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Coffee in the City: An Analysis of the Hipster Culture's Influence on Urban Regeneration in Inner City Johannesburg

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Coffee in the City: An analysis of the hipster culture's influence on urban regeneration in inner city Johannesburg

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A dissertation Submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning from the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment at the University of Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Science Honours in Urban and Regional Planning

Johannesburg, November 2015

Declaration

I declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the Degree of Bachelor of Science Honours in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university, nor has it been prepared with the assistance of any other body, organisation or person outside the university

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(Signature of candidate)

…….. day of …….. ……..

I dedicate this report to the Memela family for their infinite love and support throughout the research process

Abstract

The modern image of inner city Johannesburg is one that has undergone many transformations. These changes have been brought on by many different things, from the abolishment of political regimes to the rise of popular youth culture, such as the hipster culture today. Literature not only provides clear understandings but also debates, thoughts and questions of the hipster culture, urban regeneration and even the combination of the two. This research aims to understand the effect that the budding hipster culture has on inner city regeneration efforts in Johannesburg. Through the application of the Braamfontein case study, data collected in field work can be analysed through the literary understanding to paint an in-depth picture of not only the manifestation of the hipster culture in Braamfontein but also what affect their presence has on the district.

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List of Acronyms

CBD	Central Business District
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
COJ	City of Johannesburg Municipality
Wits	University of Witwatersrand
CID	City Improvement District

Chapter 1: Introduction

The world that we live in as well as the immediate surroundings that act upon us on a daily basis is heavily impacted by many different elements; some of these may be social, political, and economic or even all of them happening at the same time. Much like the people that live within it the city too feels some of the pressures of the many elements that exist around it. These elements tend to take on many different forms ranging from economic meltdowns to political regimes, these can alter the way in which spaces are governed and the manner of activities that tend to exist within the city. Many of these elements may have long lasting effects even though they seem to sweep through the cities and spaces like waves; these waves then create trends that impact the city and contribute to the ever changing characteristics of that develop with cities as they grow and advance.

The introduction of a new social wave within a space can also have many different effects on the activities and users of the space, thus the introduction of the hipster culture into the Braamfontein area should prove to have some significant impact on the continuous development efforts that are constantly occurring in the area. The overall effects of the hipster culture and the gentrification that is usually entangled with it are a point of discussion and debate within the urban development field; however the deeper understanding of the socio-economic responses of this presence is needed.

1.1 Background

The spatial history of Johannesburg is concrete evidence of the Apartheid legacy with the development of separate areas to facilitate the different racial groups of people. The most fundamental structures of the Apartheid political regime resulted in the separation of the race groups in their most basic activities including spaces where they could live, interacted and worked. The city of Johannesburg was an area that was filled with predominantly white residences in the high apartment buildings and filled the many commercial, whereas the non-white population was scattered in surrounding areas and townships restricting their access to the Central Business District (Bremmer, 2000). This form of separation formed many of the class and social differences that are still prevalent in modern day South Africa

as the white groups that were allowed to occupy the inner city had full access to the many economic opportunities, leaving a strong legacy in the gaps that are seen in the different groups in South Africa today.

The inner city began to experience a sharp decline. Seen in other international instances the decline of inner-city Johannesburg was the result of many impacting forces such as suburbanisation, poor public facilities as well as inefficient urban administration and management. (Bethlehem, 2013). However a very unique factor that was experienced in Johannesburg was a large change in the demographics of the inner city. By the 1960s and 1970s, the apartheid regime was under pressures and many social movements saw the political system unravelling at the seams (Turok, 1994). This was followed by a period of between the separated race groups and the government that was restricting them. Through mass social movement non-white groups began to force their access to the inner city. The influx was seen as a sort of invasion that saw the then existing white community move out of the inner city in the in the phenomenon known as White Flight. With many tenants and owners moving out of the space this gave way to the general decline of the inner city as businesses had cleared by the 1980s (Hamm, 2015). Johannesburg as an economic core was becoming less and less attractive and thus the Urban Renewal initiative was born in the 1990s to try and revitalise the core of the city. These efforts to bring back the beauty of the city have been the topic of discussion since their implementation in the later part of the century; there have been many views on the effectiveness of urban renewal as well as the true results of this kind of development.

Marked by many different themes throughout the different projects the efforts of renewal in Johannesburg have often taken up many different identities, while some promote the city as a top-notch competitor with other great cities in the world others tend to focus on the identity of the spaces (Rogerson, 2005). With the current Hipster culture sweeping social scenes all over the world and Johannesburg is no exception; this culture is not only coming through in the way the urban society dresses and behaves but is having implications on the built environment and the way in which the modern city dweller interacts with space. There have been many cultures that have existed in inner city Johannesburg, particularly when a culture is defined through a way of life more than anything; starting as far back as the discovery of gold in 1800s Johannesburg has been a centre of economic opportunity and

consumerism. The current hipster movement emerged in the Brooklyn boroughs in the 2000s, over the past few years it has infiltrated trends all over the world with an element of being 'cool'. With the culture often associated with strong injection of urban regeneration and gentrifications, the hipster culture's growing popularity can usually be linked with the development of areas.

1.2 Justification

The field of urban regeneration is one with extensive research and one can find a lot of material already existing such as academic journals, many opinion articles and even common conversation between city dwellers themselves. However there are still reasons for which I feel that the research into the relationship between hipster culture and urban regeneration is one that must be explored in greater depth in order to fully understand the existence of a link between the two.

The field of urban regeneration is one that is full of many different dimensions and opinions therefore the injection of any new element can cause shifts in the current state of the initiative. Braamfontein tends to fall within the realm of the inner city when it comes to the discussion of urban regeneration in Johannesburg; the main views have been extended from the assessments of the urban renewal strategies within the central business district of Johannesburg (Hamm, 2015). These have been looked at through many different scopes with the well documented cases of Maboneng coming under constant academic scrutiny. Conducting the research in Braamfontein where the culture is emerging and slowly morphing into the environment will bring in a new perspective to the types of urban renewal that can occur and the different effects that can be had on the city through them.

Hipster trend is a current phenomenon and I truly believe that there is no better time to engage with a topic than the present (Sarantakos, 2005) . Within the discipline of urban planning there have been so many shifts in the approaches and desires of the field that it can be said that the profession lives in the moment. The observation of a situation as it is occurring provides a very exciting and current reflection on information as it is gathered when it is happening. In this manner of studying the cultural influence on urban renewal in Braamfontein as it is happening there will be exposure to many findings that will prove relevant and useful. If the research is to be done when the cultural hype is over and nobody

is engaging in the spaces or activities that are classified as hipster, the findings may not generate new and enlightening information. My proposed research will attempt to engage both the culture and the environment that it is manifesting in to evaluate the effects of this subculture in the terms of the built environment instead of the usual sociological and theoretical platform.

1.3 Problem Statement

Urban regeneration aims to tackle the declining inner city of Johannesburg; but the many different elements to the entire process continue to cause problems in contemporary South Africa. The existing problems and controversies, such as decline of public spaces and commercialisation of districts (Alfrey, 2010), come along with the gentrification movement have haunted the city's attempts to breathe life back into the CBD of Johannesburg. The growing hipster culture may not have been a deliberate part of the process however it is adding a new element of dimension to the entire project which can prove to be a step forward or lead to even more problematic situations in the future. However, there is little research that aims to explicitly study the relationship between the hipster culture and urban regeneration in Johannesburg.

1.4 Research Question

How has the hipster culture influenced urban regeneration in inner-city Johannesburg?

Research Sub-questions

1. What are the values and trends of this culture that are exhibited spatially/ in the built environment?
2. Which stakeholders of urban regeneration identify with the culture?
3. To what extent is this cultural influence coherent with Johannesburg's urban renewal vison?
4. How does this culture perpetuate/solve the existing tensions with urban renewal?

Conclusion

In this research report the relationship between the hipster culture and the regeneration efforts in Johannesburg will be studied and explicitly linked in order to understand the existence of a link between the two. Through the application of existing research on the topics a full comprehension of critical topics and definitions will build a strong foundation for the further investigation of the effects of the relationship introduced in this chapter. The research project will entail the discussion of the research methods as well as the research experience with the field work encountered. The remainder of the report will also include the introduction of the case study as well as a dissection of the gathered research in the answering of the research question and sub questions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Regeneration and Culture

Introduction

In the first chapter the introduction to the research clearly laid out that the main realm that this investigation will be covering revolve around two major concepts: the first being urban regeneration and the second is the hipster culture. In this chapter the two concepts will be dissected and presented in terms of the literature that has already been established on these topics.

In order to answer the research question in the previous chapter an understanding of existing literature in the field regarding the topic needs to be undertaken. This then requires that there be a thorough examination into the theories that define these topics as well as the histories of both urban regeneration and the hipster culture. Following the comprehension of the fundamental information of these concepts then an analysis into the existing debates will aid in the tackling of the research question by grasping the questions that already surround the topic.

City Regeneration

2.1 Urban Decay and Regeneration

The first key concept that I look into is that of urban regeneration; however before we can look at the regeneration of the area there must be a decay that occurs in that area. Urban decay dates back as far as the industrial city; with the rapid rise in population that accompanied the growth in the industries that occurred in cities such as London and Nice amongst others in Western Europe at the time. The city simply could not keep up with the expansion and problems that began to arise. The living conditions within the city began to plummet as overpopulation and pollution from the booming industrial sector made the working class living conditions unbearable (Howard, 1965). The conditions that plagued the industrial city are well documented and the urban ills were starting to affect the quality of life that people who lived in the city were able to achieve. These concerns led to the many beautification and regeneration efforts that embodied the modernist planning era and

paved the way for new urban regeneration processes that are still very active in the modern cities we live in today.

2.1.1 Urban Decay

There are many causes and urban decay resulting in many different approaches to the regeneration of different areas ,this phenomenon has taken place all over the world from the industrial cities that were plaguing 19th century Europe to the revamping of the inner districts of many American cities. In 1970 city officials in New York tried to prompt development in areas like the Bronx by removing vital services; this plan backfired and turned these places into areas that were plagued with poverty and gangs resulting in their decline and decay (Bettencourt & West, 2010). Again as seen in the industrial city the living conditions of the lower/working class deteriorates within the inner city. This shift in the socio-economic demographics led to a decline of investment and the Bronx were deemed a problem area that was for many decades a lost cause in the eyes of the officials until regeneration efforts began towards the end of the century. The rationalist and modernist approach of the planning officials in the Bronx led to a detached and impersonal planning approach that characterised these planning methods, thus resulting in the decline of the urban area (Bettencourt & West, 2010). It is this exact rationality in planning that sparked the famous critique by Jane Jacobs where her many criticisms of orthodox planning systems. In her book *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* Jacobs refers to the four pillars of more inclusive planning efforts start with streets that are lively and interesting. The second emphasises continuous networks of streets that can bring a district together, followed by the use of public buildings and spaces in order to increase the complexity of the space and fostering a functional identity (Jacobs, 1961). These pillars are considered the iconic stepping stones for post-modernist approaches to urban regeneration and are echoed in many discussions surrounding the topic even today.



Figure 1 shows the extent of the decay that resulted from the planned down-sizing in 1970s New York (ArtNectar, 2010)

2.1.2 Urban Decay and Regeneration in Inner City Johannesburg

Inner city Johannesburg is also characterised with a history of urban decay and regeneration. Once a booming district of opportunity throughout the Apartheid era, Johannesburg was rocked by a massive urban out-migration, which led to many of the businesses that were once located in the city began moving out in “White Flight” (Hamm, 2015). The decay of the CBD occurred - in the following decades the influx of not only black South African’s but also migration from across the continent led to the 1990s being filled with the ills of urbanisation and the decay that comes with it (Bremmer, 2000). Many of the buildings in the inner city were abandoned by their previous owners and became targets for squatting and illegal activities.

Regeneration efforts in the inner city began in 1997 when then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki pointed out the potential of the inner city and that a place that can be considered the ‘heart of Africa’ cannot be allowed to fizzle out and die in the manner that it has (COJ, 2008). Johannesburg underwent the beginning stages of urban renewal in the 1990s as the inner city was seen as a crime hot spot and filled with trash in the streets (Duff, 2014). The efforts of the City of Johannesburg to breathe life back into the central business district was one that directly speaks to the issues raised in the refocusing of the Johannesburg 2030 strategy. A more significant pro-poor agenda was formulated, mainly being that the municipality needs to address crime and the low levels of skills found in this area (Rogerson, 2005); thus the city then took a broad approach of community development as far as the

inner-city was concerned. (COJ, 2008), resulting in the regeneration of the CBD of Johannesburg and the many areas that surrounded it.

2.2Urban Renewal

2.2.1 Creation of Closed spaces

The biggest critique that exists around the question as to who is the city being revived for, the people who are living/working there and using the city the more than others or the 'weekender' that investors are trying to attract to the inner city of Johannesburg (Walsh, 2013). The political and socio-economic tensions that are created through the process of urban renewal renders it one of the most debated and current topics in urban discussions in Johannesburg. There are many criticisms to the exclusionary practices that accompany urban renewal and the faults that they perpetuate in the modern city (Rogerson, 2005). This side of the debate tends to lean towards the fact that while there are undeniable improvements that come with urban renewal; problems with services and crime outshine many areas of urban redevelopment (The Economist, 2013). The need to create a better working city that is safer for the citizens within the city through the restriction of access to certain neighbourhoods is one of the many methods utilised (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008). The relation between renewal and social justice usually circle around questions surrounding which should matter more to society, the bettering of physical aspects of the city or the bettering of the lives of the people living in the city (Hamm, 2015). While it is easy to see why both of these components to urban renewal are extremely important the problem then starts coming in when there needs to be a decision about which of these two concerns must come first on the agenda.

2.2.2 Necessary Face Lift for areas

One side of the debate states that the urban renewal of Braamfontein and revamping of spaces like this in the city is a shining example that with determination the problems of crime and poverty of the inner city can be dealt with and turned into something beautiful (Hamm, 2015). The city cannot be left to wallow in the urban ills that plague it, especially the vital parts of the city –such as the Central Business District- contribute massively to the

area economically as well as socially. There is always a need for the improvement of core areas such as the inner city as the growth of these cores is essential in the overall development of Johannesburg as a whole.

A common form of renewal in Johannesburg is that of the City Improvement Districts(CID), these are demarcated geographic areas that have a large majority of proprietors that agree to privately fund many improvement methods such as cleaning services and security measures, often including CCTV cameras and impenetrable fencing (CIDForum, 2015). These areas show the severity of the need to improve the areas within the city, the fact that property owners are willing to pay for efficient services separately to compensate for where state renewal processes are failing to deliver. These districts may perpetuate the fragmentation of the city and isolate a number of members of the general society but they are serving the purpose of holistically developing the area and moving it forward in economic, social and cultural terms.



Figure 2 Braamfontein Improvement District (BID) is another area where property owners are privately funding better security and cleaning for the area (CIDForum, 2015).

2.2.3 Threats to public spaces within the city

With one side of the debate discussed above, the other spills into issues of rights to the city and whether it is okay to turn the city centre, easily the district that needs to be most easily accessible, into these enclaves of development filled with outdoor spaces that are in actual fact only open to those who have the means to use these areas or fit within a certain criteria that comes with the new spaces which often creates a new economic requirements to be in

the area(Walsh, 2013). The availability of public spaces throughout a built up city such as Johannesburg - more so in the inner city – it is important for the vitality of the city and the different function that it can accommodate.

Public space does not have a definition that is easy to place within certain parameters as there are many different situations where a space can be deemed public, it could be a soccer field, the beach, the courtyard on a property (Carr, et al., 1992). The options and situations for what is considered a public space are endless. What is more concrete however is that public spaces have always been valued in society, dating all the way back to the ancient Greek and Roman usage of public spaces as political platforms to the many modern translation of public spaces that can have very positive effects on society such as the promotion of communal societies as well as cohesion within the area (Appleyard, 1981). Urban renewal then comes directly into conflict with this very notion as urban renewal is often accompanied by areas that are exclusive due to their privatisation which as a result alienate a portion of the public that may previously have had access to these spaces.

The creation of pseudo public spaces is one that haunts modern inner city regeneration with the newly revamped services such as roads and piazzas may seem free to the public but due to regulations that govern these spaces they cannot be accessed by everyone (Carr, et al., 1992). This often occurs in improvement districts such as Braamfontein where the privately funded security measures that are implemented in the areas stop informal traders from selling their goods on the busy streets of the neighbourhood. The denial of people to use certain spaces that they should have the right to – like a sidewalk to sell their fruit – results in a variety of many different consequences from social to economic as their business and overall livelihood suffers due to their compromised access to the city.

2.2.4Urban Renewal Research

A large amount of literature exists on urban regeneration in Johannesburg with the gentrification of spaces like Newtown and Maboneng under the microscope. There have been many assessments of these spaces of urban regeneration and to what extent they achieved the goals that were initially set out for the entire initiative to achieve using renewal charters and integrated development tools to aid the process (Bremmer, 2000).

The case study method is the most common form of research that is done when there is the consideration of the effects of urban renewal, this makes sense because as seen with the Fashion District, which is a vital part of the CBD, Rogerson (2005) compares the vital social and economic indicators of the area before and after the urban renewal interventions by the City of Johannesburg Municipality. The bulk of the information is also coming from the 2000 to 2010 decade as this is where the implementation of the inner city regeneration efforts were at their highest as well as the effects of the initial projects were visible and significant conclusions could be reached about the effectiveness of the programmes, assessing their hypotheses, approaches and effectiveness.

Many opinion pieces also credit the regeneration efforts within the inner city as an attempt to make the area much more visually pleasing. When the example of Ponte City is considered it is known that it was initially upper class area and seen as upper income when it began in 1975, however the end of Apartheid the large social shift in the area gave way for drug lords and gangs to take over Ponte City making it one of the most dangerous places in Johannesburg (The Economist, 2013). The area was left to the squalor for some decades as the regeneration process is not one that can happen overnight and there are many political, economic and social elements that need to come together before renewal can begin. The slow turnaround of urban spaces like Ponte City offer a fresh new start, many of the new areas now have rooftop bars as well as new living and entertainment spaces within the inner city repainting the perceived image of crime and grime (The Economist, 2013). It is these changing views of the inner city that bring forward the biggest benefits of urban renewal as the spaces are now given not only a new identity that can cater to the post-modernist facets of cities today but also feeds back to the critical fourth pillar of Jane Jacob's critique about districts needing to have a functioning identity that can work in their favour and shine them in a positive light rather than one of criminalisation.

An overwhelming majority of these assessments are critiques of the urban regeneration programme of Braamfontein, stating that even though there is an acknowledgement of the problems that faced the inner city after 'White Flight' there are many problems with the urban renewal strategies that are currently implemented (Walsh, 2013). In the case of Braamfontein to be exact the larger portion of the research exists in conjunction with the assessment of the inner city regeneration efforts.

Modern Day Hipster

The second scope of research conducted is concerned with the current social trend shaping the built environment, namely the 'hipster culture'. This section explores identity and the notions of culture then moves onto an explicit study of the hipster culture's characteristics and debates.

2.3 Identity and Culture

2.3.1 Culture

The concept of culture needs to be grasped in the realm of this study; the research question is concerned with how the actual culture and its attributes have affected the urban renewal process.

The most understandable definition of what defines a culture is best explained as "details that create superficial differences amongst human beings" (Pillai & Chaudhary, 2009). Within this definition, it is clear that for a culture to be recognised there must be a number of unique characteristics that set these types of people apart from others. The group 'Hipster' can be best described as a "group of creatively-inclined individuals who form communities within poor urban enclaves" (Henke, 2013, p. 117). This means that the culture of hipsters is not one that can be found moving fluidly through all locations but has particular settings that suite the creative spirit that most hipsters identify with. The practices of the hipster culture often leave mixed feelings with those interacting in the spaces with them, with some expressing pure interest in the groups to others having negative reactions to the values of the hipster culture (Greif, 2010). Many debates revolve around the culture of hipsters and the effects that come with this subculture within these enclaves and space that they often tend to occupy and turn into hipster neighbourhoods.

2.3.2 Spatial Identity

The many transformations that the city of Johannesburg has undergone were due to a number of reasons from oppressive political regimes in the past to current economic diversification within the population of the city. However, there have also been many social issues that have changed the nature of the space. The identity of a space is not directly dependant on the physical placing of buildings and street furniture – this can be described more as the image if a place (Kalandides, 2011) – but rather the identity of a space also incorporates non-tangible characteristics such as a relaxed atmosphere or a perceived portrayal of the area.

There are many examples of such spaces in Johannesburg such as the Maboneng, Newtown and Main Street; however one of the most common examples is the revival of the Fashion District in the inner city of Johannesburg that turned the once decaying space into one of 21st century Johannesburg. Due to the many changes undergone by the inner city in the past there is no simple way to impose an identity. The challenge in creating an identity for spaces like the Fashion District within the inner city of Johannesburg lay in the socially traumatic history of the area and the many social clashes that embodied the area in the past. However the efforts of the JDA through regeneration have worked wonders in one of the most important elements of the post-modern city which is creating, or in Johannesburg's case, reclaiming one unified identity (Stone-Mediatore, 2002). The importance of a space to have an identity that it can consolidate behind is strongly linked to many post-modernist critiques that advocate that there are many different sides to the citizenship of a district including race, sexuality and economic status (Sandercock, 1998).

The regeneration of the city is a testament to the power of the post-modernist thought of identity; the JDA uses the municipal Gauteng Development Strategy to be able to use the idea of a World Class African City in order to successfully build up the national identity at a local level. One of the pillars of post-modernist thought is the emphasis on the importance of identity and it is present in many of the urban strategies in modern cities (Stone-Mediatore, 2002). The presentation of the African City/Identity empowers the city by utilising nation building and place making in the formation of a conducive identity that all members of an area can stand behind which allows for the functions within that area to effectively take on a certain characteristic (Planck, 2005). It also affects how the people within that space will then feel and use the space linking to how they relate and identify to

the space. One's identity cannot solely be determined by the space that they are within but it is also a simultaneous process that incorporates that culture that one subscribes to. In the case of the hipster this is more significant as there are not only visual indicators to the culture that make them stand out but also the spaces that are occupied by the hipster community have very strong attributes that are reflections of the unique points of the entire hipster movement itself.

2.4 Hipster Culture

There are many discussions on the areas of study which I want to cover such as the history of the hipster culture as well as the debate surrounding the authenticity of this culture; these aspects will create a strong foundation for the understanding of the culture. Starting with the cultural aspect, the majority of literature on the hipster culture surrounds the defining of exactly what this subculture comprises.

2.4.1 The story of the Hipster

This particular subculture of people began in the 1940s as groups of white middle class youth began taking interest in forms of expression that drew a hard tangent to their picturesque suburban upbringings (Wise, 2009). This included the teenagers identifying with the then popular jazz scene that was mostly popular and dominant within the African American culture at that time. This sparked the culture of Hipsters being self-proclaimed creatives and using many different forms of creative arts to express them resulting in the well-known Beatnik movement (Alfrey, 2010). Though this movement was short lived and soon replaced with the hippie culture it experienced a revival from the early 1990s and even more strongly in the 2000s around the Brooklyn borough (Fletcher, 2009). In the past decade it has spread throughout the world as a 'cool' culture that is often the face that is associated with gentrification (Arsel, 2011). Their consumerist inclination often means that they are a strong injection of support into newly regenerated areas. The trendiness of the hipster in modern social cultures means that with the growing number of people young people that practice the culture the identity of the hipster grows stronger.

2.4.2 What makes a hipster?

To understand what makes a hipster then there would need to be a very clear definition of what one would look for if they were trying to find a hipster. This is easier said than done as the definition of a hipster is extremely vague (TravelsofAdam, 2015). Hipsters, in some literature, are understood to be a subculture of the creative movement (Alfrey, 2010). This often opens the culture up to a large amount of debate and criticism around the extent to which they classify their own unique group.

For the sake of the research we shall subscribe to the popular visual representation of the hipster, this is the kind of hipster that is seen on in blogs and on television series. This is the typical kind of hipster that appears in the mind of anyone who is trying to imagine what a member of the hipster culture looks like. The first defining factor of what makes a hipster is their dress, these visual markers of the culture allow the hipster to stand out and express their alternative lifestyle. Most definitions of hipsters see those wearing skinny jeans, vintage shirts, and hats (TravelsofAdam, 2015); the style of the hipster is easily identified with the popularity of the culture rising there is also a surge of the hipster in many forms of media. With all of the markers of a hipster in consideration very colourful images of what makes up a hipster can range from wearing oversized vintage sweaters, to having outrageous facial hair that is often referred to within the culture as 'cheek sweaters'. The loud fashion choices that are found in the hipster culture open the floor for a sea of criticisms. In Horning's account of what makes up a hipster he states that the ambiguity of the culture can result in the understanding of a hipster as:

"*the boogeymen who keeps us from becoming too settled in our identity, keeps us moving forward into new fashions, keep us consuming more "creatively" and discovering new things that haven't become lame and hipster*" (Horning, 2009)

The definitions continue to describe hipsters as youths who have raided the closet of their grandparents in an attempt to not give in to mainstream trends and often wear shirts with quotes from movies never seen by the mass public (Fletcher, 2009). When the image of a hipster moves to Johannesburg, the defining markers that form the widely accepted American definition translate onto many of the hipsters that are seen in Johannesburg. One of the different elements is that while the modern hipster culture may be peaking true to

the white middle class demographic that encompassed the original wave, in Johannesburg the hipster movement begins to move across the racial spectrum. This could be due to the fact that the hipster culture in South Africa does not share the white middle-class beatnik roots that the modern American hipster culture has.

Hipsters also have a variety of activities that they partake in; one of the biggest defining practices of the hipster is the drinking of coffee (Lewis, 2013). This is seen in the hipster community as a constant. The presence of coffee and coffee shops is often a defining factor of a space that has hipster influence within it. These spaces are usually lower class neighbourhoods that begin to be reinvented with brand new clothing stores, eateries, bars and art galleries that are often in strong juxtaposition with the poor urban fabric that surrounds these spaces (The Economist, 2013).

2.4.3 Authenticity of the Hipster

The main debate that surrounds the subculture of hipsters is their authenticity and whether the cornerstones of their culture – thrift shops, small businesses, artsy living – are true claims to the cultures identity (Michael, 2013). Henke (2013) questions the claims of the hipster subculture in noting that while one of the defining factors of any culture is their own unique artistry and creative tools that are used for self-expression, the hipster subculture on the other hand simply "retooled old countercultural symbols and tropes" (Henke, 2013, p. 121). This resonates with the most common question that usually surrounds the hipster culture as to whether they should actually be recognised as a subculture and whether it is unique enough for them to simply rehash existing customs and tools. This debate on the solidness of the subculture then allows for the large amounts of dislike that is generally seen with the hipster crowd. This then often leads to the association of hipsters and their moving into different areas with the negative effects of gentrification, a process of building renwal following an in migration of the middleclass into a deteriorating area (Szustek, 2015). The debate then questions their influence or impact on the urban renewal process, more specifically how their role in regenerated spaces affects the further development of the inner city. With the poor enclaves that are often occupied by the middle class hipster culture the question of authenticity then relates to whether or not the subculture is simply a smoke screen for mass commercialisation of urban spaces (Arsel, 2011).

While many will agree that the support that the culture is providing for newly developed or improved areas is important there is a lingering boredom that many feel with hipsters and their presumably forced characteristics (Fletcher, 2009). With the organic lifestyles and picky dietary or music requirements that serve as the identifying qualities of the modern day hipster, many people rather find them less of a culture but rather just a group of people that seek the attention for being 'alternative' (Alfrey, 2010).

The hipster culture is growing and very relevant in current society so there is a large amount of literature and research on the subculture in the fields of sociology and anthropology. The bulk of the literature is concerned with defining what exactly this culture is and what makes a person a hipster (Greif, 2010). Within this scope of research the defining characteristics of a modern hipster is known rather well, the trademark plaid shirts and lumberjack beards are almost used as identification cards in the world of the hipster (Fletcher, 2009). The definition of the hipster is growing in terms of the volume of research to try and substantiate the subculture, this then allows for the research pool of hipster and their environments to grow in succession; therefore even though the database for information on hipsters may not be as vast as that for urban renewal the foundation is there and it is building a very strong basis for future research into the culture.

There is a lot of research discussing the behaviour of the hipsters and how they interact with their environment in as far as the social lens is concerned (Arsel, 2011); this kind of literature is supplementing those that are defining the subculture by identifying the overarching trends within this community of people. One of the most common social lenses that the hipster culture is seen through is that of hipster hate. The many criticisms that the culture has created a negative bias as far as the general perception of the culture go. In his article for Time Magazine, A *Brief History of the Hipster*, Fletcher points out a hipster as "the friends who sneer when you cop to liking Coldplay" (Fletcher, 2009), this is the general tone that is associated with how people feel towards the hipster culture. Hipsters are often the source of public annoyance; this is due to not only their alternative lifestyle choices but also their intolerance towards mainstream favourites.

These behavioural results are not only seen in the academic arena through books and papers that have been published but also the hipster culture is very present in the media

that surrounds the world today (Henke, 2013). There are a lot of television shows that surround the hipster way of life, one of them being Lena Dunham's *Girls*. This show not only depicts the life of young hipster creatives but is also ideally set in Brooklyn – the birthplace of the modern hipster. Other popular shows such as *Broad City* and *Flight of the Concords* are also shows that open up the world of the hipster to the mass media. Movies *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* and music by bands such as Beatenberg and Vampire Weekend allow for there to be readily available information and insight into the hipster lifestyle, not forgetting the numerous hipsters are behind many blogs found on the internet.

2.4.4 Hipster Neighbourhoods

Brooklyn in New York was very much a rundown borough when the revived hipster movement of the 1990s hit it. This dilapidated area did not have much going for it other than it simply being a bypass between Manhattan and JFK Airport but now it has blossomed into one of the most vibrant neighbourhoods in the world (Szustek, 2015). The creation of hipster neighbourhoods is a debate that has been among the scholars of many as to the sustainability of these areas as most of them are centred on the specific consumer patterns of the hipster culture (Alfrey, 2010). The simplest way to evaluate this is seen in Brooklyn where there are a number of shops that would not have even been interested in locating in the area just 6 years ago. Iconic streets such as Fourth Avenue which now boasts expensive brownstone houses attracting the upper class (Szustek, 2015), many of the shops that are in hipster neighbourhoods are not only new additions to the area but also niche additions that cater to the higher-end consumer that can afford such brands (Martin, 2015).



Figure 3 & 4 Brooklyn 4th Avenue was once a dilapidated area but is now dotted with trendy coffee shops are some of the most common indicators of hipster neighbourhoods (Szustek, 2015)

These neighbourhoods are buzzing with the hipster population that is made up almost entirely of the middle class (Greif, 2010), this then brings in the other side of the debate associating hipster neighbourhoods with the socio-economic exclusion that usually comes with gentrification. This process of exclusion can be clearly seen in many of the modern 'hip' areas that are populated by the hipster culture today. A classic example moves us back to Brooklyn where the retail price of property has rapidly increased over the past decade (Cable, 2015). The large consumer culture that hipsters are commonly identified by and criticised for has the ability to quickly transform these communities from run down urban cavities to top brass consumption hubs.

2.5 Critical Review of Literature

The literature that has been included in this chapter has rewired and critically targeted the field of urban renewal as well as the hipster culture. While all of the literature contributed immensely to the research, many aspects of these pieces must be taken into consideration.

In terms of the literature that has been presented on urban renewal the first and most prominent critique that comes through the literature is that there is an overwhelming amount of foundational theory on urban renewal that is based in the global north. This however made chronological sense as this is where the phenomenon of urban renewal began and it allows us to further understand the most basic conditions that allow for urban renewal to take place in an urban environment. The early literature on urban renewal comes both from United States as well as many significant towns in Europe; this was

advantageous as it allowed the reader to make the needed links between urban renewal efforts in different places in the world giving clearer understandings.

However the fact that a large amount of the foundational theory on urban renewal comes from the north posed a few difficulties, especially when looking at cities of the south such as Johannesburg. The main differences in the cities that make up the “developed” global north and the “developing” global south is the history of these two regions is vastly different. The circumstances under which these cities came to develop are neither the same nor the time periods in which the cities were crated; therefore even though the northern cities and the accompanying literature lay down the basic nature of urban renewal and allow for a strong foundation for the understanding of the process it is as easily fit onto developing cities such as Johannesburg. One of the main examples presented in the literature provided is that with the early examples of urban regeneration in New York, the socio-economic differences that were apparent in the Bronx cannot be applied to the social, political and economic differences that were present in inner city Johannesburg. This however is aided by the fact that there is a large amount of literature available on urban renewal and regeneration in the global South.

In many of the pieces presented about urban renewal there has been a very holistic approach to the understanding as assessment of the process of rehabilitating inner city districts. This depiction of the urban renewal process as one that encompassed all three major aspects of urban life was a significant and common theme throughout all of the pieces of the literature. The entwining of this holistic understanding of urban renewal to the physicality of the new spaces that are created is particularly important component of the existing literature. This proved very significant for my research as it allowed not only the full understanding of urban renewal and every facet that is covered in rehabilitation project such as these but it also allowed me to have a wider platform for me to study the effects of the hipster culture in the inner city.

While the literature on urban renewal may have allowed for me to harness a full scope of the effects that can result in the rehabilitation of the inner city a very present drawback of the existing literature is a focus on the negative implications of inner-city restoration. This was not true with all of the literature nor is it present through entire pieces of the article

neither; many pieces mentioned the positive effects of the renewal on the inner city and comment on the remarkable developments that have taken place, but then there was often a turn to the failures of renewal efforts. The large amount of literature focused on the negatives of the renewal such as the creation of enclaves and the marginalisation of those who cannot afford to be in the newly created spaces, these critiques then tended to form a negative bias towards the renewal process that one had to look at very critically when carrying out their own research.

The second half of the literature presented in this chapter revolved around the hipster culture, like most literature this section proved to have a few disadvantages as well as a number of significant elements that can be applied to the upcoming research. Firstly, the literature that used in the chapter was all very current literature that dates back three to five years at the most. This was a major advantage as the information that was acquired from these pieces was very up to date, allowing for easy an relevant application of this information to my research. The relevance of the hipster culture at the moment resulted in many new ideas and opinions on the culture and also allowed for thoughts and questions to be brought up from many different angles that could prove advantageous in my own research. However, considering how current a majority of the literature on the hipster culture was it did make it difficult to find the exact information that was needed as new information and new theories are continually being produced.

The literature based on hipsters came in many different forms. There was academic work on the culture and the identity of the culture but a lot of information was also be gathered through other streams of media as this culture is one that very popular at the moment. Many of the work on hipster came in the form of blogs websites, which allowed for a better foundational understanding of the culture as there were different ways to absorb the culture. While the multitude of sources of the information may have proved to be advantageous in some aspects, it could also be a drawback in the sense that not all literature pieces about the hipster culture contain academic objectivity. This was seen in the defining of that the hipster culture as many definitions immediately associate the hipster culture with gentrification thus creating an automatic bias. When it came to sources like newspaper articles and opinion pieces, the skew found was one that portrays hipsters in a very negative light. This then required an added layer of critiquing as one was reading the

material; though very useful there was the threat of the bias coming through in upcoming research.

Conclusion

In conclusion the amount of literature that is has been reviewed in this chapter provides a very firm understanding of concepts that can be used to form a comprehensive base for the upcoming research. The large amount of literature that is available on urban renewal allows for the entire process to be understood in a holistic manner that both emphasises that earlier models of urban regeneration and how these models has transformed and been applied to more recent renewal efforts such as those in Johannesburg. Similar the literature presented on the hipsters creates a very clear picture of the phenomenon; this highlights the unique characteristics of the culture as well as fully understanding the origins and current spaces that this culture inhibits. The debates presented in the literature raise significant points such as the creation of urban enclaves and socio-economic marginalisation as a result of urban regeneration efforts, as well as the authenticity of the hipster culture as an actual social movements or simply a guise for middle class consumerism. Other pivotal arguments revolve around the creation of closed spaces and hipster neighbourhoods, these debates link the authenticity of the hipster to the culture limiting access of spaces through their establishment of middle class creative bliss. A critical look at the pieces may show some weak points within the literature but also emphasise the amount of value added to this research by existing pieces.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

Introduction

In the previous chapter the focus was on the literature that already exists in the field, after which the task remained for there to be research conducted by me as the researcher. With all of the different forms of information collection there was a variety of methods to choose from which each had their own advantages and disadvantages to any report. However the efficiency of the information collected as well as the methods called for the best types of methodologies that could be applied to my specific research topic.

This chapter discusses the most suited research methods for this particular study. This entails the evaluation of the different methods and their justification as to why they were beneficial this research. Along with the research plan set forward, this chapter also offers reflection of the research methods and their effectiveness in the research that was conducted.

3.1 Research Conducted

The research that was conducted was mostly qualitative research. The reason for this was the first sub question looked into the values and trends of the hipster culture and this was best done through observation as well as surveys/ interviews (Sarantakos, 2005). Qualitative research allowed for a more personal understanding of the research subject as opposed to the often objective standpoint of quantitative research, this was vital because there was a level of comprehension needed in the exploration of a culture.

In order to ensure that the spatial element of the research was not lost in the social grasping of the hipster culture, a large portion of the information needed to be in the format of spatial profiling. The added element of not only seeing the spaces that the culture moved in but also being able to transfer those kind of experiences onto two-dimensional formats enhanced the quality of the findings that I gathered in the sense that anybody who would be using the information gathered would be able to place the research on a map of their own. The graphic understanding of the hipsters' spatial phenomenon made clearer the idea of a relationship between the culture and the urban regeneration taking place in

Braamfontein. The observation of the spaces that the culture occupied helped me understand and experience the influence that the culture had on the built environment. The capturing of the spaces through photographs allowed for the visual representation of these hipster areas. Taking photos of the hipster spaces in Braamfontein conveyed that the spaces that were occupied by the culture were not static but rather part of the rich melody of the mixed use district.

With the entire notion of hipsters in Braamfontein being a relatively new trend meant that there was not a large amount of existing information on the scope of this research at the time of undertaking the study. Primary research was required because it was most beneficial to observe and be in contact with the culture first hand. This fell into line with the kind of research that already existed on the hipster culture as a majority of the literature was in the form of internet articles on what people perceived was the hipster culture from that they had seen and experienced. With the first-hand experience of these spaces it was then easier to classify and analyse the different types of activities that took place in these types of spaces within the neighbourhood.

Secondary sources also proved to be very useful in my research, because even though the idea of the hipster culture and urban regeneration in Braamfontein had not been linked by literature at the time, the two concepts – urban regeneration and hipsters – combined had a healthy amount of work pertaining to them(Phillip, 1998). This was particularly important because there was a lot of observation in my research methods; this meant that I would be able to incorporate other works into my own observations to analyse them further. Relying on mostly academic sources in the case of urban renewal in inner city Johannesburg the usage of the secondary data benefited me as these provided a strong basis that I could use to steer my analysis of the renewal in Braamfontein. This also allowed me to cross reference the information that was provided by the different sources to the actual effects that observed in Braamfontein. In terms of the hipster culture, though primary research was very beneficial, the secondary data available enriched my understanding of the culture before the observations. With a fuller understanding I was able to engage in a more advanced assessment of the nature of the spaces that the hipsters were in as well as how they were used.

3.2 Methodologies

A large amount of documentation about the culture was required so I had to spend time in Braamfontein in the areas where hipster would socialise and congregate thereby observing the culture in space. I was able to conduct most of this research on my own and there was no need for research assistance of an interviewing team. The only time accompaniment might have been necessary was if the observations sights were in spaces where I was not comfortable. All the needed equipment such as notebooks, recorders for questionnaires and cameras I was able to carry myself, thus I was sufficient as the main instrument for conducting the research. Desktop research was used when dealing with the secondary sources to assist in the analysis of my own findings from the interviews and surveys, once again I proved to have the capacity to carry out these tasks.

One of the biggest challenges faced with the research was the defining of the term hipster when it came to the surveys and interviews, this proved to be a very difficult concept to deal with as the culture is open to so many different interpretations to so many different people. This challenge was eased when the defining markers of the hipster was narrowed down to physical characteristics of the people that participate in the culture.

Interviews with the business owners and developers would be conducted around Braamfontein, more specifically on Juta Street and Melle Street which seems to be prime location for the hipster culture when enquired in the surveys. These included interviews with people who owned establishments like coffee shops, trendy restaurants and clothing stores and the developers would be involved in major projects in Braamfontein. A sample size of [maximum] six was the restriction on the interviews with the business owners and developers. This number seemed to be the most realistic as these interviews tended to take time due to their open-ended questions and often lead to heavy responses as the business owners went into detail about the history of their establishment and their perceptions of the culture. Another factor that needed to be taken into consideration was the fact that these people had businesses and companies to run and could not spend their entire day speaking to me about their business and the development of that area. The basic criteria for the business owners that took part in the research was that they have establishments operating in Braamfontein, this simple criterion left the options open for the many different

types of business owners that I could have interacted with. Interviews with developers and development agencies needed for them to be directly involved with the development of Braamfontein, with the type of information that was needed about the district the developers would have needed to be involved with the regeneration of the area.

Since the fieldwork was in Braamfontein I initially perceived that it would be easy to conduct primary research in an area that I frequented daily, however this turned out not the case. In terms of conducting the formal interviews with business owners and developers there was the issue of time. The harsh reality was that the people that I had originally hoped to interview were indeed very busy and did not have the time to see me when at those times it would have been most convenient for my research. This led to long lulls between each interview and would cause breaks in the analysis process. Though the maximum number was six interviews, I ended up with four formal interviews. I did not reach the maximum sample size however I still believe that the information gathered from the interviews proved to be valuable findings. The criteria for the business owners left options open for a number of different businesses, however both of the business owners interviewed were owners of coffee shops. I believe that even though they were in the same line of business there was not a better line to choose as when hipsters were described in the literature the mentioning of coffee shops and drinking coffee did come up.

The surveys were given to people who were users of hipster spaces. The surveys on the other hand had a sample size of [maximum] 12. (Simon, 2006). The number that had been chosen for the sample size is due to the fact that the surveys had very simplistic and straightforward questions with answers that can be easily obtained from a large variety of people. Though the expected number of surveys was 12 the field work allowed for a total of 16 interviews to be completed. The sample sizes in this study were rather small with 16 surveys completed by people who were located in hipster spaces and willing to assist in the research as well as four interviews with business owners and members of the Johannesburg Development Agency.

While the interviews came with their own challenges the surveys on the other hand required me to overcome the – very common – fear of approaching strangers in public settings. This did not seem like much of an obstacle until it had to be done in a crowded

room where people are honestly minding their own business. However once I got use to the idea of approaching them, it actually turned out to be a very exciting experience that yielded very interesting results; and bumping into people I knew in the spaces also helped. The photographic essay of these spaces proved as hard as expected as it is hard to take a picture of a space without people noticing or raising suspicion with the security as observation can quickly become uncomfortable is not administered with the correct decorum (Sampson & Raundenbaush, 1999).

Overall, putting the challenges aside the entire process of gathering data proved to be extremely rewarding. I learned some very valuable skills and it helped to build my confidence as a researcher and academic. The information that I acquired proved extremely important for my research and allowed for a solid analysis of my case study in relation to the research question.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

My research was conducted mostly in observational situations, so there might have been concerns over observing in places where right of admission is reserved. In this situation I needed a written agreement with the owner of the business stating that they were aware and allowed observational research in the establishment. The other issues may have arisen due to the interviews and surveys, although most of the respondents were adults there were still concerns over the usage of the information. For this I tried to be as sensitive as possible and tried not to delve too deeply into personal information [sexual orientation, income, backgrounds, etc.].

Conclusion

To conclude the methods that were planned proved to be very effective and allowed for the comprehensive understanding of the case study at hand. The inclusion and emphasis on qualitative data allowed for better understanding of not only the statistics of Braamfontein and the hipster culture but also the quality of the impact that the culture may be having on the space. The challenges that were encountered throughout the process may have proven to be dreaded obstacles at the time, however problem solving skill were put to good use.

Chapter 4: Welcome to Braamfontein

Introduction

The method mentioned in the previous chapter requires a physical space in which they can be tested. This importance of picking a case study allows for a far more in depth look into the chosen topic as there are now fixed boundaries within which the research can be conducted. Braamfontein was chosen as the case study through an analysis of the district's history. It is evident that the identity within Braamfontein has always been influenced by external factors affecting the area which at the current moment are the hipsters that are hosted in the area. The mixed identities in the district now are a result of transformation over time and are testament to Braamfontein's ability to absorb a present culture or zeitgeist including the emerging hipster culture.

4.1 Evolution of Braamfontein

4.1.1 Origins

Braamfontein began as part of a large farm which was originally owned by Gert Bezuidenhout in 1853, this massive property stretched from present day Parktown, Melville, Greenside, Northcliffe and even Roosevelt Park (Fraser, 2008). Through the years the farm land was sold from one owner to another and subsequently subdivided over and over again until the time of the discovery of gold in Johannesburg in 1886 (Beavon, 2004). This discovery led to the influx of people hoping to find riches in the land, providing the conditions for the setting up of residential areas on the subdivided farm.

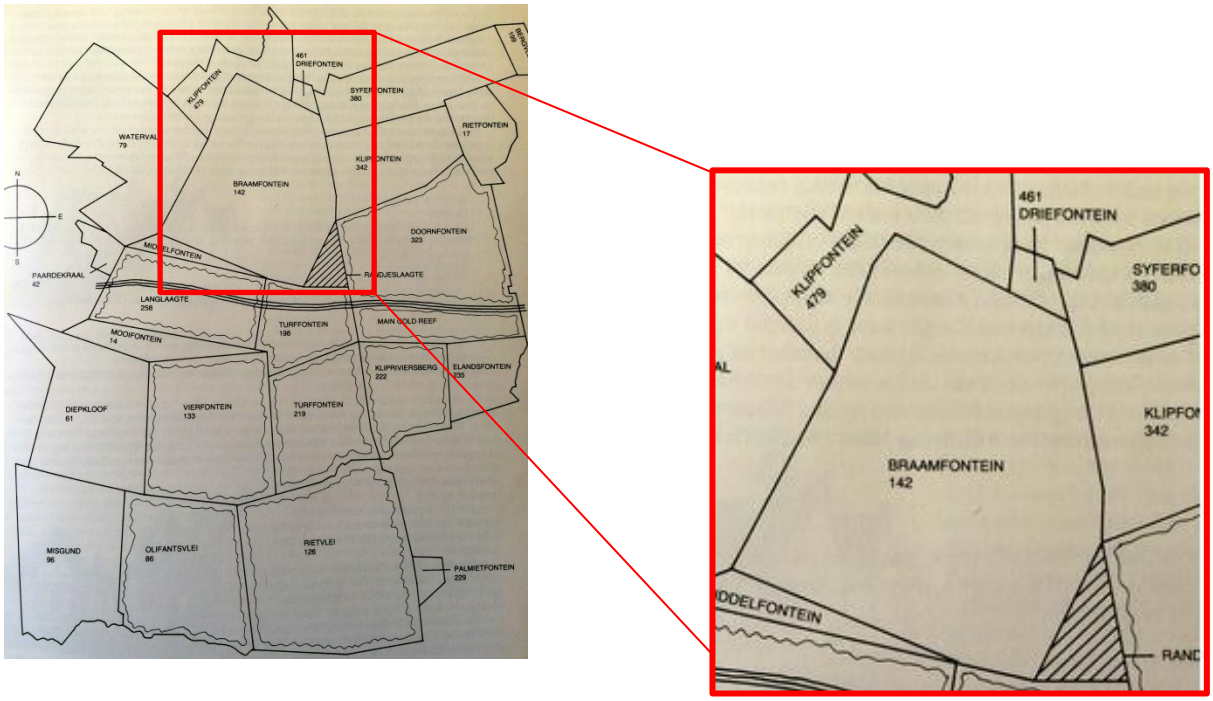


Figure 5 Showing the original layout of the Johannesburg farmlands and a closer look at the Braamfontein farm and adjoining Randjeslaagte (Latila, 2014)

The township of Braamfontein was officially declared between the years of 1888 to 1889 (Fraser, 2008), when together with the people living within it were recognised as an official extension of proper Johannesburg. The township mostly lay on the triangular Randjeslaagte that is primarily where Braamfontein district is today and was named after the larger farm. The township itself took up a much smaller amount of land stretching from the cemetery along Noord Street to Joubert Park as well as Wanderer's View.

Clifton was one of the first areas to be developed in Braamfontein township, when a group of ratepayers made a notion to expand the then New Braamfontein into an area known as Clifton in 1894 that covers much of the area that the district covers today (Latila, 2014). The reason for this distinction was due to the confusion between New Braamfontein township and the larger Braamfontein farm that it used to be part of. The following prominent area to form in early Braamfontein township was Parktown. After the formation of the Braamfontein Estate Company in 1892 the development of an exclusive suburb within the township began to be developed by the company's founder Herman Eckstein (Latila, 2014). The establishment of this suburb was soon followed by another up market area, Wanderer's View, which proved to have very little residential success. Quoted in an interview with the City of Johannesburg Nigel Mandy attributes the failure to the fact that though "this [was] a

site for a number of up-market houses but, because they faced south and never had any sun, their owners sold them" (Fraser, 2008). Over time the many different areas of Braamfontein township grew and the original name change was not kept and with the larger original farm no longer existing Clifton remained the small area in the north-west of known Braamfontein.

One of the first attractions and establishments in Braamfontein was the Milner Park hotel was established in the 1890s (Latila, 2014). Being the second oldest pub in Johannesburg the establishment has humble beginnings and rich history behind it. This establishment often served as a pub for British troops, a stop for the passer-by who was going to the Braamfonteinspruit as well as a common stop for postal riders between Pretoria and Johannesburg.



Figure 6 showing a picture from 1964 of the Milner Hotel, now known as Kitchener's (Latila, 2014)

The second major establishment was that in 1922 a sizable amount of land was donated by the Johannesburg city council to the University of Witwatersrand, previously University College Johannesburg, which fully occupied its Milner Park campus in 1923 (University of Witwatersrand, 2015). This institution brought many students into the area and the bustling Braamfontein began to grow even more. With further expansions in 1925 the University of Witwatersrand began to the establish the once humble township of Braamfontein as a node

along with other prominent features such as the Milner Hotel and the growing upscale suburbs of Parktown and Clifton (Latila, 2014).



Figure 6 the Milner Park Campus of the University of Witwatersrand in 1930 (Latila, 2014)

By the 1930s Braamfontein began to take on a different character, it had blossomed from the quiet township and was now a place interest with many different attractions. When the gold rush of Johannesburg began to slow down other sectors of business became prominent in the inner city (SAHistoryOnline, 2000). Many businesses started to relocate in Braamfontein and the once quiet suburb made way for commercial business with blocks of homes and many churches being demolished in favour of upcoming business headquarters (Latila, 2014). This new face of Braamfontein was to set the arena for developments in the area for decades to come.

4.1.2 Mid Century

The 1950s saw two very important programmes take shape in Braamfontein. The first was the decision to move the City and its council from the Central Business District (CBD) where it was originally located to Braamfontein where it remains today (Beavon, 2004). This move then established Braamfontein as one of the most important districts within the Johannesburg as this is where the city council and the Mayor sat. The establishment of power through the City being in Braamfontein was a perfect complement to the already existing Constitution Hill providing the district with an even more iconic nature.

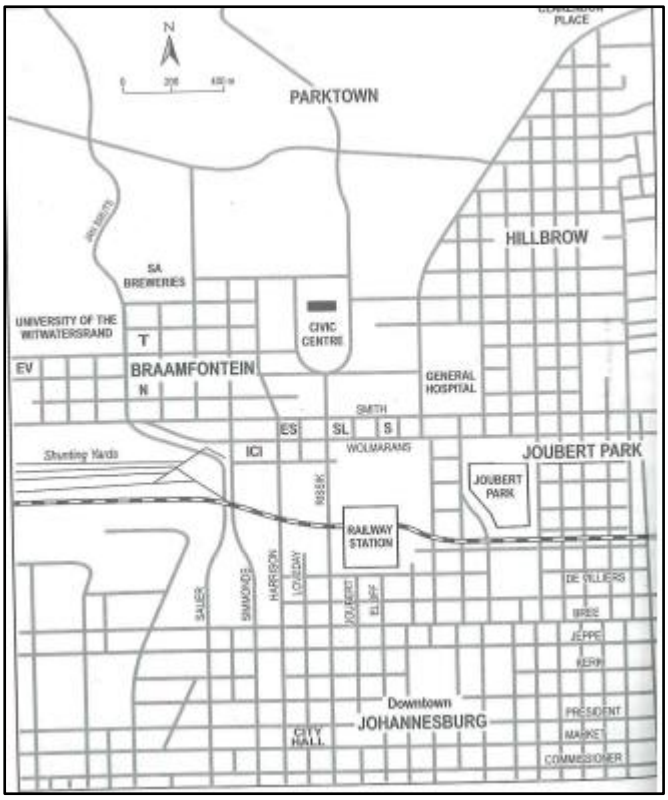


Figure 7 Decentralisation of the CBD in the mid-20th century moving business as well as the city council from Downtown Johannesburg to Braamfontein (Beavon, 2004)

The second major decision of that decade was the rezoning of land in Braamfontein. Starting off as a farm that grew into a prosperous suburb, the then zoning regulations of Braamfontein allowed for very low densities as most was residential. The 1950s saw the land in Braamfontein being rezoned to commercial rights as well as development (Beavon, 2004). In 1954 the council had gathered the funding for the construction of a civic centre that the district had been trying to erect since 1950, at this time the council then began to negotiate with home owners in Braamfontein for their property (Latila, 2014). This marked the beginning of the end of Braamfontein's residential and township past as the council began to buy houses and demolish them in favour of erecting up offices and other commercial land uses. These new constructions would fit into not only the rapidly growing business sector that was starting to spill into Braamfontein from the neighbouring inner city but also would optimise the new rezoning of the land in Braamfontein allowing even more growth and development to take place in the district.



Figure 8 showing residential units of the 1950s in Braamfontein prior to demolitions that made way for the commercial and mixed use district that Braamfontein is today (Latila, 2014)

The large commercial development in the area attracted national business leaders such as Eskom and South African Breweries, this surge of business activity was the commercial office space in Braamfontein swells from 5000m^2 to 163000 m^2 in a matter of 15 years (Beavon, 2004). The growth of the business sector in Braamfontein established a reliable sustenance for the district as now headquarters were moving into the location and not only making it a administrative district but bringing in an economic element as well.

By the 1960s Braamfontein had been nearly washed of its suburban origins and an extension of the inner city had taken over. Signs of this first occurred with the construction of the new Civic Centre that would house the city council. The houses that were negotiated and bought by council in 1954 were only demolished in 1961 when construction on the enormous 17 story building began (Beavon, 2004). Similarly in the 1970s Braamfontein continues to be a prime sight for decentralisation after the complete M1 De Villiers Highway allowed easier access to the district.

4.1.3 Late 20th Century

The late 1980s marked a dark time for the inner city of Johannesburg, with the White Flight that began in the 1960s resulting in the inner city beginning to hollow out (Bethlehem, 2013). The decline that followed seemed to happen overnight, what was once beautiful office buildings stood empty and unkempt in the city. The busy streets of the central business district became littered with trash and the homeless and parking lots that were once jam packed with luxury vehicles were left empty to decay along with the city's rotting

core (Dlamini, 2012). A major problem that contributed to this rapid decay was the socio-economic difficulties stayed in the CBD after White Flight. Due to the separatist principles of Apartheid the African population that now occupied downtown were at the mercy of slumlords who benefitted from not only the rental rates in the area but also process of decay allowed them to ignore the maintenance needs of the buildings resulting in deterioration (Dlamini, 2012). Lack of housing led to overcrowding in many buildings as well as homelessness, the lack of economic opportunities available to the African population in the CBD only perpetuated the conditions causing the poverty in the area.



Figure 9 buildings in the inner city left abandoned due to the mass exodus that took place in the Johannesburg CBD in the 1980s (Dlamini, 2012)

Being in the immediate surroundings of the central business district meant that Braamfontein was not immune to the happenings in the area, many structural changes began to take way in the area by the time of the hallowing out of the city. One of the largest makers of change in the district was the removing of the Rand Show. The very first Rand Show took place in Braamfontein from the 13-15 March 1895 (Latila, 2014), this show was opened by then president Paul Kruger and had on display many wild animals and a circus to provide entertainment for the somewhat 1000 visitors who had come to Braamfontein to see the show. At the height of its popularity in the 1960s the show was pulling in over 700,000 visitors into Braamfontein for the weekend extravaganza that had by then a very robust line up and could provide hours of entertainment (Latila, 2014). In 1984 the Rand Show was moved to the Expo Centre in Nasrec near Soweto. The grounds and buildings of the area were later used as part of the extension of the University of Witwatersrand's extending campus (Latila, 2014) . The saving grace for Braamfontein was the willingness of

important corporations such as Sappi, Liberty as well as SAB who kept their headquarters operation in the district (Burocco, 2013). With these companies still going strong in Braamfontein while the area was indeed in decline it did not feel the ghost town effect of the central business district. Several buildings in Braamfontein were still experiencing adequate occupancy and with the mentioned anchor companies still located in the area the commercial nature of the district did slow down but did not come to a stop.

The Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project

The 1990s saw a similar pattern of Braamfontein being continuously affected by the decay of the inner city, by the new millennium the inner city was about to be given a second chance. In 2000 Amos Masondo became the mayor of Johannesburg and restoration of the inner city was on the agenda of things to be handled in his electoral term (Brink, 2012), and it was in this term that the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project came into formation. Published in 2004 the projects main goal was to ensure that Braamfontein will be:

> *"An attractive, well managed, accessible, well connected, mixed use district which offers state of the art ITC infrastructure (information, communication and technology), providing a competitive location for quality commercial space, the tertiary education sector and the not for profit sector supported by appropriate residential and a vibrant retail and hospitality sector"* (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2004, p. 3)

The Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project was a public-private development initiative embarked on by major stakeholders in the district to tackle three main problems that had been identified within the district; these problems were urban environment, urban management and building stock. Within the broader categories were more specific target areas such as the district's lack of identity, the crime and grime that were fast getting out of hand in the area as well as the aging buildings and infrastructure in the area (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2004). This project was a large scale undertaking by the city in an effort to breathe life back into the declining Braamfontein.

There were many different actors in the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project, all of which had a major interest and high stakes in the development of Braamfontein. When looking at the actors in project they all had their own roles to play but they can easily be grouped two major categories, the public participants and the private participants. The public participants are generally state agencies and bodies that looked to revamp and build the administrative and public realm of Braamfontein through the regeneration. Some examples are the Johannesburg Development Agency and their Precinct Regeneration Project, this project was an initiative launched to give the corporate face of Braamfontein a much needed facelift, with the cooperation of other investors such as Liberty Life and Sappi the R55 million rand project was successfully completed in 2007 (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2007). According to the Johannesburg Development Agency's spokesperson the precinct project resulted in "improving the public space and environment for residents, office workers and other members of the public" (quoted from Johannesburg Development Agency, 2007). The project looked at pedestrian focused spaces, quality public spaces, a vibrant mixed use environment as well as a diverse, clean and safe district for users. Other public actors include the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage, Constitution Hill, The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and the University of Witwatersrand (Burocco, 2013).

The other scope of actors in the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project was the private sector; more notably the private participants that were involved in the project included major property developers in the area as well as local bars, restaurants and other entities (Burocco, 2013). One of the major developers in Braamfontein is South Point, established in 2003 the large property developer is the provider for a majority of the student accommodation in most of the university districts in the country. South Point saw opportunity where landlords were exploiting the student population of Braamfontein with high rentals and low service (South Point, 2014). In Braamfontein alone South Point owns 16 buildings as part of their initiative to revamp the student atmosphere in Braamfontein as well as adding to the vibrant diversity of the district through their numerous bars, gyms and even a hotel (Burocco, 2013). Another major private investor is the development company Play Braamfontein, owning the majority of the properties that make up the popular recreational culture of Braamfontein.

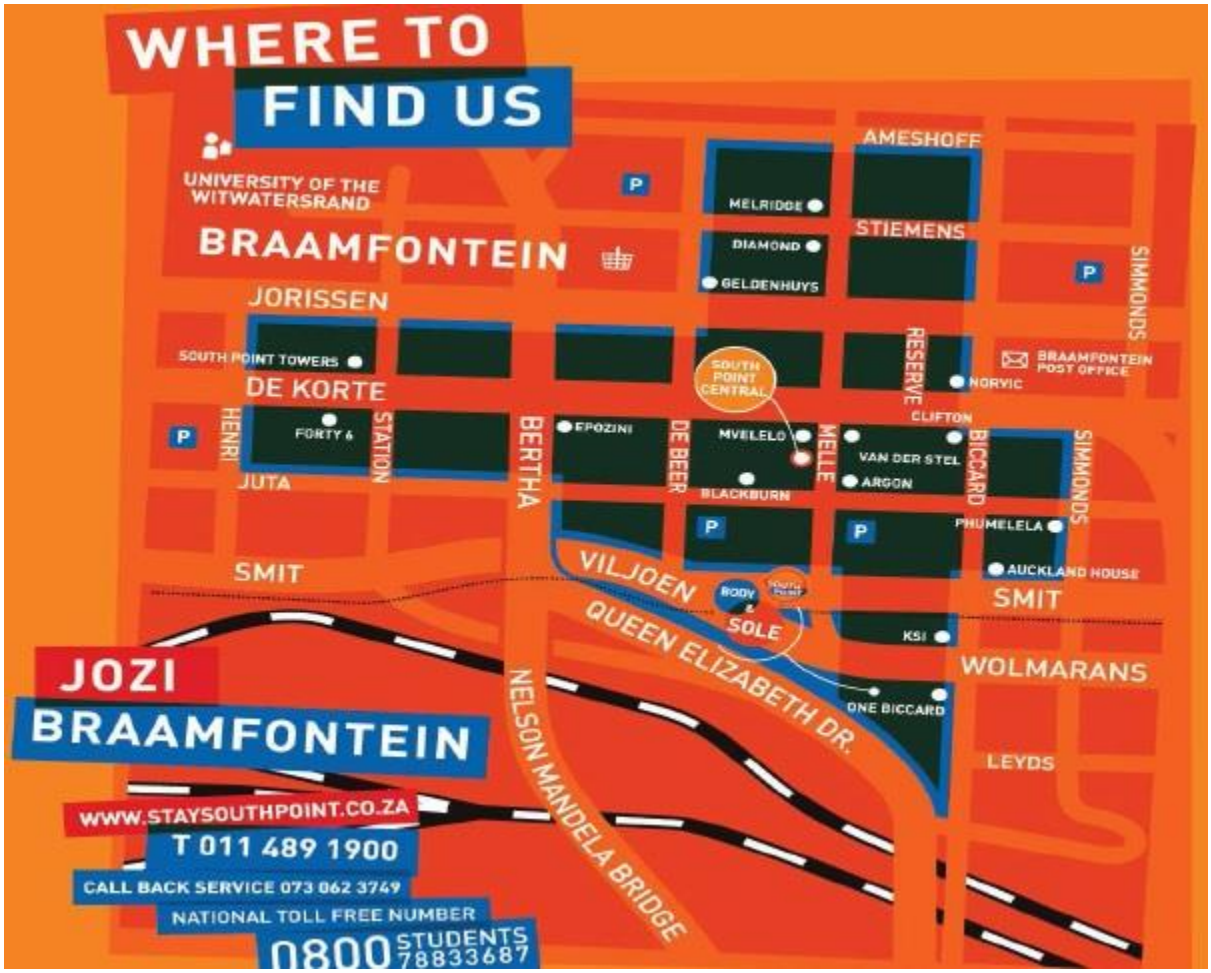


Figure 10 South Point map showing the many different establishments that are owned by the developer in Braamfontein (South Point, 2014)

The Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project proved to be very successful as it began the development process for the Braamfontein that is present today. Many of the projects that were originally thought up as parts of the regeneration efforts have proved to be major attractions in the district and add to the eclectic nature that the area enjoys today (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2007). Since the beginning of the project in 2004, major developments have taken place in Braamfontein over the past decade that have altered the image on the district and moved eons from the small township established in the late 19th century.

4.2 Current State of Braamfontein

4.2.1 Braamfontein Today

Today Braamfontein is the fourth largest node in the city of Johannesburg (Burocco, 2013), in what is considered the major economic city in the country. Braamfontein is able to compete with other prime nodes such as Melrose Arch as well as the secondary central business district of Sandton. Keeping the relevance of Braamfontein in tact was largely due to the Braamfontein improvement District. Established in 2004 the project of a City Improvement District for the area was originally started by the larger private stakeholders in Braamfontein such as Liberty Life, Sappi and a number of other participants (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2004). The Braamfontein Management District is a large private agency that is non-profit and funded by rate payers in exchange for the services that it provides (Braamfontein Management District, 2012). These services provide for a quality experience in Braamfontein with higher security, the cleaning of the streets and public spaces in the district, the branding and marketing as well as the overall private management of the area. The CID however also links back to the debates surrounding urban regeneration and the sanitisation of spaces in a bid to provide the much needed 'facelifts' for the areas.

The district of Braamfontein covers an area of 428,000 m^2, and it boasts a number of different land uses within the space providing a large variety to the 7,007 recorded inhabitants and visitors that can reach over 1,000 daily (Latila, 2014). The business of the area is due to the mixed land use efforts that were initiated in the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Plan.

Some of the major land uses in Braamfontein include educational land uses such the Damelin, Boston College and the University of Witwatersrand (Braamfontein Management District, 2012). These institutions have made Braamfontein a very strong educational node as it houses one of the largest universities in the city; this also attracts the very large student population that makes up a majority of residents in Braamfontein. The presence of students in the area is supported by the large private developer South Point, providing student housing and other facilities that are aimed at the university life (South Point, 2014).



Figure 11 showing the university of Witwatersrand (WitsVuvuzela, 2013), a major catalyst in the presence of private developer South Point (City of Johannesburg, 2011) in Braamfontein and their trendy student apartments

Other major land uses include major retail outlets in the area, the increasingly large commercial spaces within Braamfontein that house many different corporations, institutional uses such as Constitutional Court and the city council, as well as a number of leisure and recreational uses that pull large numbers of visitors to the many bars, festivals and other social happenings in the area.

4.2.2 Defining Braamfontein

Defining the area of Braamfontein is not as simple a task as one would perceive, the area itself may be considered a contained district with 'clear boundaries', however depending on the source of the mapping there are some discrepancies as what counts as Braamfontein to different participants.



Figure 12 map showing Braamfontein from the website of the Braamfontein Improvement District (Braamfontein Management District, 2012) with the South Point demarcations overlaid on the map.

The district of Braamfontein is clearly demarcated within the city with strong edges and clear boundaries. Geographically speaking these can be seen as the limits of the area as the maps marks the west boundary of Braamfontein at the M1 highway; one the other side of this highway the area is then considered Auckland Park, a neighbouring residential and educational district. The Northern boundaries on the map are the National School of arts, Braampark as well as Constitutional Hill. On the East Braamfontein is cut off at just on the other side of Joubert Extension still including the Old Fort and Johannesburg Central Railway Station. Towards the south the district stops after Smit Street to include the Railway system.

The current district of Braamfontein has many attractions to it as well as major landmarks that make the district an iconic node within Johannesburg.

4.2.3Major Attractions in Braamfontein

M1 De Villiers Highway

The Braamfontein node is delineated by some of the most iconic edge conditions in Johannesburg. Along that outskirts of the district stand some of the most recognisable landmarks in the entire city. The western edge of Braamfontein is clearly cut off by the M1 Highway, this highway moves through the entire city. With Johannesburg rapidly transforming into a major city in the region, motorised traffic in the city began to multiply after the introduction of the first motor vehicle in 1897 leading to over 100 00 registered cars in 1954 (Newtown Heritage Trail, 2010). During this time decentralisation of the CBD was changing the area with many of the areas neighbouring the inner city receiving a boost in commercial activity. Being less that a kilometre away from the CBD Braamfontein was an ideal location for the derealisation however it was disadvantaged by the limited linkages only provided by the Harrison Street subway as well as the railway underpass (Beavon, 2004).In the 1960s the city council made a decision to construct a major motorway that would aid in the movement of traffic and Braamfontein lost Graaf and Wessles Street to the new highway.

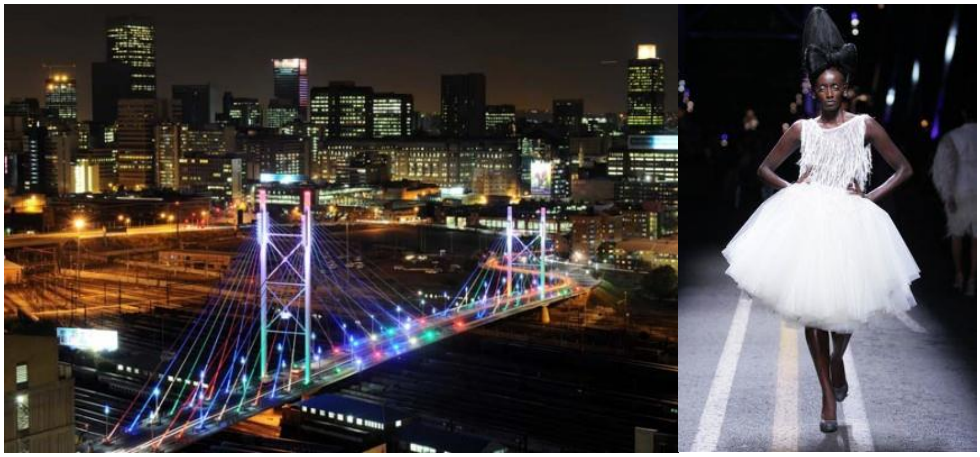


Figure 13 The Nelson Mandela Bridge adds stunning lighting to the Johannesburg sky line an is the location of many glamourous events such as music video shoots and fashion shows (SouthAfrica.Infro, 2013)

Nelson Mandela Bridge

Another major bridge that acts as an edge to the Braamfontein district is the newer Nelson Mandela Bridge. In the late 1990s Newtown quickly turning into a refurbished area with the Newtown cultural arc established in 2000 and a major element of regeneration efforts in the area; constructed in 2003 this iconic bridge acts as a gateway to Newtown through Braamfontein when traveling on Jan Smuts/Bertha Avenue and forms the centrepiece of the Blue I.Q inner city renewal project (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2014). Opened by former head of State Nelson Mandela in July 2003 the bridge has since then been a major landmark on the Johannesburg Map, not only acting as a thoroughfare to the more southern parts of Johannesburg but also has been the site for many music videos and in 2011 local fashion designer David Tlale turned the bridge into a catwalk for Joburg Fashion Week (SouthAfrica.Infro, 2013). Boasting one of the best light shows in the city the Nelson Mandela Bridge lights up the Johannesburg Skyline and is a critical linkage to the Braamfontein district.

Restaurants

One of the largest appeals of the Braamfontein district is the many different activities that occur in the area, while there are major commercial and institutional organisations in the district there is also a large selection of recreational activities available in the area. There are a number of venues where a visitor of Braamfontein can take part in leisure activities from the many restaurants that area available in the area. These range from jazz restaurants where diners can enjoy live music to themed eateries where establishments are dedicated to foods from different parts of the world and specialised palates. The district is also home to many coffee shops all with their own unique twist on the atmospheres that they provide for their customers.

Nightlife

The Nightlife in Braamfontein has a long history starting with the well-known drinking spot that was the Milner Hotel in the 1890s (Latila, 2014). The pub is a historic site as to present day the Milner Hotel Pub – rather Kitchener's as it is known today – still stands on the corner of De Beer and Juta Street and continues to be one of the most popular hang outs in

the district known for its rustic aesthetics and music. Along De Beer Street there are a number of bars that cater to the electric nightlife of Braamfontein, creating a street of weekend attractions cutting through the district. Moving away from the De Beer strip other night attractions in the area include the renovated Alexander Theatre as well as upper class clubs such as Radlords Rooftop Bar on Jorrisen Street.



Figure 14 De Beer Street is one of the streets in Braamfontein known for its nightlife hosting many bars and restaurants (Gugushe, 2015)

Markets

One of the largest recreational attractions in Braamfontein is the weekend markets that take place in the districts. The markets that open their doors to visitors on Saturdays bring to the area an array of different artefacts, food, craft beers, music, clothes, books and more importantly atmosphere. The Neighbourgoods Market is of the flagship weekend market in the area coming from the market of the same name based in Cape Town; in Braamfontein the market provides an open social space where people can meet, eat and enjoy their day in the urban landscape. Other markets in the district come out over the weekends including the many small businesses that come to the district and set up stalls and creative stands in the streets of Braamfontein.





Figure 15 & 16 Markets in Braamfontein come in many forms from the largely known Neighbourgoods Market to smaller businesses set up in very creative stalls (Gugushe, 2015)

Public Art

A major priority in the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project was state of the buildings and infrastructure in the area. This included not only the appearance of the district's built environment but also the urban management in the area. One of the subprojects in the Development Project directly tackled the pedestrian mobility within Braamfontein and this led to a large pavement upgrading initiative that was spearheaded by the Johannesburg Development Agency (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2004). Many of the buildings in Braamfontein underwent refurbishing and today stand as colourful, cultural and vibrant landmarks in the district. The public art in Braamfontein gives the area a distinct cultural injection from the Kudu statue that stands on Jan Smuts to the spinning colourful trees along Juta Street, the art that you come across gives the district a very unique feel in comparison to the surrounding inner city areas.

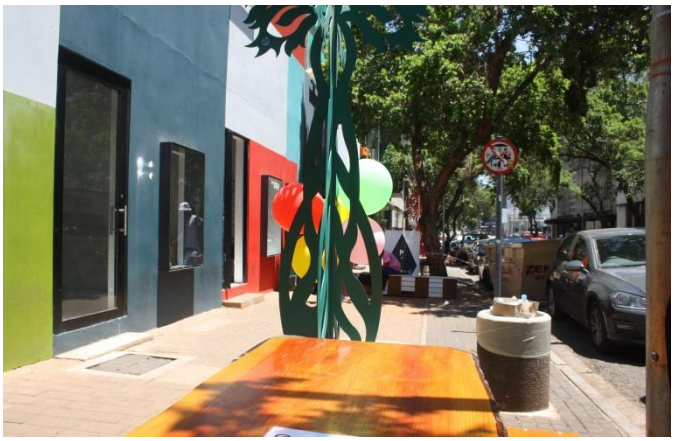



Figure 17 & 18 the upgraded pavements in Braamfontein play as the perfect stage for the public art that lines some streets in the district (Gugushe, 2015)

Conclusion

The evolution of Braamfontein shows that this is a space with a very rich history and has undergone a number of changes in the past. This speaks to the ever transforming nature of Braamfontein and the ability for the district to adapt to its surrounding situation and adopt an identity that will serve the area well. Starting off a simple township that grew into a stop on the crossway between Pretoria and Johannesburg, the ideal location of Braamfontein allowed for many different forms of land use to establish themselves in the area not only due to its position on a thoroughfare but also its proximity to the inner city central business district allowed for the commercial business sector to move in. The successful regeneration of the district in 2007 officially allowed Braamfontein to establish itself as a prominent node in Johannesburg.

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the fieldwork mentioned in previous in previous chapter is discussed. The findings and raw information extracted from the interviews and surveys conducted in Braamfontein over the course of the fieldwork will be analysed in the recognition of trends as well as cross analyses with the literature on the topic. A careful dissection of the data collected through the research sub questions in order to come to concluding findings that will help answer the overall research question.

5.1 Trends and Values of the Hipster culture

In both the surveys and the interviews there was a need to establish what the participant thought a hipster was as this would be the basis for the rest of their responses to the questions. Identifying a hipster proved to be a very interesting exercise as all of the participant interviewed responded confidently that they know exactly what a hipster was, however when asked to describe a hipster some of the responses proved to vary greatly. One participant described hipsters as “People who generally socialise, maybe some of them will go to art museums, jazz events, and festivals” (Survey A, 2015) and another participant responding that a hipster is “somebody that you will see hanging around, not doing anything particular trying to look cool” (Survey K, 2015). The trend of mentioning art galleries and other creative spaces continued throughout the surveys as a majority of respondents mentioned these activities when asked what a hipster was doing.

This falls in line with the literature where Wise (2009) describes original hipsters as suburban teenagers who wanted to break away from their sanitized upbringing by being associated with practices of the alternate beatnik culture. This applies to the current wave of hipsters as they emulate a majority of the characteristics of the older culture resulting in the hipsters in Braamfontein physically falling in line with the international trend.

The identity of a hipster proved to be less of a challenge when it came to the trends of the culture the answers in this section proved to be more refined and followed major patterns of what describes as your basic hipster seen in popular media. The mention of hipster markers such as oversized glasses, plaid shirts, men with beards who dress extremely well

and all respondents mentioned hipsters holding a cup of coffee. Most of the literature that describes the physical distinctions of the hipster culture mentions the same markers as those mentioned by the respondents. Lewis (2013) states that one of the most defining aspects of the modern hipster is their love for coffee and their affiliation is seen in the number of coffee shops that are usually seen in the areas they inhabit. While blogger Adam (TravelsofAdam, 2015) breaks down a trademark hipster as wearing skinny jeans, hats, and styled shirts.



Figure 19 & 20 the descriptions of the hipsters that came from the respondents described the mainstream hipsters that are seen in popular culture such as men with beards (Getty Images, 2015) and the trendy dress that was mentioned can be seen in the popular show Portlandia (Tablot, 2012)

Many of the descriptions used by the respondents stated that the hipster culture also happens to be popular items in modern trendy fashion. The criteria used when finding participants for the surveys was simply people that were in the known hipster spaces in Braamfontein. However, nearly all of the respondents were wearing skinny jeans with styled shirts to match their oversized glasses; therefore, the respondents were also describing themselves as they exhibited many of the trends seen in the culture.

The question then turned to whether they themselves identify with the hipster culture: out of the 16 respondents, only three responded to identifying with the hipster culture. The number of people that responded to being part of the culture in relation to the number of respondent that were exhibiting markers of the culture did not correlate, thus when further questions were asked about the skinny jeans and plaid shirts they were wearing the respondent still felt that they were not part of the hipster culture. There is literature that

falls into line with this disassociation with the culture where Grief (2010) comments that hipsters often find themselves policing fashion trends, and people do not know that they themselves are dressed like hipsters until it is pointed out that their trendy attire falls into the culture. When asked to elaborate why they did not feel part of the culture some participants replied:

> "*Okay based on those criteria, I am a hipster to a certain extent because I do have a beard and I do consider myself trendy and I do like coffee. However I don't consider myself a hipster because the whole term came with white people and I don't think it is as applicable to black people"* (Pule, 2015)

> *"Maybe in terms of those descriptions yeah, but not in terms of the lifestyle because culture comes with a certain lifestyle. So in terms of the culture I would not officiate myself as a as part of it. For me fashion is whether I look good or not, it ends there."* (Gugushe, 2015)

Along with these responses there were many other reasons why they felt that they did not fully connect with the culture. An answer that came up more than once is that the respondents felt that they could not connect with the culture simply because they did not have the money to participate in the culture. One respondent's states that hipsters hang out "in very expensive spaces" (Survey K, 2015) and they did not have that kind of disposable income.

This resonates with two of the biggest debates when it comes to the hipster culture, the first revolving around the authenticity of the hipster culture. In an article relating to the authenticity, or rather lack thereof, Henke (2013) questions the validity of the hipster movement as an actual culture due to the fact that there is a constant recycling and embedding of characteristics from other cultures within the hipster culture. The vague nature of the hipster culture opens the floor up to a multitude of interpretation and in many instances confusion. The answers received from the respondent's show that belonging to the hipster culture is not simply a yes or no distinction, as it would be if asked if you take part in vegetarianism. Rather the ambiguity of the hipster coupled with their current popularity creates a fluidity that serves as a weak point for the culture because this opens it up to a lot of scepticism. One owner of a shop states that:

"*I find it very interesting that there is no ideology behind it. All sorts of trendy movements have always had some sort of underlying ideology: the punk movement, the hippie movement, anything.* (Rosa, 2015)*"*

The second debate that came through the responses was the aspect of the hipster lifestyle that participants felt they did not – or could not – associate with. One of arguments put forward about the hipster culture is the fact that there is a certain perception that comes through, however the perception is not always a positive one. Fletcher (2009) comments on the alternative lives that the hipsters lead and how some of the perceptions of the culture tend to be skewed negatively. Hipsters are often seen as "self-absorbed, rich kids that get on everybody's nerves" (Survey H, 2015), with these kinds of thoughts that surround the culture it is then not as surprising that so few of the respondents wanted to associate themselves with the culture.

5.2 Braamfontein, Hipsters, and Urban Regeneration

Through the decades, Braamfontein has undergone many different transformations that have redefined the area repeatedly. One of the most recent and significant changes that Braamfontein has experienced is a result of the regeneration efforts that were set out in the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project of 2004, with all of the different small initiatives that encompassed the identity of the district is not as clear as it was in 1889 when Braamfontein was a simple township.

The defining of what kind of space Braamfontein is now would be a reflection of the image created by the regeneration efforts, in the responses received from the survey it became apparent that this image is not a very clear one. No respondent was able to answer in a single word what kind of space Braamfontein was, with one respondent stating, "All the different things happening in Braamfontein make it impossible" (Survey H, 2015). However, when business owners and development officials were asked the word was "eclectic", with one interviewee going as far as saying that the identity of Braamfontein is one that suffered from schizophrenia. It was seems unanimous that the image of Braamfontein is made up of the many different images within the spaces of the area.

This view of Braamfontein as melting pot of many different spaces is present in a majority of the development documentation for the area. Most descriptions of the area include mentioning the educational node of the University of Witwatersrand, the administrative node of the Metro centre, recreational node of Juta Street, as well as commercial nodes in the form of the headquarters located in the district (Braamfontein Management District, 2012). In the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project, the goal clearly states the formation of an "attractive, well managed, accessible, well connected, mixed use district" (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2004, p. 3). The aim of urban regeneration in Braamfontein was to embrace the mixed-use quality of the area; however, this may have translated into a picture that may just come across as confusing. This then starts raising the question of the success of the regeneration efforts in dealing with the identity of the district; both Jacobs (1961) and Stone-Mediatore (2002) bring up the importance of an identity to a district in its functioning. This situation in Braamfontein however can prove to be positive in the sense that the eclectic nature of the area can provide an array of opportunities.

With the identity of Braamfontein being a mixture of the many different identities within the district, it is important to find out how the hipster culture fits into this rich tapestry. In the surveys when asked to name the different spaces in Braamfontein that resonated with the hipster culture a majority of the responses were centred on the southern-west region of Braamfontein with all respondents sighting the entire Juta Street as a hipster space. Other spaces mentioned were in the vicinity with De Beer Street noted for the places like Neighbourgoods Market, Anti Est, and Kitchener's. Melle Street was mentioned in reference to the number of trendy coffee shops and restaurants that are located there. Other places noted were the Alexander Theatre and Constitution Hill.



Figure 21 Map pf Braamfontein (Braamfontein Management District, 2012)



Figure 22 shoes the streets where the respondents answered the most hipster spots are located

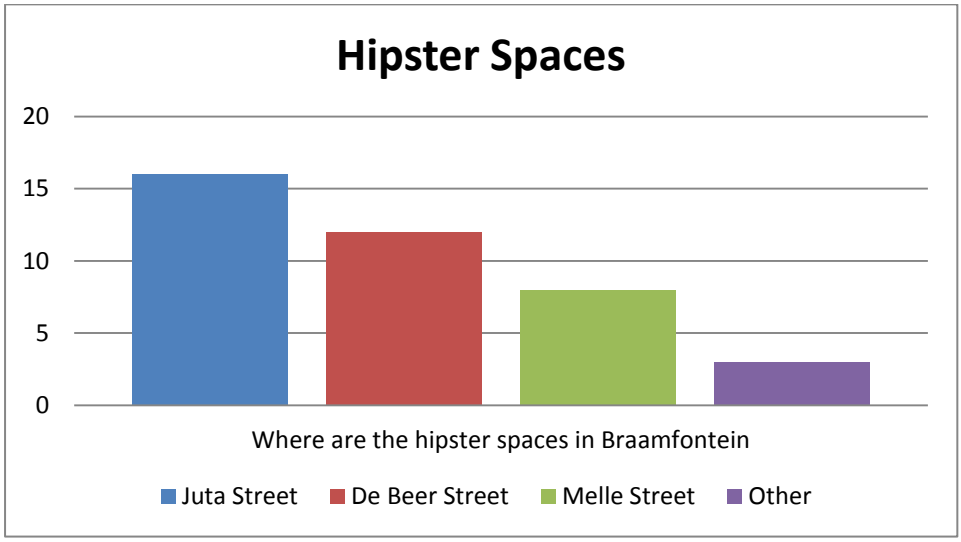


Figure 23 a chart showing the perceptions of where the hipster spaces in Braamfontein are located corresponding to the Nolli map shown above

One of the places named a hipster hotspot on Juta Street was POST, a brunch restaurant located on the infamous De Beer and Juta intersection. This also happens to be where a lot of the reshaping of Braamfontein took place as new shops and restaurants came into the area. When asked about the establishment's association with the hipster culture as one of the first coffee shops in the district, the owners responded:

> "*We have been often labelled a hipster coffee shop or a hipster joint, which gets our backs up a little bit."* (Morgado, 2015)
>
> *"Immediately [when] somebody mentions that word I get upset, and when they continue to use that word I get up and leave because I find it offensive. It is derogatory"* (Morgado, 2015)

When Post set up in 2010, Braamfontein was undergoing a large change with the Play Braamfontein development company buying and privatising space in the district. Admitting to receiving a lot of criticism about starting the hipster culture in Braamfontein with their flagship establishment seems to have spurred the arrival of other coffee shops and other hipster spaces in the district. The owner goes on to comment:

"*When we came in 2010, we were the first, sort of coffee shop to set up in the area and then around a year and half later the [Neighbourgoods] Market followed and after that the scene sort of exploded onto this corner."* (Morgado, 2015)



Figure 24 POST is one of the pioneering coffee shops in Braamfontein and is often associated with bringing the hipster culture into the district (Gugushe, 2015)

"*The coffee was more about how we love coffee, but we never really tried to make an iconic coffee spot. It was more about the establishment and service; something as open, honest and as authentic as possible"* (Morgado, 2015)

The association of hipsters and urban renewal is one that resonates throughout the literature as the culture is known for locating in somewhat run down areas then pump funds into the redevelopment of these areas (Szustek, 2015). This would explain the criticism that the owners of POST were referring to, a large proportion of the literature on hipster location and more specifically hipster neighbourhoods labels this kind of renewal gentrification. This is similar with the establishment of POST in 2010, when the hipster movement in Braamfontein was in the beginning stages. A year later other hipster spaces began to move into Braamfontein when there might have been no interest prior to the developments in the area.

Another coffee shop that received mention was Doubleshot on Melle Street, when asked about the association with the hipster culture the owner of the shop responded that the store rather has "an atmosphere of chaos in motion and is all about good service and relaxed vibes" (Rosa, 2015). The owner did not identify themselves as hipsters and described a member of this culture as:

> *"I would call them a jaded narcissist, without any ideology. Just gross commercialisation and consumerism, wearing a beard and tattoos"* (Rosa, 2015)

A repeat of the same pattern was seen in the shop owners of having the characteristics of being a hipster but not themselves associating with the culture. This then brought my research back to the debate of the authenticity and fluidity of the culture's identity, Henke (2013) not only speaks about the recycling of existing cultural tropes but also the cultures immediate association with things that are trendy. If the culture is heavily embedded in all things trendy then does being in the spaces inhibited by this culture make you a hipster? The survey showed that 14 of the 16 respondents felt that being in a hipster space does not make you a hipster. One respondent saying:

> *"Not particularly as a lot of the hipster spaces in Braamfontein are social markets more than anything. At Neighbourgoods, the main reason people are there is for the social aspect; you can eat, drink, shop but all while socialising with people. This is what I feel makes the spaces work out so well"* (Makwakwa, 2015).

5.3 Hipsters' Effect on Urban Regeneration in Braamfontein

The relationship between the culture and the space that inhabits is a very interesting one. Hipsters are definitely in Braamfontein; however, their presence is a dominant culture of the area to a certain extent. When asked about how they felt about the hipster presence in Braamfontein 5 of the 16 respondents agreed that the presence in the districts is very strong and visible. In terms of location, they labelled this in terms of the hipster spaces mentioned. One responded by arguing that "even though this is a small space in Braamfontein the amount of attraction in that small area is enough to make the culture significant" (Survey D, 2015). The remaining respondents were unanimous in stating that the

hipster culture is not significant but rather is part of the larger Braamfontein culture and is manifesting through the long existing culture. Executive Manager of planning and strategy at the Johannesburg Development Agency also states that is more of a student culture stating:

> "*When I was at Wits, Braamfontein was a completely different ball game. Instead of the controlled, calm, social, and artistic scene that it is now, back in my day Braamfontein was a hard party spot. There were bars everywhere and you knew that you came to Braamfontein to party, that's about it."* (Cohen, 2015)

The introduction of the University of Witwatersrand in 1922 created an entirely new aspect to Braamfontein in the addition of the student demographic in the area. Bringing in a large number of young people into an area will definitely bring the latest trends with it. Therefore, analysis could show that instead of the hipster culture being very significant in the district, the hipster culture may just be riding the constant student wave that is part of Braamfontein. A respondent added:

> *"I've been frequenting Braamfontein for nearly 7 years now. True it was very different at the time but the buzz about Braam was still there. The hipsters are going a lot stronger now than they were 7 years ago but I would not say that they are dominant or that significant. Students are still the big thing in Braamfontein and whatever the students like will have their time in the sun"* (Landsberg, 2015)



Figure 25 Neighbourgoods market is a very popular spot for not only visitors but also the student population in Braamfontein (Gugushe, 2015)

The majority of the comments stating that the hipsters are not a dominant culture in Braamfontein goes against a majority of the literature on hipsters and their spaces. Many of the defining pieces on hipster cultures emphasise the uniqueness of the culture and that this is their core. Cable (2015) describes the hipster movement in Brooklyn as an invasion that engulfed the entire neighbourhood; this however is not the case in Braamfontein as the popular hipster nodes show that the activity of the culture in the district is restricted to a certain area. Literature on the original hipster movement of the 1940s attributes the culture to the creation of the beatniks that ended up having an enormous influence on popular culture in America from there on. In Braamfontein however, it is apparent that the hipster culture is far from the dominant culture in the area with some respondents not even counting it in the top three in comparison to the large commercial business and institutional cultures that are present in the district.

However, an interesting observation is that although the culture is not considered dominant in Braamfontein there is a very strong reflection of the hipster culture in the built environment with the rising number of coffee shops, art galleries and specialised clothing stores in Braamfontein in the recent years. The hipster culture is rapidly infiltrating the image of Braamfontein and the type of space the district is becoming. The growing hipster culture is a reflection of the investment and interest that the Braamfontein Redevelopment

Project. The culture taking place in these newly developed spaces adds a character to the spaces that is associated with hipsters as this is where members of the culture socialise and interact frequently.

> *"The hipster culture is very present in Braamfontein and the effects [can be] seen through the media's portray of Braamfontein. More blogs and features on Braamfontein mention the hipster culture, their markets and neighbourhoods. The culture in the area adds a new element to the South African youth culture"* (Pingo, 2015)

The popularity of the culture in the space translates to a heightened interest in Braamfontein. This is seen in many hipster neighbourhoods as noted by Szustek (2015), the popularity of the actual hipsters in Brooklyn resulted in climbing interests in the neighbourhood itself. This was not only limited to people who wanted to experience the culture but also

The effects of the hipster culture can manifests in many ways. The next area of interest surrounds the effect that the culture has had on the openness of Braamfontein. Of the surveyed respondents, seven of them felt that the presence of the hipsters in Braamfontein made the district a much more open environment. One respondent stated, "The different style of the hipsters opens many doors"; the addition of the fluid hipster culture in the district thus leads to tolerance of difference in the area. A respondent that identified with the hipster culture said:

> "*I think that the presence of hipsters in the area defiantly makes Braamfontein a much more accepting place because we as hipsters are so out there that there that basically anything goes now"* (Kruger, 2015)

While nearly half of the respondents felt that there is an element of openness that has come through with hipsters the rest of participants argue the opposite. Many of these respondents once again brought up the fact that the hipster culture is mostly comprised of young adults in the middle class. Comments on the expensive gadgets and amounts of money that are spent in the hipster spaces came to the forefront. The hipster culture is known for invading lower income areas and 'flipping' these areas through investment into

property, however this then results in the creation of a completely different space instead of a regenerated one (Cable, 2015).

In Braamfontein, these new spaces are excluding people from participating in them, though open to the entire public it is not available to people who cannot afford to be in those spaces. The notion of pseudo public space further verifies this viewpoint (Carr, et al., 1992), as spaces are bought and privatised they may be public in the sense that there is no physical edge to stop you from entering the space but there is always some force to stop you from staying in the space. The measures of security that have been enforced by the Braamfontein Management District such as increased patrol (Braamfontein Management District, 2012) has not only led to cleaner and safer streets but also sanitised streets. With the private control of storefronts and sidewalks, the private ownership of spaces that should be public ensures that there is no loitering on the one hand, but also there are no street traders in Braamfontein on the other. Therefore; even though the spaces have improved, there must be consideration for the public realm that has been compromised.

The physical impacts of the hipsters in Braamfontein can be seen when walking down the roads and even through the alleyways of the district. Respondents in the survey commented on the changing built environment in Braamfontein.

> *"The space is no longer grey with tall, dull buildings lining the streets. Now Braamfontein is full of vibrant colour and the alleys have become inviting spaces that are not as scary"* (Ndlovu, 2015)

Many of the respondents mentioned other changes to the built environment such as cleaner and safer sidewalks, storefronts that promote much better edge conditions within the district. One of the more prominent features mentioned was the recent introduction of the bicycle lanes in Braamfontein; the lanes, constructed in 2014, run along the main streets of the area allowing for the safer use of bicycles in the area because of the barrier that keeps the cyclists separated from the automobile users in the district. Literature that define hipster characteristics emphasis the alternative lifestyles led by the members of the culture and their conscious efforts to promote sustainability with public and non-motorised transport (TravelsofAdam, 2015). Considering how recent the introduction of the bicycle lanes is a clear connection with the popularity of the hipster culture in Braamfontein;

however, a careful look at the objectives in the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Project shows that the bicycles lanes were already a priority in 2004. The intention to install bicycle lanes in Braamfontein has always been part of the regeneration scheme; many people then attribute them to the hipster culture because of the timing clashing with the popularity of the culture. However, one respondent addressed this by considering that "the lanes may have been always in the plans but the presence of the culture had maybe added some pressure for their implementation". Therefore, the hipster culture may not have driven the bicycle lane initiative but rather influenced the implementation of the effort in Braamfontein. In the surveys it was clear that some impacts of the presence of the culture had both negative and positive impacts on Braamfontein such as the added media attention that Braamfontein was getting due to the presence of the trendy culture. There were also definite concerns over the economic exclusions of some of the hipster activities and spaces like the markets and the trendy restaurants. Matters like the increased investment in Braamfontein yielded mixed responses as some respondents believed that the added investment was a good for the area while other voiced worries over the effects of the rising property costs due to the private investment.

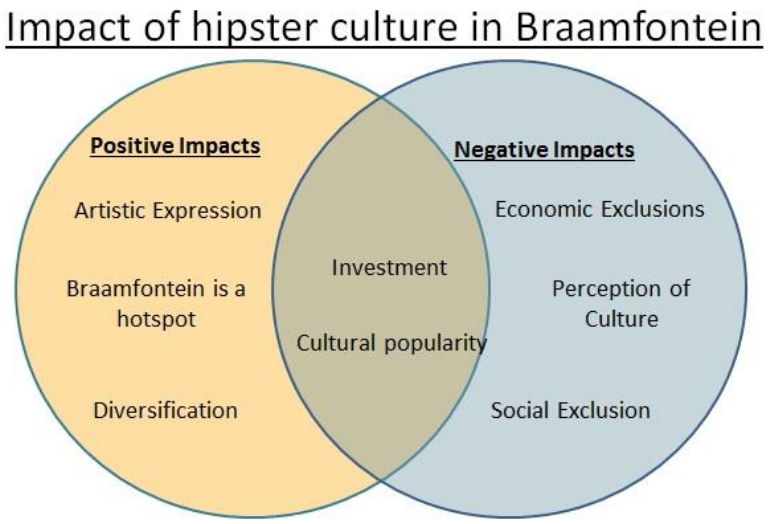


Figure 26 the impacts of the hipster cultures that were noted in the surveys, while some were negative and others clearly positive there were some aspects that yielded both good results as well as many concerns.

The final area of interest in relation to the influence of hipsters in Braamfontein is the amount of investment that the culture is bringing to Braamfontein. Many of the respondents felt that the hipster culture has turned Braamfontein into a hip place to be and has contributed to area being one of the most prominent nodes in Johannesburg. The

introduction of new stores and spaces into Braamfontein is a sign of the investment that is coming into the area:

> *"There are so many stores that are coming into the area, people are noticing Braamfontein as an area where they can bring their investment and not only gain a profit but be part of a big district"* (Gandy, 2015)

There are new stores that are constantly being established on Juta and Melle Street. These new stores are an indicator of the amount of investment that is attracted to the area and indicates the interest that private developers have in Braamfontein. This raised concern in a number of respondents, as they were curious as to whether Braamfontein could keep this massive pull of property investment if the hipster culture that highlights the area now begins to die out. Cohen at the Johannesburg Development Agency argues that:

"*There is no doubt that the area will be able to pull investors even when the cultural wave of the hipsters is over or has even moved onto the next popular trend of the time. Braamfontein [remains] a very well located district that contains Wits and is one of the most accessible districts in the city"* (Cohen, 2015).

This attribution to the success of Braamfontein to its location instead of its cultural identity is in line with the literature on the history of the area. The popularity of Braamfontein came from its proximity to the city centre as well as its location on a very popular thoroughfare between Pretoria and Johannesburg (Latila, 2014), and over a century later, the conditions of the district have not changed still deeming Braamfontein an essential district in the greater region.

Conclusion

The findings of the research have provided useful qualitative insight into the hipster culture and more importantly the role that it plays in the context of a major city node going through rapid developments. The hipster culture and the spaces that it occupies in Braamfontein are very clear, with the intersection of Juta and De Beer Street being the epicentre of this cultural presence in Braamfontein. The owners of the same spaces that were identified as hipster do not themselves, but rather aimed to create their own unique establishments in a growing district. Many of the spaces that are considered hipster are filled with activities,

such as the social markets, that would appeal to most people; much like the hipster clothing.

The hipster culture may have a very visible in the area, however many users of the space feel that the culture is rather an extension of the existing student culture that already dominated the district. With the consideration of hipsters not being seen as a dominant force in the area, then the extent of the influence that the culture could have on the built environment varies depending on the strength of the culture in that place as well as spaces that the community's perception of these spaces.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Following the completion of the research project it is imperative that there be some form of reflection. In this chapter the highlights of the research project will be emphasised through a summary of the entire project as well as some personal contributions such as contribution that the research will make in the as well as critique of the research highlighting the strengths and the weaknesses.

6.1 Summary

The inner city regeneration in Johannesburg proved to be a massive turnaround for the city as it spent nearly three decades slipping into decline following the White Flight of the 1960s. The inner city decay led to hollowed buildings, abandoned parking lots and the general rotting of the city centre. A strategy was formulated in the new millennium to combat the urban decay that was quickly taking over the central business district of Johannesburg, at the same time of the strategy a new cultural niche known as the hipster was starting to make ways in Johannesburg. Today in Braamfontein the hipster culture is in full drive and personified in many of the spaces around the district.

There are pools of literature on both of the major concepts for this topic. The first, urban renewal, is made up of academic assessments of as well as numerous case studies on the implementation and effects of urban regeneration on decaying inner cities. These pieces proved to be very useful in establishing a strong foundation of knowledge on the processes that are involved in urban regeneration. The second pool of literature that surrounded the hipster culture proved to be very useful in defining the culture and understanding the cultures identity, practices as well as the nature of the spaces that they inhabit. Many of the perceptions surrounding the culture came through in the literature and this allowed for a morel formulation of the research methods. The research methodologies used in this project are mostly qualitative due to the fact that the research question aims of measure the impact that a certain culture has had on a space. Through qualitative analysis there was a more in depth understanding of the nature of the changes and characteristics that the culture has brought into the space. The use of interviews and surveys enriched the research

through the provision of opinions and thoughts that may have not been considered in literature that was done in previous years or in completely different settings.

The case study location of Braamfontein allows for the study of the effects of the culture's presence within a confined area. Also, the current popularity of both the hipster culture and Braamfontein make for a very exciting research site as both of the phenomenon are present at very high capacities. The history of Braamfontein showcases a number of transformations and identities that the district has gone through therefore it proved very interesting to watch this adaptive area take on a new cultural image and study how this affected the development of Braamfontein. The findings from the fieldwork added significant weight to the information that had been gathered in the literature review, opinions brought to light new aspects of the culture and its implications for Braamfontein. Many of the thoughts of the hipsters in Braamfontein were positive in response to the physical developments that the culture has brought to the area such as vibrant buildings as well as the recent bicycle lane. The perceptions of the culture also came through in the findings and the negative association of hipsters and gentrification was often applied to their presence in Braamfontein, as the economic exclusion that came with a lot of the recent developments in the did not necessarily displace people as seen in commonplace gentrification but rather promoted activities that many people could not afford to participate in. The hipster culture was also seen as a present force but not exactly a dominant force which called for a critical analysis of the amount of influence that a non-dominant force could have.

6.2 Research Question

The research question for the project was:

How has the Hipster culture influenced urban regeneration in inner-city Johannesburg?

Through the completion of the research project, the conclusion that has been reached is that the hipster has definitely influenced the urban regeneration of inner-city Johannesburg, just not in the traditional sense. With the beginning of the project the main measure gauge that was to be used was for the identification of projects that had been initiated due to the presence and popularity of the hipster culture in Braamfontein. However, through the analysis of the field work in combination with the literature that already exists around

hipsters as well as urban regeneration, the influence of the hipster culture is present but not primarily as a driving force. With the consideration that the major renewal effort in district taken up by the Johannesburg Development Agency began in 2002, many of the regeneration had been completed by the time the hipster culture truly began to grow in the area. This does not rule out the hipster culture in recent developments of Braamfontein; in terms of influence the culture has played a very large role in the casting of an image and appeal for the newly developed areas of Braamfontein. Therefore, even though the culture did not spawn the regeneration efforts in the area, it has provided a face and stage for the redevelopments in the district. This brings a lot of excitement and investment to Braamfontein as it is often marketed as a melting pot of identities with a very open and creative atmosphere, both character markers of the hipster culture. The effects of the current presence of the hipster culture in Braamfontein have an influence on the development in the area, as this culture assists in investment appeal.

6.3 Contributions of Research

There are indeed contributions that I feel this body of research will bring to the existing field, the first significance of this research is that it combines two different fields in the study of a culture and built environment. Works that span over more than one discipline not only can provide knowledge to both of the schools of thought but also create platforms for a multitude of cross references within the field. The context of the research will add to the existing body of work in the sense that most of the regeneration literature on Johannesburg is confined in the central business district and rarely ventures out into the surrounding areas. Also the fact that the research is being conducted at a time when both the hipster culture and the district of Braamfontein are very popular brings significant relevance to the findings of the research. Very little literature has covered the hipster culture and the effects it has in the global South, let alone a district in Johannesburg. This research also provides a critical viewpoint of the effects of a new social culture on a built environment.

6.4 Strengths and Weaknesses

One significant weakness of the research project was the small size of the sample groups that were used in the fieldwork of the research. It is common practice in research that the larger the sample size for your data that more reliable the information is as the conclusions

extracted have many more views taken into consideration. However this proved to be strength of the research at the same time because the small number of surveys allowed me the time to get in depth responses from the participants instead of quick one word answers.

Another weakness of the research is in the literature review. There is big difference in the amount and variety of academic pieces on urban renewal and regeneration compared to the literature that was available on the hipster culture. This resulted in a wider foundational understanding of urban regeneration, and the splitting of my research into two separate entities. This also had an advantageous side as the temporary separate focus of the two main concepts allowed for the full exploration of the hipster culture in the field work as there was a need to gather enough information on the culture to not make the report seem one-sided.

Though the research did have some weaknesses, I still believe that it produced a very strong report that can provide some significant contributions to the existing research fields. One strength of the report is that the clear research question allowed for the literature and findings to be analysed efficiently. This led to the clear answering of the research question and the related sub questions, believe the effects that the hipster culture has had on the district of Braamfontein have come through very clearly in the concluding chapters.

This research adds to the limited field of study of hipsters and their effects on South African districts. With an internationally popular culture present in South Africa the research displays the manifestation of this culture locally and allows for the cross examination of the presence of the hipster culture in geographical settings.

6.5 Recommendations

The effects of a social phenomenon on a space has varying effects as seen in the research; however, through the research process some areas of further exploration came to light such as the examination of this hipster culture on a much larger scale. Such a popular force in the youth culture of South Africa is present in many locations other than Braamfontein and the active research on these different areas could yield interesting literature on growing cultures in the nation.

Another area of research recommended is the after effects of cultural booms on locations. The research completed painted a clear picture of the effects of the hipster culture and its current presence in Braamfontein, however this then raised the curiosity of the fate of the districts when social shits occur. Through studying the history of the city it is clearly shown what happens when a certain political of economic influence leaves and area, but what would happen when a cultural wave were to leave a district? The shift in interest for an area could reflect in the built environment or in investments trends for the space after the cultural movement has subsided. The results could inform planners on how to further consolidate development planning with the potential of identity changes that a space encounters.

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9 additional random surveys conducted in Braamfontein

Appendices

Information Sheet

This form is in line with the Guidelines for Human Research Ethics Clearance Application (Non-Medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand

Coffee in the City: *The analysis of the hipster culture's impact on inner-city regeneration*

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your time, my name is Wetu Memela and I am currently conducting a research project where your participation would be greatly appreciated. The aim of this research project is to investigate the influence the hipster subculture has on the urban regeneration efforts within inner-city Johannesburg, Braamfontein to be more precise. In particular to your participation there will be the conducting of an interview/survey in an effort to collect some observational primary data on the spatial implications of the subculture in the area; your participation will be of great value as you are a user of the spaces within Braamfontein that are relevant to the research. These interviews and questionnaires should not take up a lot of time though this will depend on the type of answers that are given.

Any personal information that is shared during participation will be kept confidential and will only be available to the researcher (myself) if there is need to contact the you. If willing to participate, I will ask a series of questions (either verbally or through a questionnaire) and then you may voluntarily answer these questions to the best of your ability. The findings of this research will be published and accessible to the public therefore your identity along with other sensitive information of the can be kept anonymous if needed.

I will be working within the capacity of a student, there is no obligation to take part in the study and you may withdraw at any time; however, to partake will be very helpful with the research and participants are encouraged to engage with questions and other research material as much as possible.

If you have any queries please feel free to contact the researcher by email at: 682145@students.wits.ac.za

Thank you again,

Wetu Memela

(Researcher)

Consent Form

After reading the Information Sheet, please mark the appropriate box with an (x)

1	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet.	
2	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	
3	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	
4	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reason.	
5	I understand the procedures around confidentiality.	
6	I understand that I may be recorded if applicable.	
7	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	
8	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	

I, _____ consent to participate and be involved in Wetu Memela's (682145) research report titled 'Coffee in the City: The analysis of the hipster culture's impact on Inner City Regeneration'

Participant:

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Researcher:

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date

Interviews

Introduction

Hello, my name is Wetu Memela, I am a student from the University of Witwatersrand who is currently working on a research project about the cultural influences on urban regeneration in inner-city Johannesburg, Braamfontein to be exact, and I would like to ask you some simple questions if that is okay with you.

Could you please take a moment to read the Information Sheet as well as the consent from, making sure that you fully understand it before you sign it? Basically the interview will touch on the following: some information on you as the business owner, history of the business, some questions on Braamfontein and the regeneration in the area, you knowledge of the hipster culture and finally just some of your personal perceptions.

In terms of the overall research process, I am a student and the primary researcher, all the of the information collected from interviews such as these will be put together in a research proposal/dissertation that will be publically available.

Let us begin.

Personal Information

1. What is your name?
2. What is your date of Birth?
3. Where were you born/ raised?
4. What is your relationship with Braamfontein?

History of business

1. Can you tell me about the business?
    a. What does your business do?
    b. When did it begin?
    c. Who created it?
    d. Which market is your business targeting?
    e. What triggered the creation of the business?

Braamfontein and inner-city regeneration

1. If you were to classify what kind of space Braamfontein is what would you say?
2. What are some of the aspects of Braamfontein that attracted you to locate business here?
3. What has the development/regeneration of Braamfontein done for you?
    a. Is it the reason your business is here?
    b. Has business improved/declined?
    c. Has your customer base frown/changed?

d. Are there more business opportunities?

Hipster Culture

1. Do you know what a hipster is?
2. How would you identify a hipster?
3. Would you call yourself a hipster?
    a. If so, why?
    b. If not, why not?
4. Do you feel there is a clear presence if this culture in Braamfontein?
5. Do you think there are specific spaces and practices that associate with this culture?
    a. Do you feel your business is one of those spaces, why?
6. Can you say that the hipster subculture has significantly influence urban regeneration in Braamfontein?

Perceptions of the hipster culture in Braamfontein

1. In terms of the regeneration of Braamfontein and the moving in of this culture, what would you say the relationship between hipsters and Braamfontein is?
    a. Which came first, regeneration or hipsters?
    b. Is this cultural influence a good or a bad thing?
    c. Has anything like this happened before in Braamfontein
    d. What kind of business environment is being created?
    e. Do you think Braamfontein will be able to adapt if there is a cultural shift?

Thank you for your time.

User questionnaire

Introduction

Hello, my name is Wetu Memela, I am a student from the University of Witwatersrand who is currently working on a research project about the cultural influences on urban regeneration in inner-city Johannesburg, Braamfontein to be exact, and I would like to ask you some simple questions if that is okay with you.

Could you please take a moment to read the Information Sheet as well as the consent from, making sure that you fully understand it before you sign it? In terms of the overall research process, I am a student and the primary researcher, all the of the information collected from interviews such as these will be put together in a research proposal/dissertation that will be publically available.

Questions

1. What is your name?
2. What is your relationship with Braamfontein?
3. How often do you come to Braamfontein?
4. When in Braamfontein are you usually alone or is this a social space?
5. Do you know what a hipster is?
6. Would you call yourself a hipster, why?
7. Is there a strong presence of hipsters in Braamfontein?
8. Are they the dominant culture in Braamfontein?
9. Can you name a hipster space in Braamfontein?
10. What generally happens in these hipster spaces?
11. Are these spaces changing the general environment of Braamfontein?
12. Does being in these spaces and participating make you a hipster?
13. Do you think the presence of hipsters has made Braamfontein more open to different people?
14. Do you see any downsides in the hipster presence in Braamfontein?
15. Can you say that the hipster subculture has significantly influence urban regeneration in Braamfontein?

Thank you for your time.