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SPOKEN STORIES

REBUILDING HILLBROW'S SPACE THROUGH DIFFERENT VOICES.

MA RESEARCH PROJECT

SPOKEN STORIES:

REBUILDING HILLBROW'S SPACE THROUGH DIFFERENT VOICES.

by

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MA History of Art

Programme Code: HART7011A

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ANTI-PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

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Assignment Title: MA Research Report

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INTRODUCTION

BEGINNING OUR WALK

When we think of a space that we do not know, we read, watch or listen for information about it from those who have been there. However, when we think about a space that we know, we think about the people and their stories. We remember the way space smells, feels, sounds and looks. Thus, those who have not been immersed in a space have not had the same experience as those who have lived there. *Audio Walk with Ra and Kagiso* (2013) is able to give a different sensory perspective on a space and perhaps use this perspective to change people's perception about the space of Hillbrow, provided that one listens.

This research report explores the different ways in which sound can possibly shape an experience of space, and how Hillbrow can be given different meanings by its sonic representation. To do this, I will be exploring an audio-walk, produced by Malose Malahlela in 2013, which covers a small section of Hillbrow. An audio-walk is a sound-piece in which one is given directions on where to walk purely through sound. This audio-walk is also a soundscape which is defined as a sound piece that describes a particular environment. *Audio Walk with Ra and Kagiso* is a city's soundscape which represents the space of Hillbrow through general city sounds of cars, people and more. In terms of the structure of the introduction, I first describe the context around the artist and the artwork, *Audio Walk with Ra and Kagiso*. I then frame the way in which I will attempt to answer my question through theories around disconnected sound, the palimpsest and cultural hybridity which will be covered in the theoretical framework and literature review. Finally, as this is a sound piece I describe the different ways of listening in my methodology.

My background to this piece is from the predominately visual field of fine arts. It was when I first saw James Webb's sound piece, *Prayer* (2013) at the Johannesburg Art Gallery that I became attracted to the power of sound art to create an experiential art piece. I was initially interested in how Malahlela created a piece that disconnected sounds and voices from Hillbrow and then represented the city sonically in another space. I felt that this piece used disconnected sounds and voice in a similar way to the other sound-art that I had encountered but that it was also able to change the listener's perception of the space in which they were in as well as Hillbrow. As I listened to the piece more I became aware of the way in which the

audio-walk was a sonic representation of the different stories about and contained in Hillbrow, and I became interested in how an alternate way of engaging with space is through understanding its collection of stories. Coming from the visual practice of fine art it, it is easy to forget that we experience the world through all of our senses and that a representation of the world does not have to be primarily visual or literary, as many artistic representations are. The audio-walk is part of a body of works which represent the space of Hillbrow and I, therefore, felt that it was worth investigating the ways in which it differs from other representations of Johannesburg.

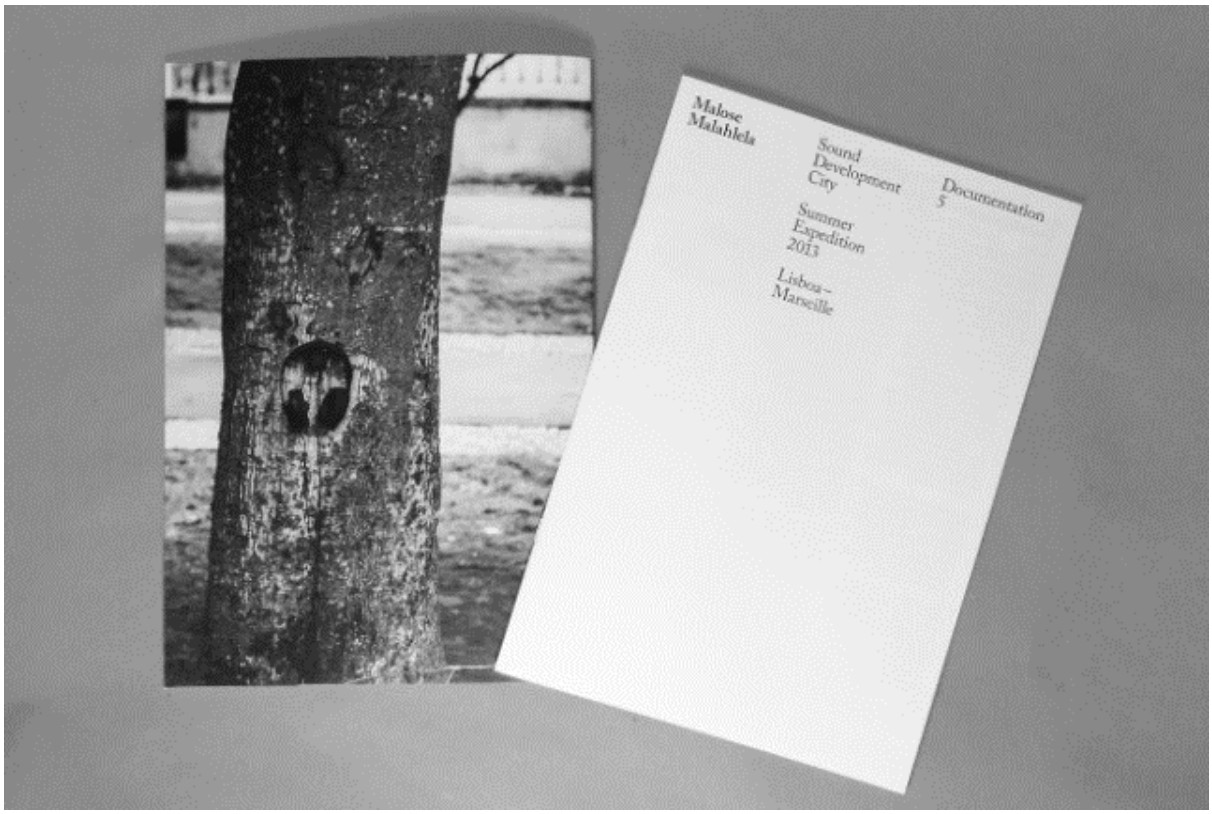


Figure 1: *05_MaloseMalahlela.pdf,* 2013. Photograph. Online. Url: http://sound-development-city.com/36-Malose_Malahlela:30_61311954851

Audio-walk with Ra and Kagiso was developed as part of the 2013, *Sound Development City*, by Malose Malahlela. *Sound Development City* was an international artwork collaboration of nine artists responding to a brief to create a site-specific art piece that stemmed from ideas around the 'city'. The artists then drove together in a van from Lisboa to Marseilles on an expedition/exhibition while creating and showcasing their work along the way. The artist's expeditions, which consisted of both producing artworks and a series of exhibitions, were 'documented' through a series of 30-minute radio transmissions. These transmissions can be found on Soundcloud as well as the *Sound Development City* website. In addition, other

documentation included a logbook of writings, images and recordings which were then compiled into documents, Malahlela's being called *Documentation 5* (05_MaloseMalahlela.pdf: 2013).

The title of Malahlela's artwork for *Sound Development City* was *Third Space*. In *Third Space*, he used his various recordings of Hillbrow and Johannesburg to create an audio-walk installation where one listens to instructions on headphones while walking through their own city. Malahlela also used the recordings and maps of Johannesburg in his installation. The first iteration of this project was in Lisbon and then the group of artists later moved to Marseilles to exhibit there as well ("Sound Installation by Malose 'Kadromatt' Malahlela", 2014). *Audio Walk with Ra and Kagiso* (2013) was one of the sound pieces published by Malahlela during the time of *Sound Development City*; September 23-October 9th 2013.

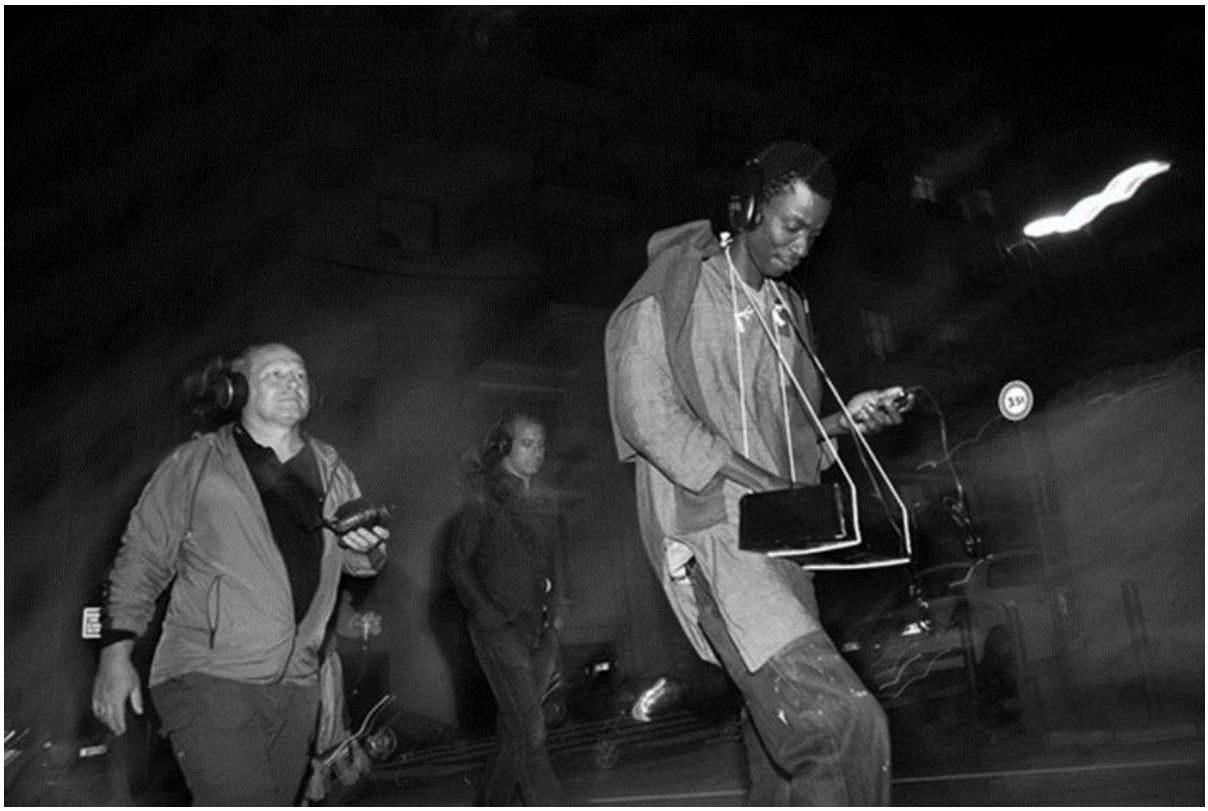


Figure 2: Malose Malahlela on a Third Space walk in Marseille. 2013. Photograph by Nicholas Schärer, 05_MaloseMalahlela.pdf.

The audio-walk is a recording of Ra, Rangoato Hlasane and Kagiso Minisi as they describe and lead the listener down a route from Quartz Street, Hillbrow to Claim Street. The recording includes both narrating noises and background noise to describe the streets and buildings, as well as more poetic methods, including musical interludes and excerpts from

the book, *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* (2001). The whole piece is around twelve minutes long and can be found on Malahlela's Soundcloud page.

Malose Malahlela, sometimes going by the name 'Kadromatt', is a young South African sound artist and co-founder of Keleketla! library. Based in Johannesburg, Malahlela has been involved with a range of multi-media projects that deal with ideas that are often specific to Johannesburg (Malahlela: 2014). For example, in some pieces, Malahlela records interviews with inhabitants and uses their stories to describe the spaces in which they live. Another example is Malahlela's collaboration with Rangoato Hlasane as they work with South African artists to cover and create pieces based on early kwaito music (Gurney, 2015:6). A large project which Malahlela is involved in is Keleketla! Library. This is an independent and interdisciplinary cultural knowledge base in Johannesburg, which provides a space for learners and artists to learn as well as produce different types of art. It began from an inner-city collective of artists in 2008 and was created out of a desire for a space for independent artistic expression.

In looking at the context of the piece we also see it within the field of sound art. This is a relatively new discipline compared to others in the 'fine art' world, however, it already has a tradition of representing space through sound (Ouzounian, 2013: 87). For example is *Harmonic Bridge* (2006) by Bill Fontana. He turned a bridge near the Tate Modern into a giant sensor which picked up all the sounds from the area. These were then transferred to a room in the museum in which one could hear the soundscape of the area surrounding the bridge (Voegelin, 2010: 145).

The *World Soundscape Project* in the late sixties begun by Murray Schafer is a collection of soundscape recordings taken from all over the world of different spaces, some are direct recordings and some are composed snippets of sounds (Iwatake, 1994). Graeme Miller's work *Linked Project* (2003) allows one to walk a space in London picking up different stories collected from previous inhabitants on a short-wave radio (Voegelin, 2010: 154). These examples among others allow us to see that audio-walk fits within a practice of 'capturing' the sounds of spaces and bringing them to our attention in order to change our perception of a space.

This foregoing report is structured as follows to explore the way in the space of Hillbrow is rewritten through the audio-walk. I begin by looking at the ways in which space can be represented through sound. To do this I explore the sounds and structuring of the audio-walk itself. Secondly, I use the idea of the palimpsest, further discussed in the theoretical framework, to explore the different stories that build layers of meaning on to the story of Hillbrow. Thirdly I look at the process of disembodiment and re-embodiment of sound. In order to understand the process of disembodiment of a sound from its source, I begin this investigation by looking at previous literature that speaks about it. This includes the history of recorded sound and literature around voices without bodies. I then extend these ideas to the audio-walk which gives us sound representing a physical space of a city (Zizek, 1991: 129). I also explore how the disconnected sounds are ‘re-embodied’ in different ways; both in communal audio-walks and on the internet. Finally, I explore how disconnected sound changes the way we remember its original source, in this instance Hillbrow. I look at how the voice and body are reassembled within a new space to create new meanings for Hillbrow. That through reminding us that there are many stories connected to space we are able to disrupt various stories of Hillbrow, often perpetuated through different forms of written and visual media.

In this research report, I, therefore, argue that the audio-walk is, through sonic disconnection and 're-embodiment' from its original space in those who listen, creating ‘hybrid spaces' wherever heard. These ‘hybrid spaces' provide both a translation of the space and an experiential interruption into the listener's space, which provides new understandings of the space of Hillbrow.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As I began my interest into the audio-walk and its re-embodiments I was initially driven in my investigation into it through the title of Malahlela's piece *Third Space*, which is a postcolonial concept spoken about by Homi Bhabha. It was for this reason that I underpinned my research with the two postcolonial ideas of palimpsest and hybrid space, as I felt that they described the phenomenon and result of Malahlela's work. However, as this was a soundscape I felt that it was necessary to use the existing body of theory surrounding disconnected sound to form a vocabulary as well as to create a structure from which to describe the nature of the walk. The ideas surrounding soundscapes allowed me a structure from which to look at the case-study and the postcolonial theory provided a filter from which to interpret the results. At certain times in the report, I use different frameworks. I begin by using the framework of disconnected sound, move to the idea of the palimpsest as a filter through which to interpret the layers of stories contained in the audio-walk and return to look at the properties of disconnected sound which is then interpreted through the ideas of a hybrid space. This broad framework has allowed me to conceive the audio-walk as part of a conversation surrounding Hillbrow.

There have been writings on the disconnected voice since the time of Pythagoras (Kane, 2014: 24). However, Pierre Schafer started to define a discipline of acoustical studies which explored sound both connected to its original source as well as disconnected from (Kane, 2014: 24). Thus, my discussion of the sound art medium and the disconnected voice has been largely informed by Pierre Schafer, with important contributions from Slavoi Zizek, Michel Chion, Salomé Voegelin, Murray Schafer and Yoshiki Tajiri. The still-young and ever emerging discipline of acoustic ecology looks at the physical properties of sound while focusing on its phenomenology (Sterne, 2012: 3).

My theoretical framework for a sound piece includes ideas about listening as this was the primary method through which I engaged with the piece. Thus, as I began the study, I considered the different ways through which one can listen. The first method of listening is 'causal listening', this is listening to sound while trying to figure out the source, or cause, of the sound. This is a common way of listening, probably the most common. The way that we find out a sound's source, is that we look for its context from external information from our other senses (Chion, 2012: 48). The second way of listening is called semantic listening, and it

requires knowledge of the language or code in order to understand the message. As the audio-walk is predominately in English, I am able to understand it through this way. And note, it is possible to practise 'causal listening' while being unable to understand through 'semantic listening'. As noted by Chion, this way of listening is the most studied by linguistic and cultural theorists (Chion, 2012: 50).

The third way of listening is 'reduced listening' and this is where one listens to the sound without looking for a source. Rather it is listening to sound for its own sake and not as a representation of a source (Chion, 2012: 50). Reduced listening was introduced by Pierre Schafer and he thought that an *acousmatic* experience (Listening without knowledge of its source) was key to this process, due to it being a less natural way of listening. His proposal was that reduced listening would change the way that we hear and allow us to hear things that one would previously ignore, as we would move straight to the source of the sound (Chion, 2012: 52).

The postcolonial framework was appropriate as the questions that the audio-walk raises are essentially the same 'What now…?" questions of post-1994 South Africa that have been considered in many postcolonial texts. They revolve around the use of colonial infrastructure and the texts which accompany them, and the re-writing of their meanings through engagement with the colonized. This is relevant, for *Audio walk with Ra and Kagiso* (as part of *Third Space*) is a direct re-writing from a South African perspective to a European, formerly-colonial contexts of Portugal and France.

Postcolonial writings are a collection of responses to the cultural and structural influence of colonial power. '[P]ostcolonial theory and ideas' existed, therefore, before it was named as such (Ashcroft et al, 1995: 1). Postcolonial theories encompass many aspects of life which are affected by a colonial presence, such as knowledge production, culture and many others (Aschcroft et al, 1995: 2). Early writers, such as Frantz Fanon, e.g.*Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), began writing about the binaries of the coloniser and the colonised and later writers, such as Homi Bhabha and Levrebe's *Production of Space* (1974) moved into writing about the agency the colonised gained through re-writing meaning onto the colonisers' texts. Achille Mbembe problematises the coloniser-colonised distinction,

by claiming that these binaries are reductive and actually cloud one's understanding of the postcolonial reality (Mbembe, 1994: 1).

Gayatri Spivak writes in her chapter *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988) about issues surrounding who has 'permission to speak' within a postcolonial context (1988: 104). The matter of permission to speak informs the way in which I conceptualize the outcome of the audio-walk of creating a hybrid space through its 'speaking' in such a way that Malahlela's point of view of Hillbrow is embodied in its listeners.

The research goal was to analyse the process of disconnection and re-embodiment of the voices in *Audio Walk with Ra and Kagiso*, and thereby to understand how space can be re-written. As such, this research seeks to provide an alternate perspective to the question of how we deal with space built during the colonial and *Apartheid* eras.



Figure 3: Malose Malahlela, *Third Space,* 2013, photograph called October 1. Online. Url: http://2013.sound-development-city.com/journey

METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this research project – case-study – was particularly apt, as it allowed one to delve into the specific details and nuances of the audio-walk. It thereby provided a rigorous means of investigating the extent to which Hillbrow has been re-written – in a way that a broader quantitative study would simply be unable to match. Case-studies typically allow one to emphasise the viewpoints of subjects and 'voices' – the subjective – rather than focusing on objective characteristics of a research topic. This ties in with the broader research focus on the role of individual voices in re-writing space. Moreover, as this was a study of culture, it was necessary to include an analysis of the artwork's formal properties (Beglar *et al*, 2009: 49).

In order to do this, a number of formal elements of the audio-walk were examined: voices, timing, language, route taken within its context of Hillbrow, sound art and the history of recorded sound, the artist Malose Malahlela, the subjects Ra, Kagiso and the different stories that are contained in the walk. Beyond this, I investigated the re-embodiment of the audio-walk – framed through the postcolonial terms of hybrid and palimpsest, in both *Third Space* and Soundcloud.

I began my case-study through listening and transcribing the audio-walk. I took note of the sounds heard and their possible meanings. I noted the times when Ra or Kagiso would begin to speak as well as the times of distinct sounds. I felt that this would give me a structure from which to analyse the piece and a way of looking closer into it. This was also a way to introduce reduced listening as I tried to listen to timing and the more formal elements. I then moved to causal listening as I tried to pinpoint the source of the sound, and the transcript in the appendix is the result of this process. In this, I am completely aware of my limitations and subjectivity in this regard as I remember that my transcript and interpretation are also a subjective walk in which I frame what I hear from my point-of-view.

Once I had my transcript I then began to delve deeper and investigated the words or stories with which I was not familiar. It was here that I semantically listened to the audio-walk. It was at this point that I realized that the audio-walk was a series of links to other stories and people and taking the time to consider the stories in the audio-walk allowed me to see the links between the stories themselves. I then returned to the literature surrounding the

disconnected voice to see the possibilities that having a soundscape offered. I felt that just like images that are referred to in a painting or photograph, so the words refer to a larger cultural world of Hillbrow's stories.

After I had explored the audio-walk, I examined the ways in which it was re-embodied on Soundcloud and *Third Space*. I began with my immediate experience of its re-embodiment on Soundcloud. This was a direct experience as I was able to listen continuously in different spaces. However, my involvement with *Third Space* was separated by time and space and was severely limited. The audio-walk was uploaded during the time of *Sound Development City* 2013 and was created to be a part of it, however it was not the only audio-walk made by Malahlela at the time, see Appendix #2, and to what extent it was used in the actual *Third Space* final iterations in Portugal and France is unknown. It is for this reason that I extended my study of the *Third Space* artwork to include any walk performed communally and did not focus on the specific spaces in which it was performed. I also examined *Third Space* as the final re-embodiment of an audio-walk, whether or not *Audio Walk with Ra and Kagiso* was specifically used, as they were part of the *Third Space* work-in-progress and was an easily accessible and a compelling piece in its own right. *Third Space* was documented by the artist and those involved with *Sound Development City*, but I found minimal external reviews. It is for this reason that my connection and response to *Third Space* is more theoretical, while my experience of the piece on Soundcloud allowed me to give a subjective and immediate response.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Having surveyed literature relevant to the topic, I focus on three organising concepts of: 'Disconnected sound', 'Palimpsest' and 'Hybridity'. The first term 'disconnected sound' appropriately describes the 'sounds' in the audio-walk and is useful as it provides a framework and terminology through which to understand and analyse the piece. The ideas surrounding 'disconnected sound' can be explored as it describes what our auditory sense has to offer when 'listening to space' and the process of disconnection and re-embodiment of sound. The second term is 'Palimpsest', which is important for my exploration as the audio-walk can be thought of as another layer on the palimpsest of Hillbrow.

This leads to the final term, 'Hybridity' which comes as a result/acknowledgement of a palimpsest and frames the discussion around the space that is created when *Audio-walk with Ra and Kagiso* is played in any space other than Hillbrow.

There is also a large body of literature which deals with the way that we understand our environment through our sound-sense as sound-theorists Brandon LaBelle, Jonathan Sterne, Murray Schafer, Pierre Schafer and others explore the physical aspects of sound. Many acoustical ideas revolve around the physical properties of sound and their relation to the way in which we understand the space around us using our aural sense. The following pieces of literature are useful in that they argue for why an acoustical representation of something has much to offer us in our understanding of it. They also draw out the similarities between the physical properties of space and sound and show us how a culture's perception towards sound reflects that culture. *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity (*2002) edited by Veit Erlmann, focus on ideas surrounding extra-musical sound and cultural perceptions of it (Erlmann, 2004: 2). It presents new ways of understanding the relationship between sound and sight in Western culture, and how this has tainted colonized cultures (Erlmann, 2004: 3). In the introduction to the collection, Erlmann uses sound as a lens through which to look at modernity as he argues that Western modernity is predominantly visual (Erlmann, 2004: 4).

Stemming from acoustical studies comes the term the 'disconnected voice' or the 'sound object'. These ideas are important for the section 'Disconnected sound' as it looks at how the process of disconnecting Hillbrow's sound from its physical space allows for an uncanny interruption into the listeners current physical space. Slavoy Zizek in his text *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture* (1991) describes the 'Disconnected Voice' as the voice which is separated from its subject and becomes objectified. Zizek defines the 'nonsubjectivized object' using the concepts of the gaze from Lacan and as well as the term '*la vous acousmatique'* coined by Pierre Schafer. *La vous acousmatique* means 'The voice without bearer' (Zizek,1991:126), or speech without a speaker. When a voice is disembodied from its subject it no longer is directed from a speaker to a listener, rather, it simply floats, alienated from both parties. In abstracting the voice, it becomes autonomous and with the loss of its subject, it becomes an object.

In other readings about sound, there is a pattern of looking at how sound breaks boundaries between our interior and exterior selves, how it comes out of us, leaves us, and physically enters those who hear us. The ideas around disconnected sound also explore how the physical properties of sound, both recorded and not, move between different boundaries. Steven Connor, in his chapter *Edison's Teeth: Touching Hearing* considers how hearing fits in with the other senses, particularly the predominant one: vision. Connor discusses how our visual sense is used to limit and explain our hearing sense; that our eyes answer the questions that our hearing asks. For example, a hissing sound is explained by looking at the source of the sound and seeing either a snake or a kettle (Connor, 2004: 154). Sound is thus often viewed as moving us, as creating a feeling rather than understanding (Connor, 2004: 157). This is unlike the way in which our vision sense works, which when looking at an object we do not think we are looking at something separate to the object itself. However, when we hear something we look for the source of the sound which we perceive to be separate from the sound. This is because a single subject can have multiple voices, always changing and thus comes 'apart' from its voice (Connor, 2004:157). This is relevant to the analysis of movement of sound between the boundaries of our interior and exterior self: a movement occurring in the audio-walk, which changes our perception of the sound's source.

The fifth chapter of *Hearing Cultures*, '*Raising Spirits and Restoring Souls: Early Modern Medical Explanations for Music's Effects*' by Penelope Gouk explores the reaction to early audio technology and their perception of its effect on people. This chapter is especially relevant in the context of the audio-walk, in that experiencing disconnected sound through, telephones, radio and more has become normal, thus it is interesting to note how the relationship of disconnected sound and people has changed over time (Gouk, 2004: 92).

Another author who explores the ability of sound to move across boundaries is Michael Bull. He discusses sound's potential to create opportunities to both connect and isolate oneself communally. He uses the story of the sirens in *The Odyssey* and the power of sound. Unlike other senses, excepting perhaps taste, sound can literally enter one's body. The song of the siren has such an effect on one that it becomes experiential (Bull, 2002: 178). Bull connects this in the essay, *Sound, Proximity, and Distance in Western Experience* (2004) to how we increasingly have the opportunity to control the sounds that we hear and transform 'public' space into 'private' space through our headphones (Bull & Back, 2015: 9).

Bull looks at the potential of sound technology to provide a personalized soundtrack to our lives as we travel around the city in increasingly isolated bubbles. He claims that sound has the power to create bubbles of separateness, but also that it has considerable power to connect people when listened to communally (Bull, 2004: 177). The ideas around headphones in city spaces are especially relevant to discussions of the re-embodiment of the sounds of the audio-walk in *Third Space*, in which one walks around the city listening to Hillbrow's soundscape.

Secondly, is the term of palimpsest. This was originally used to describe a piece of parchment that had been re-used previously with the slight traces of previous texts remaining. Therefore, in a postcolonial context, it describes the way that societies contain both precolonial and colonial elements (Ashcroft, 2000: 158). One way in which space becomes a palimpsest is that the texts that structure space, e.g. maps and street names, creating meaning for the space that will often remain even after one political era has shifted to another. This relates to Paul Carter's suggestion in *Road to Botany Bay* (1987) that space becomes 'place' through the use of texts such as maps, naming and narratives (Ashcroft, 2000: 158). Re-writing colonial texts about space is important for a postcolonial society as these texts often reflect an unjust colonial state which had 'erased' previous meanings of the space in order to claim land as empty (Ashcroft, 2000: 159).



Figure 4: Malose Malahlela, Map of Johannesburg with site-specific indications, 2013. Photograph by Nicholas Schärer. 05_MaloseMalahlela.pdf.

Another researcher relevant to the South African context is Sarah Nuttall. In her essay *City forms and writing the 'Now'* in South Africa (2004), she examines a way of reading the current city of Johannesburg through its various representations, and how this can change the way people perceive Hillbrow. To do this Nuttall proposes, that one begins with the past and look at how it shapes the present; secondly, that one needs to look at race and class and recognize that there is a constant interchange between all parts of society, no matter the extent of attempted segregation; and thirdly, that one reads contemporary space through people's movement through that space (Nuttall, 2004: 747). Much of the way in which contemporary Johannesburg and South Africa is understood and represented, Nuttall claims, assumes that contemporary South Africa has not changed from the newly created post-*Apartheid* South Africa (Nuttall, 2004: 731). Thus, the idea of palimpsest is vital to the way that we understand the present.

Nuttall notes that the themes covered by those that create representations of the African city focus on the danger, dirtiness and poverty experienced by Africans. Nuttall notes that representations of a city often highlight the high concentration of people with a mix of different nationalities. Nuttall quotes Jennifer Robinson, a South African urbanist, who proposes that we view the city not only in terms of structures but in terms of the journey and movement through the city (Nuttall, 2004: 741). In Chapter Two I look closely at the stories, or layers of the palimpsest of Hillbrow and so it is important to see how the layers presented by Ra and Kagiso are similar or different to the layers of meaning of Hillbrow that are traditionally presented.

By showing the city as a dynamic space, one is able to give a way of articulating the 'now'. This allows us to view the city from below, from the viewpoint from those who, as proposed as Walter Benjamin, actually move through the city (as opposed to those who look down on the city from above, unable to experience it fully) (Nuttall, 2004:741). Nuttall describes the walker as someone who has not yet arrived and so is focused on the destination. This implies that cities can be understood only partially through their structure; one must also take into account the daily 'footprints' of living relationships and encounters between people (Nuttall, 2004:742).

Nuttall looks at *Welcome to my Hillbrow* (2001), quoted in the audio-walk, and repeats a passage which describes Hillbrow. The way Hillbrow is described is similar to how it is described in the audio-walk, a type of mapping in which one sees Hillbrow through the point of view of the speaker/walker (Nuttall, 2004:743). So, both the audio-walk and *Welcome to our Hillbrow* both provide a mapping of Hillbrow which becomes a map layer on the palimpsest of Hillbrow.

The third term 'Hybridity' frames the way I look at the re-embodiment of the sound of Hillbrow in *Third Space* and on Soundcloud. Hybridity is concerned with how texts co-create their meaning(s), rather than be viewed in isolation (Ashcroft, 2000: 111). In looking at the concept of 'hybridity' I specifically use Homi Bhabha's definition of it. Hybridity is one of the theoretical frames through which I examined the audio-walk as it is a direct reference to the name of the Malahlela's *Third Space,* which describes a hybrid space created through the process spoken about by Bhabha. Previous postcolonial writers concentrated more on the binaries of colonial and the colonized while Bhabha concentrates more on the way in which the two binaries interact and change each other. This creates what Bhabha terms a 'hybrid' of cultures and individuals which is seen clearly in the space of Hillbrow (Bhabha 1985: 154). As listeners and speakers, we become new voices in this conversation surrounding Hillbrow and therefore our relative position is important to keep in mind, especially in that it is a relative position. Having concluded a survey of relevant literature, I explore in the next chapter *Audio-walk with Ra and Kagiso* in depth, examining the ways in which sound can be said to represent the space of Hillbrow.

EXPERIENCING THE SPACE OF HILLBROW THROUGH SOUND

SPACE TRAVELLING THROUGH SOUND

The focus of this chapter is to explore how the space of Hillbrow has been translated into sound. It looks at various physical properties which both space and sound share and thus what elements can be translated through sound. It also looks at how our experience of sound occurs, although I explore that theme more in the following chapters as well.

We understand space through the way in which we experience it and we do this through receiving information through our senses. This information is then used by our minds to continually define and redefine what we know. Traditionally design of space, such as a city has been predominately visual and is described in visual terms (Hosokawa, 2012: 110). However, the visual is contextualized by the other senses; smell, touch, hearing and others and a description of a space without these will always be lacking. Often, we will hear a sound but need the visual to prove what we see (Schafer, 2012: 101). As such, with the invention of the printing press, Western culture began to heavily depend on storing knowledge in a visual form so that we have to 'see to believe it' (Schafer, 2012: 102).

Although understanding the world around us is not privileged to those with a visual sense alone, the visual sense is proposed by Schafer to be the dominant modern way to knowledge. This is, however, a limited method of understanding as we understand events and spaces through all our senses. This is exemplified by the falling of the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001; this visual televised event, for most of the world, was followed by numerous people performing pilgrimages which were proved through a snapshot of them at the tower. However, the smell, a powerful reminder of the dead and waste, was what constantly reminded the city's inhabitants about what had happened (Bull & Back, 2015: 2).

When one considers a space, all senses are vital if one is to develop a rich understanding of it. A farm smells, feels and sounds completely different to an office building, a school or a city. Isolate one piece of sensory information, and one will find that we interpret that information using our other senses (Schafer, 1977: 150).

A visual sense for navigating space is not always necessary; bats and submarines are just two examples of the possibilities of understanding space through our auditory sense. Echoes

are able to give vital information about the forms and distances in the space, so much so that through echoes, bats and submarines are able to navigate the spaces in which they find themselves.

What can an auditory description offer? The visual is important to one navigating their way around space, however, a description of a space that is purely visual such as a photograph lacks several elements that help us to understand space when we are present in it. Space itself is empty without the sounds of nature, people, animals and machinery. The visual image is also quiet, as movement, time, rhythm, smells, sounds, tastes can be only suggested (Idhe, 2012: 24). While these sounds, tastes, and smells are 'invisible' in an image, we can, however, imagine them – but they originate from us, and are not a representation of the city. The audio-walk thus contrasts to a photograph or painting of Hillbrow, which is 'silent' on the smells, tastes, rhythms and relationships of the space (Idhe, 2012: 25). Jonathan Sterne claims that seeing gives us perspective about an event. Sound, however, includes us in that occurrence (Sterne, 2012:9).

Thus, an argument is made for a return of 'seeing with our ears', as a counter to our predominately visual culture and questions what it would mean to 'know' the world through what we hear (Bull & Back, 2015: 3). Unlike vision, sound is close to us, as close to us as perhaps our thoughts. Sound also structures our life; an alarm wakes us up and a car radio structures our route to work and back. The communal aspect of sound is also given; vision foregrounds difference and distinction, dividing (among other things) the subject from the object. Music and sound provide accompaniment irrespective of subject-object distinctions, however: they unite listeners together in experience (Bull & Back, 2015: 6). This description of the way that we understand our environment through sound helps us to describe the way in which the audio-walk translates the space of Hillbrow in that it provides an experience rather than simply knowledge.

If one can see, then, what one sees is experienced in contradistinction to one's body. In order to see something, one must navigate oneself in such a fashion that there is a distance between oneself and that at which one is looking: it is impossible to see unless one's eyes are removed from the object. On the other hand, sound enters the body, and one feels as well as

hears the sound in one's body (Chion, 2012: 53). Sound is also all-inclusive, unlike eyes which can close or direct their attention towards a building or space (Sterne, 2012: 9).

As already seen, the way that we experience a space is through our senses and, just as a visual representation of a space is called a landscape, so theorists have named an auditory representation a soundscape. This is, in other words, a description of a space through its sound. This term was coined by Michael Southworth in his essay, *The Sonic Environment of Cities* (1970) and was elaborated on by Murray Schafer in his book, *Tuning of the World* (1977). A soundscape can be used to describe a group of sounds for a particular space at a particular time. However, a soundscape describes not the buildings of the area, but the sounds that inhabit them. It is for this reason that soundscapes can change radically as sounds appear and disappear without any record made (Schafer, 2012: 99).

There are physical aspects which are common to both sound and space. In fact, sound as a medium has been recognized more in terms of its solid wave qualities. Sound exists within the medium of air molecules and so will permeate the atmosphere according to its intensity (Born: 2013: 225). For example, a government (e.g. China) may lay claim to public space by playing officially-sanctioned music in public parks, or a student may mark out their private territory through the use of earphones (Born, 2013: 160). It is also possible to see how sound can cause the listener to perceive space differently through inhabiting a space. This is because sound has the ability to allow the materiality of the source of the sound, ie: the sound waves emanating from its source, to move across spatial boundaries in a referential way (Born, 2013: 185). Sound also has the potential to re-shape the space through the listener (Voegelin, 2010: 130). It does this because it can, through its physical properties (e.g. rhythm and volume), change the listener's heartbeat and breathing (Voegelin, 2010: 60).

Hillbrow's original space is translated into sound as the audio-walk is set in a concrete space and is 'true' to the space it describes. It does not invent the space that it describes. All the streets and buildings described in the audio-walk exist and are described correctly and in the right space. Similarly, all of the people, events and stories about Hillbrow mentioned in the audio-walk exist outside of the audio-walk, and one is able to follow their ephemera. For example, one can research or buy the music and books mentioned in the walk. This promotes trust in the listener, as the artist knows and works in Hillbrow. In order to further understand

the audio-walk's soundscape, one can examine the original space for the context of the audio-walk. While this viewpoint of the space is *not* from a walker's point of view, it will provide a broad overview of the space.

THE SOUNDSCAPE OF THE AUDIO-WALK

In this section, I explore the soundscape of the audio-walk. Here the sounds are described and filtered through my subjective listening so that the reader can have a basis on which to base one's analysis. It was especially at this point of listening that the methods of causal, reduced and semantic listening were used. While listening, I attempted both to hear the quality of the sounds as well as describe their possible sources. Given that the precise sources are (in effect) invisible, it is through this process of subjective listening and description that my own aural experience becomes another layer on the palimpsest of Hillbrow and adds to its conversation. It is interesting to note that just as sound cannot describe all elements of space, language is likewise incapable. A description of the music, pitch and many other elements of the audio-walk through writing alone will be a personal interpretation of such.

As has already been seen with the walk's structure, certain spatial elements are translated into the audio-walk through sound. This can be differentiated into three different categories: noises, music and the speaking voices of Ra and Kagiso. The two categories of music and noise are man-made and are often culturally or contextually specific. Also, as it is a sound-piece, it is not always possible to concretely state what all the sounds are, and where they belong. This ambiguity, however, allows for the city to be reconstructed in our imagination without using visual cues. The audio-walk is full of language as well as music, of the whole 12:48 minutes only for the first 1:10 minutes is there no music. This is relevant in that it constantly reminds the listener that this is a composed soundscape as opposed to a non-edited sound recording of a space.

When listening to an audio-piece it is imperative that one listen out for keynotes; a keynote is an anchoring note relative to which other notes move (Schafer, 2012: 100). These keynotes are what surround us daily and are so entrenched in our lives that they are overlooked and ignored as 'normal' (Schafer, 2012: 101). On the other hand, the figure, using the same terminology, can be described as the signal. Signals are the sounds which are listened to consciously and live in the foreground (Schafer, 2012: 101). In looking at the audio-walk the

keynotes are faint city sounds which fade in and out; these sounds are automatically read as sounds of the city by a modern listener. However, in the audio-walk, music also fades in and out as background sound. Music from open car windows that fades in and out is definitely a keynote of city life, however, it can also be a signal – a signal which has the potential for communal experience.

Now that I have examined the general context of the nature of sounds in a soundscape, I will observe more specifically the sounds of the audio-walk. In this following section, one will find a description of the different sounds that we hear in the audio-walk. This gives the reader a synopsis before analysing the various types of noises that are being heard.

One initially hears the quiet ambient noise of people talking, and this continues throughout the duration of the walk. At 3:20, one hears what I first thought to be claps, but as they come whenever Ra is telling the listener to walk, I then interpreted them as footsteps instead. These claps have a rhythmic beat of 1-2-3-4 and vary only slightly throughout the walk. All of the voices heard are deep like those of men. At 3:46, the ambient noise is almost understandable and it feels as if straining would allow one to hear what they are saying. The voices all sound peaceful as if they are simply going about their everyday life; there are no cries or angry shouts. This is important for how space is represented, as Hillbrow is often construed as a dangerous and violent space. As described by an exchange student, its perception – even outside of South Africa – is that it is the 'hood of Johannesburg' (Dong, 2017).

At 3:50 we hear our first mechanical sound, a single hoot from a vehicle, and two more footsteps. At 4:03-5 one hears the faint sound of a bicycle chain and five more footsteps following after, their speed, however, slowing down. Another twelve footsteps as Ra tells us to turn left and take ten steps.

At 4:28 we hear a faint motorcycle, and more footsteps. We only distinctly hear another motorcycle at 09:45, while we are outside of the Summit Club. At 4:40 the sounds of the vehicles grow slightly louder, with hooting. The footsteps continue.

The city noises fade out but return when Ra mentions McDonald's and Capitec Bank on the ground floor. At 5:39, a loud siren is heard while Ra speaks about Look and Listen; it sounds, however, as if it is a few streets distant. The footstep sounds continue but increase slightly

in speed. When Kagiso begins to speak, the footsteps stop. At 6:23, there are 'triangle sounds' like a sharp but quiet clang, that grows slowly more distinct, while Ra starts speaking about his memories of Look and Listen. As the stories continue, these same sounds remain. There are vehicle noises fading in and out of the middle-ground. The city sounds tend to accompany descriptions of what is currently visual for Ra and Kagiso, while when speaking about memories the sounds of music predominates. For example, when speaking about Bettina Malcomness's memories of the Summit Club, the music is loud and drowns out any sounds of the city.

Given this synopsis of the sounds heard in the audio-walk, one can now explore the different sources of sounds, primarily voices, city sounds and added musical sounds.

The main sound heard in the audio-walk from which the listener can listen to semantically is that of the voice. There are two main narrators, perhaps a third as well as an indistinct backdrop of general conversation. The language of the audio-walk is predominately in English. The two main voices that we hear are leading the audio-walk are that of Kagiso Mnisi and Rangoato Hlasane. In the audio-walk our guides' voices feel as if they are next to us, not moving faster or slower than us. This makes the listener feel as if they are walking next to Ra and Kagiso the whole time. There is also one voice that sounds somewhat different, however, it is anonymous. At 2:27, after Kagiso describes the different African countries from which the current Hillbrow inhabitants are coming from, a voice says, *"For African's".*

The first and most prolific voice is that of Ra or Rangoato Hlasane. Hlasane is a musician and DJ, involved in the production of music. He is especially interested in early Kwaito and is one of the co-founders of *Keleketla!* library along with Bettina Malcomness and Malahlela, who he mentions in the walk. Hlasane (Ra) and Malahlela also are involved in the *Thath'i Cover Okestra* project where they are acting as musical historians (Ra, 05:56) to document early kwaito music. Hlasane goes by the name of Mma Tsaleng, under which he creates his music and also works for the University of the Witwatersrand in their Fine Art department (McMichael, 2016). Hlasane is the one who directs the walk and describes the places that we are hearing. His voice is quieter than Kagiso's, and his sentences tend to feel longer, running on with short calm pauses in between thoughts.

The second voice that we hear is that of Kagiso Mnisi. The rhythm of his sentences is different to that of Hlasane, they are short and poetic - like a melodic rap. This reflects the fact that he works more in radio and the field of writing (This is Africa, 2017). Kagiso alludes to '*Welcome to our Hillbrow'*, quoting it at 11:00 minutes. He also asks about where the other literary representations of Hillbrow are and calls for further fictions.

Music is the second type of sound heard in the piece. When Ra describes Moses Molelekwa, the ambient noise dies completely and the music, especially the trumpet, predominates. This leads one to the music, the soundtrack of the audio-walk, which is heard for most of the piece. It doesn't tell us in the audio-walk from whom or where the music comes, and so it is up to the listener to either find out the music's origin or to simply enjoy and listen to the music without context. One clue is that the music produced by Moses Molelekwa is incredibly similar to the music in the audio-walk. However, this music is also similar to other soundscapes made by Malahlela, such as *It reads* (2012) and *Pedestrian Annunciation* (2012).

Not only is music a predominant sound throughout the walk, but different artists are mentioned such as Molelekwa, Brandy, the American R&B singer, Mdu Masilela, Brothers of Peace, and their song "Magosha" (1994) and others.[1] Music is an important part of re-writing a space as the music existing in it can give it meaning, for example, kwaito music played gives a space a different feeling as to when classical music is played. When one listens to the audio-walk, it is set to music and thus this specific music and Hillbrow are linked together in the listener's mind. The music is also an extraneous sound, in that it does not emanate from the city; this contributes to the feeling that the audio-walk is a constructed fiction about Hillbrow.

This constant reminder that this is a constructed soundscape fits into the narrative that this is another literary piece layered on the other pieces about Hillbrow. This musical piece is also very much linked to the type of literary piece that Ra would make about Hillbrow, i.e. a

[1] Since the production of the audio-walk Ra and Malahlela have worked on a project called the *Thath'i Cover Okestra* (2015-2016), a collaboration between the two to document early kwaito and give and its auditory history. They post their pieces on Soundcloud, from around 2015-2016. Their *#memory* (hashtag connected to the piece) describes their intention to record the history of early kwaito, a South African electronic dance style, for a new generation (McMichael, 2016).

cultural musical tour of Hillbrow. I propose that this ties in with the audio-walk being a representation of the representations, both literary and not.

Regardless of one's interpretation, it is important to remember that the differences between noise and music are *perceived* rather than natural (Hegarty, 2007: 3). Jacques Attali says in his book *Noise: The Political Economy of Music,* that music is 'organized noise' (Attali, 1985: 4). Therefore, Attali claims, noise is associated with disorder and music with calm and order (Attali, 2012: 32). The listener regards music to have meaning as it is perceived to have an intentional author, whereas noise is thought to be uncontrolled and random (Attali, 2012: 47). This presents the listeners, who are expecting sounds of a city, the controlled sounds of music instead. This could give the impression of a more ordered city.

Thus, music's position as music lies in the listeners perceptions of it. This is especially pertinent when speaking about noise and music in the city space as many share the same space it is inevitable that inhabitants hear each other's music. What one hears as beautiful music, another hears as unwanted noise. Because it is a concentrated and shared space, music to one person's ears is noise to another. These sounds also change along with the city's time of day and music in the city is not always stationary, it often moves through the streets. Music could originate from pounding out of somebody's car window or slowly moving down the street as somebody carries a portable music machine (Hosokawa, 2012: 106). Although this is a representation of a personal sound it filters through into the communal city experience (Hosokawa, 2012: 105).

Paul Hegarty describes further the connotations of noise, that it is loud, that it is seen to be outside our control and can become a form of pain. On the other side are the connotations that music provides. It is often seen as noise that is free from the chaos of noise and separate from the outside world. It has often been seen to describe classes, especially in the days where music could only be experienced live (Hegarty, 2007: 8).

Besides our perception of noise and music, what also differs is our reaction to it. Noise we attempt to block out, to tune out and to turn down. Music, however, one listens to. It is perhaps in this reaction that John Cage heard noise as music – as he actually listened to it. John Cage questioned the distinction between sounds, music and noise. 'Noise' portrayed as music was used to show the constructed nature of our classification system dividing music

and noise. For example, John Cage's piece *4"33"* (1952) was comprised of 4:33 minutes of silence in order for the audience to hear other sounds and to question the idea of music and how it is categorised.

It is with this in mind that I describe the music of the audio-walk. Although I have separated it from the background city sounds and the narrative voices, they are just as much organized sound, which by Attali's description is also music (Attali, 1985: 4). The music in the audio-walk is often quiet, mostly background music. Although it does at times come to the foreground to break up the narrative voices. It is similar throughout the piece and does not change much in type or volume. In this way it accompanies the vocal text as it does not give the main instructions for where to walk.

The music of the audio-walk is not an electronic sound – rather it is a combination of the sounds of instruments and voices which combine softly between the foreground and background of the audio-walk. The music has a laid-back pace, it is comparable to a sleepy afternoon and gives the audio-walk an easy going feel. It does not give the impression that Ra and Kagiso are in a hurry but rather that they are relaxed. The background music also for much of the audio-walk takes the place of 'natural' city sounds.

However, what about the sounds that we don't hear in the audio-walk? For example, in *Witness* (2012), an Al Jazeera documentary about Hillbrow, one resident said,

> "There was a time, whereby in the night, you would hear a bullet or a gunshot, maybe three times."

Les Mehlapi, 14:34 (Witness, 2012).

Although we can hear sounds of Hillbrow in the audio-walk they do not surround us. They are murmurings rather than shouts. One of the distinctive features of a city is its noise level and that is not translated into the piece. Of course, this may be a pragmatic choice, as it would make it more difficult to hear Ra and Kagiso. This also increases our awareness that this is a constructed representation of the city where music, sounds and noises all merge together. This awareness of the constructed nature of the audio-walk interrupts the listener's space, as it forces them to confront the illusion that perceptions about space are natural. This allows

us, the listeners, to see the audio-walk as a work of 'literary fiction' rather than a 'non-fictional truth'.

THE INVISIBLE AND VISIBLE ELEMENTS OF SPACE

Having considered the different ways in which space is represented through sound, and the broader context of space in relation to sound, we can now look at the space described *through* the sound of the audio-walk. This description is an overview of the space as described through writings and gives us a general context.

Audio-walk with Ra and Kagiso is set in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, South Africa. According to the 2011 national census, there are around 73 000 inhabitants in Hillbrow and 98% are black African. The population size is astounding, as the total area of Hillbrow is just over one kilometre squared ("Census 2011 — Sub Place 'Hillbrow'", n.d.). The area is also predominately filled with foreign nationals and therefore is busy, with many different nationalities interacting daily in the space (Nuttall, 2004: 736). After 1994, more and more people from across Africa came to South Africa and especially Hillbrow. At that time, the mostly-white inhabitants left to settle in the surrounding suburbs and businesses began to move outside of Hillbrow, many landing up in Sandton.[2] The walk spans around two blocks which is 15 750 square metres which is 1,57% of the full size of Hillbrow (Hillbrow, 2018). This links to the audio-walk as it is a selected representation of Hillbrow and not attempting to be an overall view of the city, rather a representation of a walk with a limited viewpoint.

[2] Hillbrow is neighbours to Braamfontein, Berea and Yeoville, as mentioned in the audio-walk.

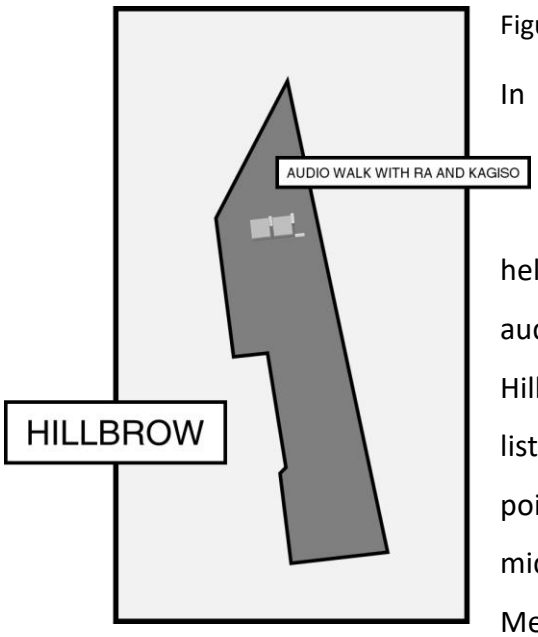


Figure 5: Image of audio-walk relative to Hillbrow by author.

In a soundscape, Schafer says that just like a cityscape we should begin to look for 'landmarks' that are significant sounds in the scape (Schafer, 1977: 9). These landmarks help the listener to see the movement and progression in the audio-walk as Ra and Kagiso walk through the streets of Hillbrow and stop to look at various landmarks. It thus gives the listener a series of viewpoints which change depending on the point of time in the audio-walk. The audio-walk begins in the middle of Quartz Street, a small street in between Van de Merwe and Pretoria street, the walk then takes us to Pretoria street where we turn left and walk to Edgars Active, which is on our left. We then turn around and walk back up Pretoria Street until we hit Claim Street where we turn left and end at the Summit Club. Distances are described by Ra as 'steps', ten steps, twenty steps and musical interludes take us from one space to the next. The fourth street which is part of the walk is Van de Merwe Street. Although the audio-walk does not actually walk on the road, it does describe the Sentinel Tenement and the Summit's parking lot, which is on the corner of Claim and Van Der Merwe Street.

The audio-walk happens exclusively on the streets of Hillbrow as Ra and Kagiso move towards different landmarks, where the speakers pause and describe what they see. Streets are different to landmarks in that they are spaces of movement and transition whereas landmarks



are generally seen as destinations. When we situate ourselves within the city, streets are used as transitory and delineating spaces that create boundaries between buildings. Landmarks help us to situate ourselves as one uses them to orientate oneself in relation to the building or skyline. Landmarks also help us to understand a walk as meaningful, especially if the landmarks are spaces that were somehow inhabited, or given meaning by the walker (Schafer, 2012: 101). The landmarks in the audio-walk are described as settings in the audio-walk, which I would suggest highlights landmarks as spaces around which stories happen. This reminds us how our experience of

spaces is very much connected to our associations with people and events. By Ra and Kagiso giving meaning to the settings and streets through stories, they take on meaning for the listener. Now not only is our perception changed of Hillbrow as a whole, but our perception of those individual landmarks, settings and streets are layered with the new stories which are told to us in the audio-walk.

There are various spaces that are described by Ra and Kagiso as settings. The first and last setting mentioned is the Sentinel, a large tenement filled with flats. It was labelled as both the setting for the fictional literary piece '*Welcome to our Hillbrow'* and described as the 'part of your journey that ends in the blank wall of suicide' (Kagiso, 0:33).

Figure 6: The Sentinel, 2004. Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Photograph by Rodney Jones.

The second landmark mentioned is Edgars Active, but was previously the first Look and Listen store to open in South Africa almost 50 years ago. Like the rest of the Look and Listen stores in South Africa, it has closed down, the last one closed down in 2017, making way for the current store Edgars Active ("So long, and thanks for all the music", 2017). It is here that Ra and Kagiso describe where their 'education happened, as far as music is concerned' (Kagiso: 06:15). The third landmark is the Summit Club and its parking lot. Other landmarks are Constitutional Hill (the site of the previous prison and currently home to the Constitutional Court), Chelsea Hotel, Ambassador Hotel, Mariston Hotel, McDonald's and Capitec Bank.

We can look to the structure of the audio-walk in order to see the various aspects of space that sound is able to translate tangibly. By the structure of the walk, I refer to elements of time and movement in the piece. It takes time to record sounds; it takes time to process and remix the sound; it also takes time to listen to the sound. Time is not unique to a sound-piece; a painting would also require time to produce. However, the element of time is made obvious as one has to invest time into the piece in order to experience it. As we map out the walk we find that the length of the walk is approximately 350 metres and the length of the audio-walk is 12:48. This is an appropriate amount of time compared to the distance in order to walk it and lends itself to being a believable meandering walk, in that it could actually take place.

When we are in a space, we understand it through all our senses and see it as situated in time. The past and present especially are important to our understanding of a space as they inform our understanding of its present meaning. Time is also seen within the audio-walk in

that the piece can be organized using time. This is because one does not hear a singular sound for the entirety of the piece rather, there are different sounds throughout the 12:48 minutes of the audio-walk. One can thus begin to understand the piece by connecting different parts of the audio-walk to their time stamp. Also, a requirement of experiencing a piece is that it takes time, 12:48 minutes to be specific, to fully listen to the entirety of the audio-walk.

The other way in which the audio-walk is able to convey time is through using language to situate the walk in a specific time. Spaces are used in time, and its usage ebbs and flows depending on the time of day, the time of the week and the time of the year. At 8:15 minutes Ra says,

> "The traffic is easy; the people are easy.
> It's not as hectic as is read about in news.
> It's not as lively as ... it's made to be believed.
> But night time is another time...
> It's when things come loud."

Ra (8:15)

This situates the piece within a time of day that explicitly differentiates it from an audio-walk occurring at night. In actual fact, the audio-walk takes on a timelessness through its re-embodiment as a sound-piece; one is able to revisit Hillbrow through listening repetitively. This immersion into space through time challenges the existing preconceptions of the space, that besides entropy and some change, it is fairly static over time. Schafer points out that sounds can disappear over time and that, unlike a photograph, these changes are often not recorded (Schafer, 1977: 8).

LaBelle describes a walker, who 'writes' the city through 'beating back' to a city soundscape of overlapping sounds. Through walking, the walker imprints their own time signature onto the sidewalk and these ideas I will use to argue as to what happens in the re-embodiment of the sounds of Hillbrow in *Third Space* (Labelle, 2010: 93). LaBelle notes that this rhythm often marks the walker as being out of space, of being here and not here (LaBelle, 2010: 98).

This audio-walk situates itself in the temporality of space. Time is organized into past, present and future in the audio-walk; there is no ambiguity about when or where stories of the audio-walk occur and Ra and Kagiso will situate them in either the past or present (although

precisely *when* in the past is sometimes unclear). Another aspect that is often 'invisible' in an image is how the space is lived in and moved through. However, physical space comes alive, as a city space is about people's lives as they pass through time. At times this temporal 'living in the space' can become visible through entropy; at other times, it is through additions or other non-detrimental physical changes. Sometimes utilised space reveals time through the evidence of its use, and sometimes the use of the space is a clue to the time at which the space exists.

The way stories are referenced in the past does seem to be as relevant as the city today, if not more. Only a few places mentioned are not referring to a person or story in the audio-walk: the McDonalds, Capitec Bank and Constitutional Hill. Thus, the audio-walk could be called a history walk or a culture walk containing stories – histories and culture make up our understanding of current reality. By showing a different history of Hillbrow as opposed to the contested current reality, the audio-walk re-writes history, allowing the listener to gain a new perspective of Hillbrow.

Space is also experienced through time; Quartz Street is approximately 115 metres from the Summit Club and it takes time to get there. In comparing a walk to a piece of music, Greenberg proposes that our experience of a sound-piece or audio walk is affected by our pace or walking tempo. This either speeds up or slows down the intervals at which we encounter the different or buildings (Greenberg, 1947: 88).

Unlike a traditional artwork, any audio-piece is set in time. This allows us to experience fleeting moments in the audio-walk, such as hooting, sirens and laughter, at specific times in the piece. These moments can never be seen in an image and yet are crucial to our experience of a place. A city's sounds are integral to our experience of it, and when we listen to the audio-walk, we are given a selection of the sounds of Hillbrow, *circa* 2013. The sounds that we hear in the audio-walk are a combination of ambient voices, hooting, sirens and a distant 'rumble or buzz' that is only heard in cities with people. However, the sounds of Hillbrow in the 1990's – or even earlier – were different. Although we may be able to reconstruct a general idea of the soundscape of that time, it would at best be an educated guess, one based on the existing technologies of that time. Perhaps the sounds fifty years ago would have been in English,

Afrikaans or the predominant language of the time. Thus, the audio-walk is special to the time in which it was recorded and reflects that period.

The sounds that are heard in the audio-walk are not the only sounds that could be used to represent the space of Hillbrow. Also, for the majority of the piece, the 'real' sounds of the city are fairly muted and in no way the main focus of the piece. But this is the nature of sounds; a gunshot or car engine sounds might be associated with the city, but they move in and out of the space depending on the time. This is equivalent to how a photograph is framed by the boundary of what is included – necessarily excluding a great deal. Similarly, certain sounds, which perhaps we would associate with the city, are not included in the audio-walk (Bull, 2012: 198).

The fleeting sounds of Hillbrow are re-mixed into the final audio-walk, and we fade into and out of them. Sometimes the sounds of Hillbrow are obvious, and at other times they are pushed to the background by pre-recorded sound. Some of the city's sounds are used to punctuate the audio-walk; the hooting occurs as a type of punctuation mark that illustrates the description of the Summit Club's parking area.

Sounds naturally do not linger. Rather they remain only as long as the source of the sound continues to produce it. With the development of sound technology, however, recording these temporary sounds became possible. This has meant that sounds can be reproduced without the original source. Moreover, they can be mixed with other recorded sounds, and altered. Nevertheless, even in this audio-walk, sounds are present only at specific times during the length of the audio-book. As sounds are fixed in time, they also have different durations – with a discernible beginning, middle and end. It is possible that secondary sounds like an echo will distort the sound object's duration.

The internet and recording equipment have meant that sound is no longer *fleeting*. An artwork, usually an experience limited by space and time, has now become this audio-walk, which is downloadable on demand. Its quality never changes, as there is no current need for ongoing restoration, nor any digital storage issues due to its small space requirements (11.8MB). However, as the internet and recording equipment have fundamentally altered things before, something else might change things in the future; just as information is lost

due to updating technologies (e.g. cassette tapes becoming outdated by compact discs), it is plausible that some future technology might make the audio-walk less accessible.

Thus, the audio-walk is extremely fleeting on the one hand, yet durable on the other. It is secure on the internet for the moment but represents one of the most fleeting experiences as it temporarily enters our body and then departs. It is fleeting in that the soundscape described in audio-walk will never be the same as when it was recorded.

Sound reflects space in that it can show movement through space. It does this through its structure and the way in which it is described. The audio-walk is linear, as it has a beginning and an end: that there is an end is both told to us as well as experienced when the recording comes to an end. Also, the audio-walk progresses spatially in a linear way; we move 20 steps forward in one direction and so on. This reflects a normal walk where we have a point of departure and a destination, and so reflects movement through space. There are 'glimpses' of sounds that are only heard at certain times and places; only once do the background voices become louder and vaguely audible. In this way, an audio-walk is different to an image of Hillbrow. If one takes off one's headphones at 1:34, and puts them back on at 2:15, the sounds that one hears will be different. This imitates a city, which changes sonically when one moves through it and time.

Although the audio-walk ends, it still allows for the instantiation of further walks as it finishes in an open-ended way, as illustrated in the final utterances:

> This is the end of our tour, and now we turn back.
> We are still on Claim Street.
> We are going to take different routes.
> Probably, you know, turn right again and...

(Ra, 12:04)

This open-ended ending leaves space for the listener to continue the walk further, thereby mimicking our walks and commutes in the city; you might join the path of another for a while, after which your paths diverge. Joining different paths allows for constant re-writing of the space as new stories emerge. I suggest that the movement reflects our walks in that they are directional; we are headed somewhere, and so this reflects how the space of city streets is experienced. Walks in the city, however, are not interminable. They begin and then end once

we have reached our destination. *Audio-walk* is however a different sort of walk, in which the destinations are the landmarks to see on the way as if we were on a tour. This allows the walker, or listener, to focus on the landmarks along the way.

Movement is shown in the audio-walk through language and sounds. Sounds that are associated with movement, such as car sounds, represent sounds of movement of machines and thus of people too. Although the audio-walk is a sound-piece and part of an installation, it is as just as much a literary piece. In fact, it could be described as spoken-word poetry just as much as a representational audio-piece.

The audio-walk provides movement in both a descriptive and prescriptive way, directions such as, "*You stop. Look left*" (08:37) give us an image of what Ra and Kagiso are doing and draw us into the piece. Movement is also required of listeners as one is asked to walk along with Ra and Kagiso. We are not called to be mere spectators but moving participants. Every time that Ra gives us an instruction requiring action, it provides a musical interlude for the time it takes to (hypothetically) make the walk. Unlike an image with a limited frame, the audio-walk has a panoramic view that can move through streets and buildings, and even give a glimpse of what happens *inside* the buildings encountered along the way. The audio-walk moves through the space and gives us different points of view of the same spaces.

The way that we experience space in our heads, through the sense of sound alone, is through perceiving the distance from which the sound comes. Objectively speaking, a motorcycle makes a sound at a certain volume, irrespective of whether it is near to or far from the listener, who hears experiences the sound's volume relative to his/her distance from the sound object. Distance, then, is perceived through relative volume. In the audio-walk, we feel as if we are walking along with Ra and Kagiso the entire time and they are close by. This would have been different had he volume of their voices lessened and increased (suggesting their distance/vicinity). This would be unsettling and undermine the imagined closeness of walking alongside Ra and Kagiso for the duration of the piece.

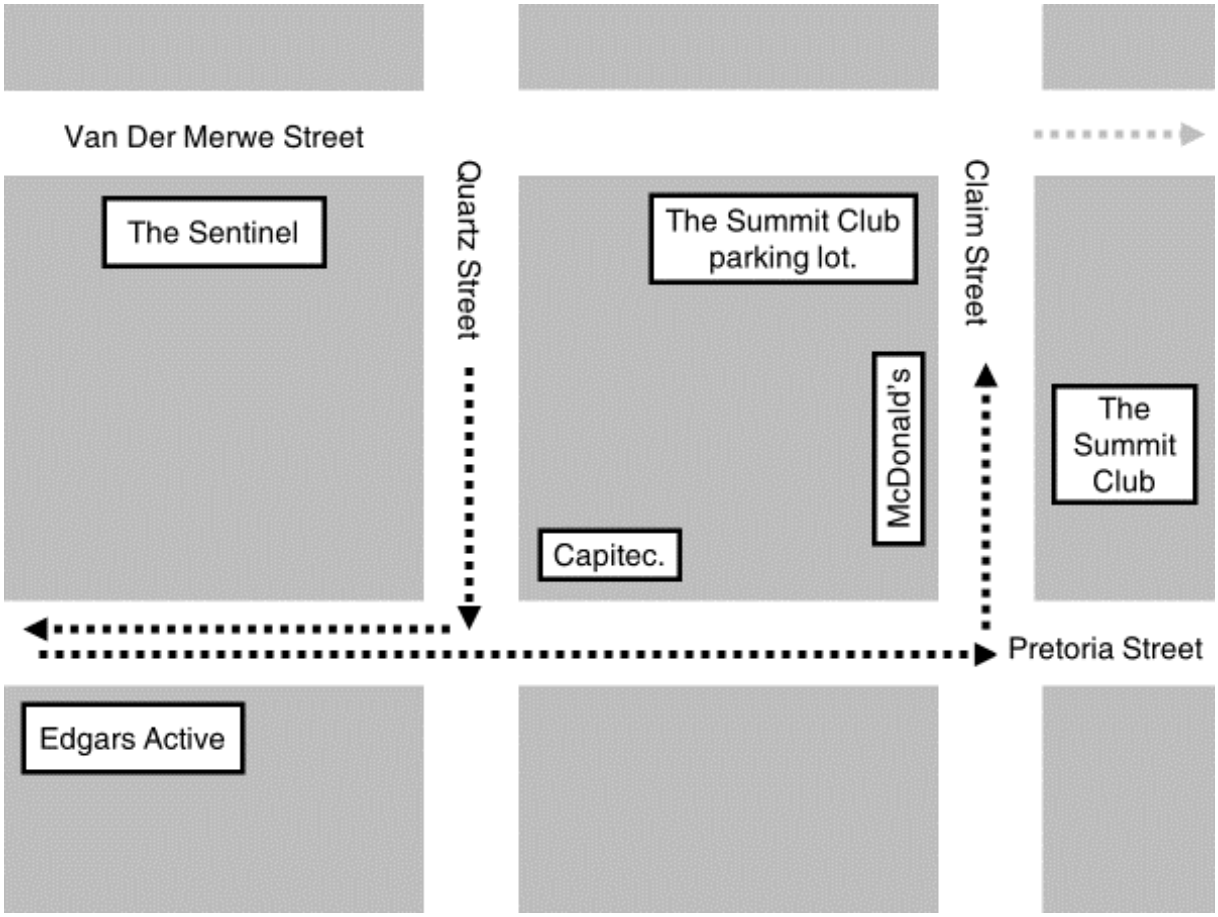


Figure 7: Image of the 'route' taken by Ra and Kagiso created by author.

Our perception of a sound can be completely different depending on our position in relation to it. This allows us to feel the movement through space, even if we are only listening to a sound-piece. Sounds can be exactly the same, but our distance from them can change what we hear. When the murmurings of people grow louder, we can imagine that we are in the midst of them. We hear a siren close, but not deafening – it is perhaps a few blocks away. Sometimes the city's sounds fade away, as if we had put on our headphones, or are so intent on a memory that the sounds of the outside world fade away (Sterne, 2012: 4).

There are two ways of moving through space, firstly, through looking at a plan and secondly, through moving in the space itself. The second way allows us to understand the space in relation to our own body and movement. Michel de Certeau's essay *Walking in the City* (1984), in which he describes the ontology of being a pedestrian in the city. He discusses how the experience of the walker, and most importantly, the differences between the artist and the town planner – and the differences between the intended use of the space and how it

changes over time. The first way, described by Walter Benjamin as a voyeur, describes someone making or experiencing the city from above. From a plan, a map or a high-rise building is an analytical and objective view of the city that serves as an overview. What Benjamin argues is that it is most often voyeurs who are writing the space of the city and giving it meaning (Nuttall, 2004:741). This, leads to 'one story' becoming dominant in the popular imagination. This is seen in the current 'story' of Hillbrow, which people think is an objective idea about a place is actually a story based on statistics, fear and media reports (Dong, 2017). Many are afraid of setting foot into the city-space of Hillbrow centre. These stories are not unfounded; they are based on what is happening and happened in Hillbrow. However, the story is much fuller, nuanced and complicated – it involves many viewpoints and histories.

The second way of moving through space is as a walker; if one decides to map the audio-walk out using an application like Google Earth, one learns the importance of understanding the space this way. Some buildings, when looking from a map viewpoint, do not seem immediately in the right place on Google Earth compared to the audio-walk. For example, it is difficult to see how they can be speaking about the Sentinel when they are not standing close to it, or even two blocks away. Yet they are saying, 'There is the Sentinel'. It is only through looking at it, from a walker's perspective, that one can see that the Sentinel is extremely tall and is thus easy to see it from the walker's position as it seems very close.

To conclude, my evidence that the audio-walk constructs the spaces in particular ways are that, firstly, the audio-walk situates the time of the space and is able to give us an indication of the current rhythm of the space. The pacing of the space is dependent on the time of day, week, and year – and will change accordingly. The audio-walk also gives an accurate portrayal of the space of Hillbrow; the landmarks and streets it mentions all exist and make sense in their positioning in the walk. Secondly, the audio-walk gives a realistic movement through the streets of Hillbrow. The time of the audio-walk matches up with the distance one could take to walk the walk, and so one could listen and experience the distance through the time it would take to walk it. Related to this, the audio-walk describes Ra and Kagiso's position in relation to the space of Hillbrow. Thereby describing Hillbrow's space to us in the same way in which we would experience space. It mirrors the experience of moving through space, because the landmarks and streets are described in relation to one's own body. For example,

the statements that ‘Capitec Bank is on our far right’ and ‘we are looking directly at the Summit Club’ illustrate the tendency to establish our position in relation to landmarks. Finally, the audio-walk includes mechanical and human sounds of the city. Sirens, hooting, murmuring and car noises all represent an average city’s soundscape, although they are also specific to their city; this is one of the ways in which we understand a city. The audio-walk is mediated through spoken language, primarily English. One’s ability to understand the space is in this case is completely dependent on being able to understand the language spoken.

THE PALIMPSEST OF HILLBROW, SHOWN THROUGH STORIES

> "You get to know a city through narrative, through a story, through people talking, because it is linked more to memory than any other thing. A person can tell you a specific memory of a place or a specific interaction, he's had in a certain space or venue, how he got to move around and to coexist in the space."

(Malahlela, Taken from Sound Development City Radio Transmission #1: 2013)

In this chapter, I look at how this representation of Hillbrow, shows us what the city means to Malahlela, the editor of the audio-walk. From this, I see that this representation, an audio-walk, argues that a city is a collection of stories and not individual stories that walk in the city alone, but stories entangled with other stories. These stories meet each other when their paths cross before continuing on their own journeys.

The disconnected sound of the audio-walk creates a new layer on the palimpsest of Hillbrow, but one that acknowledges and brings many different underlying layers into the open. This reminds the listeners that Hillbrow has these layers and prompts their understanding to deepen. Palimpsests are often unseen aspects of space, however, and we see the space 'as it is now' or more accurately 'as it is because of all the layers of its palimpsest'. The way that the audio-walk shows the listener the palimpsest of Hillbrow is through alluding to different stories which are connected to different landmarks along the way. These stories are in all cases referring to a type of artistic representation, either of Hillbrow or connected to Hillbrow. As the audio-walk is only 12:48 minutes long, only brief allusions can be made to the different stories. I call these 'glimpses' as they are a brief interaction with the story that mimics how we interact with passers-by in the modern city. I will briefly explain each 'glimpse', and in so doing aim to build up the feeling of a palimpsest that is felt through the space.

Hopefully, through exploring each moment further, I will build up the palimpsest so that we can see that it is there and that it is a strong web of interconnected stories that build on each other and the space of Hillbrow. As Nuttall states, *Apartheid* construction used space to socially engineer South Africa and Johannesburg. These spaces remain today as their past is difficult to separate from the space (Nuttall, 2004: 732). Nuttall points out that when looking at contemporary culture, we need to remember that non-homogeneous cultures always produce cross-cultural interaction, which is seen in the many African nations represented in the square kilometre of Hillbrow (Nuttall, 2004: 736). She proposes that there is a way of

reading the contemporary society that takes into account this 'mutual entanglement', which occurs between those who understand themselves to be different from each other (Nuttall, 2004: 737).

Not only do the previous layers of the palimpsest of Hillbrow include structures made for a purpose different to their current function, the language used in the audio-walk, predominantly English, is also the language used to write the pre-*Apartheid* layers of Hillbrow. As the audio-walk is incredibly language-heavy we can look at what the voices are communicating, which is a collection of stories, people and events which are connected to the space of Hillbrow. We can listen semantically and use the code of language in the audio-walk as a step towards comprehending the stories, and thus the audio-walk as a whole.

A normal experience of the city through walking is not systematic but experiential. Although there is a large amount of information, much is not known nor important to the walker. This is thus *their* experience of Hillbrow – Kouwenhoven proposed that the only way to truly describe a space is through a shared experience (Markus, 2005: 9). Dimensions and form can be identical in two spaces but the way in which that space is used can only be experienced in the act of walking through it.

At 02:28 Ra says,

> "All these things we have heard, see, heard about, felt, smelt, believed and disbelieved… Embraced through only in the consciousness you find."

We get glimpses of people, stories and events. This phenomenon can be seen as indicative of modernity as we can never know everyone who lives in one's city. He argues that as sound technologies became more prevalent and used in society, our modern society became fragmented and this is seen in the way that we navigate cities or modern spaces. We move through the space quickly, glancing at others, but not really looking. Conner argues that it is only through experiencing sound that we are fully able to be aware of the space when we are in it, and its threats (Chion, 2012: 62). What used to be a sustained conversation with someone whom you knew well, including their gossip, is now reduced to a glance before moving on.

We never get more than a surface image of the people that we walk past. In the same way, we walk past people, stories and events in the audio-walk and are given a glimpse of them, a surface mention that leaves out a large amount of information (Chion, 2012: 62).

The audio-walk contains mentions of spaces, streets, people, stories and events. However, we are not told their 'full stories'. This makes sense from both a practical point of view, in that there would not be the time, but also it reflects the ways in which we see a space. We are not all-knowing and certain things have more of an impact, also certain memories that we choose, both consciously and subconsciously, to leave out of our final representation. Thus, a normal experience of walking through the city is not systematic and comprehensive, but experiential and with a limited viewpoint; this allows the listener a multitude of new understandings about the space of Hillbrow.

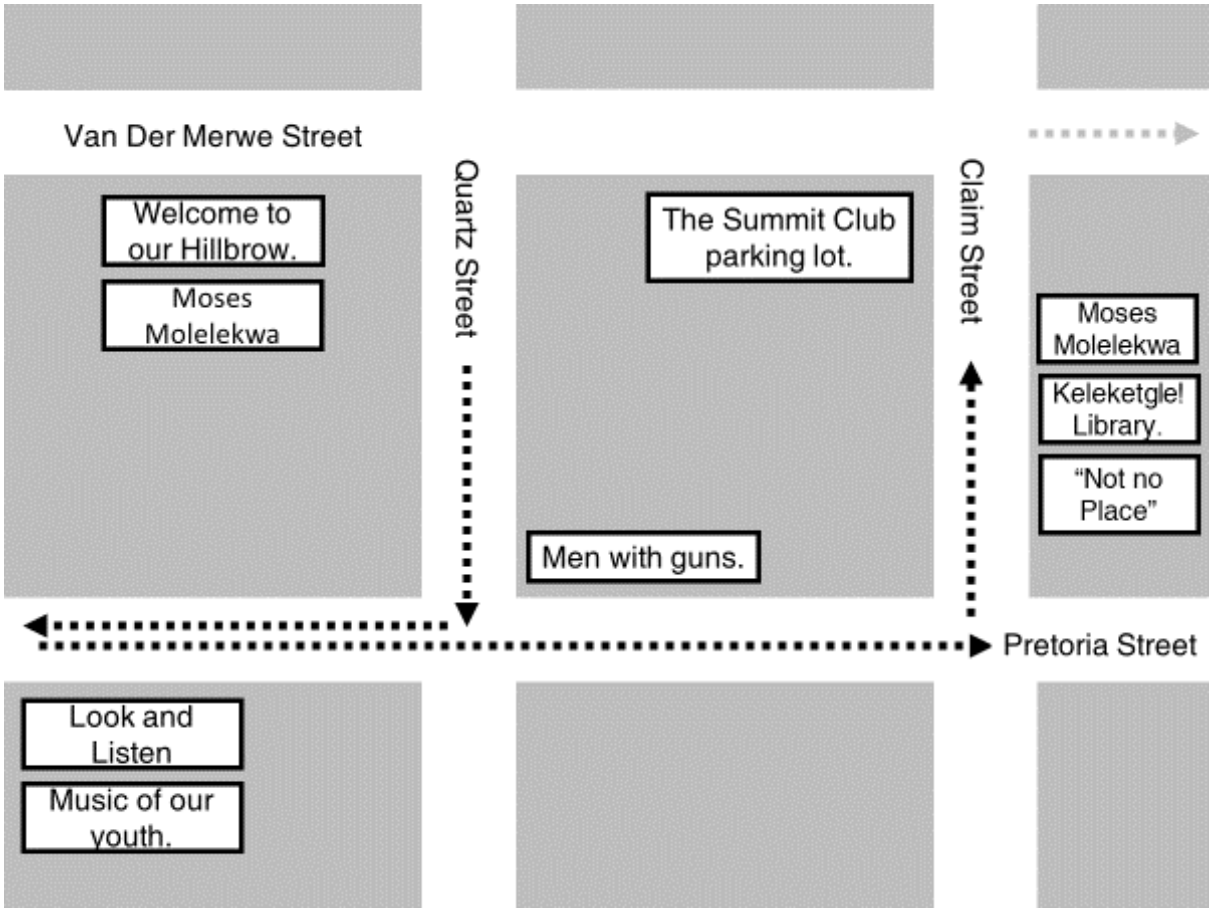


Figure 8: Image of the stories told in the audio-walk.

From 2008 to the present, xenophobic incidents of violence have threatened South Africa. After Mandela became president, South Africa – previously isolated from the rest of post-colonial Africa – became a refuge for many Africans (Nuttall, 2004: 736). This led to a large influx of foreign nationals living in South Africa, and particularly Hillbrow. These incidents of

violence have been justified through the need for jobs, and violence in turn that foreigners are accused of bringing; and these justifications have even been voiced by those in power, for example in 2017, the deputy police minister of South Africa was questioning why Hillbrow was filled with over 80% non-South Africans.[3] Seen in a different light, as Hillbrow is by majority a non-South African space, it is also a haven, although not a safe haven, for those who are in need of a space to stay. This characteristic of Hillbrow has led it to become a nexus for the questions of how South Africans receive and respond to need and crises, whether outside our borders or in South Africa.

Our 'glimpse' of this is shown in the beginning where Ra speaks about the *makwerekwere*: which is an often-derogatory term for foreigners from other African countries. It is also found in the book *"Welcome to our Hillbrow'*, which began to overflow as they (the inkwerekwere) came to 'peruse green pastures' (Rwiyegura, 2005). Kagiso also describes the influx of people from '*All over Africa, Fleeing their war-torn countries*' (Kagiso, 02:25).

The next glimpse is of the novel, *Welcome to our Hillbrow*, which was written in 2001 by Phaswane Mpe (1970-2004) – a South African writer and lecturer in African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand. It is a novel which deals with post-Apartheid problems and lives of city dwellers, specifically Hillbrow. It provides a bleak and moving image of people navigating life in the setting of Hillbrow. As mentioned by Kagiso, it is one of the few pieces of literary fiction that is set in Hillbrow.

The next story-glimpse is connected to the Summit club. At 09:02 Ra begins speaking of the Summit Club and how he remembers it. Not merely his memories, however, but also those memories of his friend and co-founder of keleketla! Library, Bettina Malcomness. The memory he refers to is one that she wrote about in her book, *Not No Place* (2013), of enjoying the indoor pool at the Summit Club (Malcomness, 2013: 46). What Ra doesn't tell us is that *Not No Place* was a collaboration between her and Dorothee Kreutzfeldt and that Ra created

[3] Eyewitness News. n.d. Deputy Police Minister questions why Hillbrow is 80% occupied by foreign nationals. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4k8JVTtohmI [2018, January 31].

a map, which is featured in the book, of his 'boom box walks' which maps out historical landmarks for early Kwaito musicians in Hillbrow (McMichael, 2016).

Ra describes the Summit Club as 'another setting for another literary piece, called *'The Night Moses Died*'. Which as far as I can find, does not refer to any written piece, but does refer to Moses Molelekwa (1973-2001), a jazz musician who grew up in Thembisa. According to the audio-walk, Moses 'left this earth' in 2001 and is 'widely believed to have committed suicide'. Ra then repeats himself minutes later by saying:

> "And you have the Sentinel, that forms the story of Moses Molelekwa. Another person who committed suicide."

He is called a genius by Ra, which – when seeing the amount of skill with which Molelekwa played the piano – is not an exaggeration. Molelekwa was winning awards at the age of fifteen and was a widely acclaimed pianist both in and outside South Africa. In 2001, Molelekwa was found in his downtown office, and it is speculated to have been a suicide (The Guardian: Moses Molelekwa obituary, 2001).



Figure 9: Summit Club, 2014. Photograph by Jade Roberts. Online. Url: http://writestyle.co.za/walking-tour-of-hillbrow-johannesburg/.

The next glimpse of a story encountered in the audio-walk is an event. In 2011 Keleketla! Library performed a piece on the roof of the Summit club where they poured coal salt to the ground. The audio-walk explains that this was to symbolize suicide, but also healing and cleansing in a way which represented Southern African traditional beliefs. Looking further into the piece one can find that it was a collaboration with the band The Brother Moves On; they made a sound-piece that explored the music of Moses Molelekwa as well as the movie *A Kind of Language*, which was projected onto the wall of the Summit Club. The name of the piece was *Nonwane: passages, tempos and spectacular ways of dying*. Nonwane means "fiction/story" in Sepedi. It was originally meant to have been on the 20th storey, from which the suicide in *Welcome to our Hillbrow* occurs (Keleketla!, 2011). It is interesting to note that two of the texts used in *Nonwane* – Molelekwa and *Welcome to our Hillbrow* – link back to the audio-walk. The film *A Kind of Language*, however, provides a link to the greater world of South African literary fiction and to K. Sello Duiker, who also committed suicide in 2005 (De Waal, 2010).

Alongside the glimpses of stories and people about which there is more to find out about, there are also glimpses of stories which have yet to be told. Kagiso at 11:00 quotes *Welcome to Our Hillbrow,* although he says 'Welcome from our Hillbrow':

> "Love songs, blues and interludes.
> That you wish to dedicate to our Hillbrow.
> Your one published short story about life in Hillbrow.
> might have paved a short way.
> To more such stories,
> You often used to think,
> About the scarcity of written Hillbrow fictions in English and Sepedi.

This links with the putative overarching claim of the audio-walk: that space could be described through a collection of stories from multiple perspectives. We see this elaborated on in an interview with Ra a year after producing the piece, in which he states:

> "So, we used to address areas of heritage, and the danger of one story, allowing the space to be a place where multiple stories and multiple narratives can exist parallel to each other"
>
> (Hlasane, 2014).

And if this is true in any space, it is especially true to Hillbrow – a concentrated space that has seen millions of different stories move through it. But as in the excerpt quoted at 11:00, *writing* these stories is perhaps the necessary condition for further stories being written; this would then enable people to listen to a broad range of voices. These received stories might then offset and rewrite the dominant story of Hillbrow perpetuated by the South African media (and those that nostalgically wish for the good old days of Hillbrow). Also, both the previous inhabitants and the media often share the experience of being outsiders, rather than current inhabitants, to Hillbrow (The Real Realist, 2006).

Much like the painting of a space, in which one has only limited and frozen glimpses of people, *Audio-walk* contains limited glimpses of the people who have spent time in Hillbrow. As a result, beyond the primary layer of the audio-walk, there are subsequent layers – but it is for us to find them out.

These glimpses reveal how the audio-walk is representative of a multitude of stories. There are no 'current' personal stories in the audio-walk, and even the space where Ra said he lived is not the space where he currently lives. This emphasis on memory and fiction alludes to a Hillbrow that is built on the past and stories.

These glimpses also serve to situate the audio-walk within a bigger picture of culture connected to Hillbrow. All of the stories mentioned, excepting the memory of buying a Brandy CD for Ra's girlfriend, were of cultural events or people. This creates a feeling that this is similar to Ra's *Boom Box tours* of Hillbrow, in which he would introduce people to the settings of the early kwaito story (McMichael, 2016). Although this is a combination of fact, fiction and memory, it is predominantly composed of stories which have used Hillbrow in some way to create stories of their own.

These stories provide an alternative to the current, primary story that informs most people's views of Hillbrow. These stories remind us that a city is a collection of people who walk the city, and through walking have their own stories connected to that space. An analysis of the stories contained in the audio-walk allows us to have a new understanding of the space. By examining what Ra and Kagiso discuss we are reminded that there is a greater story surrounding Hillbrow so, the stories told are not fully explained, many of them are mere sketches: of spaces, people and events. Exploring them fits with one of Ra's last statements,

in which he says, *"We're going to take different routes. Probably, you know, turn right again and..."* (12:18). As such, the listener continues the audio-walk beyond its conclusion and carries on walking – imaginatively – in an effort to explore some of the stories more deeply.

These different stories show us that space has/finds meaning through its relationships: it is constantly in a web of connections between those people who invigorate that space. These glimpses also show us the impressions Hillbrow has made on others artists, writers, photographers, theatre practitioners and more, enough that 'literary fictions' have been made. These literary works blur as non-fictional characters are made into fiction, and fictional characters are used to represent a 'real' space. This points us back and reminds us that all representations of space are constructed and this allows our perception of Hillbrow to be altered, which in the case of the audio-walk means an awareness of the multiplicity of stories within Hillbrow.



Figure 10: Own palimpsest layer over the shape of the space of Hillbrow by author. Images include: Not No Place cover (2013), Moses Molelekwa (Photograph taken by Peter Williams), Welcome to our Hillbrow cover (2001) and Google Map of Hillbrow (Accessed: March 18).

HYBRID SPACES THROUGH THE RE-EMBODIMENT OF SOUND

DISCONNECTED SOUND

The past chapter described how sound shows us various aspects of space and can make those elements visible. It also explored how space is represented through sound. However, what is the effect of stripping the space away from the sound, and experiencing a space merely through its sound? To do this the next chapter explores the history of sound technology and the body of writing around the 'disconnected voice' and we then will use this information to look at how, in the case of *Audio-walk*, disconnected 'sound' creates an uncanny interruption into our space, forcing us to look at the space with fresh eyes.

In this chapter I consider how the re-embodiments of the audio-walk can create thirdspaces of hybridity which lead to a new layer on the palimpsest of the space of Hillbrow. I will also look at how this new layer allows for a new understanding of the space of Hillbrow. As we have so far seen, sounds of the space of Hillbrow have been collected, recorded and remixed into an audio-walk.

The ability to capture and store sound has only in the last few centuries become possible, and it is interesting to note the suspicion and wonder with which people responded in its early days. For example, the telephone was described, in its early days, as transmitting the interior of the body straight to the inner ear of the listener (Born, 2013: 3).

The gramophone was invented in 1877 by Thomas Edison. It translated sound into grooves on a rotating cylinder covered with aluminium foil (Beranek,1994: 141). As it became more portable and reproducible, it – along with the telephone – changed the relationship between sound and a person. In the beginning of its use, the separation and loss of the visual from the aural was disturbing for many listeners (Katz, 1974: 20). As one English music critic put it in 1923:

> 'Some listeners cannot bear to hear a remarkable life-like human voice issuing from a box. They desire a physical presence. For want of it, the gramophone distresses them.

(qtd. in Katz, 1974:19)

By the 1950's, and even more so today, the strangeness has been lost as recordings completely permeate our everyday life. This is to such an extent that they have become normal and commonplace (Katz, 1974: 159). As the use of technology increases, we communicate more and more via the disconnected voice, writings or video and feel natural doing so. Our communication is getting more fragmented, and so listening to disconnected sound may be said to be a normal daily form of communication. However, even today there are times in which the disconnected voice still resonates as strange, for example, 'hearing voices' still connotes some sort of madness.

Disconnected music and voice even still may have retained some of its element of wonder. A removal of both visual cues and the music's origin allows one to imagine that the music comes from the heavens and not a human, even if one knows the truth objectively (Katz, 1974: 21). In the same way, the disconnected voice has a history of metaphysical connotations, for example in the Jewish Scriptures, God communicated with his people only through voice; no one could see him and still live.

Yoshiki Tajiri focuses specifically on the connection between modernity and man and our self-perception in the context of technology which allows us to fragment, reassemble and externalize the body. The disconnecting of the voice is a fairly modern phenomenon and so has to be contextualized within the developing technology and ideas of the time. The rapid technological developments around the late nineteenth century allowed for a capturing of the aural, visual and written trace through the gramophone, film and typewriter. This created a separation and amplification of the senses, for example, you can catch just the voice and make it travel or change its volume (Tajiri, 2007: 161).

The idea of our perception of modernity as fragmented and broken was reflected in ideas of the body as broken and fragmented too. Modernity can be seen as fundamentally disintegrated and formless (Tajiri, 2007: 79), disintegrating with detachable parts which could be rearranged (Tajiri, 2007: 5). As the audio-walk is set in a contemporary age, it is important to see how the impulses which drive the audio-walk fit into our desire to make things whole and to make sense of the information that we receive through our senses. *Thirdspace* is illustrative of this, as it is the fulfilment of the desire to re-embody the disconnected sound in a new space.

As the recorded voice is an unnatural phenomenon, and we look to the visual to give us 'proof' of what we see, a voice without a body makes us instinctively look for a body, or if there is none, to imagine one. The recorded sound has since been described as *la vous acousmatique*, or the voice object, by Pierre Schaeffer in 1955. The concept is thought to have originated in the time of Pythagoras. He would apparently lecture his students from behind a curtain, so that they would not be distracted. Disconnected sounds are such a normal part of our daily life, that they do not feel strange to us. We talk on our phones, listen to the radio presenter and to music daily, yet in all these instances we are imagining a body on the other side (Kane, 2014:24).

However, what is the source, or body, of the audio-walk? Like Chion points out, sounds often have more than one source (Chion,2012: 49). In the first chapter I examined the highlighted source of the sound, Hillbrow. However, the sounds come from multiple sources, even within the city sounds, the sources are thus innumerable. In this way, the 'source' of the sound, or the 'body' of the sound, could be said to be an 'overview' of Hillbrow. The equivalent of a city skyline, it represents the city but is a collection of different builders, engineers and architects. As Chion suggests, one of the first impulses we have when listening to a sound piece is to question where the sound comes from (Chion, 2102: 48). If the process of where the sound comes from is in some way disrupted, then the listener is forced to re-evaluate their connection to the space and audio-walk.

Through the physical nature of sounds, they begin to break the boundaries between seeing something and experiencing something, between the inside and outside of the human body and even between life and death. As sound technology is so prevalent in our everyday lives, these ideas are largely forgotten and *acousmatic* listening is mainly about communication. I would argue, however, that these properties of disconnected sound still may exist in an artwork, for example *Audio-walk*. Listening to a voice-note from a deceased person is disconcerting: a voice implies life. Thus, the disconnected sound has the ability to interrupt the listener's space and to make it alien.

The physical property of sound is that it occurs within us. There is no visual distance. Of all the senses, Schafer proposes that touch is the most personal form of contact. Hearing is like touching from a distance as the sound waves leave one person and enter its hearer's ear,

becoming a tactile vibration, which is interpreted inside the hearer (Schafer, 2012: 102). The ear is defenceless to outside noises and draws noises to itself (Schafer, 2012:103)

As external sound has this ability to be experienced internally, it exists between the threshold of the interior and exterior. According to Tajiri, the voice can be seen as something on both the inside and outside yet in the creating of an external holder of voice, there then becomes a confusion of boundaries and the integrity of the self can be upset by the introducing of another self (Tajiri, 2007: 1). Thus, this external holder blurs the boundary between machine and man (Tajiri, 2007: 2) while becoming an extension of the self. As technology provides a way to limit and separate people's experiences (Tajiri, 2007: 86) in this way modern technology also provides an amplification of a sense that is separated from the body as well as a sense of fragmentation of self (Tajiri, 2007: 83).

The disconnected voice is not only seen connected to technological innovations but also can be seen in the everyday life of a public hospital ward. In "Broadcasting the Body: The Private made Public in Hospital Soundscapes" Tom Rice studied the sounds within public hospitals and illustrated the invasive nature of these sounds. It is the quality of sound that allows it to pierce straight into the interiority of the self and not be deterred by the exterior body. Rice uses the term *Akousmatitikoi*, or *acousmatic* listening, which he derived from Pythagoras to describe a type of teaching in which the instructor is hidden so that all attention goes to the pure sound. Rice then compares this disconnected voice to patients in public wards who have visual privacy from curtains but can hear every sound perfectly. Patients may be protected from the visual sight of someone next to them but engage strongly with the imagination in a way that can be just as bad (Rice, 2013: 173). For the patient trying to escapes these sounds, they describe retreating into a 'head-space' to try and shut them out. This illustrates how we distinguish between the external physical world and the internal world, and how sound seems to be able to exist in both, and permeate both (Rice, 2013:173). The hospital provides a setting in which the interior body is made exterior through sound. For example, the electrocardiograph which translates the interior body into a sound which is also recorded graphically (Rice, 2013: 179). Therefore, hearing cannot be stopped at will. Schafer draws the difference to how the ear points outward, while the eye remains able to choose what it looks at (Schafer, 1994: 11).

In a similar way, the audio-walk achieves this, beyond the voices of Ra and Kagiso. If we consider Hillbrow as a place with set boundaries (and the even smaller area they walked around) it was through the recording of Hillbrow's sounds that the boundaries of the space of Hillbrow are traversed. Someone creating a thirdspace – walking while listening to the audio-walk – in a sense *enters* the space of Hillbrow: they experience its rhythm, stories and sounds. This boundary could be further broken if the listener were to traverse the actual streets described in *Audio-walk*.

Sound represents life; as without technology it needs a living body in order to exist. Yet with sound technology, this is no longer the case. Thus, one can listen to a voicemail, song, interview or recording of someone who has passed away. The moment sound is produced by our body and enters an external device, voice and sound are separated from the body in that moment can never be re-created. I can listen to a recording of myself, but it is no longer myself and likewise, we can listen to the audio-walk of Hillbrow and hear voices of people who have changed since the point of their recording. Even if the ambulance still functions, it is a different moment, considering that time has passed. Moreover, Ra and Kagiso are not the same as they were four years ago (Tajiri, 2007: 151). As such, recorded sound sits on this boundary between life and death, with the implication that Hillbrow and its sounds could potentially be alive forever.

We also observed how space is represented through sound. In this chapter, we will look at the effect of stripping the space away from the sound and experiencing it merely through its sound. To do this we look at the history of sound technology and the body of writing around the 'disconnected voice' and we then use this information to look at how, in our case disconnected 'sound' creates an uncanny interruption into our space, forcing us to look at the space with fresh eyes.

RE-EMBODIMENT OF HILLBROW'S SOUNDSCAPE

We have seen how certain elements which are invisible in a visual representation, such as timing and movement, become visible through listening. This allows us to 'see' the space in a different way. It also provides a more emotive experience compared to an image, from which we arguably can remain distanced. This audio-walk is a representation that relies on modern sound technology, which is able to disconnect a sound from its source. The listener naturally seeks a contextualising body, as discussed in the previous section, when hearing a disconnected voice and our imagination is used to construct one until the source can be found. This idea transfers to the space of Hillbrow as it creates an uncanny interruption to our understanding of the space. What happens, then, when the disconnected sound is re-embodied in a new space? I propose that the way in which it is re-embodied is able to give Hillbrow new meanings over and above the ones from the disconnected sound, creating a new layer onto the palimpsest of Hillbrow. This is important in so far as it considers ways of representing space through sound to re-write the space as *Audio-walk with Ra and Kagiso* explores an alternative way for allowing an individual voice to speak within a postcolonial and post-apartheid space.

An example of a re-embodiment of a sound piece adding another layer of meaning is the artwork *No Place like Home* (2016) by James Webb. In this piece, he watched and listened to spaces, collecting its bird sounds, detaching them and bringing them back into the gallery. He then gave an inanimate object – a tree – life by broadcasting the recorded bird song in its branches, despite the sounds originating from another space (Karlsen, 2009).

One characteristic that defines this re-embodiment is its accessibility. Although there are billions who do not have internet access, there are billions of people worldwide who do. Here *Audio-walk*'s re-embodiment allows it to be accessed by those who would never be able to travel to Spain, France, Cape Town or Hillbrow. Ironically, the re-embodiment of the audio-walk on Soundcloud is accessible by very little movement at all. That the audio-walk is so accessible contrasts with the actual space of Hillbrow: limited by the space that it is in, as are all spaces. Beyond being physically unreachable due to one's inability to travel, Hillbrow is also avoided due to its reputation. *Audio-walk,* however, gives an accessibility to the space, but not in such a way which provokes fear or awe, such as a news report, but that gives the listener an ordinary familiarity with the space.

This differs from an image of a painting, video of a performance or even recording of a live musical event. This is the real piece, in that the piece is the recording itself and therefore its copy is as much real as any other copy and one is able to experience the original wherever there is internet access or a shared bluetooth connection.

As previously mentioned, it is easy for information, or a story, to get lost in the large sea of information on the internet. However, there are several routes to the audio-walk. Through the useful, and perhaps age-describing, method of the hashtag *#sdc2013* a web/link of information from and to the *#sdc2013* SoundCloud page is created. Thus, although billions of people have access to this audio-walk, in 2018 only 186 people had listened to it, with two likes (Soundcloud, 2018).

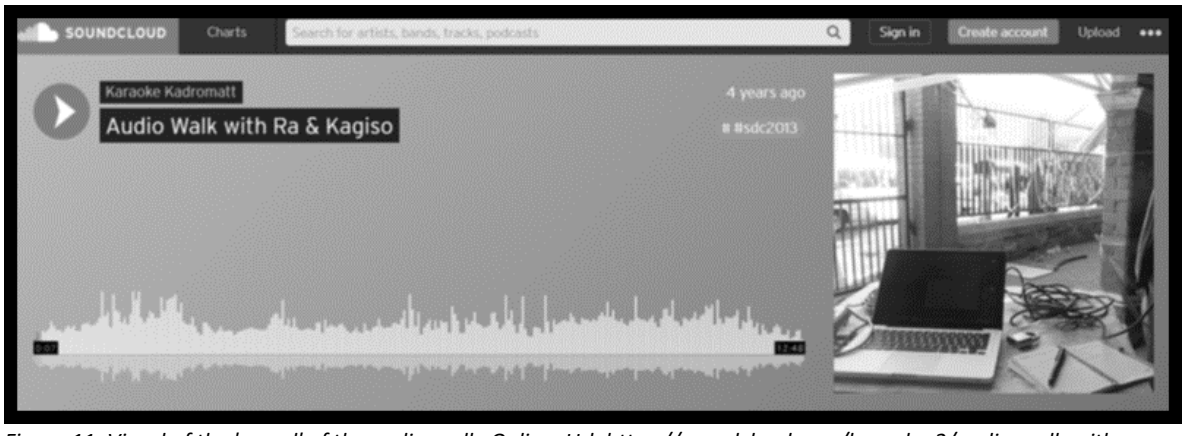


Figure 11: Visual of the 'sound' of the audio-walk. Online. Url: https://soundcloud.com/karaoke-2/audio-walk-with-ra-kagiso.

The re-embodiment of the audio-walk on SoundCloud is accompanied by text, but very little text. If one was to find it through browsing aimlessly, one would have no idea as to the relevance or context of the piece. All that is included textually is the name of the piece: *Audio-walk with Ra and Kagiso*, the artist Karaoke Kadromatt (Malahlela's other name), the date 29th September 2013, the hashtag connecting it to #sdc2013 and a short description: *'Narrative & music as the syllables that form urban life.'*

As described above, sound has the potential to transform spaces wherever it is heard. Listening to an upbeat song will change our perception of a space, making it seem happier than perhaps if one was listening to something sadder. In the same way, the audio-walk has this ability to layer our space with the Capitec Bank, and the men with guns, or our local neighbourhood market with the story of Moses. There is an element of chance that is created in these thirdspaces (as described by Bhabha): neither Malahlela nor the listener can fully control the new meanings that are created when the two different spaces combine (Bhabha, 1985: 149).

When one listens to a description of a place, in a wholly different place, there is the potential, assuming one's engagement, to be transported to yet another place entirely. However, when one is walking, the space in which we're listening is not changed; only our experience of it is changed, and therefore our understanding (and future memory) of the space has changed. This experience remains individual – although if more than one person listens to the audio-walk in the same space, it can become a shared experience.

A potential limit to the accessibility of this piece is that the wealth of information online leads to an overload of information. This means that the audio-walk is hidden out in the open alongside other audio-walks – all of which are 'fighting' for an audience. The audio-walk is linked to three other pages: an interview with Malahlela[4], the *Sound Development City* website[5] and his Tumblr page.[6] Thus, although the audio-walk is extremely accessible, it is also inobtrusive. – unless one is searching for it specifically, it is highly unlikely to stumble upon it by mistake.

[4] http://10and5.com/2014/04/01/sound-installation-by-malose-malahlela/
[5] http://2013.sound-development-city.com/
[6] http://kadromatt.tumblr.com/

What we are likely to stumble on if looking for information on Hillbrow is firstly Hillbrow's Wikipedia page. Secondly, we are given a link to a page which describes Hillbrow as "Johannesburg's notorious neighbourhood" ("Hillbrow - Google Search", n.d.). At least four links were to news stories showing violence in Hillbrow. If one looks closer at the Wikipedia page it says this in the first paragraph, "It *is known for its high levels of population density, unemployment, poverty and crime." (*Wikipedia, 2017).

This links back to De Certeau's idea of the walker and the voyeur and the question of who writes the stories of a city space (De Certeau, 1984: 157). Although the walkers may write the city through walking, the voyeur writes the city from above and it is the voyeur's story, although just one story, that will potentially become the loudest. This is unfortunate, because all of the walkers have stories and can be said to write stories through their walking. A story without an audience is ineffectual, however.

The other way in which the audio-walk is re-embodied is in a communal walk, for example during *Third Space* the 2013 expedition during which audio-walk was produced. Experiencing the audio-walk as a moving person is qualitatively different from merely listening to it; I propose that an audio-walk only creates hybrid spaces *when walked*. This is because when the audio-walk is only heard, it does not adhere to dynamic space. One can listen to it in your room or in the library, but its ability to transform that space comes from walking in another space. When listening to audio-walk on Soundcloud, one has the opportunity to be a passively receive the soundscape. However, when one is part of a communal (or individual) walk, one begins this layering process of creating a thirdspace. In contradistinction to Soundcloud's ease of access, *Third Space* (or any other performative audio-walk) has a restricted access. This lack of access is as much from logistics, as it would be impossible to coordinate times, travelling and other factors. However, unlike Soundcloud's lack of contextual information, those that were part of the official walks received more of a 'body' in that they were given maps, headphones and access to the artist, Malahlela.

Audio-walk is re-embodied in *Third Space* (2013), as we see the audio-walk part of an organized movement into another city. As one walks through the city there is a disconnect between what you are hearing and what you are seeing. Even if you are 'following the

directions' of Ra and Kagiso, they are not leading you to the same places that are described in the audio-walk. They do not have the same names and associations as the places within the stories being narrated. Every performed audio-walk using *Audio-walk with Ra and Kagiso* would be similarly disconnected. There will never be two audio-walks that are exactly the same. Every audio-walk would also be incredibly different in its actual experience, as there would be different combinations of people and places. Even an audio-walk occurring in Hillbrow in 2018 would follow this disconnect as the time would be different from 2013 when it was recorded.

How is audio-walk re-embodied when it is used as a communal walk? I would argue that it is re-embodied in the walkers, unlike in the case of other sound-art pieces which imbue an inanimate object with the life of dynamic sound. This desire to give disconnected sound a body comes from a deep desire for wholeness, for mending the fragmentation which postmodernity has achieves by its disassembling and storing of our 'humanness' in external devices.



Figure 12: Installation of "Third Space" at Feira da Ladra, Lisboa. 2013. Photograph by Nicholas Schärer, 05_MaloseMalahlela.pdf.

The term used to discuss the reassembling of prosthetic limbs is that of synthesia (Tajiri, 2007: 82). Synthesia in relation to the body begins as a separation of the senses and their subsequent reintegration. This synthesis creates a hybrid space, as different elements come together to form a new body. This is seen in the re-embodiment of the disconnected sound on Soundcloud and is even more clearly seen in its re-embodiment in a communal audio-walk, which happened in Malahlela's *Third Space*.

However, in *Audio-walk*, the voice is re-embodied by going straight into the listeners. Sound becomes a physical phenomenon by literally entering our bodies in waves, and these waves lead to vibrations which are translated by our bodies into understood sounds (Idhe: 2012: 27). Sound becomes even more embodied when using headphones, as it becomes a personal embodiment and changes the rhythm and movement of the walkers (Bull, 2012: 206). It is the walkers who write the city as much as the voyeurs and now their movement and direction are being influenced by the sounds of the space of Hillbrow and not their current space. Michael Bull investigated the experiences of people using an iPod on their daily commute through the city. He found that people described their experience as changing the space and making the space meaningful, depending on the tone of the music. It also gives them the feeling of being the key player in their own movie, with a self-selected soundtrack (Bull, 2012: 202).

One of the reasons that a listener's perception of their surrounding space changes is that when they look at the space it is mediated through the rhythm and tone of the sounds coming through their headphones. This creates a world which is created and chosen by the listener, according to their mood, which influences the tone of their surroundings rather than their surroundings influencing their mood (Bull, 2012: 199). In the same way the audio-walk, if chosen by the listener, becomes the audio-narrator for the listeners private cognitive space within a communal space (Bull, 2012: 201).

The audio-walk is re-embodied in the physical space of France, Spain or wherever it is performed. However, the re-embodiment of sound into space is experienced only by the group or person who experiences it and is as fleeting as the people there. It does not transform for any other person who did not hear the audio-walk in that place, but for that person who listened to the audio-walk, it may forever alter their understanding of (for

example) their town hall: it becomes the place where 'I heard Ra and Kagiso speaking about Moses Molelekwa'. The audio-walk may become part of one's everyday memory of an everyday place, in its changing and momentary way (Bull, 2012: 205).

We are constantly revising our view of the world; new information is constantly being sifted by our brain and it continually updates and re-writes our understanding of places. This audio-walk provides a new layer of information about a place, and it is inevitable that through listening to it, one's understanding will change. The level to which it changes depends on the individual's engagement with the piece and whether they continue to walk and discover more about Hillbrow.

Audio-walk can be said to argue that Hillbrow is being constantly re-written by those who walk it, and moreover, the piece looks forward to a future in which our understanding of Hillbrow continues to be written by those who walk it, and not those who look back with nostalgia and fear. It does this through re-embodying the sounds of Hillbrow in people and spaces around the world. One of the interviewees said of their listening experience in Michael Bull's essay *The Audio-Visual iPod* that,

> "It's very common for me to walk the music, so to speak. What I am listening to affects how I see everything around me."

-Freedom (qtd. in Bull, 2012: 205).

Thus, although an audio-walk through the medium of headphones creates a privatised experience, it has the potential to change the walker's movements which is in itself a 'potentially transformative activity' (Bull, 2012: 206). So, these private spaces become part of shared city space, unaffected by their space's sounds, but influencing the patterns and movements of their space (Bull, 2012: 208).

The language of the audio-walk is English, although at the end of the walk Ra and Kagiso call for a more literary works written in other South African languages. The choice of English allowed for the audio-walk to be understood throughout the world despite the choice of language not reflecting the mother tongue of many '*Hillbrowians*' (Kagiso: 1:01). Even though non-English words, such as the *makwerekwere* (Kagiso: 1:36) are included in the audio-walk, there is enough context to parse their meanings. As Ra says, *Hillbrow is written*

and re-written on the daily (Ra, 11:45) and this layer of writing onto the place of Hillbrow is in English. I propose that this allows the audio-walk to join the conversation and re-write and reclaim Hillbrow from other English representations of it, as opposed to beginning a new conversation that is understood by fewer people.

A HYBRID SPACE

In the literature review I examined hybridity and saw how it was created as layers of different groups of people, or ideas laid claim to the same space. Bhabha's literature was focused on India, but South Africa is similar in that it both had a colonial presence as well as a huge influx of immigrants from other countries.

The ways in which the audio-walk produces a hybrid space can be divided into two areas: firstly, the ways in which hybrid spaces are created in the listener's space, and secondly, the ways in which hybrid spaces are seen in Hillbrow (including the space itself and our perception of it). Bhabha's (1985) argument is that the 'repetition' of the colonial text and ideas within a colonial space shows the power of the colonial nation which retains the power to tell the story (Bhabha 1985: 149). In the repetition of colonial texts, however, and their integration into the colonialized people, there is a process of mimesis through which the colonialized begin to subvert the authority and speak back to their colonisers (Bhabha 1985: 152; 162).

When audio-work is performed in *Third Space*, the audio-walk is re-embodied in the walkers, as it changes their movements. As their walking is what 'writes' the city, during the walk, they are listening and co-creating a different city, as if they were writing the space of Hillbrow. This creates a hybrid space of walkers. The audio-walk is also re-embodied onto the landmarks and streets in the process of performing the audio-walk. These spaces are changed however only for the walkers and their perceptions of them. This as stories from Hillbrow are transferred onto buildings along the new walk, creating a thirdspace for the walker and the walker alone. So, the audio-walk creates an experience of Hillbrow, outside of its space and in the listeners space.

Thus, the audio-walk allows the listener to be in their own space and yet experience the space of Hillbrow simultaneously. The hybrid space is produced only for the listeners. A hybrid space is created as our perception of Hillbrow shifts, this happens as we listen to the

stories of Hillbrow and our perception of it is changed or deepened. Hillbrow layers of stories become more apparent and the ‘main’ story of Hillbrow gets complicated and expanded.

The space of Hillbrow is no longer just a space, but a space rich with layers from different and diverse people and the hybrid nature of Hillbrow becomes visible. All spaces are in some way hybrid spaces, however Hillbrow is even more so due to its short history of a space defined by migrations of people out and into it, particularly because Hillbrow occupies a position as a concentrated mix of different African nationalities, living closely together.

Thus, the hybridity spoken about by Bhahba is seen in the contemporary space of Hillbrow as our collection of thoughts surrounding Hillbrow becomes hybridized. Also, it changes our perception of the space in which we find ourselves. We experience the space of Hillbrow in our own space, our perception of our own space changes, and if we are walking, we walk as if walking in Hillbrow, writing Hillbrow’s space into our own by embodying the space. This hybrid space is an experiential interruption into our lives and gives us a new understanding of the space of Hillbrow.

CONCLUSION

In this report I have proposed that the audio-walk is, through sound, disconnected from its original space and ’re-embodied’ in those who listen to it: creating hybrid spaces wherever heard. These hybrid spaces provide both a translation of the space and an experiential interruption into the listener's space. This, in turn, provides new understandings of Hillbrow for the listener.

In writing this research report, I was constantly aware of my own unconscious bias about Hillbrow. Growing up in Johannesburg, I ’knew of’ Hillbrow. However, this knowledge primarily came from of the media and the people around me. This mediated knowledge – the lens through which I view the space of Hillbrow – is therefore limited. To me, and others like me, the audio-walk can be especially helpful as it provides different perspectives on the space. My perceptions of the space, however, do not change Hillbrow itself. Thus, I propose that the term ‘re-writing’ is about re-writing our perceptions about spaces more than re-writing the

space itself. It is a recognition that all spaces are a mix between different types of stories and that this is no different in Hillbrow.

Making a soundscape means that the audio-walk is a historical record of a moment in Hillbrow's time and illuminates certain elements of the space of Hillbrow; elements that might be invisible by other means of representation. Thus, listening to space through sound can give us a different understanding of space as it allows the elements that invigorate space to become visible to the listener.

This case-study found how an audio-walk gives a different understanding of a space rather than a purely visual one. Chapter one saw how representing space through sound has the potential to transfer elements of one space (Hillbrow) into another space (Portugal and others). These elements of movement, rhythm and tone cannot be transferred purely visually. This study found that the way we understand the world around us is through all our senses and that sound gives us different understandings of a space compared to a visual understanding. Also, the way that the audio-walk is structured provides a way for the listener to feel as if they were walking alongside Ra and Kagiso, which can increase one's empathy and engagement with the space of Hillbrow.

This investigation found that Malahlela's representation of a city-tour was based almost exclusively on the stories which inhabit those spaces. This case-study saw how these stories, a mix between fiction and non-fiction, were used to create a layer onto the palimpsest of Hillbrow. These stories were also seen as connected to the spaces that they were derived from, as the space that Ra and Kagiso were in would dictate the story they would tell. Exploring the audio's narrative text one found that an auditory representation increases one's curiosity about the space. The listener is not provided with all information and one is naturally motivated to explore these stories further.

This study found that the audio-walk is able to change a listener's environment in which they listen to the audio-walk. However, this change is limited to the listener's perception of their and Hillbrow's space. The change to a person's perception of theirs and Hillbrow's space also requires active listening. As it takes work to listen and to follow the stories mentioned in the audio-walk further. *Third Space* showed that although the main change happens in the listener's perception, listening to something also has the ability to transform the listener's

space through their movement. This case-study found that through walking to the 'beat' of the audio-walk, listeners changed the 'beat' of their own city. Albeit on a very small degree.

This study highlights the importance of a more comprehensive use of our senses in order to understand the world around us. It also highlights the need for platforms that enable the people of Hillbrow to tell their stories and be heard. This is because there is a danger in having only 'one story' about a space – this reduces that space in a way that doesn't correspond to, or capture, its complex reality. This report is valuable in that it reminds one how the way space is experienced is from a limited viewpoint, and that a city is a collection of these viewpoints. In some of these viewpoints, the listener finds anguish, as shown in the story of Moses the genius pianist; this is consonant with the mainstream perception of Hillbrow. Beyond this, however, one also finds stories of hope, nostalgia, friendship and more, which serve to challenge and disrupt the dominant negative perceptions of that space. We can be encouraged as the audio-walk was not a claim to provide the only stories of Hillbrow but ends the audio-walk with a call to more stories. Stories which do not complicate but continue to add a richness to the listeners perception of the space of Hillbrow.

I propose that these stories are what constitutes a city; they layer themselves onto buildings and public spaces and establish invisible but real connections between these spaces. The audio-walk reminds us that having one story, often steeped in nostalgia (as seen in Hillbrow) is dangerous – as it can prevent progression of the space (Sermons, 2012: 61). The audio-walk also gives agency to the people of Hillbrow to write the space of Hillbrow – as opposed to the suburban voyeur, journalists, politicians and others who speak about Hillbrow without actually inhabiting it. This sound-piece renders Ra, Kagiso and Malahlela part of the conversation, part of the body of cultural representation of Hillbrow.

Using and extending the theory of the disconnected voice, allows one to see that voices, disconnected from their original source, can provoke the listener to understand the source of the sound differently. This is what an auditory representation has to offer beyond simple knowledge. The way in which this happens is that a sound, which is disconnected from its body, creates an uncanny experience of a space. This prompts one to look at the original space through fresh eyes.

As seen in other sound pieces, disconnecting a sound from its original source is not the end of the sound's journey. Rather, sound is re-embodied in different ways which give the sound new meanings that it would not originally have had. I observed two ways in which the audio-walk was re-embodied in *Third Space* and on the online Soundcloud platform. I argue that Hillbrow became embodied in both the listeners themselves, as they walked, as well as in the buildings in the listener's space. However, this re-embodiment of Hillbrow onto the new space occurs only in the listener's perceptions alone.

In summary, I propose that the audio-walk achieves four things. Firstly, it *shows* elements of space which might be invisible in a purely visual representation. Secondly, it prompts listeners to *understand* the space of Hillbrow in a new way – through the way sound is experienced in our bodies. Thirdly, it provides a cultural tour of stories through which Hillbrow has been written: both in fiction and non-fiction. Finally, the audio-walk creates a *new* space through the translation of the 'invisible' elements of space and their projection onto a new space.

Through achieving the above, the audio-walk offers a new understanding of Hillbrow, as a space that is home to many stories. These stories disrupt the common understanding of the space which is perpetuated through social and news media. These stories give 'life' to the space of Hillbrow and remind us of our common humanity.

APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPT OF *AUDIO WALK WITH RA AND KAGISO*

00:00 Audio walk begins
Ambient street noises

00:02 Ra
We are at the apex of Hillbrow. We are standing in the middle between Van de Merwe street on our right, and Pretoria street on the left.
And the street we are standing on is called Quartz Street.
Directly opposite ourselves is the tenement called the Sentinel, and the Sentinel is one of the settings in *Welcome. to. Our. Hillbrow.*

00:33 Kagiso
And when you finally come to this part of your journey that ends in the blank wall of suicide with the spinning of cars,
The prostitution drug use and mis-use.
The grime and crime.
The numerous bottles.
Diving from flat balconies.
Giving off sparks of red and yellow
From mid-air reflections of street and flat neon lights.
Only to crush on unfortunate soul skulls
That neon welcome lights the peace of mind.
You could see, and many Hillbrow-ions.
Changing names and you hoped activities to Baderi house, Chelsea hotel
Closing down, robbery, moving, flowing.
From Hillbrow, into its neighbours especially Berea and Braamfontein.
(Music starts playing)

01:17 Ra
Ambient people sounds return and music continues
As the media had been planning guiding*and …*
publishers and other changing offices moving out of this …* with dilapidated …*
Then is in Braamfontein, while others considered it quite the investment.
And thought coming into build and occupy the lush offices, the department of home affairs.

01:36 Kagiso
Moving from downtown Johannesburg into Braamfontein and *makwerekwere*,
Drifting into and out of Hillbrow and Berea.
Having split into Berea from Hillbrow,
According to many xenophobic South Africans,
And the glamourizing media into Braamfontein,
to sort out the refugee affairs.

01:55 Ra
And the streets of Hillbrow and Berea and Braamfontein
overflowing with *makwerekwere* come to peruse green pastures after hearing the new president Mandela* welcomes guests and visitors, unlike his predecessors who erected

deadly electric wire fences around the boundaries of South Africa. Tried to keep out the …* from Mozambique.

02:17 Kagiso
Zaire, Nigeria, Congo, Ivory Coast, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia.
From all over Africa,
Fleeing their war-torn countries.
*For Africans: (*Someone else's voice...?)

02:28 Ra
All these things that we have heard, seen heard about, felt, smelt, believed, disbelieved, Shirked* embraced through only in the consciousness you find.
Chilling, haunting, and causing in the simple words.

02:40 Kagiso
Welcome to our Hillbrow.

02:43 Ra
And now we're going to turn left.
Music starts
Towards Pretoria Street. We're going to pass an alley way and take twenty steps.

02:54 Musical interlude. Ambient voices, but hard to hear.

03:23 Other voices.

03:56 Ra
Stop.
In front of you. You are looking at highpoint, the tenement on the highest point of Hillbrow
Towards your left is Pretoria going towards Braamfontein and Constitution hill.
To your left is Pretoria going towards.
Berea and Yeoville.
And the East.
We're going to turn left and walk 10 steps.

04:25 Musical interlude: Ambient voices, still not the main focus.

04:40 Ra
And looking at an empty street, not very empty
There's the Summit Club on our right.
You have stopped now.
And, on your right is Claim Street, a one-way street going downtown.
The higher point is still behind us, but now we have turned.
We are looking at an opposite building, on the ground floor we have McDonald's on the far edge.
On the far right, you have Capitec Bank and men with guns guarding money.
But what we are looking at in front of us, is now Edgars...Active.

Is a retail store, they sell clothes.
But in our times, when we were growing up, coming to Hillbrow.
We used to enjoy ourselves in this particular spot.
05:40 Siren sounds
It was the first *Look and Listen* store in South Africa, a music retail store.
That spoiled us, with original music,
Music that we'll will come, spend hours looking at sleeve notes.
Historians that we are.

05:59 Kagiso
Lino notes included one remembers as a young'un,
I would walk all the way to Hillbrow Look & Listen just to peruse, check out sleeves of the likes of Jeru the Damaja, Aso Brock* Reflection eternal
This is where all my education happened, where music is concerned.

06:19 Ra
I was living directly opposite this building,
Matter. of. fact.
The year was 1999...? 2000?
And I would be looking at the sleeve notes, lino notes, of people like Skim Ashun.
I would look at people like Maselela, or the early kwaito stuff.
I will also look at indeed the Reflection Eternal.
I will look at black stuff.
I will also look at any other things that happen, in fact.
I've got my girlfriend a Brandy single, in this store. (Person #2 chuckles)

06:53 Kagiso
Yea, the boy was hers.
No doubt. (Both laugh.)

06:59 Ra
What, that was (there one?)

07:01 Kagiso
Most definitely

07:01 Ra
But I also used to look very very very very... ya.
I was looking at...

07:08 Kagiso
Indeed, this is where our music education happened and that's not to say that as youngen's we didn't get up to, you know?
A bit of nonsense.
Us being in Hillbrow, that is you know, a stone's throw away was a couple of haunts,
Skin haunts that is,
The likes of the Sombic club, Ambassador hotel, but that's a story for another day (Laughs)

07:32 Ra
Ambassador Hotel in fact is a story of a song called Magosha,
by Brothers of Peace together with Kweri Naleh.*
Kweri Nale* was the... (?) Street.
I think you go down
If you had turned right you'll hit Claim and then turn right and go all the way down you'll come across Kweri Nale*.
But if you turn back.
And come on to this robot, turn to your right you'll be going in to the Summit Club.
That also makes the story in manner of our South African cultural products.
Now we are going to turn right, and we go towards Claim Street, ten steps.

08:06 Music

08:15 Ra: Music less - Ambient noises increases.
The traffic is easy, the people are easy.
It's not as hectic as is read about in news.
It's not as lively as ... it's made to be believed.
But night time is another time...
It's when things come loud.
You stop,
Look left.
08:37 Music gets louder
You see the Mariston Hotel all the way down Claim Street, is a big tenement, 30 floors.
If you turn left, you're gonna see the Hillbrow Tower.
It's got the pink ball that was placed there in 2010 during the World Cup,
And then you're turning left.
10 steps.

09:02 Ra
On our left is still McDonalds, on our right is the Summit Club.
The Summit Club used to have a pool.
In the eighties.
Friend of ours Bettina Malcomness writes about the Summit Club in their book, *Not no Place*, published 2013 by Jacana.
She explains how she used to come to the Summit Club, to enjoy the indoor pool, one of the few in Joburg.
Now we stop.
On our left is the parking lot, Hooting to the summit club.
And behind it is Quartz Street.
Where we were standing directly opposite the Sentinel.
Turn right.
We are looking directly at the Summit Club.

09:45 Music

09:55 Ra
The Summit Club is another setting for another literary piece.
Called 'The Night Moses died"
Moses, him being a genius.
Who left this earth in 2001.
Widely believed to have committed suicide.
Trumpet
He was a piano genius.
So, at this point where we are standing, in other words we are standing behind us the Sentinel.
A setting in the literary book, '*Welcome to our Hillbrow*"
By Phaswane Mpe
And you have the Sentinel, that forms the story of Moses Molelekwa
Another person who committed suicide.
Keleketla! Library performed a ritualistic piece in 2011, from the rooftop of the Summit Club.
Pouring tongs and tongs of coal salt to the ground.
Symbolizing suicide but symbolizing healing, and cleansing.
And many Southern African traditional beliefs.

11:00 Kagiso
Speaking of Moses, I think this excerpt from *Welcome our, from our Hillbrow.*
Is quite appropriate right about now.

> "Love songs, blues and interludes.
> That you wish to dedicate to our Hillbrow.
> Your one published short story about life in Hillbrow.
> might have paved a short way.
> To more such stories,
> You often used to think,
> About the scarcity of written Hillbrow fictions in English and Sepedi.
> You asked around,
> and those who could read the other nine,
> of the eleven official South African languages.
> Answered you,
> By saying that, even in those languages written in fiction, were very scarce."

11:43 Ra
If he were still alive, child of Hillbrow.
*Derrealong** and the world.
Will be very happy to know, that the Hillbrow is written and re-written.
On the daily.
It's no longer just the books.
That Hillbrow is being written.
If he was still alive, you could have asked the *Brothers of Peace*, magosha.
To give you further notes.
If he was still alive.
He will be with us now.
Re-writing Hillbrow.
In new notes and tempos.

This is the end of our tour, and now we turn back.
We are still on Claim Street.
We are going to take different routes.
Probably, you know, turn right again and...

12:24 Music.

12:48 Audio-walk ends.

*Exact word not known.

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPT OF A NARRATIVE FROM '*THIRD SPACE*'

> "Welcome! Welcome to Johannesburg, Johustleburg as many will call it. The City of Gold, Egoli. My name is Bheki Dube and I'll be taking you through the streets of Johannesburg. We're going to be walking now venturing off into the bustling streets of Johannesburg, past Noord taxi rank to the famous Joubert Park, as well as the Johannesburg Art Gallery (JAG). We're going to be going through levels of crazy emotions from sounds to even quietness, but it's all about experiencing and engaging with the city as locals do. Follow me, as I become your lead in this notorious city. We are buying some stuff from street traders, engaging with them, asking them, talking to them and touching on a few historical buildings that we're seeing on the streets. We are on the corner of Twist and De Villiers Street walking all the way straight on Twist Street. You can see, to my right-hand side we've got some Pakistanis selling some lovely clothing and electronics. On the left, into Noord Street off Twist Street there's a lot of markets that are happening here, and sometimes I tend to raise my voice because of all the sound ambiences we find on the streets. To my left is Chicken Licken and to my right I've got market stalls. Lovely music from all around the world and this is the heartbeat of Johannesburg. Walking now we're going to walk about 50 steps through the market itself. […] you can get anything here, from sandals to shades, gold, the latest cellphones… whatever… fresh fruits, and even ice. So, you hear now we're getting different sound bits of some lovely music from up North Africa, all different cosmopolitan synergies within the space. Everyone here is here for hustle that's what Joburg's for, people come here between 9 AM and 5 PM, they dig as much as they can, they hustle as much. By 5 – 6 PM the streets become very quiet. It is the principal of Johannesburg. People came here just mining and what has been passed on through generations, is not mining anymore but other forms of trade. Now we've reached the end of the market and it seems to quiet down a bit."

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