain financially the event, but the team lead by the Angolan artist preferred to refuse European funding. In fact he claims that if the logo of the European Union, or similar institutions, like Alliance Française or others, would have been next to the name of the Triennial, everybody would have thought that it was their product and not something conceived and produced in Angola.

The Angolan curator wanted to show that it was possible to realize the Triennial entirely in Angola and show the world they were able to do everything meeting higher standards.

The relation between the Triennial and the city of Luanda

The city is the main ground for the new Triennial. On the Triennial website it is declared

“Luanda is a city of the present, where everything is happening, an experimental laboratory [...] a mix of feelings and emotions, a city of movement where many people coming from the provinces fight for survival, not old and worn out like many other cities, but re-inventing itself each day.”

According to Alvim, since Luanda is the place where the independent Angola was created, it is the “laboratory for the creation of the Nation State” (Alvim 2013). The capital city has absorbed the population coming from the surroundings and escaping from the three-decades war, and in this sense it has worked as a strongly inclusive place, hosting people coming from different regions, from North to South: people speaking different languages and also people coming from other States.

Alvim argues: “Since Luanda is already 430 years old, who was living here had already this feeling of citizenship: the city hasn’t been constructed for Angolans but time after time people have been progressively appropriating the city” (2013).
According to him, Luanda is a Southern City-Nation, it can even be defined as a City-Continent or a Universal City because of the numerous international links with other countries it has had over history: normally nobody questions the fact that capital cities are part of the Nation, but in this case Luanda prior to being the center of Angola and representing it, it had its own history and strong character.

The name Luanda comes from the word *Axiluanda* – as it was called the human group originally living in the region – which means that Luanda before being the city of the Portuguese explorers, it was already a relevant place in Africa.

“If we look at the word ‘axiluanda’ that influenced the Brazilian words, we can say that Luanda is here and there” says Alvim (2013), and he continues: “Angolan slaves went to Brazil, South America but also to other parts of the world, even Europe. Angolans have travelled since a long time ago, so the city is extremely elastic, hybrid, undefined. It is more close to the next century than to the past, to its brief history. It is an open city, projected to the future.”

For Alvim what defines Luanda the most is exactly its indefiniteness.

In fact, for the 1st edition of the Triennial the idea was to highlight the role of the city, the one that it has played during the war period especially regarding its generosity and inclusiveness.

As Fernando Alvim says: “It is not a Triennial in Luanda but the Triennial of Luanda” (Alvim 2013). In this sense, it is the study about the experience Angolans had as citizens of this city, the relation with the history of Luanda, the relation between their intimate history and the collective one, and the strong relation with the wars – the one for the independence and the subsequent civil war.

According to the curator of the Triennial, the idea was to unfold Luanda and reveal it including its contradictions: not judging it, but highlighting the city in all its inconsistency and limits.

After independence, when Angolans entered a period of peace, the perception was that things were possible – kuduro was born exactly in this period, during the first period of peace – but there was not yet any consciousness of how to do things, which tools they could use, which were their spaces for operating.

The former *Muçeques* (“slums”), today called *Bairros* (“neighborhoods”) – the informal settlements of Luanda – are a good example, given by the initiator of the Triennial, to explain the current state of things, how rapidly the city is transforming, and its hybrid urban character. The *Muçeques* used to be separated from the city: the limits of the colonial city where the bay on one side and Boavista, where it ended. The actual *Bairros* from the colonial time grew outside that border. From an urban point of view, today this is an interesting

---

7 *Kuduro* is a popular angolan urban music born in the 1980s and booming today, see below.
new phenomenon because beyond those Bairros they started to build “the new city” (Belas, Luanda Sul), giving them a no longer peripheral position, but turning them into a sort of center. After a long period during which Luanda was blocked – for 30 years nothing was constructed because of the war – the urban equilibrium of the city radically changed after independence.

The new condition of the Bairros, that extend today until Viana, has started a process of social and urban transformation. On one hand Alvim argues that the Bairros’ destiny is to disappear because nobody wants to live in such bad conditions and because they are the expression of the period of segregation. On the other hand urban contemporary practices and upgrading of the physical space can be recorded also in these parts of the city. On top of that – as Alvim argues – everybody in Angola wants to live and be in Luanda due to many reasons: economic ones, but also the idea of an intense, dense city where many opportunities and different things can happen, including its movida (“the scene”). If we add to this set of observations the fact that 70% of the population is younger than 26 years old, one can easily understand the country’s attitude towards the future, and its relation with “the New”. If demographic numbers continue this trend, the natural consequence is that “We’ll never be a conservative country. Creativity here is a strong engine. We have a young body. Although, this overdose of youth can also be difficult to handle.” (Alvim 2013).

Similarly, Simon Njami argues: “Alvim once told me: we are older than our own country. I was born after the independence of Cameroon, so the country is older than me, but in Angola as in many other African countries it is different.” The scholar argues that the massive presence of young people is exactly what makes the difference and it is the reason why the contemporary is there and not in Europe because of the demography: “If I would come back to Paris in 100 years I could find my way, I could recognize it. Next time I will go to Luanda I will be lost. […] Young people are the future, that’s why we have to give them the tools to dream” (Njami 2012).

The relation between the Trienal de Luanda and the city, as Alvim strongly states, lies in its hybrid nature and in its definition. In his opinion, despite the recurrent definitions of Luanda as a place without identity, he claims that on the contrary it has got many identities together, that Luanda lives well with this lack of definition and that even from a very personal perspective the city’s stronger character is to be “undefined and at the same time maternal, feminine, and sexy”. Another important aspect on top of this is that Luanda is also the city of the strength against Apartheid and against global political violence in general. In this sense, “Luanda should be or could become a pole for that strength, a reference for Africa on that issue because it is confronted with the world history” (Alvim, 2013).
Emotional geography, the immaterial

One of the main shifts that is stressed by the Triennial, and somehow becomes central to describe other means and key aspects for this research, is the non-material dimension addressed by the set of programmed events over the last decade in Luanda.

“For me emotional geography is drawing a map in which I can mark all the places that are emotionally relevant for me. The entire geography is much more emotional than physical. If you like someone somewhere you like the place because of that, beyond the place itself. In this sense, when you see a building you like in a certain city, that building is for you a landmark in your own geography. But these things also change over time, it’s like the question of aesthetics: today something is more relevant for you, you like it more (emotionally and then physically) but tomorrow that can change, even radically.” (Alvim 2013).

This set of thoughts has driven Alvim to set up a series of events that are highlighting under that name – emotional geography – the power that emotional aspects have in determining the most apparently rational choices, and at last in deeply structuring our lives, especially when talking about a post-conflict environment.

“This was firstly linked to a reading of the war: what is your geography in a country during the war? It is characterized by the places where you escape. You escape and your emotional state is profoundly altered. War generates obliged migrations. The paths you follow draw a geography – I worked a lot on that –, the places that are more relevant for you are the ones that are connected to the most important events of your life, positive and negative ones. It is not the historical and artistic importance of a place that makes it relevant for us. [...] The emotional geography of my personal life was so altered. I can draw it. When they had to escape, people were in places they were obliged to be.” (Alvim 2013).

Another aspect connected to the relevance of emotional geographies is the connection to the body as a medium: “It is linked to our body. During the Berlin Conference the geography was just based on the land. Nobody, no human being was taken into account. But for me it’s the opposite, for me a geography is designed by human beings, animals, plants” (Alvim 2013).

Simon Njami, talking about the Triennial, also insists on the importance of working on non-physical, immaterial aspects, arguing that the spaces that were transformed for the Triennial were in fact just simple containers “and it’s necessary to study the immaterial aspects of the Triennial because everything was done to build mental spaces” (Njami 2012). According to Njami it is impossible to drive the transformation of physical spaces, especially in Luanda, where everything is rapidly changing.

“The idea of setting up specific spaces for the Triennial allowed us to transform them into ‘democratic’ spaces for the arts. For example taking an institutional space like the hall of a bank and opening it to
everybody. The statement was: you can find art everywhere, not only where you expect it to be and it’s not necessary to exhibit Picasso to make art, on the contrary we exhibited drawings made by little kids. So how can a similar event modify mental spaces?” (Njami 2012).

The exhibition presented by Njami together with Alvim and Sindika Dokolo at the Venice Biennale is a good example to explain the meaning of creating a mental, immaterial space:

“That’s what happened at the Venice Biennale. It was an international, well-known event and thanks to that the world was watching Angola. People in Luanda were talking about that, about the fact that they were talking about them, about Angola. Obviously they couldn’t see the exhibition but in their head it was like they had been there. That has created a mental space.” (Njami 2012).

For Njami the shift to mental spaces can be achieved through desire, which is not disconnected from the possibility of dreaming:

“Once I prepared an exhibition of photography on African independences and I was explaining that nothing can be done without dreaming. The difference between an ecstatic dream and a useful dream is that the latter is useful to build utopias, and those utopias can be transformed into political and social projects. We want to restore and feed this dream. There is nothing more immaterial than a dream, but if we don’t dream, it’s over. Dreaming is projecting, it’s thinking of the future. If we don’t dream of a city, we’ll not build it, if we don’t dream of a book we’ll not write it, if we don’t dream of something that can revolutionize the world we’ll not do it. Dreaming is the engine.” (Njami 2012).

He claims that especially in traumatized places, such as Africa, where people have been for a long time neglected, evicted, and have suffered for so long, it is fundamental to rehabilitate and give to people confidence that it is possible to dream again. These are the only elements that can allow a future radical and positive change:

“For what concerns us [art producers] that does not mean building new statues for squares. We have to look at the ways the squares are used, that’s much more revealing. [...] Kiluanji and Nastio Mosquito, for example, are today internationally renowned artists and they contribute to this mental shift: they influence other artists, their work is discussed, shown, studied.” (Njami 2012).

The immaterial aspects behind and beyond the production of the Triennial of Luanda are both for Alvim and Njami the most important achievement. Thus the Triennial cannot only be read and studied for the effects that has produced in the city and on the physical spaces – which are anyway an interesting aspect – but rather for the influence that has produced on Angolans as well as on a broader audience.

On the construction of the Triennial de Luanda
The first Angolan Triennial of Luanda was a project for reconstructing the cultural identity
of the country after three decades of civil war. The triennial officially opened in December 2006, after three full years of preparation and ante-projects. Throughout the run of the first and the second triennial (December 2006-March 2007 and September-December 2010) there were weekly cinema programs, conferences, theater plays, music performances, and “outdoor projects” that reproduced artworks on billboards all across the city. Additionally, there were periodic radio and television shows devoted to the Triennial.

All the above mentioned activities represented a body of images under the sovereign control and ownership of the Angolan state through the Ministry of Culture, reclaiming thereby Angolan art history and the practice of art “for the people” to focus primary attention – both in the art exhibited and in the curatorial conception – on Angola for several reasons. The claim of using the outdoor structure of the city was to give the maximum visibility of Angola’s “heritage” using a range of different images and providing a visual continuity through the city. These went along with the Triennial’s claim to create a physical network of creative spaces and habits of culture, implied in the statement that the Triennial aims to change society on the level of behavioral habits and on the way citizens inhabit the city.

In order to state the simplicity the structure of the Triennial had to have, the results of the first anteprojecto (“ante-project”), called Movimento (“Movement”), started from a precise yet very concrete definition:

“I took the definition (of movement) from the dictionary: ‘act of changing physical position in space in relation to time’. That was perfect as a first event. We wanted to simplify everything: the war has been complicated, violence is complex but peace is not. We didn’t want to impose theories and complicated constructions, we wanted to communicate in a very simple way. We wanted to keep it simple for people to understand the event immediately, in order to act and to do immediately.” (Alvim 2013).

The first Triennial of Luanda started right after the beginning of the peace period in 2003. According to Alvim there are two ways of seeing a disaster or a tragedy after its end: you can refer to one term or the other, it depends on the perspective. For example one can say post-colonial or after-independence period, which are synonymous, depending if one focuses on the tragedy or after it.

“We have to pay attention to our actual dimension. It often happens that someone wants to focus on the fact that a person was for a long time in prison and that one became a symbol of the war, reducing everything to that symbolic aspects.” (Alvim 2013).

The Angolan artist has worked for over 20 years on the theme of the Angolan war and one of his most famous projects, called Memorias intimas marcas (“Memory Intimacy Traces”) on the apartheid in South Africa and in Africa, was focusing on the deep meanings of the end of that long period of conflicts, in a very intimate and personal way.
His long experience, both personal and artistic, makes Alvim claim that the perspective through which we unfold the theme is absolutely central. If on one hand he is convinced that through an art project we cannot modify the relation with the war, the trauma or the perception that people have of that period, on the other hand he states that everyone can individually change one’s own perspective thanks to contemporary art and culture.

The theme of the first Triennial of Luanda was identities. Alvim often underlines that it is not on identity but plural identities because we all come from different backgrounds, we are mixed not only genetically but also culturally: “We can try to construct a single culture but that is still a sum of identities. We wanted to stress the idea of coexistence, which was more the identification to what exists: who does paint, draw, photograph today? what does construct a common ground, what is common to all of us?” (Alvim 2013). Instead of trying to construct one shared vision and aesthetic, the curator conceived the Triennial as a tool to record all the existing differences, to see the resulting landscape focusing on the “symptoms” of what is on the ground.

“The question of identities is central. We are not trying to justify ourselves to the rest of the world: the Triennial has developed the conditions to reflect on ourselves and maybe to discuss and to solve things. There is a political position of the Triennial: it claims the right for Angolans to have their own personality.” (Alvim 2013).

The question of identity for the initiator of the Triennial was a sort of check-up, a way to understand the status of Angola and Angolan art scene in general, to start to look at the present situation to reflect and comprehend each other’s nature again after the long period of war. The way in which that was translated is for example through the educational programs, working with the schools, including students as well as teachers. Culture in the vision of Alvim is a way to highlight differences working against the many preconceived ideas and projections on Angola and on Africa in general. Revealing what already existed, the art scene, and how Angolans are, was the red line throughout the first Triennial. The intention was to reveal, especially when talking about people and places that for a long time have been misinterpreted and hidden.

“I am very radical on that: I simply don’t allow anybody to ask me if contemporary African art exists. Over the last 30 years many intellectuals and artists have already argued that history of contemporary African art occupies the vacant spaces in history, to say that everything that was omitted on African history, on Africa in general, creates a void that is exactly where Africa enters.” (Alvim, 2013).

Despite the fruitful differences, what is common to Africans, according to Alvim, is that independences in the continent are contemporary: Nelson Mandela is contemporary, Apartheid is part of contemporary culture.
“We all feel we are connected to that, we lived that. Since State-Nations are new – nations as groups, culture, civilization and society already existed – that aspect marks contemporary African history. Firstly there is the fact of being independent: all of us (my generation at least) know what means to be colonized, now to have a passport, to have a country, etc. The African aesthetic has been very dominated by those themes. The number of exhibitions on Apartheid after its end was enormous, the need of analyzing that period and questioning its nature in order to understand it, brought to an extensive production as it is natural.” (Alvim, 2013).

For Simon Njami: “One of the aims of the Triennial was to create an Art Center that could be a reference in Africa. The idea is to create a platform where it’s possible to experiment in a broad way. This is fruitful especially in a land where ‘there is nothing’ and everything has to be invented. I like the concept of the work in progress” (Njami 2012), but as Alvim already argued: “We are different from the Venice Biennale and from Documenta in Kassel since we were born for different reasons. Culture was a way to talk to people, a way to dialogue. For us it is a way to dialogue to ourselves, among us, for us.”

Concerning the urban transformations of Luanda over the last decade and the relation with the two past editions of the Triennial and the forthcoming one, Simon Njami argues that while the city changes, the art scene takes progressively more space in Angola. Some people start to collect artworks, and at the same time there is a revaluation of the local culture and art. Even if the quality is not excellent, these phenomena contribute in creating a new fertile ground.

“We didn’t want to create the Triennial to ask the world to come and see it. We did it because Angolans had to see it. But it’s necessary to prepare the ground to turn people more familiar to such things” claims Njami. Especially today that is needed: creativity should become something more tangible, more discussed.” (Njami 2012).

There is a red line that crosses the three Triennials despite the different themes and the reformulation of the goals: “For the third Triennial we are going to establish a dialogue between artworks and historical documents in order to understand that history in society can produce so much more information than art.” (Alvim 2013).

On the structure of the Triennial of Luanda
Due to his constant presence in Luanda and his involvement in various affairs, Alvim addressed through the Triennial both the state, thanks to the connection with the Ministry of Culture, and the Nation, by the symbolism of the event as a perpetuation of “Angolan” creativity. The partnership with Sindika Dokolo is what allowed the creation of the foundation, managed by Alvim’s team for the production of the Triennial. As Njami describes:
'The first two Triennials have been a 'work in progress'. Everything was complicated at the beginning: budget, management, and general organization. For the first Triennial one of the main goals was to have educational programs where teachers were trained and then students were involved in different activities in the places devoted to the Triennial. Teachers, after the 'training', could come and visit the exhibitions with the students by rented coaches. The aim was to avoid the idea of art as something unclear, nebulous, especially for people that just came back after a long period of war, with strong traumas. [...] When I am talking about the educational program, in a broad sense, I include the state, the well-off and the population in general” (Njami 2012).

According to Simon Njami, the foundation plays a key role for its relation with the State and for the country in general: “Today the foundation is recognized and institutionalized at a public level. These things took time but today the foundation is funded by the state and somehow it substitutes the state: it’s similar to, and it works as a sort of Ministry of Culture, but on contemporary issues. Culture is contemporary especially in a country like Angola.” (Njami 2012).

After establishing the base and the conditions to prepare the Triennial:

“We started working officially in May 2003, but actually we already began in November 2002. We were officially invited by the Vice-Minister of Culture – by the architect Andreas Mingas – on the request of the President of the Republic of Angola, to conceive a Biennial or something similar in which civil society had to be the center. The State was going to be a partner, not even an economic one, but in terms of media, communication, etc. We had to and wanted to show we had the competences to produce such a big event, so we set up the Triennial, financed by private companies and individuals.” (Alvim 2013).

Alvim himself had invested 680’000.– USD as part of the funding for the first Triennial. Sindika Dokolo was also one of the financial supporters: through his collection he paid 50% of the expenses of the Triennial, while the rest of the budget was covered by sponsors.

“The first Triennial was made by one artist, one collector, and sponsors. The second edition was more supported by the state, but it was less expensive because the first had 32 people working full time on it, while the second only 10. The third has just 7 persons, and all the others are independent producers. That’s what we became in 10 years time” (Alvim 2013).

Concerning the management of the Triennial, which was performed by a small group of people, as Alvim often claims, he continues:

“We have done anteprojectos (“ante-projects”) in Frankfurt, Valencia, Lisbon, and before the Triennial we tested it through this series of events, and we experimented how the groups worked. The third does not need so many anteprojectos because many things are tested already, [...]. In general the State participated without costs for it and for us. The first Triennial was fantastic because from scratch we understood that many people were interested in collecting art, and financing art projects. Besides the fact that in 2002 the logistic sector was weak, and we had to invest more, today the system is much more consolidated in terms of production, organization and management [...], it’s much easier” (Alvim 2013).
Another strategy was the occupation and recuperation of vacant spaces, in buildings that were considered *patrimônio* (“heritage”). But again the State had to participate with minimal costs: for the first Triennial, for example, through the minister of telecommunications, some rooms of the post office were given to the Triennial under the deal of restoring the spaces and returning them to the official owner after the event.

“For the Triennial of Luanda we looked for vacant spaces and we found 3'000 squared metres: the Globo hotel, the Correios de Angola, Vivenda, the Armazen, the Baleizão, and they were all old buildings from different periods. We went there, we took pictures, made renderings and shown them to the owners saying that after two years he was going to have them back in a perfect state. That’s the way it happened. We didn’t want to stress the idea that there something tragic or happy happened, telling stories symbolically meaningful on the selected places” (Alvim 2013).

Alvim claims that by starting from scratch they were able to start a mechanism that was self-sustainable:

“We restored the first space showing we were able to do that and then others came to even offer their spaces. So the idea was not inventing a story with a symbolism but simply starting a process, a mechanism in order to create a space to be filled in. When we live in chaos we become used to it, we know how to handle it and then when we find places under control it is easier for us.” (Alvim 2013).

To reinforce the idea that the spaces used by the Triennial for its events were functional for realizing the goals of a vast program and for making specific statement, the Angolan curator says:

“The majority of people didn’t know what these building of a specific period were exactly, such as the Baleizão. The idea of the Triennial was not to use only ancient buildings, yet the majority of spaces we found were *de facto* ’heritage’ so then we reflected on how to restore and recuperate them. The intention was not since the beginning to choose that kind of buildings. There was not the intention to choose a specific space because of its meaning or historical value, we were just looking for spaces” (Alvim 2013).

Similarly, Simon Njami argues that the spaces used by the Triennial were by no means chosen for any specific deep meaning connected to the place itself, but he highlights the effects that using institutional spaces like a bank or a post office have produced on the general public:

“The spaces used by the Triennial, after that event became part of everyday life again, but the important aspect is the effect they produced when people could enter the bank and find an exhibition. Even the most institutional and hard spaces could become something else, could be open to culture” (Njami 2012).
Moreover, the anonymous character given to those spaces is reinforced by their set up that follows the same rules: white and gray paint on the walls and floors in order to create a neutral box.

The example that better tells the relation between the focus on the mental space and the material ones is the renovation of the theater Cha de Caxinde:

“The theater is a physical space but everything that happens there is immaterial, including debates and conferences. From a ruin we created a physical space in which immaterial works are possible. [...] There are places like the beach or the Marginal that already host cultural and recreational activities. Once they brought me to a cultural center in Brazil, and when I arrived I discovered it was a school of samba with some bars: I was expecting something else coming from France, my perception was deformed because where I come from there is another idea of cultural spaces.” (Njami 2012).

But other spaces have been used to “open windows” as Njami claims. For example, the fortress in Luanda was used by the artist Kiluanji Kia Henda for an artwork that became a series of photographs exhibited internationally.

Another important device where the billboards that previously hosted big adverts and all of a sudden were transformed in an encyclopedia of Congolese poetry. After a while they were again full of ads, but again there a window was opened on people’s minds.” (Njami 2012).

The use of physical spaces and different devices to work on mental spaces is a tested mechanism that we can find throughout the evolution of the Triennials, despite the changing format and theme. The first Triennial was on Identities with the aim of working on the “dissemination”. The second was on “mechanisms” in art production with three intensive months of events spread in the city. For the third Triennial the central theme is the “access to knowledge”: the ways we show the content and how we communicate that. There are certain elements that from the first and the second Triennial will be re-proposed in the third one because from the analysis of the two past editions the curatorial team drew conclusions and decided how to re-propose, modify or eliminate tested solutions. For example, the cinema program didn’t work as expected: “But cinemas with American movies are full, so we will have in the next edition a system with dispersed cinemas, while you are visiting an exhibition you can watch a movie in a room so there can be a better connection with other artworks.” (Alvim 2013).

**The relation with security issues**

The Triennial aims at focusing on the current state of Angola. Its director and conceiver, Fernando Alvim, spoke about the exhibition as a way to heal from the devastating violence of both the civil war and the colonial period. Alvim’s own art, before moving back to An-
gola, actively addressed the trauma of the Angolan civil war and the history of South African interventions that perpetuated various border conflicts in Southern Africa. TACCA was Alvim’s move to curating as art. His work since then has gone beyond addressing the war and Angola’s history to urging Angola to move from a militaristic to a civil state. Somehow Alvim seems to declare that the Triennial has a sort of cathartic effect over the city and its inhabitants, because it shifts existing perceptions and memories, overlapping new ones, and projecting the compressed energies to the future construction of society.

If on one hand we can speak about security concerning the relation between the Triennial and the traumatized population of Angola, on the other hand security is a tangible problem when speaking about Luanda.

On that aspect during the two last editions of the Triennial, Alvim claims:

“During all the events of the Triennial nothing happened: there were no robberies, nothing at all. What we did was: we were working with groups of people and we proposed we had to be ourselves the guards of the spaces. So we increased the salary of a 30% to the people working with us to secure the spaces. We didn’t hire any security company. Since everything was for free, I think that aspect inhibited people to do something bad, I think people was ashamed of stealing or more.” (Alvim 2013).

Conclusions
The Triennial was taking the reins of Luanda, a vibrant and emerging city, yet it was by no means realized on a sort of “ground zero”. Even if the curators and some of the critics like to compare it to the constitution of the art scene in post-war Germany and the role played by Documenta, as well explained by Siegert (2010). She argues

“The Angolan art world was at the time not a no man’s land during the civil war: unlike post-war Germany, much of the population has not participated in this economic upturn, and national politics is in the hands of a neo-patrimonial or kleptocratic elite. [...] Art production in the Angolan capital never came to a complete stop. This probably has to do with the fact that the war was largely conducted in the provinces and only a few direct acts of hostility took place in Luanda itself.”

Other emerging problems linked to the Triennial have been pointed out by some authors and are embedded into the curatorial program that somehow reflected the logic of enclave economies, and a dysfunctional state from which its sponsors benefit. Moreover the representation of Angola, its diverse and hard-to-grasp territory, posed enormous challenges for the Triennial in order to create the cultural infrastructure that Alvim had in mind. The Triennial had then to use rhetorical devices while having to operate in the volatile contemporary politico-economic condition of Angola. The immediacy of the environment posed also obstacles, both conceptually and physically, in establishing a regular exhibition and even to secure specifically Angolan sponsorship, counting on the willingness of an increasingly wealthy elite to support a local initiative and to advertise Angola’s presence on the global cultural and financial scene.
The Triennial is, as a matter of fact, embedded in the context of neoliberalism and the state in Angola. As claimed by Collins (2008), at the outset Alvim insisted that his operation demanded autonomy for artists and that he partnered with businesses under the mandate that he control the content and design. However, his partnership with the Sindika Dokolo Foundation problematized his claims of autonomy. Sindika Dokolo’s business interests and his marriage to the daughter of Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos represent a powerful configuration today in Angola. Sindika Dokolo’s business interests are intimately connected with his position in the small nepotistic enclave that runs the country and its economy. Because of these connections, Angolans, as well as the international art circles that know the situation, call into question the Triennial’s claims.

Fernando Alvim identified a need to repair and re-establish “humanity” in the city, and in some ways through the city, but the historical, social and political context of the Triennial highlight its ambivalent position within the Luandan art world. In particular, the repositioning seeks to remap the city of Luanda. Premises not usually used as art venues, such as the Hotel Globo in the center of the city, are transformed into new art galleries, and already existing venues are utilized in new ways. Since the reconfiguration is only temporary, it does not seem to establish a direct relation with the Bairros, besides offering free entrance to everybody and, according to Alvim, allowing every artist to come and present one’s artworks in these renewed spaces. The Triennial limited the involvement of UNAP by exhibiting few artists and by the renovation of one of its gallery spaces. Otherwise, Alvim expressed his belief that UNAP breeds artistic conservatism, as most of the artists are painters. He focused instead on fostering young talents and “newer” media.

If we should consider the above-mentioned critical positions highlighted by international scholars on the ambiguities of the position of the Triennial, we should also point out the key aspects, both innovative and revolutionary that the Triennial was able to set up. From the accent on immaterial and mental spaces as the tool for change in post-war contexts to the effective use of physical spaces as incubators, to the massive use of communication and educational programs, to the extension of the concept of Triennial that includes ante-projects and exports abroad fragments of it in order to test the effectiveness of the events, we are facing an “artwork” that needs to be unfolded in all its complexity. The words of Alvim and Njami well express many of the aspects that are key to understand that complexity, and shift the attention on the relation between cultural events and artworks and urban safety and security to the immaterial (cultural and emotional) aspects of this difficult-to-grasp interrelation.
Safety and security context

Historical background

Against the international community’s calls for Portugal to end its imperial activities, in the 1950s Portugal, which was a peripheral power in Europe at the time, attempted to re-assert itself on the global stage insisting that it was exceptional in the colonial project. Portuguese colonies in Africa were the major point of contention in deteriorating relations between Portugal and the United Nations. Lusotropicalism was the rhetoric that Portugal used to describe what they interpreted as a racially harmonious Brazilian culture to the African colonies. On February 4th 1961, violence erupted in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique. Salazar reacted to the rapid escalation in anti-colonial mobilization by increasing Portugal’s stranglehold on the economy and the physical population of Angola. In Angola the conflicts for independence have been devastatingly violent and lasted thirteen years, before Portugal capitulated to its military losses and a military coup in Lisbon in April 25th 1974.

The colonial war was much more successful in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, as their resistance fronts were more united than in Angola, where groups were from the beginning riddled with infighting and ethnic tensions. Part of the violence and chaos of the independence struggle stemmed from the factionalized anti-colonial efforts. When Portugal left Angola, as it happened in Mozambique, it made no attempt to organize a peaceful transition of power: Portugal’s exit from Angola only exacerbated the difficult situation as the Portuguese nationals, who de facto controlled all of the major industries, abandoned them, took with them the possible machinery or even destroyed them. At the beginning of its independence the Portuguese exodus caused nearly a complete collapse of the Angolan economy. But the independence did not solve the strong internal frictions. Three major factions of the anti-colonial struggle, which were divided by deep differences on ideology, ethnicity, region, social class, and race, fought for leadership of the newly independent Angola: the MPLA, the UNITA – União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (“National Union for the Total Independence of Angola”), and the FNLA – Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (“National Front for the Liberation of Angola”).

When the MPLA’s Agostinho Neto declared victory and the independence of Angola, on November 11th 1975, almost at the same time UNITA and FNLA in turn declared their own joint republic. The divisions erupted into civil war that escalated into violence and resulted in an incredible destruction of life, land, and infrastructure, lasting for almost 30 years. That was also due to the support of the major international powers, with the United States clandestinely supporting UNITA with the help of South Africa and the MPLA supported by Cuba, the Soviet Union, and East Germany. The official ceasefire was not until 2002 when UNITA’s leader Jonas Savimbi was killed in battle. Estimates vary as to the death toll of the civil war,
from 750’000 to one million. An untold amount of Angolans were injured by landmines, which, at the height of the conflict, numbered one to two for every person in the country.

**Economical-political power and control**

One outcome of the collapse of the industrial and agricultural sector in Angola is the increased importance of the mining sector to the Angolan economy. After independence, oil and diamond extraction became the only source of income for Angola. Accordingly the majority of the war was fought to control those industries. Endiama, the state-owned (thus controlled by MPLA) diamond company that took over from Diamang, held most of the major diamond fields that were developed by Diamang. UNITA gained control of surrounding fields, and increasingly profited by taxing the *garimpeiros*, or artisanal miners. In many ways the political divide in the Lundas echoed the rural/urban divide in the demographic and ideological makeup of the two parties. The MPLA took over the urban areas of the “formal” diamond industry territory, while UNITA focused on informal extraction in more remote places. UNITA also practiced an informal guerilla strategy, faced with its relatively weak position in the territory.

In the early 1980s, UNITA had rearmed. UNITA’s exploitation of the diamond fields was ad hoc and administered through violence. Instead of setting up any official operation or company, the military bought diamonds from *garimpeiros* and sold them to fund their ongoing military operations, including their proliferation of landmines. On the other side, the MPLA gained back control of the “formal sector” by partnering with international diamond interests and allowing foreign investment. All of these diamond interests had their own means of violently “protecting” their operations, supposedly to curb theft and the black market.

Again, the main factor of sales’ increases is the control the MPLA government has secured since the end of the civil war in 2002. They have undertaken a campaign to rid the diamond fields of “artisanal” miners and secure those concession areas for large companies who partner with the state-controlled Endiama. This campaign has been undertaken by police action whose activities have come under great scrutiny by human rights groups, particularly in Lunda Norte. Diamond industry has partnered with Israeli investors over the years. Isabel dos Santos has successfully influenced the creation of laws that restrict movement in the Lunda region to those in the diamond business.

In short, Angola is a country “cursed by its wealth” (Le Billon 1999). The vacuum of power and infrastructure that resulted from the civil war was filled with a mono-economy and one-party state, both of which continue to grow in dominance and exacerbate the incredible socio-economic divide. With the President’s consolidated power we may safely consider him the “state” and, in turn, point to many factors that indicate the failure of the state as it was conceived of at the time of Angola’s independence. The President’s cadre holds ultimate power but generally does not use it to the benefit of the majority. Though the civil
war has ended and the leadership of Angola professes to foster democracy, the regime marshals the military and police to their ends and not to the furthering of civil society. Angola is still in many ways in a militaristic state: both politically and psychologically. Through the years, this fractured state was used for monetary gain by internal and external forces. Jakkie Cilliers has called Angola’s war “the instrumentalisation of disorder”, and goes on to offer a recent consensus among scholars that the ruling elites “view disorder not as a state of dereliction, but as a condition that offers more opportunities for leaders and their followers than would peace and order.”

Violence in art production
Many Angolan artists during the claim of Independence recognized the violence involved in the reproduction of Chokwe visual symbols, and sought reparations to that violence through art making. As artists they were intimately involved in the revolution and desired to bring about a state of emergency in which to claim their “Angolan” heritage. Angolan art was at the time of independence produced in a state of emergency, shaped by a response to epistemological and physical violence. This art in fact took advantage of the crisis of signification in Angola and sought to reinstate that feedback loop interrupted by Portuguese anthropology.

After Independence, ethnic identity became an object of desire for the competing MPLA and UNITA, which was many times claimed through violence. The image of the Chokwe during this time became an important piece of political propaganda for the MPLA in their quest to consolidate power after they declared Independence. Pictures of Chokwe masks and pictograms decorated the covers of many MPLA cultural publications. The Dundo Museum collection was brought to Luanda and formed the basis of the new National Museum of Ethnography. Prominent post-independent artists used Chokwe motifs and mask images in their paintings.

Today, artists claim that there is still the diffuse fear of producing artworks that openly contest existing political and/or social situations. Some of them have interrupted their production or even changed technique in order to meet “safer” standards and also to sell better.

Analysis and review

How to read Luanda
The fieldwork conducted in Luanda, which included an extensive direct experience and observation of the urban environment both seeking to find and understand the role of artworks in Luanda and to understand its urban form, brought to a specific definition of Luanda, based on the blueprint of its extensive sum of settlements.

Today Luanda can be described as composed of three different parts – the Center, the
Bairros, and Luanda Sul – each one corresponding to three different urban forms, social belonging, and ways of living. They might be defined as paradigms of the African city.

The so-called Center corresponds in general terms to the former colonial city. It grew starting from the already inhabited Ilha de Luanda and the bay forming the first military settlement. It grew thanks to various planning interventions until the early 1970s. During the civil war until 2002, no urban planning had been recorded, so the “hard” city did not change. After the ceasefire and the booming Angolan economy, the Center has been extensively modified through demolitions and new constructions.

The Bairros (called Musseques during the colonialism) are the peri-urban low-rise settlements of Luanda that combine informal and consolidated living conditions. They grew as the parallel city for Africans and they are today a lively urban reality hosting the majority of the population. Despite that, they still lack of basic infrastructure (water, electricity, sewage system) and social recognition (no census).

The Bairros are perceived as poor and dangerous places thus inequalities are strengthened not only by physical separation but also by the perception of insecurity. Forced evictions, military control, lack of information and basic infrastructure in the Bairros keep also their population under a status of insecurity.

Luanda Sul and Belas were planned in the 1950s as new residential areas far from the city. Today they host the high and middle class of Luanda and most of the international working class. The areas are today built according to the South African and Brazilian model of the gated communities with no open public spaces but only enclosed ones such as malls and sport facilities.

Efficient devices against crime in Luanda Sul and Belas are represented in the blueprint of the neighborhood: large non-linear roads surrounded by high walls. Moreover, the defensive system is strengthened by closed-circuit cameras and electrified wires. Few people circulate on foot, and most of them are servants.

Artworks and cultural events: process and production issues

Art and cultural centers

The number of other institutional and independent art and cultural centers, besides the Trienal de Luanda, constitute an interesting constellation that cannot be avoided if we want to understand the art scene in Luanda besides the Triennial and Sindika Dokolo Foundation, and in order to survey the amount of cultural events in Luanda. Their position and production represent sometimes other important and representative Angolan centers (i.e. Elinga theater and cultural center, the UNAP building) and Angolan artists (i.e. Antonio Ole, Mestre Kapela).

It is worth to briefly mention some of the centers that have been investigated and that form an important cluster: institutional UNAP and UNAP occupied, E-Studio, CELAMAR
Gallery, SOSO Globo, Mestre Kapela, ELINGA Teatro, Fundação Arte e Cultura, CEFOJOR, and also the international Goethe Institut and the Alliance Française.

The above mentioned centers for the production of art and culture play different roles in the city and belong to different circuits (socially) but they have the advantage of being institutionally and (more or less) formally recognized by the large public as such, because they promote themselves as artistic and cultural centers, or they are officially so.

If we try to understand the large picture of what constitutes in Luanda a relevant spot for artistic and cultural production on a broad or local level, we cannot avoid taking into account the role played by many “informal” spaces, especially in the Bairros. The challenge is exactly to recognize them and possibly to survey them, an operation that can be done only with the involvement of local communities, as is clear from the experience at the Municipality of Cazenga or Rangel, where specific information can be gathered through fieldworks mediated by local inhabitants.

The spaces in the Bairros go from the more formal to the most ephemeral and also constitute a key cluster. Cinemas, churches, municipalities of the Bairros, sport fields, marketplaces are potentially areas that can be seen as important centers for a community. For example, the Santo Antonio church in Cazenga runs educational programs for kids and women, the enclosed space around the church works as a safe place for daily common activities and recreational ones.

**Difficulties in production for Angolan artists**

Most of interviewed artists remark a great difficulty in producing artworks, organizing exhibitions, and finding proper circuits for promoting their work. Despite the intentions declared by UNAP current director Bastos Galiano, saying that the government is preparing several actions to be taken in favor of a consolidation of the UNAP in Luanda and in order to install new decentralized centers around the country, the actual condition looks contradictory. UNAP artists and other independent artists complain the inaction of the governmental institution, with no belief in future programs.

As a matter of fact, the UNAP building located in rua Rainha Ginga in Luanda is ruining and half abandoned. The UNAP archive – according to Nadine Siegert it was badly organized but existing in 2009 – has been destroyed after discovering that it got rotten due to infiltrations of rain from the roof. The exhibition space on the storefront is underutilized, while the second one on the corner has been recently occupied by young artists Rita GT and Francisco Vidal thanks to their own initiative with the support of Universidade Lusiada de Luanda. However, the space is currently closed due to the bad structural conditions of the building. Another example, again in the UNAP building, that shows the somehow dramatic and contradictory situation of the Angolan art scene is given by the “atelier” of Mestre Kape-
Considered by most of Angolan artists as The Living Father of Angolan art, Mestre Kapela – who has always lived in precarious conditions, almost as a homeless person, using recycled material for his artworks – is today settled in an unwholesome, dark and dangerous part of the building. His recognition is not only witnessed by the works that have been exhibited during the Triennial and internationally (mainly thanks to Fernando Alvim), by the many interviews to Angolan artists, but also by the daily visits he gets by very young and older people, giving him money, food or simply greeting him. His condition is strong contrast not only with the limited but better conditions that UNAP can offer, but also with the very good ones of other institutions such as the Sindika Dokolo Foundation, which often used his artworks in various exhibitions. Moreover, UNAP artists, who are currently cleaning Mestre Kapela’s space reporting its bad conditions, are supporting the idea of a basic indifference towards visual arts by the government or a very exploitable one by the Triennial.

Since the end of 2012, facing the above described difficulties UNAP and independent artists have occupied a part of the 1st floor of the UNAP building in order to create a collective workshop for their activities. Nelo Teixeira, N’dilo Muimba, Toy Boy, Pineldi Ayrcan, Rui VJ are some of the artists working in this space. Despite the cleaning and fixing, the state of the occupied rooms remains precarious and the artists do not know for how long the authorities will allow them to stay there. The most important issue behind this occupation is indeed the need for them to have a shared and central space where they can meet and work. Although the UNAP should provide yearly residences for Angolan artists, this has not been the case since years. Most of the artists, due to the expensive rents in the center of Luanda, live in the bairros. The traffic jam that blocks every day the circulation in the city for hours do not allow a fast commuting and amplify the distances. Thus, artists living in different bairros end up working there but isolated or meeting in the center but with limited or no space to work. XXX, an independent artist, who recently went back to Angola after 10 years of studying and living in Portugal, speaks about these difficulties. It takes more than 2 hours to go to the Baixa from Zango, on the border of Luanda. Moreover, XXX is excluded from the so-called “small groups” of artists because he/she is seen as a tuga (“Portuguese”), having lived there for a long period.

XXX are other young artists who recently settled in Luanda trying to produce there and to establish collaborations with Angolan artists. The difficulties they record are not only linked to the limited interest in visual arts by the government, but also to the conditions that the Fundação Sindika Dokolo and the Triennial group impose to the art scene. Antonio Ole, one of the most internationally recognized Angolan artist, also speaks about the same issues. Although his atelier is now lasting more than 20 years in the famous building of the Teatro Elinga, in the Baixa, one of the most successful cultural centers of Luanda, Ole feels threatened. The pressure on the housing market and the lack of interest for art and culture is in fact exemplified by the continuous attempts of demolishing the Elinga, which rises in a
very central zone of the city center. Despite the fact of his atelier being a symbol and a reference point for many young artists, Antonio Ole has bad feelings about its future.

The absence of public permanent artworks and the monuments in Luanda

Luanda is a city with (apparently) a very limited presence of permanent artworks. The monuments of the colonial times have been removed – pedestals are the only elements witnessing their ancient presence – and today are replaced by monuments celebrating the independent Angola that occupy relevant spots and that are not freely accessible as they are considered sensitive military spots. Almost no contemporary artworks can be found. But similar roles are played by other objects (landmarks) or replaced by ephemeral events or movable objects.

Looking for public permanent art in Luanda is not an easy task. The public permanent artworks visible in the city are monuments and murals, both dating back to the colonial times or executed in more recent years. The only renown contemporary sculpture that exists along the Marginal, the public space on the seaside and that is known by a rather large audience is the one of Antonio Ole titled *Mitologias* ("Mythologies", 1986). This monument was moved from its original position because of the renovation and the enlargement, including the re-sectioning, of the Marginal de Luanda. Besides that, also according to the author of the sculpture, Antonio Ole (2013), it never played a significant role in that space, both from the viewpoint of the usage of the surrounding space and in terms of safety and security.

For the rest it is difficult to find public artworks for a variety of reasons, especially contemporary artworks that can be defined as such and that are placed in public spaces. Several monuments can be found in private, enclosed spaces or close to them like hotels (i.e. SANA), the new Courts, and others. Examples of well known monuments, among others, are the statue of Agostinho Neto in Largo da Independencia, the Heroinas in Largo das Heroínas, and the one in Baleizão square.

It is worth to mention two examples that somehow reveal the extreme conditions and attitudes towards the production of new public artworks: one is the monument in Largo da Ingombotas (approximately 2010), the other one is the new Largo do Baleizão (2009). The first one was realized by a Chinese company and represent a fake ruined wall with the space for a fountain (that was not working at the time of the fieldwork) while in the second case we have a monument built after the independence, representing in bas-relief an iconography of the revolutionary phase realized by the Cuban cooperation. It is today placed in a renovated square where a series of stones (18) represents the Angolan provinces. The first example shows the commercial approach to public spaces with no direct involvement of artists that lead to the consequence of having an unused space whose objects do not constitute any relation with the local or broad context. In the second example, besides the weak relations between the existing monument and the new arrangement of the square, the space and the
Monuments celebrating the political power (MPLA) or important political figures from Angolan history represent another extreme. The monument of Agostinho Neto in Largo Primeiro de Maio is a good example in terms of institutional artworks production and security. It speaks about the problem of the absent valorization of local contemporary artists by State. The statue of the father of independent Angola was commissioned to a North Korean firm that produced a Communist Korean-like monument that represents Agostinho Neto on top of a tall pedestal at the center of a large roundabout. If one compares the colonial monuments that have been removed after the independence and the new ones (Monumento as Heroínas and others), the similarity is tangible. The way they work in public spaces, their relation with the surroundings as well as their use can be defined as “classical”: it is similar to the ex-Portuguese ones. The difference lies in the way they are controlled since some of them, including the Largo Primeiro de Maio (or da Independencia), are considered military sensitive spots and are therefore patrolled by the police. As it happens in the rest of the Center of Luanda, security is guaranteed but at the same time the control of space is pervasive.

The two artworks made by the Angolan artist Kiluanji Kia Henda called Redefining The Power – 75 (2013) and Homem Só (“Lonely man”, 2011-2012) exhibited at Art Basel in 2012, are interesting examples of immaterial works that play a role between physical and mental spaces (Njami 2012). The series of photos representing lively sculptures on existing pedestals of colonial monuments in the squares of Luanda (the first) and the ones taken inside Luanda’s fortress that show the dismantled statues next to tanks and cannons (the second) are internationally renown and discussed by a large audience that exceeds the national borders. The fact of representing urban spaces of Luanda transcends the limits of the city and construct an immaterial, “mental space” – as it is often referred to by Simon Njami – where the meanings of art in Luanda start to take new forms.

Similarly, but with different intentions, we can as well include here the recent example of the work of the photographer Edson Chagas, who won the Golden Lion for the Angolan Pavilion at the 2013 Art Biennale in Venice, with a set of photos representing “informal monuments” in the streets of Luanda. The circumstances – the fact that the Angolan Pavilion won the Golden Lion – and the refined images of everyday objects found in the streets of the capital and repositioned in front of different walls, revealed Luanda to the international public and to the art world. The echo that was generated after the award is again something that contributes in shaping the mental spaces: not only the ones of those who have never been in Angola but especially the ones of Angolans (Njami 2012; Alvim 2013).
As it was already mentioned, there is close to no support to Angolan art by the government, which causes a limited production of artworks and small visibility. Moreover, the few events that promote Angolan artists – the Trienal de Luanda, exhibitions at the Portuguese Embassy, the CELAMAR gallery, the Alliance Française and few others – do not really work as a real medium for the promotion of Angolan art and therefore for the development of urban policies that include the production of public artworks in public and visible spaces. According to many interviewees, the buying and selling dynamics happen within close circuits and through narrow channels, mostly for private collections. On top of that there is a general issue of esterophilia, the love for the foreign. Just like the problem that was recorded towards heritage and the preference for new, anonymous yet luxurious buildings, similar dynamics happen in the art scene. Foreign firms and architects build most of the popping up constructions in Luanda (Israeli, South African, Portuguese, Brazilian), as most of the artworks sold to Angolans are not by Angolan artists. As it was mentioned, a good example is given by some of the sculptures that rise in front of some of the newest hotels, like the one standing on the corner of the hotel SANA, which is not made by an Angolan artist. The few opportunities existing in the field of public permanent art are in fact given to others, as many local artists complain.

**Landmarks and heritage**

Landmarks play a key role both for moving in the city and for the identity and memory of its inhabitants. Street names are generally substituted by an orientation system based on visual references. But urban landmarks have historical and artistic values as well as cultural ones. New constructions do not seem to reflect of Angolan identity and massive demolitions occur, threatening the actual heritage stock.

As it was already mentioned, after 40 years of conflicts, first for the independence and later for the civil war, since ten years Luanda is facing drastic transformations. The impact of these transformations is deeply questioning the issue of identity and memory, which is highlighted not only by intellectuals but also by most of the interviewees. Luanda, as in other African “new” cities, well reflects the dichotomy between superimposed, external patterns and local use. That is visible not only looking at the material space, like the colonial buildings or the urban structure, but also observing how people use the space. If we ask someone in the street to give directions to a certain place, they would never explain the route giving street names but only references that can be buildings, monuments, famous stores, cafés, etc. Even traffic policemen, who are supposed to know the street names, would use the same way. Moreover, urban spaces, like squares or boulevards, or buildings and landmarks have often nicknames, or they take the name from a certain distinctive feature, like the Cuca building, now demolished: on top of it there was a huge advertisement of the famous beer brand.
The question of orientation suggests the importance of landmarks and physical references in the urban context. Erasing and substituting these references means disorienting the inhabitants and changing their mental maps. But more than that, the rapid urban transformations in Luanda highlight the ambiguous relation of the government with its patrimony and its recent and far history. As well discussed by Cristina Pinto, founder of KALU association for the defense of heritage in Luanda, the economical and political power, concentrated in few hands, has no real interest towards the national heritage, pursuing the model of Dubai and other brand new cities. It is for that reason, that the idea of a “modern” waterfront is putting so much pressure on the existing city. The construction of marinas inside the bay, the reclamation of some of its parts for new construction, the deliberate demolition of historical buildings and the cancellation of the label “patrimonio arquitectonico da cidade de Luanda” (“architectural heritage of the city of Luanda”) from some protected buildings, are all attempts to transform the capital into a distorted future dream.

The KALU association and Angela Mings from the Faculty of Architecture of the Universidade Lusíada de Luanda have organized in recent years several public protests and initiatives to sensitize the public opinion on the importance of heritage through promenades architecturales, exhibitions linked to the Trienal de Luanda and other initiatives. Considering fundamental the preservation of the architectural and urban features of the Angolan capital, which are so distinctive from other African cities, is an urgent issue for other important voices. Maria João Grilo – who is an Angolan architect active since many years in studying Modern Movement in Angola and who is currently working on an extensive survey of cinemas in the country – speaks about the loss of identity when milestones are demolished.

An example for all is given by the demolition of the Kinaxixi market (built in 1950), the most famous building of renown architect Vasco Vieira da Costa which has been demolished in 2009. That was not only a masterpiece of Modern architecture, but also one of the best public spaces of the city and a fundamental landmark in itself. Erasing the market meant a reconfiguration of the urban equilibrium and an indirect shot against publicness in the city.

Moreover, Grilo points out that even the colonial history and the most recent one, including the period of the conflicts for the independence (60s and 70s), has to be preserved. But the same opinion comes from other different figures who have a different eye, and watch Luanda through a different lens. Cota 50, a black Angolan photographer who worked since the 1970s for several magazines, shares the idea that without witnesses that can show to the future generation the identity and the memory of the city, Angolans are going to face a tremendous loss. Claudio Fortuna, an independent black Angolan journalist, remarks the same, adding that landmarks have also a political function and embed deep and complex meanings. Heritage is therefore an issue that should be treated as part of the debate on public art. The public role and value of landmarks, the citiescape in general, highlight the strong connections between them, and fundamental collective issues such as identity and memory.
The described picture reveals a specific relation with heritage – we could say a general relation with “what is old” – that reflects a number of economic, political, and demographic factors: the booming economy, the central power, and the young population. A couple of examples that witness, on the contrary, the institutional projection to the future as it is expressed in architecture and urban form, are given by the project for the new Parliament (2013) and the building of the new Courts (2012). The new Assembleia Nacional de Angola (“Angolan national assembly”, 2010-2013) is the new center of national political life and it is situated on an area next to the amazing mausoleum dedicated to Agostinho Neto. The large dome that surmounts a central-plan building and the horseshoe-like building around it, both in a vague neo-classical style, refer to an imaginary that is very close to the colonial revivalist styles and is certainly far from the modernism of the Restauração former cinema, which currently houses the Assembleia Nacional.

The same remarks apply to the second example, the New Court (Palácio da Justiça) that was a direct appointment by the Gabinete de Obras Publicas – designed by architect Troufa Real with a Chinese construction company named Jiangsu – and for many other recent projects, almost all made by foreign firms (Chinese, Lebanese, Portuguese, South Africans and others, mostly with direct assignments.)

After nearly three decades of civil war, ended in 2002, Angola is experiencing a strong economic growth that is clearly reflected in its capital. Thanks to oil, diamonds and liberal economy, the country is investing in infrastructure and new architectures with the ambition to transform Luanda in the Dubai of Southern Africa. All this, however, as it was just shown, is not without strong contrasts.

Public spaces, like markets or open spaces, are often deleted and not replaced. Buildings, whose architectural quality is dubious, are built instead and contribute to the gradual privatization of public spaces. In the streets of the center, what is possible to notice is the contrast between the widespread modernist language of European derivation, developed with formal solutions specific to the Tropicalist current that is differently expressed in countries such as Angola, and the rise of buildings that boast economic power but do not propose new languages.

**Cultural events**

Cultural events and ephemeral artworks are for sure what in the context of Luanda has got the most heavy impact or at least presence. The Trienal de Luanda, the complex triennial event or set of events that was set up by Fernando Alvim, is the most known cultural event that today has reached the broad and international public. The Triennial is for sure in itself to be considered an artwork for the complexity of the intentions and the impact it had and has got during its editions. But somehow the Triennial hides a very lively cultural life which definitely exists in Luanda.
Other institutions, from Universities (Lusiada, Agostinho Neto) to national foreign cultural centers (the Goethe Institut, the Alliance Française, the Portuguese Embassy) to private foundations and associations (Teatro Elinga, CELAMAR, Fundação Arte e Cultura) to public ones (Associação Cultural Cha de Caxinde, KALU, CeFoJor – Centro de Formação de Jornalismo), are in fact promoting and proposing cultural events of various sorts. Interview and the extensive fieldwork conducted in Luanda raised the evidence of the issue of cultural events as essential for urban life. Especially music events, from the former concerts in theaters or clubs (Teatro Elinga, Espaço Bahia) or festivals (like the March music festival on the Marginal) to the most impromptu events like the ones belonging to the *kuduro* music scene, are maybe the richest – *kuduro* is a popular angolan urban music born in the 1980s and booming today: in the *baixos*, *kuduro* is often played from parked cars in illegal spots for a brief time where sort of extemporary raves can happen.

**Mapping the barrios**

One of the most important issues that comes from the conducted research is the problem of mapping cultural events and public art in the *baixos*. This fundamental question rises not only from the evidence that a large part of Luanda is made by so called informal settlements, where most of the population lives, but also from the fact that even the majority of the artists who circulate in the “center” are living there. For those reasons, a survey on cultural events and public art limited to the ex-colonial center and to the new expansions of the city, Belas and Nova Luanda, Luanda Sul, would not be representative of the city.

But the *baixos* are difficult to access, dangerous, dense and huge. A careful mapping of what happens there is only possible taking advantage of the collaboration with local partners or motivated individuals. However, during the fieldwork it was possible to get an idea of what can be considered a test-site, the neighborhoods of Cazenga and Marçal. The Municipality of Cazenga presents dramatic conditions and it is the most populated neighborhood of Luanda. XXX points out how the few cultural activities that the Municipality is hardly promoting, through self printed free papers, are threatened by the lack of infrastructure, water and electricity, road maintenance, diffuse violence and the lack of proper spaces. Moreover, the absence of any attention by the local government have worsen the situation, selling collective spaces like spot-fields and free market grounds to private constructors.

Giving visibility to the existing cultural activities in the *baixos* is an urgent issue because it means protecting and recognizing them, offering visibility to a larger audience, a status against abuses, demolitions or misconsideration in neighborhoods that are already highly exposed to uncertainty.
Safety and security issues

Restricted access to data
Access to data on urban safety and security such as criminality, poverty, issues on land expropriation, environmental risks, etc. is very difficult in Luanda.

The only available data is general legislation that can be found on-line on the governmental web sites. Limited access to information, especially sensitive information like risk, is one of the main issues in Angola. As a general condition, citizens have no awareness of their rights nor of the risks they can face (as emerged during interviews).

The militarization of the urban space and perceived security
Since several years (3-5) Luanda can be perceived as quite safe by visitors or foreign businessmen. During the day it is possible to circulate on foot in most of the city center (ex-colonial center) and in the new wealthier areas of Belas and Luanda Sul.

According to several interviewees, that is due especially to the high presence of military forces in the city. In fact, mapping the number of military departments, institutions, private housing and facilities, barracks, etc. only in the center of Luanda (including the entire Fortaleza and the upper area along Avenida Agostinho Neto; the area between Avenida Amilcar Cabral and the Avenida I Congresso do MPLA) one can easily realize that the city is constellated and largely occupied by militarized areas. Thus, the presence of different military forces that circulate in Luanda, some of which survey sensitive spots like the governmental institutions, is very high. Moreover, during the day an impressive number of traffic police stands in small groups at almost every major crossing in Luanda, continuously checking passing drivers. Private guards’ companies constitute the third armed group. They patrol in front of all the bank offices (which reach an impressive number in Luanda), malls and main stores, restaurants etc. During the day, the sum of the three mentioned groups gives the presence of an armed person up to every 20-30 meters in the denser avenidas of the center.

Another strong example that works as an efficient device against crime in the center is given by the renewed Marginal de Luanda, the large public space along the bay. The perfect maintenance of the public facilities, the vegetation, the floor, clean and well kept, with few security guards along it, some of which are not even armed, seem to work as a deterrent against crime and squatting.

But if on one hand the image of the center of Luanda is somehow (still) similar to a European city, where people walk on the pavements where are aligned shops and offices, on the other hand the perceived security in Luanda Sul follows a different model and is build on an opposite pattern. The cityscape of Luanda Sul is in fact made by a continuous series of high walls equipped with electrified barbed wire and cameras that hide private housing. No sidewalk is built along the streets and therefore the presence of human being is scarce.
Roads follow non-rectilinear lines forming a monotone labyrinth of one-way alleys. The only safe meeting point where it is possible to meet outside private spaces is the Mall which is as well built on the same pattern and can be reached only by private transport. The model for such new development is clearly deriving from the notorious South African and Brazilian gated communities, where separation, segregation and opposition by difference are the physical devices used against crime and insecurity.

Many notable studies (Casati, Bauman, Beck etc.) already demonstrated that a large part of manifestations of social disease are connected with the perception of an increase in criminal phenomena that brings to the definition of modern society as a “risk society”. The paradigm of risk society, which can be well applied also to the case study of Luanda, is used by research on urban security and on perception of risk, proving how contemporary societies are characterized by distrust, anxiety, and uncertainty that invest structures and places of everyday life. If on one hand governance strategies mix repressive treatment of safety emergencies with security actions aimed at prevention and rehabilitation, on the other hand private, communal, local interventions against insecurity are progressively growing, often self-controlling and imposing their urban model. But different societies, even different groups living in the same city, produce different strategies and interventions for securing private and public spaces, which range from spatial segregation (e.g. gated communities) to the control of accesses, use of road bollards, installation of closed-circuit television system, and other techniques of crime prevention through environmental design. The issue of the perception of security and the production of different urban patterns by different social groups and how that produces more or less urban sense of safety is a main topic in Luanda.

Social cohesion, patterns of exclusion
Urban safety and security represent a series of problems dealing with social, anthropological, economical, perceptual and physical problems that are specific to different territories and contexts and do not allow for general solutions. The base for the paradigm of “designing out crime” which aims at producing spaces that prevent offences by means of control and defense of the areas could be taken as a good paradigm for upcoming urban patterns in Luanda.

Given the exponential growing economic gap between the pores and the upper Angolan class, it would be not useful to take the approach of human sciences focusing the attention on class differences and its consequences. The analysis on how the poor inhabit the urban space of Luanda, how he/she temporary occupy the wealthier space or might be evicted from it is the key issue. Taking a pioneer study of Pierre Bourdieu on the role of specific “social aesthetics” in the creation and strengthening of class-identity barriers – including upper-classes - it is central to understand how a sense of ‘safety’ and ‘security’ is perceived and reproduced by the different groups and how it modifies the urban territory, in order to make specific urban trends ‘recognizable’ and ‘manageable’.
We could say today, the way the emerging upper class in Luanda reproduces itself is deeply entangled with ideas of risk and safety. Daniel Goldstein, for instance, has recently defined the “rise of the security paradigm as a framework for organizing contemporary social life”, which can be applied to western and nonwestern case studies. This leading paradigm is changing the social aesthetic and physical space of urban areas and the everyday life of their inhabitants, and it is reaffirming class differences rather than abolishing them. Describing gated communities, Setha Low has talked about a “visual landscape of fear” and how security devices modify the urban context in these environments. This difference between the visual impact of gated districts as opposed to a less visible and defined morphology existing in the same city and how that can allow social cohesion is a crucial issue. In Luanda, the emerging and growing middle class that is today limited in number and still has a limited effect onto the rest of the population, risks to become a threat if reproducing a pattern of social exclusion.

Focusing the attention on the consolidation of the exclusion through a modification of the lifestyle and the built environment, on the different strategies (from material to immaterial) of appropriation and defense of space that the emerging higher class has recently developed in order to create a secure, comfortable environment for them, their families and businesses, can allow future studies to better understand the policies and practices (logics) towards safety and security.

The bairros (invisibility)
The bairros, until recently called musseques, have always represented by the colonial power first and by the new elite today, the main source of insecurity: social, political and material. Luanda is well known as a violent city because of the gangs coming from the bairros and still based there. But a large part of the stigmatization of the violence in the bairros was used instrumentally to isolate their people and allow their marginalization. Some of the bairros, like Marçal or Rangel, were until recently well known as being “closed ghettos”, some of the most dangerous to enter in. As Ausinio Lopes has declared during the interview – he is one of the journalists working at TV Marçal, an independent broadcasting channel that was born in 2004 to fight against the negative image of the neighborhood and work against violence – before the introduction of TV Marçal the bairro had maybe the worst image in town. But thanks to the public complaint of crime through the channel and the dissemination of information about the bairro outside its borders, nowadays the living conditions of it have clearly improved. Once again, communication, visibility and information seem to be the fundamental issue to change the material conditions of this part of the city.

Another structural problem that affect especially the bairros but also the rest of the city is the lack of constant provision of water and electricity. It was already mentioned before that because of the new infrastructure existing in the country (a new dam and plants)
this problem should not exist, which seems suggesting a deliberate strategy to keep control over the population. Moreover, the long periods without electricity cause the rise of prices of power generators and their parts and do not allow a constant functioning of internet connections, limiting the access to information.

**Diffuse meta-insecurity**

Despite that fact of being insecure in many parts (crime, murders), the most dramatic issue of insecurity is linked to the perceived and psychological insecurity that most of the population, especially the one of the *bairros*, have to face daily. The lack of infrastructure, information, the sudden demolitions and displacement of part of the population, the lack of a census which leaves most of the inhabitants of the *bairros* “without a face”, invisible and not legally recognized, create a general feeling of insecurity. Violence and exclusion is communicated not only by the physical city form, like the gated communities of Luanda Sul, but also by the high presence of military forces and police in the public spaces. The border between public defense and abuse is very subtle according to many witnesses. The case of Cazenga that was previously mentioned and Marçal are two good examples of that kind. Moreover, repression of public protests and the fear of the return of conflicts after 40 years of war is a phantom that casts a heavy shadow over most of the population.

**Conclusions and recommendations**

The research developed until now highlights some urgent and crucial issues and some directions this and future researches on the theme should take in account. First of all, Luanda and the Angolan authorities in general do not have at the moment developed policies in favour of the consolidation of permanent public artworks or programs for the production of artworks linked to the architectural production - similarly to what happens in Johannesburg.

Despite that, the cultural and artistic scene in Luanda is lively and should be incentivated providing more spaces and opportunities for a broad number of artists, from the ones circulating around the foundation Sindika Dokolo to the ones belonging to other recognized art and cultural centers, to the “invisible” ones mainly operating in the Bairros.

A second important issue is the relation between the Triennial, which has got a strong international visibility and promotes Angolan art worldwide, and the rest of the Angolan art world. The strong power of the Fundação Sindika Dokolo and therefore of the Trienal de Luanda because of the direct relations with the government highlights a problem of transparency and hegemony in the art scene and processes of inclusion-exclusion of Angolan artists. At the same time it is important to highlight the positive role of the Triennial and of the Foundation in creating a relevant and innovative center for art and cultural pro-
duction. That is to say that not only the concept of the Triennial is worth to be deeper investigated in its from, process, in the relation to the Angolan artists, to the local and international public, but also the effects of the proposed events and how they evolved over the last decade.

The accent posed on emotional, immaterial aspects and mental spaces as key concepts for the construction of an Angolan (African) identity are relevant also for what concerns the theme of the present investigations, which is the relation to urban safety and security. Starting from the assumption that safety and security in this case is strictly connected to the past 30 years of continuous war and the consequent collective derived trauma, we can claim that the Triennial innovative entry contributes - it works in that direction - to the improvement of safety and security.

But with different tools and in other ways there are other art and cultural centers that work in parallel to the Triennial and form a constellation of initiatives, come of them extremely interesting and effective, that work was well in the direction of enhancing urban safety and security. The production of both material and immaterial works delivered by the above mentioned cluster show the diffuse and lively art scene in Luanda and at the same time reveal the investment that a consistent community make in that sector - suggesting the potential that it might have on a national level. Moreover, if we consider, as suggested by Njami, that cultural centers are not only the institutional ones but also the diffuse micro-cosm of “informal” places where culture and art in a broad sense take place, we can understand how complex and rich becomes the overall picture.

Another crucial issue related to mapping cultural events and public art in Luanda and how they enhance safety and security is in fact the one of the bairros. It is not possible to speak about Luanda only referring to its city center or to the new centers of Belas and Luanda Sul. An effort in mapping, even partially, what happens in the bairros and suggest ways of overcoming the barrier of accessibility and information gathering for this part of the city should be mandatory for this and future researches.

From an urban point of view there is another urgent theme that has to be considered when talking about Luanda, that is the rapid and radical transformations that the city is experiencing in the recent years. That is not only challenging the entire exisiting social and functional equilibrium, but also adresses questions of collective memory and identity that cannot be avoided. Moreover, if we consider landmarks as a key category for the role that such elements play in cultural terms, the urban transformations and the massive demolitions both of the city center and of the bairros pose the urgent question of preservation of certain elements, the pervasiveness and flexibility of art/cultural production spaces and practices.
Quantitative and qualitative analysis

Interviews
As explained in the Methodology, Interviews have been done on a wide and transversal range of people in order to answer as better as possible the research questions. Questions were especially focusing on the issues that have been explained in part B. adopting as much as possible the ethnographic and anthropological approach – which synthetically consists in few open questions where the interviewee can freely react rather than using a structured questionnaire. In the next pages you can find the list of contacts-interviewees. Notes and voice or video recordings were taken when possible: they are part of the research sources.

Sensitive data
Since several interviewees are public figures and/or belong to semi-public institutions, in order to protect them for their declarations, we decide to not associate their names to their quotes.

Maps and archival research
The understanding of Luanda was not only from inside, through the fieldwork as it was already described, but it also consisted of a reading of historical maps from which it was possible to unfold the urban stratification and some of the main spatial issues linked to the city construction. Below some of the archival material that was found and maps from the fieldwork. Another important achievement has been to get access to the archive of the Triennal de Luanda, from which we got some relevant documents – see some examples below.

In Lisbon, archival research has been conducted in 2012 at the the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, the IPAD – Instituto de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento, the National Library. The selection of documents, which was not possible to reproduce due to the high costs, was useful for studying the early stage of development of Luanda, approximately from 1880 to 1945.

Photos
The archive of photos taken during the fieldwork in Luanda is made of 800 images. Even if it can seem limited for the entire period of the fieldwork, this number is relevant considering the limitations of photographing in the public realm in Luanda – the police can stop you and ask for special permits; it is not allowed to photograph any military or military building and good (cars etc.). Despite the limitations, many of the pictures are able to well represent public spaces and buildings, allowing to document many of them on which nowadays information is very limited. Moreover, a selection from the archive (138 images) was used to build a page in Wikimedia Commons giving access to open source representations of the city: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Photos_by_Fabio_Vanin](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Photos_by_Fabio_Vanin)
FUNDAÇÃO SINDIKA DOKOLO

ANTE-PROJECTOS DA I TRIENAL DE LUANDA 2004 - 2006

EXPOSIÇÕES NACIONAIS 22 EXPOSIÇÕES EM LUANDA
EXPOSIÇÃO TAÇCA TERRITÓRIOS DE ARTE E CULTURA CONTEMPORÂNEA AFRICANA | SALO J WORK Jockey | TAÇCA | LUANDA | 26 SETEMBRO 2003
EXPOSIÇÃO PROJECTO OMEGA | TAÇCA TERRITÓRIOS DE ARTE E CULTURA CONTEMPORÂNEA AFRICANA | LUANDA | 29 OUTUBRO 2004
EXPOSIÇÃO LITURGA INTIMA DA IMAGÉTICA DE VITEI | 17 DEZEMBRO 2004 | 30 JANEIRO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO MOSTRA DE ARTISTAS CONTEMPORÂNEOS ANGOLANOS | MARÇO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO APRESENTAÇÃO TRIENAL DE LUANDA - ESTUDANTES DE ARQUITETURA | ABRIL 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO CARTOGRAFIA DE ESTRATÉGIAS CULTURAIS | TRIENAL DE LUANDA | 16 MAIO - 17 JUNHO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO AC ANGOLA COMBATENTES | 23 JUNHO - 29 JULHO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO TRABALHOS DE ARTISTAS | AGOSTO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO BAI ARTE | AGOSTO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO CORPO E ALMA - HILDEBRANDO DE MELO | 18 AGOSTO - 16 SETEMBRO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO MOVIMENTO | 11 OUTUBRO - 11 NOVEMBRO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO DIPANDAFOREVER | EXPOSIÇÃO | 12 DEZEMBRO - 13 JANEIRO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO BAI ARTE | DEZEMBRO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO PEDRO PINTO VÍNHEIROS | ESPANHA | DEZEMBRO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO APRESENTAÇÃO TRIENAL DE LUANDA | SEIO DO LIVRO | RÁDIO LAC | MARÇO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO SINDIKA DOKOLO Coleção africana de arte contemporânea | 11 MAIO - 9 JUNHO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO ABSOLUTO - HILDEBRANDO DE MELO | 6 - 23 JULHO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO PENSAR ÁFRICA | CURADOR PATRÍCIO BATOKAMA | 17 AGOSTO - 10 SETEMBRO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO KIO | EXPOSIÇÃO MEMÓRIAS GRAVADAS | 24 AGOSTO - 15 SETEMBRO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO MARCELA MARCO | EXPOSIÇÃO CONCEITO | 24 AGOSTO - 15 SETEMBRO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO ZOB PEPITUALA RESIDÊNCIA ARTÍSTICA NAMIBE | LUBANDO | AGOSTO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO VAN | EXPOSIÇÃO MARCELA DE TEMPO | 13 - 30 SETEMBRO 2006

EXPOSIÇÕES NO MUNDO 5 EXPOSIÇÕES NO MUNDO
EXPOSIÇÃO NEXT FLAG | MIGROS MUSEUM | ZURICH | SUÍÇA | JANEIRO 2004
EXPOSIÇÃO APRESENTAÇÃO TRIENAL DE LUANDA | 3X | FEIRA DE FRANKFURT | MAIO 2004
EXPOSIÇÃO TRIENAL DE LUANDA | EM PORTUGAL | CCB | BELOJCIA | MINISTÉRIO DOS NEGÓCIOS ESTRANGEIROS | FUNDAÇÃO CALOUSTE DULBENKIAN | LONDRES | ROYAL COLLEGE OF ART | JANEIRO - FEVEREIRO 2005
EXPOSIÇÃO FEIRA ARCO MADRID | ESPANHA | FEVEREIRO 2006
EXPOSIÇÃO SÓ OBSERVATÓRIO IVAM | INSTITUTO VALENCIANO DE ARTE MODERNA | ESPANHA | JULHO 2006

TOTAL 27 EXPOSIÇÕES

CRIAÇÃO DA SINDIKA DOKOLO COLEÇÃO AFRICANA DE ARTE CONTEMPORÂNEA 31 DE MAIO 2004

> ESTIMATIVA DE VALOR 4.000.000 USD 380.000.000 AKZ

SÉRGIO AFONSO ANGOLA
FERNANDO ALVIM ANGOLA
GHADA AMIR EGITO
EL ANATSU GHANA
OLADELE AIBOBÉY BANGSOYÉ NIGÉRIA
MIQUEL BARCELÓ ESPANHA
MARIO BENJAMIN HAITI
WILLI BRESTEK ÁFRICA DO SUL
BILI BIDJEECKA CAMARÕES
TIAGO BORGES DA SILVA ANGOLA
WILLEM BOSSHOFF ÁFRICA DO SUL
EMMANUEL BOTALATALA CONGO
ZOLUKHA BOUABDELLAH ARGÉLIA
NICK CAYE USA
LOULOU CHERNET ETIÓPIA
SOLY CISSE REPÚBLICA DO SENEGAL
MOBIDO DIALLO MALI
ABDURRACAH DOK REPÚBLICA DO SENEGAL
VIVÉ DIABÉ REPÚBLICA DO SENEGAL
SOUKARI DOUGLAS-CAMP NIGÉRIA
JEAN DUBUFFET FRANÇA
MARLENE DUMAS ÁFRICA DO SUL
EFAMBELO MADAGASCÁR
MOUIMI FATMI MARROCOS
DOG FISHER ZIMBAQUE
SÁMUEL FOSSO CAMARÕES
ABRÉE FOURÈRE ÁFRICA DO SUL
JELLEL GASTELI TUNISIA
KENDALL GIESS ÁFRICA DO SUL
DARIO GOLDBLATT ÁFRICA DO SUL
KAY HASSAN ÁFRICA DO SUL
ROMUALD HAZOUMÉ BENIN
NICHOLAS KHON ÁFRICA DO SUL
IHOSVANY ANGOLA
DÉLIO JASSE ANGOLA
PAULO KAPULA ANGOLA
SEYDOU KEITA MALI
AMAL KENANY EGITO
WILLIAM KENTRIDGE ÁFRICA DO SUL
KULUJAN KIA-HENDA ANGOLA
ABDULAYE KOITÉ MALI
MOHSEN SARA LÁNGU ÁFRICA DO SUL
LAWRENCE LEHMAN ÁFRICA DO SUL
GODFREY LEEY CAMARÕES
NDARY LOPÉ REPÚBLICA DO SENEGAL
ROGAN LUP FRANÇA
TOMA MOUTEBE LUNTHUMBE CONGO
MICHELE MAGEMA CONGO
MUSTAFÁ MALUKÁ ÁFRICA DO SUL
I. MANZINI ZIMBAQUE
KAGOY PAT MAULALA ÁFRICA DO SUL
PAUL MILLER AKI DJISPODY USA
NANDIPHA MNTAMBO ÁFRICA DO SUL
SANTU MOKHONE ÁFRICA DO SUL
NÁSTIO MOSQUITO ÂNGOLA
JOHN MUAFANGEJO RHÂMBA
N’DÔLO MUTIMA ÁFRICA DO SUL
WAGHESH MUTU QUÉNIA
INGRID ROBERT MWANGU/HUTTER QUÉNIA
AIMÉ NTAKICYI BURUNDI
CHRIS OFILI NIGÉRIA
OLU OGUIDE NIGÉRIA
BAXI DIUATTARA COSTA DO MARFIM
GWVU-Mooks THAMBA GHANA
EILEEN PEIRRE GHANA
RODNEY PLACE ÁFRICA DO SUL
ROBIN RHOADES ÁFRICA DO SUL
TRACY ROSE ÁFRICA DO SUL
RUTH SACKS ÁFRICA DO SUL
CHERI SAMBA CONGO
BERNIE SÄRLE ÁFRICA DO SUL
JOHANNES SEGODELA ÁFRICA DO SUL
BEMOUNÉS SEMITATI MARCOCO
YINXIA SHOGBARE NIGÉRIA
F. SHUMBA ZIMBAQUE
PASCALE MARTHINE TAYOU CAMARÕES
CYPRIEN TOOKOUGRAIBA BENIM
SEVEN SEVEN TWINS NIGÉRIA
MINÉTTE VARI ÁFRICA DO SUL
VITEIX ANGOLA
KARA WALKER USA
ANDY WARKOL USA
KERNHINDI WELBY USA
SUE WILLIAMSON ÁFRICA DO SUL
YONAMINE ANGOLA
GAVIN YOUNG ÁFRICA DO SUL
MTHETHWA ZWELETHU ÁFRICA DO SUL
References

Primary sources
From the Archive IPAD - Instituto de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento, Lisbon:
Plano de Urbanização da cidade de Luanda, 1943
Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial, Plano de Urbanização da parte Marginal da cidade de Luanda, 1943
PDCL Plano Director da Cidade de Luanda, 1961-1962
Plano Director de Urbanização da Ilha de Luanda, 1962
Plano Director de Urbanização Futungo de Belas, 1962
Plano para o Bairro da Prenda, 1965
Camara Municipal de Luanda, Esquema director do Plano de Urbanização de Luanda, 1971
Camara Municipal de Luanda, Plano Regulador de Luanda, 1973

Primary sources related to culture in Luanda:
Fernando Alvim archives, Luanda.
Sindika Dokolo Foundation archives, Luanda (see www.sindikadokolofoundation.org foundation).
Simon Njami archives, Paris. www.trienal-de-luanda.net (now offline)

From the archive of the Trienal de Luanda
DOSSIER FUNDAÇÃO SINDIKA DOKOLO dossier activities 2003-2010
EVENTOS BIENAL DE BORDEAUX

CHECK LIST LUANDA POP- Biennale di Venezia:
CHECK LIST LUANDA POP dossier
EDIÇÕES dossier
MAPA DE CIRCULAÇÃO DOS ARTISTAS AFRICANOS
mapa transmissão TPA
PLANOS DO PAVLHÃO AFRICANO and PHOTOS

I Trienal de Luanda 2004-2007:
I TL - EVENTOS
I TL - ESPAÇOS

I TL - PROGRAMA EDUCAÇÃO
I TL – OUTDOORS
I TL – TEXTOS
MAPAS espaços

II Trienal de Luanda 2010:
FOTOS ARTES CÊNICAS dossier
FOTOS ARTES VISUAIS dossier

Secondary sources
Secondary sources related to the urban growth and Luanda
AA VV, “Falemos de casas entre o Norte e o Sul”, catalogue of the Trienal de arquitectura de Lisboa 2010
Fernando Augusto Albuquerque Mourão, “Continuidades e discontinuidades de um processo colonial através de uma leitura de Luanda – uma interpretação do desenho urbano” Lisboa,

Secondary sources related to art and culture in Luanda
Fernando Alvim, Simon Njami, “Check List Luanda Pop”,
Fernando Alvim, Heike Munder, and Ulf Wuggenig (eds.), Next Flag: The African Sniper
Uanga, jornal da fundação Sindika Dokolo, Geografias Emocionais 2010
Artes e leilões n. 7, maio 08 – dossier Angola
Laurie Ann Farrell, “Looking both ways - art of the contemporary african diaspora” (catalogue) museum for african art NY, snoeck Gent (artist: N’Dilo Mutima)
Antonio Ole, “na pele da cidade” exhibition in Luanda and catalogue, 2009
Revue Noire, juin-juillet-aout 1998

Secondary sources on safety and security

Goldstein, Toward a Critical Anthropology of Security, 2010

Secondary sources related to safety in Angola and Luanda
Jakkie Cilliers, “Resource wars—a new type of insurgency.” in Jakkie Cilliers


Jo Ractliffe, “Terreno Ocupado” e “As Terras do fim do mundo”


Fieldwork material
Photographic archive (800 images)
Interviews: notes and audio/video recordings (see interviews C.1)
2.2.3 List of public artworks, landmarks and cultural spaces

A1

Name of the Artwork
Mitologias

Category
Permanent artwork/monument

Location and Accessibility
Positioned along the Marginal road of Luanda.

Level of Significance
According to the author (Antonio Ole, 2013), the sculpture never played a significant role in that space, both from the viewpoint of the usage of the surrounding space and in terms of safety and security.

About the Artwork
The only famous contemporary sculpture in the public space on the seaside, which is also known by a rather large audience, is the one by António Ole, titled Mitologias (“Mythologies”, 1986). This monument was moved not far from its original position because of the renovation and the enlargement, including the re-sectioning, of the Marginal de Luanda. António Ole (1951) is one of Angola’s most famous artists. Ole studied African American Culture and Cinema at the University of California and later at the American Film Institute, both in the United States of America. He returned to Angola in 1985 where he continues to live. He has held exhibitions all over the world including the Hayward Gallery in London and the National Museum of African Art in Washington DC. Through a range of media in his artwork including film, sculpture, photography and painting, the common themes of social conflict and the human capacity for resistance can be found in much of Ole’s work.
A2

Name of the Artwork
Monument in Largo da Ingombotas (approximately 2010)

Category
Permanent artwork/monument

Location and Accessibility
Located in Largo da Ingombotas, a central square of the center of Luanda, the space and the monument are accessible but difficult to experience.

Level of Significance
The intervention shows the commercial approach to public spaces with no direct involvement of artists. That led to the consequence of having an unused space whose objects in space do not constitute any relation with the local or broad context both because of the scarce design and because of the poor realization and concept of the artwork.

About the Artwork
Realized by a Chinese company, it represents a fake ruined wall with the space for a fountain (which was not working at the time of the fieldwork).
Name of the Artwork
Commemorative monument Largo do Baleizão and new artwork

Category
Permanent artwork/monument

Location and Accessibility
Located in Largo Baleizão, opposite the marginal Luanda, the monument is in the new Largo, the space is accessible, lightened, clean and not constantly patrolled.

Level of Significance
Besides the weak relations between the existing monument and the new arrangement of the square, the space and the artworks are used. The space takes advantage of the position close to the renovated Marginal and works as a sort of extension to it. Even if not (apparently) patrolled, the square seems secure and the monuments are not vandalized: the presence of an old, highly degraded apartment building clashes with the clean and secure square.

About the Artwork
The commemorative monument was erected by the Cuban cooperation to symbolize the unity of the country. Built after the independence, representing in bas-relief an iconography of the revolutionary phase it is today placed in a renovated square where a series of stones (18) represents the Angolan provinces.
On the square the new intervention (2009) consists in large stones that have been spread around the square. The stones were chosen with a criteria in each of the provinces and placed around a monument that was erected to replace the one dedicated to Infante D. Henrique.
A4

Name of the Artwork
Monument to Agostinho Neto

Category
Permanent artwork/monument

Location and Accessibility
Largo Primeiro de Maio / da Independencia (2000) is an accessible space but highly patrolled because it is considered a military sensitive spot.

Level of Significance
If one compares the colonial monuments that have been removed after the independence and the new ones (Monumento as Heroínas and others), the similarity is tangible. The way they work in public spaces, their relation with the surroundings as well as their use can be defined as “classical”; it is similar to the ex-Portuguese ones. The difference lies in the way they are controlled since some of them, including the Largo Primeiro de Maio (or da Independencia), are considered military sensitive spots and are therefore patrolled by the police. As it happens in the rest of the center of Luanda, security is guaranteed but at the same time the control of space is pervasive.

About the Artwork
The statue of the father of independent Angola was commissioned to a North Korean firm that produced a Communist Korean-like monument that represents Agostinho Neto on top of a tall pedestal at the center of a large roundabout.
**A5 Name of the Artwork**
Mural on the wall of the Military Hospital of Luanda. Tereza Gama (1979) and various artists.

**Category**
Permanent artwork/monument

**Location and Accessibility**
The mural of the Military Hospital is a highly sensitive spot. It is accessible but it cannot be photographed.

**Level of Significance**
The restoration of the images aimed at bringing to collective awareness and to young people in particular the steps that Angola has to go through at the current moment of real peace. In 2013 a correspondent of Voice of Germany (Deutsche Welle), Nelson South D’Angola, was interrogated for suspect espionage activities against the country when caught taking photos of the mural. His camera was confiscated. International organizations have been informed about threats to press freedom in Angola.

**About the Artwork**
The 93 murals made in 1979 on the wall surrounding the Military Hospital of Luanda are a short history of the country displayed in the “screens” that make up the work. They were restored in 2008 by a set of 15 national artists to prevent their complete decay. They reflect the revelry that characterized the anti-colonial resistance and the war of resistance against the invasion of forces of apartheid South Africa in Angola regime during the 80s. The private artistic institution “Dizalalu Space” is the company in charge of directing the recovery of the murals, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture and the Provincial Government of Luanda. Painters such as Solo Lopes, Dani Adam, Manuel Ventura, Antoninho, and Sabby were part of the guests for the restoration of the wall.
A6  

**Name of the Artwork**  
Informational mural against HIV/AIDS

**Category**  
Permanent artwork/monument

**Location and Accessibility**  
Located in Largo da Maiaga, a central informal taxi stop, it is also located close to the National Institute for the Fight Against AIDS.

**Level of Significance**  
Even if the civil war that lasted from around 1975 to 2002 provided a sort of buffer against HIV throughout the ‘80s and ‘90s, by preventing large movement of people in or out of the country, the HIV rate among people between 15 and 49 year old remains high. Internal displacement concentrated people around Luanda and the highest rates of HIV in Angola are found near the borders with Namibia and Zambia. Trades, movement of people, better roads have improved mobility but also raised the infection rates. Murals and other artifacts face the theme of insecurity connected to HIV/AIDS transmission not only by single artists but also by public programs.

Moreover, the Ministry of Social Communication, UNAIDS and the ANASO Youth Group contributed to the implementation of a package of communication (including radio, television) in order to sensitize youth preparing and printing educational and informational materials, as well as creating artistic murals, also in football stadiums.

**About the Artwork**  
The wall mural was made by children of different schools of Luanda and displays details about HIV transmission, myths and advice under the coordination of the Ministry of Health and Education.
Name of the Artwork
Outdoors Trienal de Luanda

Category
Temporary artwork/ephemeral

Location and Accessibility
Outdoor billboard structures spread in the city.

Level of Significance
The claim of using the outdoor structures of the city was to give the maximum visibility of Angola’s “heritage” using a range of different images and providing a visual continuity through the city. These went along with the Triennial’s claim to create a physical network of creative spaces and habits of culture, implied in the statement that the Triennial aims to change society on the level of behavioral habits and on the way citizens inhabit the city.

About the Artwork
Throughout the run of the first and the second triennial (December 2006-March 2007 and September-December 2010) there were – together with weekly cinema programs, conferences, theater plays, music performances – “outdoor projects” that reproduced artworks on billboards all across the city.
A8

Name of the Artwork
Christmas plastic trees

Category
Temporary artwork/ephemeral

Location and Accessibility
Accessible. Different locations, public spaces.

Level of Significance
They still play a role in public spaces beautifying the space. Most of the existing ones are well kept and not vandalized. Interviewees using the public spaces appreciate their impact and say they contribute to the aesthetics of the place.

About the Artwork
A series of Christmas trees built for Christmas 2010 by pupils of the school “Povo em Luta” and other schools is the result of a program of the Government of the province of Luanda to raise awareness towards environmental issues. Originally there were several scattered around the city, today some of them still occupy certain public spaces. Measuring 11 meters in height, they are made by a conical structure in iron, plastic bottles and system of internal lightning. They were realized with the support of the firm Odebrecht.
A9  **Name of the Artwork**
Homem Sô

**Category**
Temporary artwork/ephemeral

**Location and Accessibility**
Lively sculptures on existing pedestals of colonial monuments in different squares of Luanda.

**Level of Significance**
The fact of representing urban spaces of Luanda transcends the limits of the city and construct an immaterial, “mental space” – as it is often referred to by Simon Njami – where the meanings of art in Luanda start to take new forms.

**About the Artwork**
The series of photos made by the Angolan artist Kiluanju Kia Henda representing lively sculptures on existing pedestals of colonial monuments in the squares of Luanda. The photos were exhibited at Art Basel in 2012.
A10

**Name of the Artwork**
Redefining The Power – 75 (2013)

**Category**
Temporary artwork/ephemeral

**Location and Accessibility**
Fortress of Luanda, Military museum

**Level of Significance**
The fact of representing urban spaces of Luanda transcends the limits of the city and construct an immaterial, “mental space” – as it is often referred to by Simon Njami – where the meanings of art in Luanda start to take new forms. They are internationally known and discussed by a large audience that exceeds the national borders.

**About the Artwork**
The series of photos made by the Angolan artist Kiluanju Kia Henda taken inside Luanda’s fortress that show the dismantled statues next to tanks and cannons.
A11  

Name of the Artwork
Luanda, Encyclopedic City (2013)

Category
Temporary artwork/ephemeral

Location and Accessibility
Shootings on the streets of Luanda

Level of Significance
The circumstances – the fact that the Angolan Pavilion won the Golden Lion – and the refined images of everyday objects found in the streets of the capital and repositioned in front of different walls, revealed Luanda to the international public and to the art world. The echo that was generated after the award is again something that contributes in shaping mental spaces: not only the ones of those who have never been in Angola but especially the ones of Angolans (Njami 2012; Alvim 2013).

About the Artwork
A work of the photographer Edson Chagas, who won the Golden Lion for the Angolan Pavilion at the 2013 Art Biennale in Venice, with a set of photos representing “informal monuments” in the streets of Luanda.
**Name of the Landmark**
Mausoleum of Agostinho Neto

**Location and Accessibility**
Not accessible, only on specific dates/events. The exhibition halls, conference and training rooms are located in the right and left wings. On the front there is a clue to parades and a platform surrounded by benches with two thousand seats. The surrounding enclosed area that occupies a large portion of the city is fenced and not accessible.

**Level of Significance**
Angola maintained close contacts with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, where common practice was the mummification of bodies of deceased leaders. Following their example, the body of Agostinho Neto was embalmed as well. The visibility of the mausoleum and the impact of its area make it a remarkable landmark in the city that is visible from a very long distance.

**About the Landmark**
The Mausoleum of Agostinho Neto is an impressive structure located at Praia do Bispo, or New Marginal de Luanda, that was begun in September 1982 and was completed in 2012. The Mausoleum is a building with a tower 120 feet high, it has a huge space with gardens and recreational places. It was built in honor of the father of independent Angola, Agostinho Neto, who in the years 1975-1979 served as first president of independent Angola. The rehabilitation began in 2005 with the recovery of the reinforced concrete structure of the building and implementation of the entire architecture.
Name of the Landmark
Kinaxixi market (demolished)

Location and Accessibility
Demolished. Today it is a construction site for a new development.

Level of Significance
Erasing the market meant a reconfiguration of the urban equilibrium and an indirect shot against the public sphere in the city.
Moreover, according to many intellectuals, even the colonial history and the most recent one, including the period of the conflicts for the independence (’60s and ’70s), has to be preserved. The same opinion comes from other different figures, who have a different eye, and watch Luanda through a different lens. The market is a symbol of the demolition process that Luanda is facing in the recent years, consequent evictions and occupation of public spaces in the city. Public spaces, like markets or open spaces, are often deleted and not replaced. Building, whose architectural quality is dubious, are built instead and contribute to the gradual privatization of public spaces. In the streets of the center, what is possible to notice is the contrast between the widespread modernist language of European derivation, developed with formal solutions specific to the Tropicalist current that is differently expressed in countries such as Angola, and the rise of buildings that boast economic power but do not propose new languages.

About the Landmark
Built in 1950, the market was the most famous building of architect Vasco Vieira da Costa and it was demolished in 2009. That was not only a masterpiece of Modern architecture, but also one of the best public spaces of the city and a fundamental landmark in itself.
**Name of the Landmark**
New Assembleia Nacional de Angola (“Angolan national assembly”, 2010-2013)

**Location and Accessibility**
Not accessible, under construction.

**Level of Significance**
The style refers to an imaginary that is very close to the colonial revivalist styles and it is certainly far from the modernism of the Restauração former cinema, which currently hosts the Assembleia Nacional. Both the used technologies, building structures and aesthetics clearly show the ambitions of the Angolan leading class concerning the urban ambitions and the image of the city.

**About the Landmark**
The Assembleia will be the new center of national political life and it is situated on an area next to the mausoleum dedicated to Agostinho Neto. The large dome that surmounts a central-plan building and the horseshoe-like building around it, both in a vague neo-classical style, constitute the main architectural features of the large building.
L4  **Name of the Landmark**  
The New Court (Palácio da Justiça)

**Location and Accessibility**  
The building is surrounded by an open space, yet fenced and not freely accessible.

**Level of Significance**  
This example witnesses the institutional projection to the future as it is expressed in architecture and urban form. That is given by the design of the building of the new Courts (2012) where the style and the monument that can be found in the private garden shows the emerging new architectural language, but also the use of not sustainable materials, infrastructures and technologies highlighting a trend that can be extended not only to other public buildings but also to new private developments.

**About the Landmark**  
It was a direct appointment by the Gabinete de Obras Publicas – designed by architect Trofeb Real with a Chinese construction company named Jiangsu – and for many other recent projects, almost all made by foreign firms (Chinese, Lebanese, Portuguese, South Africans and others, mostly with direct assignments.)
BPC tower - the Savings and Credit Bank building

Location and Accessibility
Free access to the building’s outer spaces, restricted access to indoor space.

Level of Significance
The restoration work of the headquarters building of the Savings and Credit Bank (BPC) are about to start. The Chairman of the Board of Directors of BPC says: “The building was already somewhat degraded, so there was a need for a restoration.” The project will last 24 months and is budgeted at 7.7 billions of kwanza. Chinese Construtora Jiangsu China will be responsible for the work, and it also funded the project. Concerning the hypothetic demolition of the headquarters BPC, representatives assume that this scenario is “only in the ultimate case.”

The construction of “Torres Kianda” in front of the BPC tower includes the setting up of a whole block with an area 10’500 sqm and a perimeter of 432.50 m and the BPC Bank building restoration. Again, this restoration threatens one of the symbols of Luanda’s cityscape.

About the Landmark
The Head Office of the Savings Bank and Credit (BPC) located in Largo Major Saydi Mingas, Marginal of Luanda, was opened in 1967 and designed by architect Gennaro Godinho (project leader) and by professors engineers Correia de Araújo and Campos Matos.

This architectural structure is considered one of the symbols of Angola and one of the most beautiful works of engineering in the country.

The building has a height of 90.27 m (23 floors) and a sign on top 5.90 m high. The building is composed of two parts: the first takes the ground floor hosts the Board of Directors (CAD) and the cabinets to support the CAD. The second part is Unit Structure (BPC Directorates and Departments). There are also offices for renting and residential spaces.

The headquarters building due to internal open-space distribution of spaces allow multiple uses or purposes.
**L6**

**Name of the Landmark**
Marginal de Luanda, boulevard along the bay of Luanda

**Location and Accessibility**
Highly accessible and used. Low level of control, high maintenance.

**Level of Significance**
Another strong example that works as an efficient device against crime in the center is given by the renewed Marginal de Luanda, the large public space along the bay. The perfect maintenance of the public facilities, the vegetation, the floor, clean and well kept, with few security guards along it, some of which are not even armed, seem to work as a deterrent against crime and squatting.

The Marginal works also informally as an open space for cultural activities: “There are places like the beach or the Marginal that already host cultural and recreational activities. Once they brought me to a cultural center in Brazil, and when I arrived I discovered it was a school of samba with some bars: I was expecting something else: coming from France, my perception was deformed because where I come from there is another idea of cultural spaces.” (Njami 2012).

**About the Landmark**
According to recent data, the new marginal de Luanda receives 2'500 people daily on average. They use the space for leisure activities, a number that doubles during weekends.

The Portuguese consortium Mota Engil/Soares da Costa led the redevelopment of the Marginal of Luanda – project cost: 300 millions of euro – which was made by the Angolan private bank, led by the Bank Atlantic and included 147'000 sqm of pedestrian spaces, three parks, eight spaces for the practice of various sports, five areas for cultural initiatives and 10 new stations along the promenade.
Name of the Landmark
Santo Antonio Church

Location and Accessibility
Highly accessible

Level of Significance
The Santo Antonio church in Cazenga runs educational programs for kids and women, the enclosed space around the church works as a safe place for daily common activities as well as recreational ones. Cinemas, churches, municipalities of the Bairros, sport fields, market places are potentially areas that can be seen as important centers for the community.

About the Landmark
The Church of St. Anthony is in the Cazenga district, Luanda, and it has been properly remodeled to receive the visit of Pope Benedict XVI on his trip to Africa in 2009. New paint, well maintained gardens, everything clean and bright, inside and outside. The church has a high wall that separates it from the street. A gate and a large patio, it is quiet, spacious, with organized outdoors and shade trees. Here some cement benches, a leafy tree, a blackboard nailed to the wall create a space where youngsters organize for others young people classes of mathematics, chemistry, and physics. Voluntary study groups and other activities’ groups are organized spontaneously.
L8

Name of the Landmark
Cinema Atlantico

Location and Accessibility
Located close to Praça da Independencia and accessible.

Level of Significance
While inactive for two years, it was reopened in January 2004. It has since helped the Angolans to revive and get access to cinema shows and contributed to the cultural spaces in Angola.
The movie theater hosts films, music shows, award galas and has partnerships with the Ministry of Culture, NGOs, churches, among others. The cinema, as others in Luanda that are threatened by demolitions, works as an open cultural and multifunctional space for the local communities.

About the Landmark
The Cinema Atlantico (opened in 1966) is an outdoor theater, with a capacity for 1’500 spectators and a concert hall located in the center of Luanda. It was designed by the architect Eduardo Paulino and the engineer Edgar Cardoso. Sculptors such as Antonio Vidigal, Miranda and Zink also worked on it. It is a covered amphitheater defined by a system of pillars that ascend above the roof and the struts supporting it. The roof is composed of metal hanging trusses.
**Name of the Cultural Space**
Fundação Sindika Dokolo

**Location and Accessibility**
Located in Fernando Alvim’s residence, the foundation works both as an office for the preparation of the Triennial and as a space for meetings and gathering of artists.

**Level of Significance**
The relation among the Foundation, the Triennial (which has got a strong international visibility and promotes Angolan art worldwide), and the rest of the Angolan art world is often conflictive. Due to the direct link with the government (Sindika Dokolo’s ventures and his marriage to Isabel dos Santos), the strong power of the Fundação Sindika Dokolo and therefore of the Trienal de Luanda highlights a problem of transparency and hegemony in the art scene and in the processes of inclusion-exclusion of Angolan artists. Alvim’s partnership with the Sindika Dokolo Foundation problematized his claims of autonomy because it represents a powerful configuration. Because of these connections, Angolans, as well as the international art circles, often call into question the Triennial’s claims. On the other hand Sindika Dokolo, unlike other collectors who discuss about African beauty, claims that art should be used as a weapon (“Jeune Afrique”, November 2012). The exhibition presented by Njami together with Alvim and Sindika Dokolo at the Venice Biennale is a good example to explain the meaning of creating a mental, immaterial space as weapon.

**About the Institution**
Sindika Dokolo – a wealthy Congolese art collector who is today married to the daughter of the President of Angola, Isabel dos Santos – allowed Fernando Alvim – an artist and curator – to create a foundation (Fundação Sindika Dokolo) as a platform for producing the Triennial. Besides the partnership Alvim himself has invested 680’000.– USD as part of the funding for the first Triennial. Sindika Dokolo was also one of the financial supporters: through his collection he paid 50% of the expenses of the Triennial, while the rest of the budget was covered by sponsors.
Name of the Cultural Space
Temporary spaces for Trienal de Luanda

Location and Accessibility
All the spaces of the different editions of the Triennial were located in the city center and were freely accessible during the Triennial period.

Level of Significance
The idea was to start a process, a mechanism in order to create a space to be filled in. “When we live in chaos we become used to it, we know how to handle it, and then when we find places under control it is easier for us” (Alvim, 2013). Similarly, Simon Njami argues that the spaces used by the Triennial were by no means chosen for any specific deep meaning connected to the place itself, but he highlights the effects that using institutional spaces such as a bank or a post office have produced on the general public.

“The spaces used by the Triennial, after that event became part of everyday life again, but the important aspect is the effect they produced when people could enter the bank and find an exhibition. Even the most institutional and hard spaces could become something else, could be open to culture” (Njami 2012).
Moreover, the anonymous character given to those spaces is reinforced by their set up that follows the same rules: white and gray paint on the walls and floors in order to create a neutral box.

About the Institution
A precise strategy of the Triennial of Luanda was the occupation and recuperation of vacant spaces, in buildings that were considered patrimônio (“heritage”). The State had to participate with minimal costs: for the first Triennial, for example, through the minister of telecommunications, some rooms of the post office were given to the Triennial under the deal of restoring the spaces and returning them to the official owner after the event.
The Triennial looked for vacant spaces and found 3,000 sqm: the Globo hotel, the Correios de Angola, Vivenda, the Armazen, the Baleizão. They were old buildings from different periods. After two years they were given back in a perfect state after restoration.
**Name of the Cultural Space**
E.studio Luanda

**Location and Accessibility**
Different locations in Luanda. The base is the atelier of Antonio Ola at the Elinga Theatre.

**Level of Significance**
E.studio aims to be an innovative and ambitious project for the development and internationalization of production Angolan Contemporary Art. The proposition of e.studio for its first year of existence, with the theme Luanda found footage, was to create and design a professional studio for visual arts with workshops on screen printing, wood carving and paint, where the collective will develop and share work techniques and concepts. They want to massively boost the production of Angolan culture and identity through artwork.

**About the Institution**
E.studio is the name of the project by a group of artists – Francisco Vidal, Nelo Teixeira and RitaGT – linked to the atelier and the work of the artist Antonio Ole. It is based in Luanda where the artists live and work.
CS4

Name of the Cultural Space
Teatro Elinga

Location and Accessibility
The Elinga Theater in Luanda has always worked as an open, accessible space, as one of the only spaces in Luanda dedicated to theatre. The building was built in the 19th century and was declared a historical monument by the Angolan Minister for Culture. However, in 2012 this status was rescinded in order to make way for the Elipark building project, which comprises a car park, offices and a hotel.
The building hosts different functions, from theatre spaces to artist’s ateliers, to exhibition spaces, to club.

Level of Significance
Although Antonio Ole’s atelier is now lasting more than twenty years in the famous building of the Teatro Elinga, in the Baixa, one of the most successful cultural centers of Luanda, the artist, one of the most internationally recognized Angolan creative, feels threatened. The pressure of the housing market and the lack of interest for art and culture is in fact exemplified by the continuous attempts of demolishing the Elinga. Just as other historical buildings, the theatre will probably disappear.
However, the threats to demolish the building have given rise to negative reactions on the networks that are creating some resistance movement against it.

About the Institution
The Elinga Theatre group (from the umbundo “elinga”, meaning action, initiative, exercise) was created in 1988 following the Tchinganje group (1975-1976), succeeded by the Xilenga Theatre (1977-1980) and the Theatre Group of the Luanda Faculty of Medicine (1984-1987). The theatre was used primarily for raising awareness (Tchinganje) and as an instrument of popular mobilization, to eventually move to an expressive function (Xilenga and the Medicine group), until the current investigation of new languages (Elinga).
It was born as a single theatre project, aimed at rescuing and promoting Angolan culture at all levels, including a modern treatment of its traditional values, and at spreading a universal theatrical repertoire.
Name of the Cultural Space
Atelier/living space of Mestre Paulo Kapela

Location and Accessibility
The atelier is in the degraded building of the National Artist Union (UNAP). It is accessible from an open entrance on one side of the building. The studio is a different world, almost a sacred space: a labyrinth of innumerous objects of different kinds, from toys to plastic flowers, to advertisements, to crucifixes and candles, combining Bantu philosophy, Catholicism, Rastafarianism and socialist iconographies with a strong sense of a local praise culture. Mestre Kapela’s artworks are both paintings and innumerous collages depicting famous personalities.

Level of Significance
Mestre Paulo Kapela takes an exceptional position with his life and work within the art world of Luanda: he is a kind of artistic and spiritual master for the younger artist generation. He became a role model with his unorthodox way of living and his personal universe, but also with his unique way of art-production through a combination of disparate objects and the creation of new contexts. In spite of this international recognition, his work can only be understood in his local context, that is to say in his artist studio in the city center of Luanda.

About the Institution
The artist is a fugitive in his own country, a Mukongo from Uige, he moved to Luanda in 1996. In the last years he has emerged in the context of the Trienal de Luanda, and his artworks have also been shown in the exhibitions Check List - Luanda Pop at Venice Biennial in 2007 and Luanda Smooth and Rave in Bordeaux, 2009. In 2003 he was awarded with the Art Prize of CICIBA - Centro Internacional de Civilizações Bantú in Brazzaville (Republic of Kongo).

References
http://www.buala.org/en/face-to-face/mestre-paulo-kapela-re-membering-the-disparate
Brigit Obrist, Veit Arlt, Elisio Macamo (eds.), “Living the City in Africa: Processes of Invention and Intervention”, LIT Verlag, Münster 2013.
UNAP independent artists’ atelier

Despite the cleaning and fixing, the state of the occupied rooms remains precarious. The spaces are used both as workshops and exhibition spaces.

Level of Significance
Artists do not know for how long the authorities will allow them to stay in these premises. The most important issue behind this occupation is indeed the need for them to have a shared and central space where they can meet and work. Although the UNAP should provide yearly residences for Angolan artists, this has not been the case since years. Most of the artists, due to the expensive rents in the center of Luanda, live in the bairros. The traffic jam that blocks every day the circulation in the city for hours do not allow a fast commuting and amplify the distances. Thus, artists living in different bairros end up working there but isolated or meeting in the center but with limited or no space to work.

About the Institution
Since the end of 2012, due to the difficulties UNAP has been facing in the recent years, independent artists have occupied a part of the 1st floor of the UNAP building in order to create a collective workshop for their activities. The studios of UNAP are not only working place for the artists but also offer a shelter, favored by the artists’ friends to use the space for convivial moments and other uses. Nelo Teixeira, N’dilo Muitima, Toy Boy, Pineldi Ayrcan, Rui VJ are some of the artists working in this space.
Name of the Cultural Space
UNAP gallery and ateliers

Location and Accessibility
The UNAP building located in rua Rainha Ginga in Luanda is ruinous and half abandoned. The UNAP archive – according to Nadine Siegert – was badly organized yet existing in 2009, it has recently been destroyed after discovering that it got rotten due to infiltrations of rain from the roof. The exhibition space on the storefront is underutilized, while the second one on the corner has been recently occupied by young artists Rita GT and Francisco Vidal thanks to their own initiative with the support of Universidade Lusíada de Luanda. However, that space is currently closed due to the bad structural conditions of the building.

Level of Significance
It used to be one of the major places for art-production in Luanda, with two galleries in the first floor and a number of studios in the second, providing space for some of the local artists. Despite the intentions declared by UNAP current director Bastos Galiano, saying that the government is preparing several actions to be taken in favor of a consolidation of the UNAP in Luanda and in order to install new decentralized centers around the country, the current condition looks contradictory. UNAP artists and other independent artists complain the inaction of the governmental institution, with no trust in future programs.

About the Institution
Established by MPLA in 1977 UNAP – União Nacional dos Artistas Plásticos (“National union of plastic artists”) – was conceived for the applicability of arts to the people of Angola. UNAP’s ambitious program originally included teaching painting, design and sculpture, hosting conferences and exhibiting artists’ works. Today the UNAP struggles to find funding, while its fellow artists struggle to find exhibition spaces and the building that hosts the art school and galleries are falling apart. Fernando Alvim expressed his belief that UNAP breeds artistic conservatism, as most of the artists are painters while the Triennial focuses instead on fostering young talents and “newer” media.
Name of the Cultural Space
CELAMAR Art Center

Location and Accessibility
The Celamar gallery is a space with exchange studios, residencies, as well as workshop facilities for artistic display, and it is a reference in the Angolan capital. The structure provides also spaces for music training, a stage, and indoor-outdoor multifunctional spaces for different activities. It is also a workshop that can be shared by many artists especially during two annual exhibitions – Coopearte and the “Mostra d’Arte Woman”. The first event takes place in March, the second from July to October. Both are open to the participation of national and foreign artists, which makes them an attractive for many artists not only Angolan.

Level of Significance
Its importance is both linked to the space itself, a sort of island in the city where artists of different ages and levels can train their skills. Historically, Marcela Costa and CELAMAR have been also a symbol of the empowerment of women’ condition through art. The exhibition spaces as well as events and exhibitions provide concrete chances for local artists to display and sell their pieces.

About the Institution
It was created by Marcela Costa, painter and weaver with a 33 years long career, the “mother of large annual exhibitions” – such as " VI Mostra d’Arte Woman” and “Coopearte”. She is considered the precursor of the women visual artists, and claims the importance of “being a woman and being African".
**Name of the Cultural Space**
Fundação Arte e Cultura

**Location and Accessibility**
The cultural centers of the Foundation are situated in the neighborhoods of Luanda and Huambo. They provide spaces for painting, teaching courses, children’s care, dance and other activities. A temporary exhibition space is also included.

**Level of Significance**
The spaces aim at being social references for children, youth and women, where they can develop artistic and free professional skills.

**About the Institution**
Founded in 2006, the Arts and Culture Foundation represents the social contribution of Mitrelli Group (formerly Group LR) in Angola. Its mission is to contribute to the preservation and dissemination of cultural, artistic and historical events in Angola, promoting the national culture, supporting established and outsider artists and institutions that have social engagement; investing in the creation of cultural centers such as “spaces where users have free courses in music, dance, visual arts, poetry, capoeira, theater, sewing and crafts”; investing in volunteering and health.
**Name of the Cultural Space**
Hotel Globo, SOSO Gallery

**Location and Accessibility**
Located at the ground floor of the Hotel Globo, the gallery is most of the time opened during specific events. It anyhow allows to look at the exhibited artworks through its windows and the hotel main hall.

**Level of Significance**
Today the private gallery offers the opportunity to various Angolan artists to exhibit and sell their artworks. Its international visibility makes it also a privileged channel for artists towards a rich and broad public.

**About the Institution**
In the occasion of the Trienal, Fernando Alvim together with his team (Albano Cordoso, chief curator for the event, and Tiago Borges), worked with a group of architects from the School of Architecture in Luanda to renovate 30 spaces in the city to host the different exhibits. The first renovation saw the creation of SOSO Arte Contemporanea, a gallery space which grew out of a derelict building, completely transformed over a 12 day period into a contemporary gallery, to open with the inaugural exhibition of work by Viteix, one of the most important Angolan painters, now dead. A subsequent exhibition of work by young artists sold out on opening night.
2.2.4 Perceptual maps

Perceptual maps Luanda
A series of different objects, architectures, and places of Luanda, which are representative of specific conditions regarding the relation between urban space and safety/security issues were chosen to construct a number of perceptual maps. They can be sculptures, monuments, architectures, cultural centers, ephemeral artworks that play or have played an important role in the city or are/have been sensitive spots.

The axonometric views aim at physically describing their main features highlighting every time the key elements that are particularly relevant in that respect, i.e. the former statue and the living one on the pedestals where Kiluanji Kia Henda has performed; the exploded view of the green spaces along the Marginal road; the 1st floor of Elinga Teatro that hosts the cultural center and ateliers; the demolished Kinaxixi market with the shadow of the forthcoming project. Those elements are in fact contested spaces, dangerous or safe places, important references or the focus of certain discourses on safety and security.

In some cases the axonometric drawings have been represented by day and by night because of the tangible difference in the use of the urban spaces in the two moments – different groups and degree of control – but also because of the strong impact of public lighting in defining safe or unsafe zones (real or perceived), i.e. the lighted sign of the BPC tower or the streetlights along the Marginal.

Another layer that provided useful information for building the perceptual maps has been the press release (in English) on the chosen urban places. The sources of the articles are pointed in a world map and show the international impact and echo that those places have been in relation to safety-security issues.

Mixing all information sources – from direct observations, to interviews, articles, archive material – a number of symbols have been then overlapped to the axonometric drawings in order to show the conflictual and yet sensitive spots as well as the safe zones and controlled ones (that can be both an element of security and insecurity).

The outcoming perceptual maps want to provide a schematic but at the same time detailed representation of the spaces that are relevant in the city of Luanda for what concerns public safety and security highlighting their different characters, scale, nature and tracing a possible line for easy future fulfillment of similar exercises.
Elinga Teatro
Luanda
axonometry
Praça da Independencia, Luanda

Media perception map

**Articles on physical transformations**
25.1.1999
The New York Times
Description of the transformation of the square, specifically of the monument.

**Articles on cultural events**
12.9.2010
Angop Agencia Angola Press

17.6.2012
Allafrica
Exhibition and sale of children’s book
http://allafrica.com/stories/201206170280.html

6.1.2014
Allafrica
Launch of the album by a gospel singer
http://allafrica.com/stories/201401070085.html
Praça da Independência
Luanda
axonometry
Articles on political demonstrations
8.3.2011
Archive of “Bradt Guide to Angola”
(a tourists’ guide in English)
Protest of 7.3.2011 against
the president (started as
a campaign on the website:
http://revolucaoangolana.webs.com/)
http://bradtangolaupdate.wordpress.
com/category/luanda/page/3/

7.9.2011
FreeMuse (“The world forum
on music and censorship”, an
international organization for music
based in Copenhagen)
Protest of 3.9.2011, due to the
detention of two musicians
http://freemuse.org/archives/1812

11.9.2011
GfS (“Global Intelligence Service”,
indipendent journal based in
Lichtenstein)
Protest of 3.9.2011
geopolitics/geopolitics-could-civil-
unrest-spread-to-angola

16.9.2011
Ceasefire Magazine (British
indipendent journal)
Protest of 3.9.2011
http://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/
special-report-angola-1/
Praça da Independência
Luanda
axonometry

safety/security

× public accidents
× punctual accidents
○ control points
○ safe zone
16.9.2011
Bloomberg Businessweek
(international journal based in New York, London, Tokyo, Washington)
Protests of 3. and 8.9.2011; protests are forbidden on the square, but allowed in peripheral areas

Republished by Signalfire (website for information and analysis on international communism of the “Center for Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Studies”)
http://www.signalfire.org/?p=14245

25.9.2011
PAJ (“Portuguese American Journal” on-line journal)
Manifestation on 25.9.2011 against the president and the detentions due the previous protests (3. and 8.9.2011)

24.5.2012
US Department of State (website of the US federal executive department for international relations)
Human Rights Reports: Angola, Report on the general situation

5.11.2012
The independent (Giornale inglese con sede a Londra)
Protesta del 7.03.2011 (Pubblicato solo un anno e mezzo dopo l’accaduto, nell’articolo scrivono “it didn’t make the international news, Angola rarely does”)

2012
Human Rights Watch (indepident non-profit NGO based in New York)
World Report 2012: Angola, report on the general situation in Angola; section on the manifestations in Praça da Indipendencia

31.5.2013
Osisa (Open society initiative for Southern Africa, African institution for the safeguard of human rights)
Protest on 27.5.2013, in particular against the lack of information on the vanishing of two persons during previous manifestations.
http://www.osisa.org/formal/about-open-society-initiative-southern-africa-osisa

19.9.2013
Foxnews (Foxnews’ website, based in New York)
Protest on 19.9.2013, detention of protesters
Kinaxixi Market and Cuca Tower
axonometry with new interventions
Kinaxixi Market and Cuca Tower
axonometry

safety/security

- public accidents
- punctual accidents
- control points
- safe zone (perceived)
Kinaxixi Market and Cuca Tower, Luanda

Media perception map

Articles

5.2.2003
Angop Agencia Angola Press
National Assembly, among various issues the transformation of the market into a mall

4.7.2003
Allafrica
The Parliament approves the transfer of the market
http://allafrica.com/stories/200307060349.html

9.5.2004
Angop Agencia Angola Press
Transfer of the informal traders of the former market

30.6.2011
Whitehouse & Associates (research and consultancy agency on marketing, investments and projects in Africa based in Johannesburg)
Presentation with facts and figures on the development of Angola (data on the new mall)
http://tinyurl.com/ldkbeob

4.11.2011
Macauhub (free news service about business and investments based in Macau)
New malls in Luanda; expansion of the real estate market

21.5.2012
New Homes (Spanish blog related to the international real estate market)
Investments on the architectural transformations in Luanda, section on market’s data: surface, costs, functional plan
http://www.newhomes-obranueva.com/blog/tag/kinaxixi-project/

13.10.2012
HPIP (website collecting information on the Portugues architectural heritage)
Project by Vasco Viera da Costa is described as a symbol of the Modern Movement in Angola, with critics to the new architectural approach employed forcefully.
http://www.hpip.org/def/en/Homepage/Entry?a=74

Books

2005
“Countries at the crossroads”, edited by Sarah Repucci, Christopher Walker, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham (MD) 2005, p. 57
Collection of reports on countries listed as “at the crossroad”, including Angola.
Transformation of the Kinaxixi market into a mall is quoted as an example of a governmental decision taken under the influence of private companies.
http://tinyurl.com/nggslbv

2012
“Colonial architecture and urbanism in Africa: intertwined and contested history”, edited by Fassil Demissie, Ashgate publishing, Farham-Burlington (VT) 2012, p. 422
History and transformation of the market
http://tinyurl.com/llqtvuk
Kilunaji Kia Henda, “Redefining the power”: axonometry with former statue
Kilunaji Kia Henda, "Redefining the power" axonometry with former statue.
Kiluanji Kia Henda
“Redifining the power”, Luanda
Media perception map

Articles
13.5.2012
Artribune (Italian platform
dedicated to contemporary arts)
Exhibition of “Redefining the power”
at Art Basel 43.
http://www.artribune.com/2012/06/
basel-updates-giovani-e-fair-
specific-fototour-da-art-statements-
ceanche-la-galleria-fonti-in-
versione-africana/

14.6.2012
ART-IT (Japanese-english
contemporary art portal site)
Exhibition at Art Basel
http://www.art-it.asia/u/admin_
exph/g9hqino4GBbZjtAOY2mrS

2012
Galleria Fonti, Naples
Images of the exhibition at Art Basel
in the section ArtStatements.
http://www.galleriafonti.it/index.php?
pagina=artgallery&i=772&art=KILUA
NJ%20KIA%20HENDA

1.8.2012
Frieze, Issue 150 (magazine on
contemporary arts based in London,
New York, Berlin).
Historical introduction to Luanda,
meaning of the artwork (Rua do 1
Congresso de MPLA) as a “weapon of
intervention and denunciation”
http://www.frieze.com/issue/article/
focus-kiluanji-kia-henda/

2012
Les Ateliers de Rennes (Biennial of
contemporary arts in Rennes, France)
Description of the artwork
http://www.lesateliersderennes.fr/
en/2012-edition/kiluanji-kia-henda

18.9.2012
Vogue Italia
http://www.vogue.it/people-are-
talking-about/vogue-arts/2012/09/
africans-plinths-by-mariuccia-
casadio#ad-image221926

8.2.2013
Kunstraum Innsbruck (non-profit
association dealing with exhibitions,
conferences, concerts)
Artistic and cultural scene in Luanda,
the artwork by Kiluanji Kia Henda
recipient of an award
http://tinyurl.com/pcmcrgx

5.10.2013
Wuerttembergischer Kunstverein
Stuttgart (artistic association in
Stuttgart)
Description of the artwork (as in the
exhibition “Impatience of liberty”)
http://www.wkv-stuttgart.de/
en/program/2013/exhibitions/
impatience-of-liberty/works/

2013
Contemporary And (Platform
for international art from african
perspectives, based in Berlin)
Arts in Luanda and their political
impact, Kiluanji Kia Henda nominated
as National prize for culture recipient,
images of the pedestal
http://www.contemporaryand.com/
blog/magazines/the-art-world-in-
luanda-is-young-and-vibrant-with-
a-political-impact-that-is-yet-to-
be-understood/

Books
2013
“Living the city in africa, Processes of
invention and Intervention”, edited
by B. Obrist, V. Artl, E. Macamo, LI
Verlag, Berlin, p. 48
Description of the artwork
http://tinyurl.com/pa78o8w
BPC tower
Luanda
axonometry / day
BPC tower
Luanda
axonometry day and night

safety/security

- public accidents
- punctual accidents
- control points
- safe zone
Marginal de Luanda
exploded axonometry
green system and urban spaces
Marginal de Luanda
detail
axonometry day
Marginal de Luanda
detail
axonometry night
Santo Antonio Church
Luanda
axonometry
Santo Antonio Church, Luanda
axonometry

- Safety/security
- Public accidents
- Punctual accidents
- Control points
- Safe zone
Mausoleo Agostingo Neto and New Parliament, Luanda
axonometry