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**The Use and Perception of Urban Green Spaces through the
Twentieth Century: a Case study of the Rondebosch
Common**

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Abstract

The aim of this research was to unpack and analyse the emergence of narratives around urban green spaces as sites of community interaction, social activity and cultural and conservation value. I used the case study of the Rondebosch Common in Cape Town, South Africa during the twentieth century to accomplish these aims. The Rondebosch Common has been a fixture of the southern suburbs of the city for over one hundred years and provided a public green space for community interactions. I was able to gather letters and memos sent and received from the Town Clerk's Office from the South African National Archives Repository in Cape Town as well as newspaper articles from the Cape Argus and Cape News newspapers. The archival materials were chosen because they provided the point of view of the local government, the residents of Rondebosch and other users of the Rondebosch Common during the twentieth century. The newspaper articles were used to understand these points of views at the turn of the century moving into the twenty-first century. This study focuses on the twentieth century with the inclusion of the newspaper articles to indicate how use and perceptions changed moving forward . Public spaces such as the Rondebosch Common are constructed in different ways, i.e. socially, politically, and these constructions determine the appropriate behaviours for the spaces as well as the values and meanings attributed to them. A public open green space such as the Rondebosch Common, which has existed as such for so long, provides an opportunity to examine the inherent political and social nature of old green spaces within the Global South context. Cape Town's colonial and apartheid histories added tension to interactions in the twentieth century as well as a layer of aspiration towards the English or Western ideal. The post-apartheid Cape Town urban and suburban landscape is still fraught with racial and socio-economic divisions. The purpose of my research was to determine how the socio-economic, political and ideological context of the Rondebosch Common, in terms of both its physical location and the historical time period, has affected the way in which it has been perceived by various groups and how it has been contested by those groups. I also attempt to unpack some of the uses of the Rondebosch Common and how and why they have changed over time. It is argued that the demands and claims placed over a

public green space such as the Rondebosch Common are represented over broader issues such as belonging, identity and civic entitlements.

1) Introduction

Nature has always existed in cities; the form that it has taken and its purpose however, have changed over time. In the nineteenth century nature was viewed as an essential urban amenity – green spaces would aid in cleansing the air of pollutants and providing an attractive environment to partake in leisure activities. From the Victorian English garden archetype to the more modern ecosystem approach to urban green spaces, the purpose and perception of nature in cities has changed over time. Historically humans have sought to dominate nature by draining wetlands, clearing forests, re-routing and burying rivers and drastically changing the landscape. Cities are testament to human will and technological innovation (Bocking, 2005). Urban green spaces are complex and embedded with political and social implications and meanings. The turn of the twentieth century brought with it the concept of sustainable development, which became popular and led to new ways of thinking about nature in cities and growth as a whole. Presently many countries are increasingly integrating strategies for sustainable urban development aimed at transitions towards eco or green cities. Sustainable urban development has become closely linked with the production of green cities (Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014). This research focuses on the Rondebosch Common during the twentieth century heading into the twenty first, located in Cape Town to document the changes in use and perception of nature in the urban African context. Most literature tracing the history of urban green spaces focuses on Europe, America and Canada which provides an opportunity to contrast these with the African context.

The way that ‘nature’ has been understood by humans has changed over time. In the 19th Century the idea of a wild, pristine and untamed nature led to the birth of the national park movement. The notion that a wild, pristine and untouched nature existed implied that the existence of its opposite, a nature that was exploited and transformed, and that there was a boundary between the two. This led to protected areas being set aside for the enjoyment of humans but at the same time untouched by humankind. This led to a thinking that ‘nature’ and humans were separate, did not occupy the same spaces and that human existence within nature somehow diminished it

(Eckbo, 1985; Fall, 2002). Cities, and the urban, were human spaces in which wild, pristine and untouched nature did not and could not exist. Urban parks were created with the idea of preserving nature but in truth were created and designed to look a certain way regardless of what the untouched appearance of the land was (Fall, 2002). With the realisation that human influence is felt even in 'pristine' nature, the loss of biodiversity and negative effects of land cover change experienced by cities has led to a re-evaluation of the place and role of nature in the city. Cities around the world have been trying to integrate sustainable ecological, social and economic dimensions in urban development, including the development of green spaces in the city (Kabisch, Qureshi and Haase, 2014).

Most human settlements contain green spaces of some kind. Jim and Chen (2006) suggest that "Green space provision is probably as old as settlement" (2006:338) owing to the human desire for greenery and the urge to connect with nature. The role of nature in the city however, has been an ambiguous one. Historically, urban growth and development has been dominated by narratives of economic development and the physical expansion of the city infrastructure. On the one side urban green spaces are valued and appreciated for their recreational and health value, and for making the city look attractive, and on the other, the preservation of urban green spaces can be regarded as incompatible with desired urban development. In some situations urban green spaces can even be associated with unsafe areas, disorder, and various kinds of nuisance (Uggla, 2014). Urban green spaces are valued for a number of reasons. Studies have shown (Bixby et al, 2015, Barbosa et al, 2007) that access to and interaction with urban green spaces has a positive physical and psychological effect on the urban residents who live around them. These green spaces can be public or private but for the purposes of this paper, urban green space refers to public spaces. When examining the history of urban nature, inevitably it is partly about nature diminished. Nature in cities has been treated as something to be controlled and managed and as needing to serve some kind of purpose. The perception of the value and purpose of nature within cities directly affects what form it takes and what it is used for. These perceptions are contextually dependent and can vary greatly in time and place (Bocking 2005). Nature in cities seems to exist not for its own sake but as a tool for humans to improve their daily lives and to

exercise social and political control. The historical design template for urban green spaces has proven to be inappropriate in the face of current and projected urban challenges. In this way the shape, form and purpose of urban nature must once again shift in order to suit what humans require of it (Eckbo; 1985).

In Eckbo's 1985 paper on urban nature he discusses the evolution of the city, and the nature within it. He writes "Cities have evolved...Growth and constant expansion is their chief characteristics. The alternatives are to continue on our current suicidal path or to move forward toward environmental control alternatives" (1985:222). From the large amount of land cover change that has taken place, and is still to come, in the thirty years since Eckbo wrote that paper we have stayed on that 'suicidal' path and now have turned to environmental control as our solution. Freytag, Gössling and Mössner (2014) discuss in their paper how several cities, mostly in Europe, have begun, and been successful in, designing and implementing sustainable strategies in urban environments over the last 20 years. This greening of cities is a way of designing and controlling nature within the urban context in order to address the current needs of society and mitigating the negative impacts of massive land cover changes. In a way Eckbo was able to predict the massive trend to the inclusion of green spaces within the urban environment. Eckbo (1985) also discusses in his paper the human need to control and manage the natural environment so that it blends in with the urban environment, and though modern urban designs are more ecologically focused than in the past, they are still controlled and managed by humans (Eckbo, 1985; Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014).

The way in which nature should be managed, or if it should exist at all in the city, and the form it should take often leads to conflicts. Ugglå (2014) suggests that when there is conflict over whether or not a piece of green space should be conserved or used for a new purpose "actors need to tell persuasive stories...assigning meaning to a certain course of action" (2014:360). Urban green spaces in suburban areas in particular are embedded with social meanings and 'persuasive stories' (Ugglå, 2014:360) and can be complex spaces in which different groups

interact (Bocking, 2005). The case study area for this research, the Rondebosch Common, is located in the suburb of Rondebosch, a well-to-do neighbourhood in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. In the case of the Rondebosch Common, these stories and meanings have proved strong enough to have kept the Common safe from development for over one hundred years. The aim of this research was to document and analyse the emergence of narratives around urban green spaces as sites of conservation, recreational and cultural value. In order to do this I documented the various uses of and discourses surrounding the Rondebosch Common during the twentieth century to gain an understanding of how the purpose and perception of the space has changed over time. I examined the cultural and recreational value of the Rondebosch Common in the 1900s and documented conflicts over the Rondebosch Common during this period, as well a brief discussion of conflicts of the twenty first century..

Sakai (2011) discusses the public nature of urban green spaces within the context of Japan in the late nineteenth century, when they were first introduced. The concept of urban green spaces available for public use was a western idea that the Japanese were not accustomed to and there were difficulties defining who or what the 'public' was and what open spaces should be used for. It is interesting to think of how a concept such as a public urban green space can be interpreted in different socio-cultural contexts. During the colonial and apartheid eras in South Africa, a public space would most likely be open to particular racial groups, whilst excluding others, which questions the very nature of who the 'public' as, as in the Japanese case (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). The shape and form that urban green spaces take is usually directly influenced by human needs, even the recent ecological shift in urban green space planning is a result of the negative effects of massive land cover change felt by humans. Humans have always needed public spaces in which to interact and urban green spaces provide such public spaces. Modern urban design emphasizes the provision of public spaces in which urban residents can interact and socialize (Di Masso, 2012; Talen, 2000). Much of the research around public spaces, and public green spaces in particular, is focused on Europe and North America, my research attempts to examine these spaces in the African context. Public spaces in Cape Town, and in South Africa as a whole, are embedded in a postcolonial and post-apartheid context. Many old

public spaces were designed and maintained for political and social power and control. This makes them historical places of exclusion and repression (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault (2015) describe apartheid through the public spatial lens as “being about shaping its three dimensions to mirror and sustain racist principles” (2015:5), thereby positioning public spaces as sites of resistance and racial conflict. Public spaces are also influenced by the contemporary situation in South Africa. Political democratization has opened up public spaces making them more accessible to all members of the public. This has also opened up these spaces to criminal activities and the highly sensitive perceptions associated with them have led to a trend towards securitization. Concurrently, as a growing country, globalization and neoliberalism generate processes of commodification, tourisification and privatization of public spaces (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015).

During the late 1800s ‘sanitation syndrome’ led to the mass removal and segregation of African people who were blamed for spreading disease, such as the plague, which led to many people being restricted to certain areas and requiring a pass to get into the city center. Swanson (1977) discussed the underlying layer of the need for social control which fuelled this fear; during the 1890s the ruling white class was faced with the question of how to organise society so that black labourers and white employers both had access to industry whilst maintaining white dominance and avoiding the cost of massive urbanisation. In 1910 the Union of South Africa was established, as a sovereign state, which comprised the Cape provinces, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Natal. In 1948 the National Party was elected into power which was the first signal of the impending construction of an active and systematic apartheid structure. This discourse of Africans as spreading disease, dangerous simply for being present, would fuel segregationist policies and sentiments (Swanson, 1977). In 1950 the Group Areas Act allowed the government to seize any portion of land, regardless of whether or not it was occupied, for the use of specific racial groups. In 1991 the Group Areas Act was revoked and in April 1994 the first democratic elections in which all races were given equal vote was held (Marrengane and Lenoir, 1994). This history is important as it provides the context of the spaces under discussion in this paper. Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault (2015) put forward the idea of thinking of public space

as “various context-specific configurations of loosely structured, judicial, political, and social elements” (2015:1).. It is this thinking that places emphasis on understanding the historical context of Cape Town. It is important to understand how past conflicts and inequalities change the meaning of a place and what it symbolizes. Western (1985) wrote that, in his opinion, Cape Town was unique stating its “particular genius loci- it’s wrenching human geography – overshadowed most consideration of comparison with other places” (1985:335), which is why it is important to conduct research in order to better understand its spatial dynamics. He posited that Cape Town was not only an example of an apartheid city but that such cities, South African cities, are rooted in general English colonial practice as far back as the thirteenth century.

i) Background to the study

Cape Town

Cape Town is the parliamentary capital and is one of the largest cities in South Africa. The city lies at the northern end of the Cape Peninsula, where early colonists settled their farms on the only easily accessed tracts of relatively fertile land of Table Valley, on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak, and in the south. The Cape Flats were considered sterile and ill-drained and were used for wood fuel until denuded of vegetation, they became drifting sands. The European first settlement in the Cape was founded by Van Riebeeck in 1652 and intended to supply passing ships of the Dutch East India Company with supplies. Van Riebeeck laid out a grid plan for what would become Cape Town which would dominate the urban pattern up until the nineteenth century (Scott, 1954). The first half of the eighteenth century saw Cape Town grow slowly as a result of the decline of the Dutch East India Company and repeated European wars. The second half was remarkably different and was a period of substantial prosperity as Cape Town no longer depended on the Company's trade. In 1804 the settlement was officially recognized as a town with villages at Salt River and Mowbray and a smaller settlement at Rondebosch. In 1814 the Cape Colony was officially ceded to Britain and became part of the British Empire (Figure 1). Cape Town received a steady stream of immigrants as it developed as the port and commercial centre of the Cape Colony. The next forty years, especially 1891-1904, saw the greatest expansion of Cape Town, with the population multiplying nearly five times over. The prosperous times did not last and the post South African War depression from 1903 to 1909 saw many people leaving Cape Town for the Transvaal (Scott, 1954).

Until the 1880s, the dominant merchant European class was mostly concerned with maintaining their own elitism which led to social exclusion. However, at this time, racial integration amongst the lower-classes was ignored. This integration contributed to the idea that Cape Town was unique amongst South African cities for being less racially segregated. With rapid urbanization

and industrialization the ‘traditional’ social system of white dominance over black was tested as a new black bourgeoisie emerged. The economic boom periods between 1875 to 1882 and 1891 to 1902 saw the advent of new exclusionary forms put in place in order to separate black and white people in the workforce and to maintain white supremacy (Bickford-Smith, 1995). In 1899 legislation was introduced to provide employers with special jurisdiction to house their workers in private locations, The Native Labour Locations Bill (Act 30 of 1899). This Act fuelled debate on the ‘native problem’ and soon there were pleas for strict alcohol restrictions to be placed on the African community, further influencing negative discourses around African people and making it easier for white communities to accept and believe in segregationist policies (Swanson, 1977). By 1909 the Post-South African War Depression had ended with the advent of the Union of South Africa when Cape Town became the parliamentary capital and the seat of the provincial capital. Industrial development stimulated growth, particularly after the First and Second World Wars (Scott, 1954). In 1910 the Union of South Africa was established, as a sovereign state, which comprised the Cape Provinces, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Natal. In 1923 the Urban Areas Act enforced racial segregation in urban areas. In 1948 the National Party was elected into power which was the first signal of the impending construction of an active and systematic apartheid structure. In 1950 the Group Areas Act allowed the government to seize any portion of land, regardless of whether or not it was occupied, for the use of specific racial groups (Marrengane and Lenoir, 1994). In Cape Town the task of segregating urban areas was daunting and more expensive as a result of the racial mixing that had gone on before. The scale of the task had prevented the 1890s municipal government from attempting racial residential segregation but was attempted by the National Party in the 1950s. Ways to implement racial segregation included white Capetonians buying properties in more expensive areas and by instituting title deed restrictions on new or growing suburbs (Bickford-Smith, 1995).

In 1991 the Group Areas Act was revoked and in April 1994 the first democratic elections in which all races were given equal vote was held (Marrengane and Lenoir, 1994). This history is important as it provides the context of the spaces under discussion in this paper. Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault (2015) put forward the idea of thinking of public space as “various

context-specific configurations of loosely structured, judicial, political, and social elements” (2015:1). It is this thinking that places emphasis on understanding the historical context of Cape Town. It is important to understand how past conflicts and inequalities change the meaning of a place and what it symbolizes. Western (1985) wrote that as a result of Cape Town’s particular social geography the City almost could not be compared to any other place which is why it is important to conduct research in order to better understand its spatial dynamics. He posited that Cape Town was not only an example of an apartheid city but that such cities, South African cities, are rooted in general English colonial practice as far back as the thirteenth century.

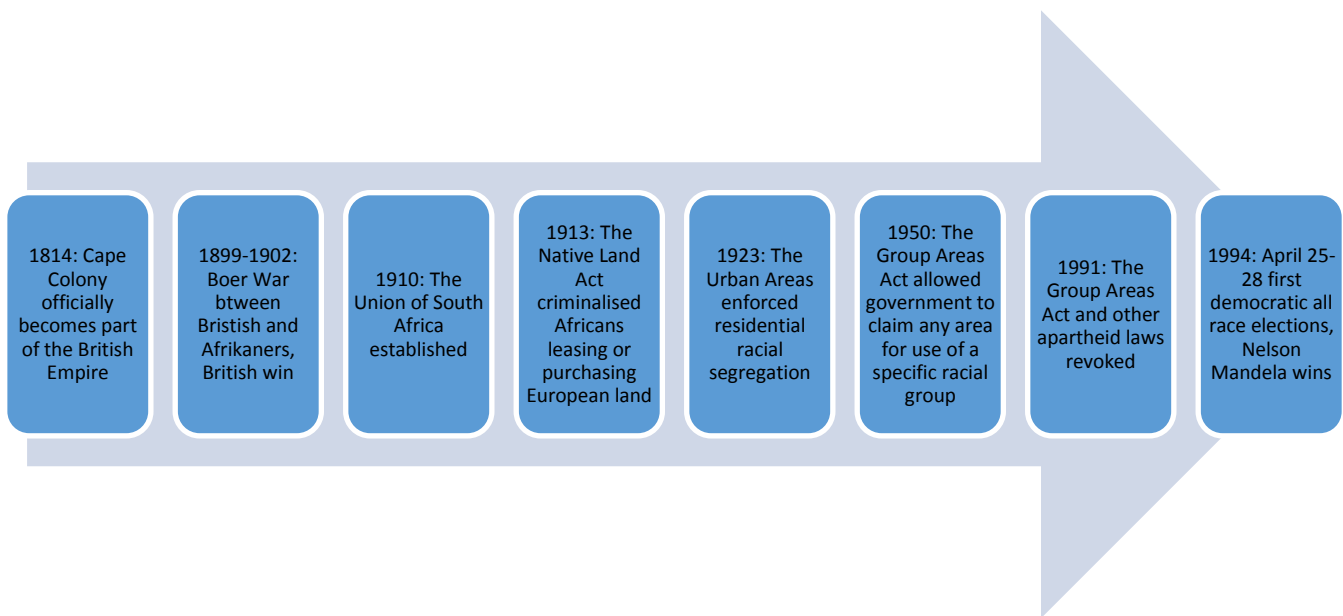


Figure 1. Historical timeline of Cape Town, since its recognition as a city, and South Africa,

The Rondebosch Common



Figure 2. Aerial view of 2016 Rondebosch Common. Showing surrounding suburbs (Google Earth, 2017)

The Rondebosch Common has been a valued fixture in the suburb of Rondebosch for over one hundred years with its recorded history beginning in the early nineteenth century when the area was a campsite for Batavian troops. After the British victory at the battle of Blaauwberg in 1806, the British troops established a camp on the site from 1807 to 1814. The Common was again used as a military campsite for a period during World War I, 1914 -1918. During the 1940s, the Rondebosch Common was once again commandeered by the military as a training camp and temporary structures were erected. In January of 1854 Charles Bell, the then Surveyor-General of Cape Town, made the case to the Governor at the time, George Cathcart, to donate the land that would come to be known as the Rondebosch Common to the Anglican Church of Cape Town (Eastman, 2008). The intention was for this land to be kept as open park land, open to the public and donating it to the Church seemed a good way of ensuring that. St Paul's Church had exclusive grazing rights to the land and charged rent to other farmers who wished to graze their cattle there as well. In 1890 a portion of the land, today known as Park Estate was sold to raise

money for the Church's missionary work. In 1909 the Cape parliament allowed the remainder of the land to be transferred to the Rondebosch municipality. Currently the land is still managed and administered by the City of Cape Town, falling under the Mowbray branch of the City Parks Department (Eastman, 2008). Over its lifespan the Common has been used for various activities, detailed later. In 1909 the governor of the Cape Colony passed the Rondebosch Church Lands Act, No. 27 of 1909, which allowed the land to be set aside and maintained by the local municipality for recreational use, public parks and for the widening of roads (Eastman, 2008) Owing to the Common's historical and environmental value, it was awarded national heritage status in 1961. Rondebosch Common provides a habitat to the Cape Flats Sand Fynbos of which 99% has been destroyed by urbanization. Cape Flats Fynbos is listed as critically endangered by the IUCN and nine plant species found on the Common are on the Red Data list. It also provides a home to almost a hundred species of rare birds (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015).

The 2011 Census Sub-Place Rondebosch estimated the population of the suburb to be 14591 with 5649 households. The population is mainly white, 92.73%, and black African, 16.48%. coloured and Indian/Asian populations are placed at 9.62% and 6.13% respectively (StatsSA, 2011). The 2011 Census information for Rondebosch and Rosebank combined, show the level of education is high with 92% of residents over the age of 20 having completed Grade 12 or higher and so is employment with 95% of the labour force, ages 15 to 64, being employed. The area is fairly well to-do with only 24% of households with a monthly income of R3200 or less. 99% of households live in formal dwellings, have access to piped water, have access to a flush toilet and have their refuse removed at least once a week (StatsSA, 2011). The neighbourhood surrounding the Common, Rondebosch (see figure 2), was formerly proclaimed as a white area, under the Group Areas Act no. 41 of 1950, and is still mostly white and economically privileged, as demonstrated by the census information. Eastwards of the common the land is flatter than to the west, with expensive houses that gradually transitions into less well-off neighbourhoods in which coloured people were forced to under apartheid. During apartheid physical barriers such as open land and railway lines were used to separate different racial groups. The Rondebosch Common may have been part of this apartheid planning and existed as a space of privilege for White

Capetonians to enjoy. Black Rastafari gather herbs, the remains of vagrant-set fires can be found and informal activities such as prostitution occur along the edges (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). The Common also has a group, Friends of Rondebosch Common, dedicated to the conservation, preservation and well-being of the Common. Friends of Rondebosch Common are a non-profit organization that has been delegated the daily management of the Common by the Cape Town municipality and are an offshoot the Wildlife and Environmental Society of South Africa (WESSA).

2) Literature Review

i) What are urban green spaces?

Urban green spaces have been defined in a number of ways, some definitions are simple whilst others are more complex and yet others are more inclusive. Lee, Min and Ohno (2012) divided green spaces in four categories namely; reserved natural environments which are spaces which have had minimal influence from humans, built environments with a natural appearance, built environments as a green buffer, and built environments with natural elements. They place emphasis on ‘spaces’ as opposed to ‘areas’ to account for the nature of residential areas, that is to say that one large area could be composed of natural reserved spaces and spaces that are designed to look natural (Lee, Min and Ohno, 2012). This categorisation is one of the more complex urban green space definitions. On the simpler side Barbosa et al, (2007) define public green space as “every parcel of land classified as a natural surface...judged to be publicly accessible” (2007:188). This definition includes municipal parks, public gardens, cemeteries, gardens attached to public buildings and school playing fields used by the public. Wolch, Byrne and Newell (2014) include forests, reserves, riparian areas, river banks, greenways and trails, street trees and nature conservation areas, green roofs, streams and community gardens in their definition. Urban green spaces are diverse and can take on many forms, varying in size, vegetation cover, species richness, environmental quality, facilities and services. Urban green spaces can be private or public, private green spaces include private backyards, communal grounds of apartment buildings and corporate campuses. In my use of urban green spaces I use the definition provided by Barbosa et al, (2007) as I focus on public green spaces that are used by humans or have the potential to be used by humans. Urban green spaces have a diverse range of values comprising ecological, economic, social and planning dimensions (Wolch, Byrne and Newell, 2007; Baycan-Levent, Vreeker and Nijkamp, 2009).

Urban green spaces can be wild or tamed, tamed in the sense of being designed and maintained in a neat manner that is associated as being more aesthetically pleasing to human beings. Xiaoxiang (1994) writes that since the onset of the industrial revolution human kind have been concerned with two things namely, how to control the growth of cities and how to make them more pleasant places in which to live. This sentiment prompted the growing popularity of the concept of the garden city which began to emerge in the nineteenth century. The English garden-city archetype envisioned an image of the countryside calling in on the town, "...no more regimented lines of trees; nature should not be contained but should flow into the city.... a garden without limitation" (Hebbert, 2008:33). This idea was interpreted in different ways, often with the end product not matching the ideal (Hebbert, 2008). At this time urban green spaces were valued as an escape from urban air pollution and the ills of the city (Swanwick, Dunnet and Woolley, 2003). Frederick Law Olmstead was a proponent of the garden city archetype, when he and Calvert Vaux designed Central Park in New York they purposefully incorporated some "wild" sections into its design in order to make the Park appear less of a designed space (Fisher, 2011). This contributes to the notion of urban green spaces as a piece of the nature that existed before the rise of the city surrounding it and it is these kinds of examples that most likely led to Lee, Min and Ohno (2012) including built environments with a natural appearance in their categorisation of urban green spaces.

There is growing recognition that green or natural spaces within the urban environment can benefit the health of urban populations and the importance of ensuring that residents have easy access to quality green spaces. Green spaces can inspire physical activity by providing an aesthetically pleasing environment that is both suitable for physical activity and pleasant to visit (Van Herzele and de Vries, 2012). At the local level these spaces can have positive effects on the physiological and psychological health of urban residents. In many cities in the United Kingdom and Europe the important role urban green spaces play in supporting urban communities both in terms of providing valuable ecosystem services and in providing a recreational public space for urban residents have been recognized in public policy commitments that aim to ensure ready access to green space for all (Bixby et al, 2015; Barbosa et al, 2007). In terms of planning it is

valuable to understand how the provision of quality green spaces can mitigate the potential adverse health-effects associated with living in urban environments. The urban environment directly and indirectly influences health through its impact on health-related behaviours. From a planning point of view understanding how green spaces might mitigate the negative effects of urban living is an opportunity to improve public health (Barbosa et al, 2007; Bixby et al, 2015).

Some authors ask if urban residents get all the benefits that urban green spaces have to offer i.e. if they make direct use of urban green spaces. Lee, Min and Ohno (2012) carried out a study to determine ways to increase the use of urban green spaces by residents living in environmentally friendly housing developments in South Korea. In their paper they discuss how for the past decade the South Korean housing industry has pushed the notion that quality of life can be improved by increasing the amount of natural elements in a community. They found that residents tended to make the most use of green spaces that had a particular function such as sports fields. Mostly residents benefitted from the ecosystem services they received from urban green spaces which they recognized as important. Public and private green spaces provide important ecosystem services to urban environments. These include air filtration, removal of air pollution, attenuation of noise, cooling of temperatures, and infiltration of stormwater and replenishment of groundwater. There is a great need for green spaces within the urban environment which can be seen by the growing popularity of innovative ideas that are being developed such as green roofs and green walls. In urban environments, buildings can change the flow of energy and matters leading to environmental problems, green spaces are important in easing these environmental consequences (Oberndorfer et al, 2007).

The distribution of urban green spaces in cities can often be uneven and influenced by factors such as its location relative to the commercial core and the ethnicity, relative wealth and education of residents. McConnachie and Shackleton (2010) examined the distribution of urban green space in small towns in South Africa. They used GIS methods of analysis focusing on three types of suburb defined on the basis of wealth as well as race-based history under the

previous apartheid regime. They found that the more affluent suburbs which were mostly white had the lowest density of housing and the highest area of green space provision per capita. Previously racially defined townships had about the same amount of green space provision but because those areas had a higher housing density and so had less area of green space provision per capita. The worst off were the mostly black residents of the newly built low-cost housing neighbourhoods which were poorly endowed with public green space (McConnachie and Shackleton, 2010). During the apartheid regime the government focused on shaping public spaces to mirror and sustain its racist principles, unfortunately the legacy of those policies still affect South Africa in the present, as McConnachie and Shackleton's results suggest (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). Across the African continent urban areas are continuing to grow rapidly as a consequence of this these urban areas may be characterised by sharp inequalities of income and quality of life. Many residents are under- or un-employed which puts pressure on urban green spaces to be converted into housing or into employment opportunities (Simon, 2012).

ii) Controlling Nature in Cities

“Man’s concept of the aesthetics of wild nature changes with the development of the level of science and technology...” (Xiaoxiang, 1994; 22). From humankind’s earliest days nature has been regarded as an uncontrollable force with rules that were not easy for humans to understand. The ways of nature and the ways of humankind seemed at odds. Eventually humans were able to restructure nature and organize it into geometrical patterns and enforce our own rules upon it. As technology progressed this restructuring has become easier, and human preference for an orderly nature, solidified. Xiaoxiang (1994) writes that the evidence of this can be found in ancient temples and gardens all over the world and the popular geometric designs of European gardens before the mid-eighteenth century. Around this time the trend of nature design began to lean towards the English-popularized informal garden composed of rolling lawns dotted with groupings of trees, serpentine paths and still ponds (Fisher, 2011). “Cities have their own nature, stemming from the nature of man” (Eckbo, 1985:222), the form of nature within the urban environment has evolved with man’s technological capacity to control and manage it. As time goes on and society grows more complex and demanding and urban design and construction becomes more refined and developed nature within cities becomes more divorced from wild ‘real’ nature outside of the city limits (Eckbo, 1985).

Eckbo (1985) writes how cities all over the world, with different histories and backgrounds, seem to have had the same approach to urban design, specifically the approach to nature in cities; “...they share a general sense of stability, quietude, limits and boundaries, well-planted and maintained...” (1985:225). Fisher (2011), writing about the history of Central Park, writes how visitors to the city, and residents of it, would feel as if, when they entered the Park, they were entering into a vestige of the original Manhattan that existed prior to the rise of the city. This is a popular view of park users globally and is problematic as very often these spaces are highly constructed and carefully managed and not at all a reflection of the true nature that the city replaced. In order to create Central Park, Frederick Olmstead, one of the designers, evicted the

people who squatted on the land and transformed the existing rocky, uneven and swampy site into the gently rolling countryside characteristic of parks he had seen in England. Elements of stylized and managed nature in the form of parks, gardens, botanic gardens etc have been incorporated into the urban, built, environment in such a way as to blur the fundamental separation of urban life from 'wild' natural life. In some cities wild nature is so seemingly far away that its existence is forgotten altogether. This separation and blurring makes it easier to forget the dependency that cities have on the surrounding hinterland (Eckbo, 1985).

Bocking (2005) notes how nature was first regarded as an advantage with regards to settlements. Settlements were focused along rivers, fertile land and other resources such as sheltered harbours but over time the natural elements of settlements, as settlements became cities, were obliterated as wetlands and waterfronts were filled in, rivers straightened, streams transformed into sewers, and woodlands transformed into shopping malls. These are clear examples of the human tendency to exert dominance over nature and to alter it in order to better suit our needs, however the relationship is made more complex by the human desire to experience nature and their inherent dependency on it. The prevalence of parks in the world's great cities testifies to the view, which became prevalent in the nineteenth century, of nature as an essential urban amenity. The emergence of landscape design as an arena of expertise demonstrates the human need to control and manage nature in cities; for them to be aesthetically pleasing as well as neat and well-organized (Bocking, 2005). As human beings, we desire nature in our cities in order to make them more liveable but it is a certain kind of nature that we are seek - neat, unobtrusive and pleasing to the eye (Eckbo, 1985). Dean (2005) discussed the case of city trees in Ottawa that had once been the source of great pride but had been removed because they had grown too large and had begun to interfere with overhead wires and traffic. In the end thousands of trees were removed in order to preserve the effective functioning of the city. Nature in the city has to conform to ideas of what the city is and what processes are given priority within it and should fit the city, not the city fit nature (Bocking, 2005).

Cities are largely planned spaces and so are the green spaces within them. There are numerous papers discussing the best way to plan urban green spaces (Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014; Tjallingii, 2003) in ways that are sustainable and socially beneficial i.e. provide a place for urban residents to enjoy nature and to interact with each other. Despite the planned nature of cities there are informal green spaces that are less modified and often containing indigenous vegetation and providing valuable urban habitats. Both formal and informal urban green spaces are valuable and both are directly affected by existing in a highly human-made environment (Qureshi, Breuste and Lindley, 2002). During the twentieth century in many European and US cities urban green space design tended toward a “vision of unbounded natural realm within towns and cities” (Hebbert, 2008:52) which became unpopular because of unforeseen environmental and social outcomes. Some of these outcomes included the difficulties in maintaining large areas of green spaces along with formal parks when resource availability was on the decline, the issue of social control i.e. controlling and managing the behaviours of people in these unregulated spaces and the questionable functionality of these spaces as they were mostly located around road-ways. This led to the re-emergence of enclosed green spaces, differentiated by its function (Hebbert, 2008). In order for green spaces to exist in cities it seems that not only must their express function be apparent but there must be resources available to ensure that they are kept neat and orderly. In cases where the function of a green space is not clear either a function must be found or they are removed (Uggla, 2014; Hebbert, 2008).

Wakild (2007) discusses how in Mexico, during the presidency of Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1911, scientists “reordered and reformulated the natural world to fit their ideas about modernity” (2007:101). In the quest for urban dwellers to be seen as separate from rural dwellers, the city underwent a massive modernization, with nature being tamed into “decorative projects like parks, gardens and statues” (Wakild, 2007:102). As previously discussed nature in the urban context is often reduced to its value as being decorative and aesthetically pleasing. Hebbert (2008) discusses the “‘emerald necklaces’ ” (2008:32) design of urban green spaces popular amongst Olmstead and his followers. From Wakild’s and Hebbert’s paper it can be seen how urban green spaces often were used for mainly beautifying effects and to suit a certain idea of

what nature in cities should look like. Places, cities, neighbourhoods etc, are socially constructed and in the process of this construction rules, regulations and behavioural expectations are woven into the fabric of a place (Sack, 1993). Wakild explores how a political leader used design to create the kind of city he desired in which people behaved in the way appropriate for it.

Urban green spaces require continuous management by the city to avoid potential negative impacts on the direct users of the space. As people become more aware of the benefits of living near green spaces and are becoming more selective about where they choose to live urban planners and designers have begun to incorporate more ecologically appealing designs into neighbourhood and community planning (Lee, Min and Ohno, 2012; Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014; Jim and Chen, 2006). Particularly in Europe, cities are becoming increasingly environmentally friendly but are also still very much designed and managed. From the nineteenth century to the twenty first urban green spaces have been managed and controlled spaces but over time the desired outcome of this control and management has changed to become more ecologically focused (Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014). Green spaces in urban areas not only serve the purpose of providing much needed ecosystem services but also of providing public spaces in which members of a community can interact, exercise and use for other recreational activities. The importance of public spaces is appreciated in many cities all over the world, the inclusion of green spaces in urban environments and neighbourhoods is increasingly being recognised as important and this brings about the debate about public space and its effect on social life (Jim and Chen, 2006; Talen, 2000).

iii) Community, urban nature and the commons

Urban green spaces undergo social processes of place-making and are both physically constructed and socially constructed. Uggla (2014) uses the case study of National City Park in Stockholm as “an extreme case in which to study place construction and urban greenery protection” (2014:361). Uggla explains how the park was able to avoid development and become legally protected through “successful networking and storytelling” (2014:361). An important point that she brings out is that processes of place-making are ongoing and that it is possible for a place to be many things throughout its history. An example of this ongoing process of change can be seen in Kheraj’s 2007 paper on Stanley Park in Canada. He writes how the park was famous for a group of Douglas fir and western red cedar trees known as the Seven Sisters. Eventually in the early 1960s the trees were removed and Stanley Park was no longer the home of the Seven Sisters (Kheraj, 2007). This example demonstrates how green spaces can contribute to place-making processes and provide a link to the history of a community (Gearin and Kahle, 2006). Despite the removal of the Seven Sisters, Stanley Park still exists as an important public space over which people can bond and create new meanings and associations (Barbosa et al, 2007; Kheraj, 2007). Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant (2004) found that directly using and experiencing natural spaces helps people create sense of a place, develop psychological attachments, and a sense of belonging.

Oftentimes the physical arrangement of suburbia scatters residents and inhibits neighbourly interactions, which can be combated by providing common public areas in which residents can interact. Public green spaces in this way can not only provide place for residents to exercise and enjoy nature but to interact with each other and create common ties. The common attachment and affection towards an urban green space could facilitate a sense of community and belonging and the uniqueness of a place (Talen, 2000; Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant, 2004). There are numerous studies that suggest that direct contact with nature is highly beneficial. Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant (2004) found that experiencing nature through direct interaction is highly beneficial

for human beings and contributes to place-making process as helping people to become attached to a place and view it as a place of belonging. This can also aid in the preservation of an area as residents become invested in the continued existence of a green space and are willing to exercise their political power in order to express control over a space they feel a claim over (Uggla, 2014; Di Masso, 2012).

Di Masso (2012) wrote a paper which considered the political nature of public space and explored “its psychological relevance as a natural arena of citizenship” (2012:123). He posited that claims people make on public spaces can often reflect broader societal issues relating to belonging, identity and civic entitlements. In the particular South African context in which my research is founded, this is especially true as certain groups, as a result of past colonial and apartheid segregationist policies, still feel excluded from certain spaces and act out politically in these spaces to enact their civic entitlements. The traces of the unequal spatial planning of apartheid can still be seen in Cape Town with former white areas being better maintained than former coloured and black areas (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). Lemanski (2007) describes post-apartheid South African cities as “...dichotomy between the first world and the third world, where people and spaces from the two world are juxtapositioned in close proximity” (2007:451) which encapsulates the contrast of the wealth of some areas with the poverty of others. These differences create tensions between different groups of South African society. Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault (2015) writing along the same lines as Di Masso identified three main streams of meaning with regards to public space: political, legal and social. Political in that public spaces offer a medium on which public debate can occur. The legal aspect relates to who owns the land, manages it and what rules are placed on it. As social spaces, public spaces provide tangible places in which members of the public can coexist and interact if they wish to. “The spatiality of these spatial public spaces is heavily dependent on the local context: the localization of common spaces varies in space, time and culture” (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015:3).

Urban green spaces can foster social cohesion. Social cohesion is defined by Konijnendijk, Annerstedt, Nielsen and Maruthaveeran, (2013) as “the extent to which a geographical place achieves ‘community’ in the sense of shared values, cooperation and interaction” (2013:14). This does not have to be only in the sense of direct interaction but in giving users of the public space something to bond over. Mitchell (1995) wrote an article which discussed the case of the People’s Park in California which discusses how politicized public spaces, in particular green spaces, can be. The activities that people carry out in public spaces, in this case referring in particular to urban green spaces, have socio-political significance. The article gives an account of conflicts between the owner of People’s Park, the University of California, and the users of the Park. The University proposed to develop the Park to make it more accessible to students and middle-class residents who they felt had been excluded from the Park as they felt it was not safe. The Park had been used as a place for local artists to perform, for political gatherings and as a refuge for the homeless. The University sought to partner with the city to convert the majority of the land into “a recreational area replete with volleyball courts, pathways, public restrooms and security lights” (Mitchell, 1995:110). The rest of the land would be cheaply leased to the City in exchange for the City providing law enforcement on the premises (Mitchell, 1995). Mitchell uses this case study to demonstrate how a public park can exist as a zone of political and social conflict. Different groups of users desire different things from a public space and this causes conflict. As a result of protests the University was forced into negotiations and left part of the park as open to the public to be used as it previously had been. This shows the influence that the users of a public space can have in controlling what it is used for and the shape it takes (Mitchell, 1995; Di Masso, 2012).

Bocking (2005) discusses how in suburbs the “diverse meanings of nature have been especially evident” (2005:5), “These tiny patches of privatized nature embody not just an approach to planning...set of ideas and images about family and community life” (2005:5). Urban green spaces in the suburbs can form a kind of middle ground between city and country life. The ideas about community life and what urban green spaces should be used for however, is not a universal one. Urban green spaces can often be sites of conflict, in demand to meet residential or

commercial needs. Public spaces, and therefore urban parks, have certain unspoken rules for occupying them that anybody entering that space is expected to abide by. These rules are contextually dependent and arise from the users and the way they have constructed that space and the meanings they have given it. This can cause conflict when the space is used in a manner that is deemed unsuitable or if the space itself is negatively constructed. Urban green space provision should therefore aim to meet the needs and purposes of the potential immediate users yet in many cities, particularly in developing countries, citizens are sometimes excluded from the process of determining the location, design and management of urban green spaces meant for their use and enjoyment (Jim and Chen, 2006; Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014). Freytag, Gössling and Mössner (2014) found in their research in Sweden that the uses and activities that planners have in mind for users when they plan urban green spaces, specifically parks, is not necessarily what residents and users will choose. Architects, urban planners and politicians as decision-makers focus on goals of ecologically sound and sustainable parks in which they envision those who have immediate access to the park using in it in ways that will transform their social and psychological well-being. However, as Lee, Min and Ohno (2012) found, the provision of a quality green space does not automatically ensure that urban residents will make daily use of it. Decision makers and planners should take into account the social life and social transformation in the planning process in order to get as much out of an urban green space as possible (Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014).

In the absence of public support and involvement professionals make assumptions that lack knowledge of the situation on the ground. In this way urban green spaces could fail to meet the needs of the user and result in the exclusion of the targeted group and attracting undesirable elements or activities (Jim and Chen, 2006). Young's (1993) paper on urban parks demonstrates the historical lack of public participation in the planning of parks in the South African context. Young criticizes the lack of public participation in the planning process, particularly in informal settlements and townships which leads to the parks being viewed with suspicion as if they were gifts given to them by authorities in a patronizing manner. This leads to parks being vandalized and abused which places greater pressure on more established parks in more secure areas as

people travel to them to experience some nature. Fisher (2011) discusses how Central Park had been designed to be used in one way and in practice was used in another. Frederick Law Olmstead (1822-1903) had designed the Park with the intention of it being “experienced quietly, contemplatively, and through the eye” (2011:28) and to ensure this he posted rules throughout the park. However, gradually working-class and immigrant New Yorkers began to make the Park their own and use it in ways that Olmstead would never have dreamed of. These groups played sports, ran and swam in the parks rather than sit quietly on benches. Though urban green spaces, such as Central Park, are designed and planned by city officials and planners they are at the end of the day for use by the public, who create the meaning and identity of it. Perhaps if Olmstead had spoken to more New York residents instead of imposing his own view he would have discovered that what most residents needed was a place to run and play and be active in nature (Fisher, 2011; Jim and Chen, 2006).

Ward, Parker and Shackleton (2009) wrote paper on the use of botanical gardens as urban green spaces in South Africa. They interviewed users and staff at six national botanical gardens around South Africa to determine the demographics of the users. They found that the people who used the gardens did not represent the demographics of the surrounding city or town. Most visitors were White, well educated with medium to high incomes and were middle- to old- aged. The authors found that the important social, psychological, health, aesthetic and ecological functions that urban green spaces such as botanical gardens provide are mostly taken for granted by the public and city authorities, only after green spaces are destroyed are the positive-effects recognized. They also point out that the historically segregated development of South African cities and the location of botanical gardens has resulted in them being located far from certain groups of the population (Ward, Parker and Shackleton, 2009). Lee, Min and Ohno (2012) conducted a study to discover if environmentally friendly designs affected resident’s behaviours and whether the green spaces included in neighbourhoods were actually used for the kinds of activities anticipated by planners. They found that most activities took place in non-natural environments or built environments with natural elements. Activities tended to focus in areas that

had an obvious function such as a sports field or a plaza. Again here we see the need for urban green spaces to have an express function as expressed by Hebbert (2008).

3) Methodology

In chapter four of the book *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* edited by Michael Meyer and Ruth Wodak, Wodak discusses the discourse-historical approach. In the chapter she makes specific reference to Western societies but I believe this approach and theoretical background is applicable in the Global South as well. The modern world is filled with struggles and contradictions and becoming increasingly complex. Wodak writes “The complexities of modern societies in our fast changing world, where space and time seem to collapse ... can only be grasped by a model of multicausal, mutual influences between different groups of persons within a specific society” (2001:65-66), this statement encapsulates what I attempted to do with this research. The Rondebosch Common is a complex space in which different groups have divested, and sometimes divergent, interests and have been so for more than one hundred years. I attempt to examine and unpack some of these relationships. This research is context-specific and does not attempt to propose a grand universal theory, but attempts to interpret and make deductions based on the materials gathered. Following the recommendation made by Wodak, I attempted to avoid bias through the use of empirical data as well as background information. I chose letters sent from the Town Clerk’s Office because they represented several of the groups of actors who were invested in the Common, that is the local government, the residents of Rondebosch and, the groups who used the Common for sporting activities. I was also able to make use of newspaper articles that gave insight into how other residents of Cape Town felt about the Common after South African independence. One element that lacks from the gathered materials is that the view of the non-white and lower class is not represented which is as a result of the racial segregation of South Africa prior to independence.

i) Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research was to document and analyse the emergence of narratives around urban green spaces as sites of conservation, recreation and cultural value, highlighting some of the key relationships and processes that have led to present day situations and ways of thinking about and understanding urban green spaces. I used the case study of the Rondebosch Common during the twentieth century, during which it had multiple uses. In order to achieve this goal I set out a few guiding objectives, namely;

- To document the various uses of and discourses surrounding the Rondebosch Common over time.
- To examine the cultural and recreational value of the Rondebosch Common in the past and how it has evolved.
- To document and examine conflicts which have surrounded the Rondebosch Common during the twentieth century.

ii) Material Collection

Qualitative research in Carter and Little's (2007) article is described as "social research in which the researcher relies on text data rather than numerical data, analyzes those data in their textual form...aims to understand the meaning of human action and asks open questions about phenomena" (2007:1316). In order to achieve my aim of understanding how discourses around nature in cities have changed historically I employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) techniques. Sheyholislami (2001) describes CDA as "field concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias....examines how this discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts" (2001:1). I examined different texts namely; letters and memos sent from and received by the Town Clerk's Office (Cape Town) and Cape Argus and Cape Times newspaper articles. These materials were obtained from the

National Archives Repository in Cape Town. The National Archives held letters received by and sent from the Cape Town Clerk's Office from the year 1910 to 1954 with regards to the Rondebosch Common. These letters ranged from arrangements towards renting the Common out for Cricket, Golf and Soccer to the day-to-day management of the Common, see appendix A for detailed list of corrections. I was able to take photographs of these letters for later analysis which required special permission from the Archives, however permission was not given to replicate pieces of text directly from the collections. As previously stated, these documents were chosen because they represented a diverse range of groups invested in the Common.

iii) Material analysis

I used the materials that I had gathered as samples of discourses surrounding urban nature, with particular reference to the Common. I went through the material I had gathered and made extensive notes, highlighting particular aspects that appeared to be recurring. In many instances I chose not to focus on singular events, though they may have felt important, because the aim of this research was to document changes over time and not particular events. The main objective of CDA, which subsumes a variety of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse, is “to give accounts... of the ways in which and extent to which social changes are changes in discourse, and the relations between changes in discourse and changes in other, non-discoursal, elements... of social life” (Fairclough, 2012:452). Analysing the opinions of the officials in charge of managing the nature within cities, and how these have changed over time, offers insight into how certain ideas towards and management practices of nature in cities developed and became internalized within the urban planning field and perceptions of what nature in cities should look like. In the same way letters sent in by the users of the Common give insight into how it was perceived and how these perceptions differed between groups and how they evolved into what they are in the twenty first century (Fairclough, 2012).

4) Results and discussion

i) Changing use and perception 1900s

The Church Lands Act of 1909 compelled the local government authority to make the Common open for the use and enjoyment of the residents of Rondebosch, which presented some problems in what uses were appropriate for the space. In October of 1913 the Acting Town Clerk received a complaint from a Mr Stent on the dangers that cows and horses presented to those who made regular use of the Common, particularly to children. He went on to give an account of how his 5 year old son had been tossed across the road by a cow and injured his collarbone. Mr Stent demanded that the owner of the cow be held accountable for what had happened. The Acting Town Clerk responded to this letter by explaining to Mr Stent that there were no specific municipal regulations relating to the grazing and herding of cattle on the Common but that all ratepayers who paid to graze their cows on the Common signed an agreement that the cows would be constantly supervised. The Acting Town Clerk also sent an investigator, Mr P. Dodd, to discover who the cow belonged to. He was able to track down the owner, Mrs Simes of the Grosvenor Hotel. The boy that she hired to herd the cows had taken them to the Common to graze and then returned to the Hotel to do housework. Mrs Simes was subsequently warned and fined. Complaints about the cattle on the Common continued to come in, and in 1916 the Town Clerk resolved to add an additional condition for the authorization for a permit to graze cattle on the Common; that the name of the herd boy be given in order to make for improved accountability. While it is unclear from the materials I gathered for this research exactly when grazing was no longer permitted on the Common, this sort of complaint, frequent at the time, was the start of the process of the elimination of grazing on the Common.

During the twentieth century the popular urban landscape ideologies coming out of Britain and North America centred on images of the garden city and the rural blending into the city. This notion of the countryside coming into the city was problematic and more complex than initially

thought and, as can be gathered from the incident involving the cow described above, not entirely practical (Hebbert, 2008). The letter detailing the ordeal of Mr. Stent's son was only one of several protesting the grazing of cattle on the Common. Residents of Rondebosch felt that not only was it dangerous, as Mr Stent's son's injury proved, but it was an inappropriate use of an urban space. By issuing permits to graze on the Common the City Council believed that they were fulfilling their mandate to manage the space for public enjoyment, and the space had previously been used by the Church for grazing purposes. However, the needs of the residents had changed and most people no longer kept animals in the city and simply wanted a space for picnics, walks and for their children to play outside. The needs of the residents and the way they perceived the Common was beginning to change and the incident involving the cow and the little boy demonstrated the kinds of challenges and conflicts that can arise when these changes and transitions take place. Urban green spaces are supposed to fulfil the needs of urban residents, or the needs of the residents as perceived by planners and managers, and when these needs change, the spaces have to change too or risk becoming unused or sites of contention (Eckbo, 1985; Bocking, 2005). Just as in the British and North American contexts once the idea of the countryside coming into the city became problematic, it was stopped and something else was tried. The grazing of cattle on the Common was stopped, though I was unable to ascertain exactly when, though regulations for the Common put forward in 1919 prohibit grazing of livestock on the grounds.

The Rondebosch Church Lands Act of 1909 that declared the Common an open green space for the use and enjoyment of residents of the area would eventually become redundant, but it initiated the start of the Common as a public space. An important aspect of the public nature of the Common is the racial dynamic of Cape Town during this time and the middle-upper class status of the neighbourhood, which meant the Common was not truly a public space which will be discussed in the third section of this chapter. The importance of the historic green space was recognized by the City Council who was able to exercise some control over the space through the issuing of permits, for the playing of sports or for other activities such as the selling of food or crafts, and through the establishment of a set of regulations for the Common. As discussed in

Hebbert's (2008) paper, the control of public green spaces was so important that it contributed to the abandoning of the "bringing nature into town" (2008:32) vision for cities that emerged in the twentieth century. This idea involved the breakdown of the conventional park, urban and rural categories to create a blurring of all three. This ideal was eventually abandoned because the task of monitoring and controlling behaviours and activities so much open space proved too large a task and led to the eventual re-enclosure of public spaces. In the materials that I examined I discovered that it took the City Council years to finalize what the rules and regulations for the Common would be and legal advice was sought by the Council to determine how much control they legally had over the Common. In 1917 the Captain of the Rondebosch Golf Club, which had a course on the Common, requested that the City Council put in a regulation that would punish, through fine or jail time, any unauthorized persons making use of the golf course. Because the course was on the Common, which was a public space, people who were not members of the club were making use of the course. The Council then sought the advice of legal counsel who informed them that while they could institute penalties for the damaging of the land in the act of playing sports, giving a club exclusive rights to a section of the land was in doubt though they could issue a permit that stated that only golf could be played in that section of the land. This example shows how much work and consideration went into controlling the Common and gives some indication as to why the free-flowing nature in the city ideal was abandoned – the task of monitoring all the urban green space would require a lot of time and resources (Hebbert, 2008). Not only was it important to be able to control these spaces but it was also important that the control could not be questioned, hence seeking legal advice to ensure that all rules and regulations instituted by the City Council were legally enforceable. The City Council had the legal control of the Common and exercised that power to control what took place within it (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015; Hebbert, 2008).

I found no evidence that the residents of Rondebosch were consulted during the process of defining the rules and regulations for the Common. As Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault (2015) discuss the legal control of a public space is the most important as it bestows the right to dictate what can and cannot take place in a space in a way that is legally enforceable. This lack

of consultation caused conflicts which shall be examined later. Much of the materials from the City Council's Office dealt with the issuing and renewal of permits for the playing of soccer and cricket on the Common, permission was only given to formal clubs that could pay the prescribed fee. Part of the Common had also been leased to the Rondebosch Golf Club. These findings suggest that the City Council placed an emphasis on the use of the space for the playing of sports as a means of recreation. This contrasted to earlier urban park ideals perpetuated by Olmstead, and his followers, who proclaimed that urban parks were for the calm contemplation of nature (Fisher, 2011). These ideas, which Olmstead perpetuated in the late nineteenth century, carried on into the twentieth century and contributed to the free-flowing nature ideal of that time period in which focus was placed on nature as health-given and exposing urban residents and commuters to the benefits of nature (Hebbert, 2008). In contrast to these trends, focused on the UK and North America, the Common was used largely for physical recreation such as the playing of cricket, soccer and, as mentioned earlier, golf.

Though the Common was used predominantly as a sporting ground up until the City Council decided to stop issuing permits in 1938, emphasis was still placed on its aesthetics and on being a pleasant place in which to visit and spend time. Urban green spaces provide valuable spaces for physical activity but in order to be truly effective they have to be attractive spaces (Van Herzele and de Vries, 2012). The grounds of the Common were maintained through the Office of the City Engineer and regularly inspected by various members of committees and sub-committees. The Friends of the Rondebosch Common group, which will be examined, further on, have also assisted the City in the maintenance of the Common since their inception. A dedicated groundskeeper was fitted in to the 1915 budget to ensure the Common did not fall into disarray. The orderliness and aesthetic appeal of the Common has been a recurring issue throughout the period of 1900-2015. The Western green space ideals leading into the twentieth century were of free-flowing nature, abandoning eighteenth century ideals of regimented trees and contoured lawns, that "...should flow into the city, connecting playgrounds, recreation areas, home, factory and countryside in a continuous stream of health-giving greenery, a garden without limitation" (Hebbert, 2008:33). The Common did not follow this trend but rather stuck with a more

nineteenth century approach to management. The Common was not such a designed space as to compare with urban green spaces such as Central Park in New York but it was certainly purposefully designed and planned out and an effort was made to keep it orderly and neat. Different areas within the Common were designated for particular functions and activities which was also a characteristic of some urban green spaces at this time (Fisher, 2011; Eckbo, 1985).

In contrast to the functionless urban green spaces Hebbert (2008) discusses that were a result of the garden city ideal in the nineteenth to twentieth century, the Common in the early nineteenth century suffered perhaps from too many functions. The undefined nature of the Common was particularly evident when its use changed dramatically from January 1915 to about October 1915, when it was used by Military Authorities as a camp for large numbers of men, horses, mules and cattle. This was not the first time that site had been used as a campsite for the Military. This use of the Common caused a lot of damage and once the Military had left the site the residents of Rondebosch and the users of the Common began writing in to the City Council asking for the Common to be restored to its former state, some residents even suggested ways of improving the grounds cheaply. Many residents objected to the fact that the Common had been used as a Military site in the first place. The use of the Common as a Military campground demonstrates how human needs are given precedence over environmental concerns. In the same way that rivers are re-directed and wetlands drained, the immediate human need is given priority (McHarg, 1964; Bocking, 2005). It was only after the damage had been done that the local authorities realized that this use of the Common had been inappropriate and difficult to rectify in light of the demand placed on the resources that were available (Bocking, 2004). The City Council was able to bring the Common back up to a standard deemed acceptable by the residents of Rondebosch once again demonstrating the desire of many users and planners for urban green spaces to be orderly and aesthetically pleasing.

The purpose and function of the Common was unclear and as a result of this, conflicts arose. Ugglå (2014) discusses how in the quest to create one of Sweden's largest parks the main

challenge was coming up with an ideal or narrative for the space that all the actors involved could agree on. The conflict between the different groups is examined more fully later; the declaration of the Common as a protected area and a site of conservation in 1961 should have finalised the matter of what the purpose of the Common was, tensions over the space still persist in the present. As Uggla (2014) discusses, as long as the narrative of a space is not agreed upon and conflicts resolved, conflict will continue to arise. The declaration of the Common as a protected site of important biological value followed a global trend in the 1950s and 1960s of conservation awareness and importance and activity on the Common are controlled and limited (Hebbert, 2008). In this way the Common has been a controlled space for over one hundred years. Prior to the declaration of the Common as a heritage site and the end of the issuing of permits to play sport of the Common the very act of issuing permits was a means of control. The pitches were rented to soccer or cricket clubs under the discretion of the Office of the Town Clerk. This demonstrates the human desire for efficiency and control. The Common was not open for public use per se - only those who paid for a permit to play cricket and soccer on the grounds were actually allowed to. This calls into question whether or not the Common truly was a public space. Only those who belonged to a club and who could afford to pay for a permit were able to play. Coupled with the status of Rondebosch during apartheid as a White group area, the Common was not actually as much of a public open space as perhaps intended, or perceived by authorities. In this way the Common was constructed as a space of exclusion for certain groups of people and as a space for leisure by those who could afford it, or were allowed to be there at all. Urban green spaces in this way can be controlled and managed in such a way as to be exclusionary (Group Areas Act of 1950; Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015).

ii) Control and management

The level of management that goes into the overseeing of spaces like the Rondebosch Common was of particular note. As Eckbo discussed in his 1985 paper, cities are a reflection of the nature of man and the nature of man is to control and organize his surroundings in a way that is suited to him. From 1913 to 1914 a series of letters were sent between the Town Clerk's Office and the Office of the District Forest Officer with regards to the removal of sixty one pine trees from the Common, referred to as Rondebosch Park at the time, in order to enable the construction of the Park to proceed. The trees were to be removed so that more suitable trees that conformed better to the proposed formal layout of a park could be planted. At first the District Forest Officer refused the request to remove these trees but eventually, after no complaints were received from residents, permission was given to remove the trees. This correspondence suggests that the Rondebosch Common was not simply about nature but a certain kind of nature to serve a specific purpose. The use of the word 'construction' in particular points to intentions of the way of thinking of urban green spaces during this time. Influence from Europe and North America can be felt by the desire to build an urban green space that meets certain criteria in terms of design and appearance prevalent at the time, this would be the tail end of the trend towards flowing lawns and groupings of trees before the advent of the Olmstead-inspired ideal of the countryside flowing into the city (Fisher, 2011; Bocking, 2005; Hebbert, 2008). Bocking (2005) writes that by the nineteenth century the value of nature as an essential, urban amenity had firmly taken hold, however it was never simply about nature. These spaces were "artifice, embedded with diverse political and social implications and meanings" (2005:5) and so issues of aesthetics came into play as landscape design emerged as an arena of expertise. Engaging in leisure activities in a certain kind of green space became important in societies. The Church Lands Act of 1909, which mandated that the Common was the responsibility of the local authorities, stated that the area known as the Rondebosch Common, was to be set aside for the recreational use and enjoyment of the residents of the area and that the municipality of Mowbray-Rondebosch were responsible to enforce this public right. The City Clerk's Office saw the re-design and construction of the

Common as a fulfilment of their responsibility to ensure that residents could make good use of and enjoy the leisure activities in the Common.

In the situation described above we see how the City Council conformed to popular ideas of what a park should look like in this time period. As a member of the British Empire they would have been influenced by popular English and European urban green space design. The idea popularised by Olmstead of urban green spaces as the ‘emerald necklaces’ of the city, which implied something that is pretty and pleasing to look at, can be seen to influence the decision of the City Council to remove the pine trees in order to plant flowering plants, arranged in a particular manner. There is a linkage between beauty and order which can be seen by the emergence of urban green space ‘design’ and is exemplified in the above case (Hebbert, 2008; Thompson, 1972; Xiaoxiang, 1995). This is reminiscent of the Mexican case in which Wakild (2007) writes that the then president Porfirio Diaz (1876-1911) used nature almost as works of art in order to decorate the city. The District Forest Officer’s initial objection to the removal of the trees appears to come from a place of pure conservation - the protection of nature for nature’s sake but the Town Clerk is quick to remind him that the ‘purpose’ of the Common is to serve the needs of the residents of the Mowbray-Rondebosch municipality and what they need is a well-functioning park, which they are trying to build. It is interesting to note that the Common as it was with the pine trees was not considered to be a park despite being an open green space with lawns and trees, it needed to be constructed into a park. The laying out of the ground and the removal of the unsightly trees in favour of more aesthetically pleasing one's ties in with notions of the human tendency to transform nature into what we desire it to be, into what is pleasing to us in that moment (Bocking, 2005; Xiaoxiang, 1995).

Further evidence of this desire to construct urban green spaces in order to suit current trends and ideals occurred once the Town Clerk’s Office had issued a tender for the removal of the trees and the job had begun. The Curator of Public Gardens and the Superintendent of Tree Planting discovered that trees were being removed and wrote to the Town Clerk requesting that the

process of removing the trees be stopped as they had not been consulted prior to the decision to remove the trees. These two individuals believed that each tree should be examined to assess if any of them could be saved and would contribute to the laying out of the land as a park. They found that the way in which the trees were clumped together resulted in the trees having no branches except for the extreme top and from an ornamental point of view, were useless. At first the actions of the Superintendent and the Curator to stop the cutting down of the trees seemed to be to preserve them but their assessment of the trees as being useless because they provided no ornamental value provides some insight into how nature in cities was regarded at this time. In place of the trees that were removed jacaranda trees and red-flowering gum trees were planted. A consequence of these kinds of actions, carried out by the Council and driven by the desire to follow European trends, is the homogenisation of urban green spaces. Graham Young (1993) discusses how most South African urban green spaces, particularly older ones, look the same and lack character and originality. Recreation, amenity and aesthetics were regarded as the primary function of urban parks with design based on horticultural science rather than ecology. In other words, historical park design in South Africa has been influenced largely by forces of the Global North, which can be attributed in part as its status as a member of the British Empire, and has lacked an understanding of the dynamics of natural, ecological processes and instead focused on aesthetics, recreation and amenity. The results of this are parks that look the same and lack identity and a sense of place. That the Council wanted to cut down trees in order to build a park is in line with assertions made by Young (1993) and Eckbo (1985) that urban nature was not about ecology and nature being valued in and of itself, but rather about aesthetically pleasing trees and open lawns.

“As time goes on and human society grows more complex...and more exploitive of nature the forms of urban construction become...more thoroughly divorced from nature” (Eckbo, 1985:222). The natural state of the Common had been lost as it was used for grazing, golf, soccer and cricket up until around 1954. The form the Common took was a direct result of what was useful and needed by society. It had been used to graze, for football, as open space and as a military campground. The needs of society dictated the use and form of the Common. As a result

of this, the space was heavily used. Lee, Min and Ohno (2012) found in their research that green spaces with an explicit function, such as a sport fields, were more likely to be made use of. This is true in the case of the Common: the Council's office received numerous applications to play sports on the Common. In contrast to this, the immediate residents of Rondebosch preferred the Common be used as a picnic area and playground for children, they valued the Common as an urban amenity, providing their families with nature in the city. Urban residents often think incorrectly of urban green spaces as samples of the nature they would find outside of the city (Fisher, 2011). Central Park in New York is an extreme case of this in which a massive amount of construction went into creating the park that exists today. Similarly, the Common was not a true representation of the indigenous nature that could be found outside the city but was nonetheless regarded as such.

Consistently throughout the letters from 1914-1954 the City Engineer received a constant stream of requests and complaints about various aspects of the Common. Many of these complaints were to do with the physical characteristics of the landscape, throughout the entire collection of letters it is possible to trace the many attempts that were made by the City Engineer department to level off the land by filling in depressions in the landscape. These depressions would fill with water in the winter and the Common would become covered in pools of water, as it still does today. Residents and officials complained about both the depressions and the pools of water. The natural appearance of the Common, with its depressions, was regarded as not quite in accordance with the way a park ought to be and interfered with the human use of it. As Xiaoxiang (1995) wrote, as society becomes more complex, such that urban green space trends are trans-continental, the demands they place on their environment increases as well. The users of the Common and the Council both want the depressions filled in and to find a way to stop the Common from flooding in the winter because those characteristics go against what a park is supposed to be. In this case the Council did not have the financial means to undertake a hard engineering solution to solve this issues but the City Engineer continued to attempt cheap ways to fill in the depressions. A letter sent from the City Engineer to the Town Clerk in October of 1948 expressed frustration that he felt with regards to this issue. He detailed the various ways his

department had tried to fill the depressions and that there was nothing he could do about the flooding of the Common in winter, that it was simply the nature of that land. In a separate letter in response to a resident complaint about the swampy nature of the Common in the winter, the City Engineer responded that there were elements of this swampy Common that was to be enjoyed and these seasonal changes were to be expected.

The rejection of the natural cycles of the Common, and its subsequent flooding, is an example of the human desire to change the natural environment to better suit the desires of society. Bocking (2005) discusses the tendency of human kind to exert dominance of nature by re-shaping it and destroying it so that it better suits human needs and uses. The letters from the residents of Rondebosch requesting that dramatic changes be made to the Common so that they could better use it is in line with what Bocking notes. There appears to be an instinctive human desire to change their surroundings to make them as hospitable as possible. The Common, prior to becoming a National Heritage site in 1961, was an urban green space that was constructed and managed to some extent but not to the degree that was desired. Xiaoxiang (1994) described the Western Garden, as “an outdoor green architecture” (1994:22). There is a need to design natural landscapes in urban areas; this varies from heavily designed spaces such as Central Park in New York to the “natural” design popular in Chinese cities. By Western Garden, Xiaoxiang refers to urban green space design in Europe and North America during prior to the twentieth century, which would influence a colonial Cape Town, as evidenced by the planting of flowering trees along the borders of the Common, the attempts to fill in the depressions and others. Another attempt at green architecture on the Common was made in the early to mid-twentieth century when the Common was continuously excavated to reach fertile soil in order to plant more aesthetically pleasing trees in a more desirable distribution. Large parts of the Common were also used as cricket and soccer pitches as well as a golf course. This usage is hardly conducive to maintaining a ‘natural’ landscape, which at that time was not the intention of urban green spaces. However these uses of the Rondebosch Common may have contributed to its longevity till it became protected in 1961. “nature in the city remains precariously as residues of accident, rare acts of personal conscience, or rarer testimony to municipal wisdom” (McHarg, 1964:2), the

reason that the Common was able to remain undeveloped in the nineteenth century was its protection under the Church Lands Act of 1909 which specified that the land be kept as a public open green space for the use and enjoyment of the people who live in the area. The task of ensuring that this took place was the responsibility of the Rondebosch-Mowbray municipality, and then later City of Cape Town, who benefitted from the issuing of sport pitches and permits for the usage of the Common. This profitability may have attributed to the value of saving the Common from development.

iii) Conflict on the Common

At the end of June 1915 a Mr Millard submitted a petition to the Office of the Town Clerk on behalf of the residents of Rondebosch. The petition objected to the pattern in which trees on the Common were being planted. There were at least four rows of trees, namely jacarandas, flowering gums and pepper trees, planted along the edges of the Common. Residents argued that this would block the view of the park and the view from their houses would be spoiled. They also argued that any ‘objectionable characters’ would be able to carry out their misdeeds under the cover provided by the trees because they would not be seen from outside the Common. The residents proposed that the area be kept as an open space, removing all trees but the jacarandas, and that the myrtle hedge be kept at a height not exceeding four feet six inches. They went on further to stress that what the residents desired was that the area be kept as an open space, planted with shrubs and sparingly with larger trees providing an ideal spot for children to play. Di Masso (2012) considers the political nature of public spaces and its relevance as an avenue for people to express their citizenship and belonging. There are numerous instances of this kind in which the residents of Rondebosch, and of Cape Town as a whole, have tried to exercise their citizenship and claim over the Rondebosch Common. Communities value their common spaces and the form they take directly affects how they feel about them and the sense of belonging in that space and the sense togetherness as a community (Young, 1993; Jim and Chen, 2006; Talen, 2000).

The Town Clerk at the time responded to the petition writing that the decision to plant the thick bank of trees had been made by the previous council, prior to Unification 1910, and that they had already decided to remove them prior to receiving their petition and that it had been done. The trees that had not been removed were for the purpose of beautifying and improving the locality. Mr Millard responded to the Town Clerk stating that the rows that had been left on the Common were still too thick and blocked the view from the houses closest to it as well as making the centre grounds dangerous for women and children. The Town Clerk responded to Mr Millard by

stating that he and the committee were satisfied that the space had been designed in a manner that served the best interest of the community, effectively disregarding his complaints. As Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault (2015) mentioned in their discussion around public space and how it is used, when it gets down to the nuts and bolts the control over a space lies in whoever has legal control of it. Public spaces have social elements and are given meaning and significance by those who use it and in many cases the local government, in its management of the Common, ignored the meanings and purpose of the Common as created by its users (Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant, 2004). This is the first instance that will be examined in which the City Council is so set on their ideas and plans for the Common that they almost fail at fulfilling their mandate to maintain the grounds for the enjoyment of the public at large.

The determination on the part of the City Council to enforce their plan for the Common regardless of the opinions of the residents of Rondebosch is reminiscent of Olmstead and Vaux's creation of Central Park in the second half of the nineteenth century. They even set up signs to remind visitors to the Park how they were supposed to use it, how they should behave whilst in it. They had an idea of what the space should be and they insisted on carrying it through. The City Council demonstrated some of this same determination to have their plans for the Common implemented. Another instance in which the authority planned public spaces without taking into account what the people who would use those spaces desired was discussed in Wakild's 2007 paper. She describes how planners in Mexico instituted designs which suited the metropolitan and cosmopolitan ideas of cities they had but that actually caused more problems for urban residents than it was worth. In case of the conflict over the design of the Common between the City Council and the residents of Rondebosch there appeared to be in disagreement as to what the Common was for. It could be argued that the flaws that Mr Millard pointed out, safety concerns and constricting the view, were legitimate and should be taken into account in the planning of the Common. Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault (2015) and Di Masso (2012) both write that public spaces provide a medium in which public debate can occur and the civil society can express their citizenship and belonging by confronting those who hold the political power, who usually hold the power over a public space. In the case of the residents of Rondebosch

versus the City Council no debate was able to occur because the complaints of the residents were never taken as legitimate and no attempt as compromise was made.

Di Masso (2012) argues that demands on public space are representative of broader struggles over belonging, identity and civic entitlements. In colonial and apartheid Cape Town many spaces were controlled and the governments accustomed to enacting their policies and plans without consulting citizens. This type of control was a means of exhibiting power (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). Given these two points it is fair to say that the City Council, during this time period, existed during a time in which public spaces were used to exert control over the South African population. The lack of willingness to incorporate the needs of the residents into the planning of the Common suggests that there was a disconnect between the idea the City Council had for the Common and the one the residents had. Most often conflict over public spaces arises over differences in the purpose of the land as the purpose of public space is not inherent in its being (Uggla, 2014). By planting flowering trees along the border of the Common the City Council is attempting to make the Common better fit the ideal image of a park, that was of flowing lawns and flowering trees that was popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's. During this time the Union of South Africa was under the dominion of the British Empire and therefore subject to popular trends. On the other hand the residents of Rondebosch simply desired a safe open space where the community could watch out for each other and enjoy the outdoors; they wanted a safe place for their families and a lovely view from their windows. Public green spaces, particularly in the context of a suburb, can represent to a community their collective beliefs in family and community life (Bocking, 2005).

Mr Millard made the point in the petition that the residents felt it was important for the Common to be kept as a physically open space that allowed it to be monitored by other residents so that users of the space could feel safe and criminal or deviant activities would be discouraged.

Another resident, at a different, time had also written into the City to complain about suspicious characters hanging around the Common. Given the time period, and the racial segregation that was going on in Cape Town during it, the residents could have wanted the space to remain open in order to make sure that the space remained a white-only space. Bickford-Smith (1995) wrote that until the 1880's the main concern of the dominant class in Cape Town was the maintenance of their position, this led to instances of social and racial exclusion. In later years the growing black middle class warranted more regimented segregation in order to maintain the status quo of white superiority. Part of this was the creation of the negative stereotypes of black people as criminals and dangerous. Conscious or unconscious, it is likely that the middle-to-upper class residents of the white suburb of Rondebosch wanted the space to be highly visible in order to ensure no criminals, or black people, made use of the space (Bickford-Smith, 1995). From the materials it appears that the disconnect is that the local government fail to understand and take into account the lived realities of the Rondebosch residents. The local government appears to be more concerned with aesthetics than the social and political realities on the ground. In the present day these realities are still ignored all over the world as evidenced in Ugglá (2014), Di Masso (2012), Fisher (2011), Lee, Min and Ohno (2012) and others. This begs the question of what the true intention of urban green spaces are, are they for aesthetic appeal, resident enjoyment or a biological imperative?

The residents' assertion that the Common needed to be maintained as a physically open space supports findings that urban green spaces are vulnerable to criminal activity particularly if visibility is impeded by vegetation (Bogar and Beyer, 2015). It has been discussed already how communities are able to form bonds over urban green spaces by creating meanings for the space and behaviours and attitudes that align with those meanings (Talen, 2000; Kyle, Mowen, Tarrant, 2004). Keeping the Common physically open allows for the residents to monitor, and control, each others behaviours to ensure the Common is used appropriately. This is a form of social control which provides the residents with a sense of safety because they can physically see what is happening on the Common (Bogar and Beyer, 2015). In addition, as mentioned previously, the issue of racial and social segregation and the association of people of colour with violence and

crime are likely to have played a role in feeling of safety. Maintaining the Common as a physically open space not only allowed for residents to monitor each other but for them to ensure that outsiders did not make use of the space. Part of forming a community is the creation of insiders and outsider, an us and them, and the creation of these others as threats. In this way the residents of Rondebosch desire to protect their community, and associated green space, from outsiders by making it more difficult to exist in their spaces (Kitchin, 1998; Sack, 1993). Decision makers on the other hand, are not insiders either and are unaware of the particular ideals the residents are trying to create and maintain and because of this, and a lack of willingness to asked residents what they want, it is easy for decision makers to become fixated on their idea for a space and what they hope to achieve and forget the users (Bogar and Beyer, 2015; Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014).

In 1916 the residents of Rondebosch once again sent a petition to the City Council this time in protest to the perceived bad condition the Common was in at the time. Portions of the Common had been used by the Military Authorities as a camp for large numbers of men, horses, mules and cattle. The Common had been badly damaged and at the time of the petition no effort had been made to restore the Common to its previous condition. The petition asserted that Rondebosch was a respectable neighbourhood and it was important to the people who lived there that it be kept up to a certain standard. Public spaces can be intrinsic in group, in this case the Rondebosch community, definitions of who they are and how they are regarded by outsiders. Public spaces such as the Common represent complex patterns of material aspects, meaning, values, and social activities (Di Masso, 2012). The physical appearance of the Common directly feeds into the identity of the Rondebosch community as a collective; how the Common looks is how the community looks. Social class also plays a role in that different social groups have different social roles and rules which correspond with their physical location. Rondebosch is a middle-to-upper class neighbourhood and, according to social rules, should look the part by matching the social image that the residents associate themselves with. Therefore the Common could not be permitted to exist in a derelict state because that reflected back on the residents themselves and influenced their own self-identification. During this time the vast majority of

middle-to-upper class would have consisted of white people and as non-white people were constructed as violent and criminals, a racial identity may have played a role in the residents' identity (Talen, 2000; Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015; Bogar and Beyer, 2015). White neighbourhoods were maintained at a much higher level than that of non-white neighbourhoods and the residents could have viewed the derelict appearance of the Common as distinctly not-white (Di Masso, 2012; Kitchin, 1998). The Rondebosch residents made certain that the Council was taken their responsibility of maintaining the Common seriously. I read numerous letters from Rondebosch residents complaining about various aspects of the Common. Residents complained about the cows being a danger to the children and nursemaids, 'undesirable' characters using the grounds at night, the flooding in the winter and the conditions of the ground. These complaints eventually led to a list of regulations being drawn up which took the Council a number of years to finalise.

The act of banding together to form a ratepayers association and putting together a petition in itself can be taken as an act of community building. Communities are often at their strongest, in terms of togetherness, when there is a shared 'other', or enemy, that they must fight against (Di Masso, 2012; Sack, 1998). The Common acts as a symbol of shared interest amongst the residents that pulls them together and provides a platform on which they can agree (Talen, 2000; Sack, 1998; Kitchin, 1993). In this way, when a situation such as that described in the previous paragraph arises, the residents are able to band together and act out politically to insist that their concerns be heard, in this case that the Common be brought back to a community agreed standard. The ability of the Rondebosch residents to act out politically in this way is also a function of their own privilege as a result of being both part of the middle-to-upper social class and dominant racial, white, class. If Rondebosch was not a wealthy, white neighbourhood during the pre-independence era, their concerns would not have received the same validation (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). The residents of Rondebosch were successful in instigating the local municipality into reparative actions. Public spaces during this time period were used as instruments of political control and as an expression of power and privilege and so it was in the interest of the local government to maintain the Common as well because it reinforced the belief

or ideology that white neighbourhoods were superior and kept the dominant class appeased (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015; Talen 2000; Di Masso, 2012).

Urban green spaces can be heavily controlled and managed spaces not just in terms of their social dynamics but their physical dynamics as well. There are numerous exchanges between the Town Clerk and the City Engineer discussing minor repairs such as the bench repairs which needed to be done on the Common. In most cases before any action could be undertaken a vote had to be taken by the relevant committee or sub-committee. Xiaoxiang (1994) posits that the level of control that goes into the control of an urban green space increases with the complexity of society and technological ability. I believe this proves true in the case of Rondebosch, particularly with regards to the complexity of local government. Often there are evident miscommunications between, in the archive documents, different departments which lead to work being done without the approval of all the interested parties, or work being left unfinished and in many cases, not being completed at all. An example of this is given at the beginning of this section and there are a few instances in which the City Engineer had to hold off on initiating changes and repairs on the Common because all the relevant committees and sub-committees had to meet to approve such actions. Activities which occurred on the grounds of the Common were controlled through the issuing of permits. Fisher (2011) discussed the micro-managing that went into Central Park during the early nineteenth century and the same management can be seen during this same period on the Common. Residents, or other citizens, had to request permission in order to sell goods on the Common or to play sports. The majority of the correspondence that I was able to gather from the Town Clerks office revolved around the allocation of pitches on the Common for football and cricket. The demand was often so high that not every applicant received a spot. Unfortunately these activities created narratives of the Common that ran in direct contradiction to that of the residents. The noise generated and the crowds gathered by the playing of sports on the Common challenged the identity the Rondebosch residents had desired and created for the space. Sport players would dress and undress openly on the Common which violated the standards of appropriate behaviour for the Common and the suburb at large that the residents had constructed and conformed to. When the meanings of a space are challenged it

causes those who have a claim to it to strike out. The residents of Rondebosch did not think that the act of changing outdoors in a public space in which families could be found was appropriate for the Common (Talen, 2000; Sack, 1993; Di Masso, 2012; Ugglá, 2014).

Another bone of contention amongst the Rondebosch residents was the amount of noise generated by the soccer matches, the number of ‘outsiders’ that came in to watch the games and the frequency with which brawls would break out. These activities were considered by the residents as not belonging on the Common. These activities went against the meanings and ideals that they had attached to their neighbourhood and the Common in particular (Talen, 2000; Sack, 1993). By issuing permits to non-residents to make use of the Common, the Council were letting in ‘outsiders’ that were unaware of the standards of behaviour that the Rondebosch residents had created and adhered to. For the newcomers to the space it was a place of sport, and all that was associated with it, which actively went against the standards for Rondebosch the residents had created. This links back to belonging and identity, which are inherently linked to ideas around class and race, particularly during the pre-independence era. The residents were stripped of their control over their neighbourhood and people of different social standings, different standards of behaviour, were given reason and permission to come into their space. This inspired the residents to once again to exercise their power, stemming from their higher social class and privileged race, to act out politically and put together a petition. (Di Masso, 2012). This petition eventually led to a compromise wherein the Council agreed not to issue permits for the land closest to the homes of the residents. It was hoped that this would move the problem away from the residents whilst still allowing the land to be used for sports. The Council constantly had to balance the desires of the residents of Rondebosch with the plans they had for the Common which included the residents of Cape Town and not just of Rondebosch. This instance of compromise is reminiscent of the case of the People’s Park in which the University of California agreed to set aside a portion of the land to remain open as a public open space in order to appease those who were protesting proposed developments. In many cases the purpose of urban green spaces is not inherent and so conflicts arise when different groups seek to create divergent meanings and uses (Mitchell, 1995; Ugglá, 2014).

After the compromise had been reached the residents continued onto put forward another petition. It can be deduced from these continued petitions that the residents continued to resent and object to the regular presence of ‘outsiders’ in their space and had not allowed themselves to become accustomed to it (Kitchin, 1998; Sack, 1993). This petition complained about four cricket pitches that had been built on the northern end of the Common, along Park road. It claimed that the matches attracted large numbers of spectators who would stand on the roads and pavements, shouting, and would produce large amounts of litter. Carts and other vehicles would obstruct the roads and residents faced danger from cricket balls as they crossed into residents’ yards where young children were playing. These activities interfered with the ideals that the residents had for their neighbourhood and for their Common. As mentioned in the initial petition discussed, Rondebosch, and subsequently the Common, was a family-focused neighbourhood in which safety of women and children was emphasised. The petition after the departure of the Military emphasised the importance of order and aesthetics to the community and in keeping with more expected sentiments it is not difficult to understand why the residents objected to the cricket matches and what they brought to the Common (Talen, 2000; Di Masso, 2012). The Town Clerk responded on behalf of the Council that he did not think it was right for him to recommend to the Council that they stop the issuing of cricket permits. What they did do was move the pitches farther away from the private residents. As in the case of the football pitches, the conflict was resolved through a kind of compromise. The Rondebosch Church Lands Act No 27 of 1909 specified that the land be used for public enjoyment and recreation and mandated the responsibility of this to the relevant local municipality. The problem came with what constituted public enjoyment and who exactly the ‘public’ was. The City Council made the space available to anybody who wished to play sport on the Common, so that it may be publicly enjoyed, but this use of the Common adversely affects its enjoyment by the people who lived closest to it.

The Rondebosch residents had one idea of what the Common should be and how it should be used whilst the City Council appeared to have another. Public spaces, in this case a public green

space, can be central to people's self-definition, as individuals and as a group or community, of who they are and what they stand for based on belonging to a place or the group that belongs to a place. This place-identity can be very important to a community and they may be willing to take steps to protect and preserve it. The cricket and soccer matches that took place on the Common worked against the place-identity that the Rondebosch residents had constructed. These activities brought the kind of behaviours that were not seen as appropriate for the space which caused the residents to band together and reject the activities (Di Masso, 2012). Through habitual occupation the residents of Rondebosch came to 'mark' it as their own thereby personalizing it and wishing to exert control over it in any way they could. This is when we see conflicts between the sports players and the residents and between the residents and the Council. Issuing a formal petition to the Council was the resident's way of exerting what power they had to dictate the appropriate behaviours and activities for a space they regarded as their own. The residents were often left unsatisfied because they did not actually possess control over the Common and the Council would often do as they saw appropriate; the residents possess some social and political control over the Common but the Council possessed the legal control, and it is the legal control that matters the most (Di Masso, 2012; Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015).

"The role of greenery in the city is not self-evident" (Uggla, 2014:360), and as a result of this the chances of people not agreeing on what a particular urban green space should be used for are high. Up until the City Council decided to stop the leasing out of land for the playing of sports in 1939 the Office of the Town Clerk received a steady stream of grievances from Rondebosch residents with regards to the problems caused by the playing of club sports on the Common. He also received letters from other branches of the government, such as the Mayor's Office, stating that they had been receiving complaints from Rondebosch residents. In 1929 the Cape District Cricket Union attempted to address some of the complaints of the residents by writing in to the Town Clerk's office requesting that amenities such as changing rooms and toilets be provided on the Common. The residents of Rondebosch had stopped giving water to sport players and allowing them access to their facilities and so sport players had to travel far in order to access water. By 1933 the sport unions were still requesting the provision of toilet and changing room

facilities which the City was unable to provide due to budget constraints. And so the issues were never truly addressed until the City decided to stop issuing permits to use the land for sports in 1939. DiMasso (2012) wrote “In streets, squares, parks, and loose urban spaces, society renders itself visible as citizenship finds in them a place to be enacted and demanded” (2012:124), this statement emphasises the political nature of public spaces, individuals and groups become political subjects who able to enact their citizenship and their ‘rights to the city’ because of it. Up until this point, the early twentieth century, the citizenship being enacted is by privileged group, white and middle-upper class, during a time when other social groups would not have been able to do the same. The cricketers and soccer players felt entitled to use the space and enjoy it in the way they saw fit because they had paid to be there, the crowds that gathered to watch also felt a right to the space because it was their city too and the Rondebosch residents and ratepayers felt that the Common belonged to them and their preferences should be put first because they were the closest spatially. By writing in complaints and starting petitions the Rondebosch Ratepayers were entering the political sphere in order to protect their ideas of what the Common should be (Di Masso, 2012).

There were, and still are, multiple opinions on what the shape, form and purpose of the Rondebosch Common should be. A series of letters appeared in the Cape Times in 1990 with regards to the development of the Common. At the end of May the Cape Times published the letter of a man who claimed that the Common was a wasteland in need of development. He proposed that the area needed to be trimmed, fenced and the paths should be tarred. This letter received a large amount of backlash from people who rejected these ideas as ludicrous and that the man clearly did not understand the Common’s value. One resident of Rondebosch even went so far as to state that non-Rondebosch residents did not have a claim on what the Common should be used for or what it should look like (Wodrich, 1990). This resident expressed the same kind of ideas as that of Mr Millard in 1915 and demonstrates that the community continued to have a strong attachment to the Common even after it’s declaration as a conservation area in 1961. It is likely even that in its current form the Common better represented the ideals of the neighbourhood and the residents. The direct users of a space are the ones who create its

meanings and feel the strongest attachment to it, in this case the residents of Rondebosch. The exchange in the Cape Times shows how an individual is able to exert their social and political agency to express opinions over a public space. This aligns with Di Masso's (2012) position that public spaces prove a medium for individuals to enact their citizenship and claims to their city. The man who was a resident of Rondebosch particularly represents this as he questioned whether non-Rondebosch residents even had the right to suggest what the Common should look like. He argued that the Common was originally meant for the use and enjoyment of the 'Rondebosch Parish' and that, in a way, still applied today. This for him, along with those living in physical proximity to the Common, provided him with the justification that his opinion meant more than that of an 'outsider'. The sense of belonging and ownership over a public place can be a very important factor in the way people feel or express their opinions of the value of that space. These residents felt much the same way as the Rondebosch residents of seventy years previously. Both groups felt that their opinion mattered more because of their spatial proximity to the Common and because they interacted it with on a more frequent basis (Talen, 2000; Di Masso, 2012; Sack, 1993; Kitchin, 1998).

The attachments that people form to urban green spaces can be extremely valuable in the preservation of these areas. In the preservation of an urban green space it is important to ensure that the history, importance and value of the green space are not lost (Uggla, 2014). The residents of Rondebosch are not the only group committed to the preservation and well-being of the Common. The group, the Friends of the Rondebosch Common, have been instrumental in its effective management and continued preservation. The group was founded in 1991 as a non-profit organisation working in liaison with the City's nature conservations department and other municipal structures that deal with the management of the Common. In 2007 the City attempted to auction off a piece of land adjacent to the Common to be developed for housing. The Friends of the Rondebosch Common claimed this land was part of the Rondebosch Common. The Rondebosch Common Management Plan stated that the City could not alienate land that had been formerly part of the Rondebosch Church Lands Act. Friends of the Rondebosch Common brought it to the attention of the City that the land they were attempting to sell was The Camp

Ground which included the Rondebosch Common (Powell, 2007). This was found to be true and the sale of the land was halted. The role that the Friends of the Rondebosch Common play in the management and preservation of the Common is exemplified in this situation. The Common is significant as a site of historical and conservation value. In the face of rapid urban development and the demand for housing provision close to the city centre there are people who would prefer the Common be used for housing or roads. The Friends of the Rondebosch Common ensure that the meanings and significance of the Common, albeit those created by a particular group, are not forgotten. Ugglá (2014) found that “actors need to tell persuasive stories about a particular place, assigning meaning to a certain course of action” (2014:360) in order to construct a place as valuable and worthy of preservation. The residents of the Rondebosch and the Friends of the Rondebosch Common in a way ensure that the Common will remain protected by continuing to use it and give it meaning as well as by ensuring that its past stories are remembered as well. The Friends of the Rondebosch Common even went so far as to produce a book entitled ‘Rondebosch Common’ which contained illustrations by Betty Dwight. The book gives some of the history of the Common and gives details on importance as a biodiversity hotspot (The Friends of the Rondebosch Common, 2008; Ugglá, 2014).

In cities green spaces are not always equitably distributed or some areas have urban green spaces of a much higher quality than others (Barbosa et al, 2007; McConnachie and Shackleton, 2010). Present day Cape Town exists in a postcolonial and post-apartheid context. Cape Town was designed to maintain colonial, and then apartheid, power and to control certain spaces; because of this certain spaces hold a greater meaning for what they used to symbolize to those who subjugated during these time periods. There are many parts of Cape Town that were places of exclusion and repression in the colonial and apartheid eras and as such still hold the pain of those memories for certain groups of people. The suburb of Rondebosch is one of these places as people of colour were forcibly removed from the area in order to maintain racial divisions which were solidified under the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). With the end of apartheid groups that had previously not been able to exercise any kind of political and social power were now able to do so but when they did they found that they were

still inhibited by the social or class standing. The Rondebosch residents were of a higher class and a privileged racial class and that was why their protest actions led to some result, but after independence many previously disadvantaged groups found they were still unable to make their concerns heard in the same way (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). In March of 1997 members of the Masincedane and Kwezilomso housing schemes threatened to occupy the Common on Human Rights day unless adequate land was found for them. This had the desired effect as municipality officials arranged an urgent meeting with the South African Homeless People's Federation to address their concerns. The City could not allow the occupation of the Common and feared a confrontation between the group and Rondebosch residents (Weiss, 1997). The emergency meeting was successful and the occupation of the Common was averted. City officials had outlined for the South African Homeless People's Federation the work that they were doing on a new housing policy and how they could help the group find land on which to build (Weiss, 1997). Andrea Weiss of the Cape Argus wrote that it had been inevitable that the Common would be used by someone as a symbolic site of protest action. The protesters had chosen the Common because they knew the importance the place had for those who lived in the areas and for the City. The Common has emerged as a highly conspicuous spot on which to make oneself be seen.

Many residents of Rondebosch and City of Cape Town Officials disagreed with the use of the Common as a location for protest action. Once again the purpose of the Common was in conflict between two groups of users. The Common was not perceived in only one way. To the residents of Rondebosch the Common was a place where the community interacts with each other and with nature through jogging, walking their dogs, flying kites and other such activities. But to a whole group of people the Common was representative of a space they once had access to and then were forcibly denied access. Now that the space was truly public once again they felt the need to exercise their right to the Common that had once been taken from them (Houssay-Holzschuch, and Thébault, 2015; Di Masso, 2012). The Common, as a public space, was not only a space for the enjoyment of nature and to decorate the city but an inherently political space in which people expressed their citizenship and right to spaces within the city. In the particular

South African context not all groups of people had been able to express this right and this is why in the post-apartheid era it is important that a space such as the Common was opened up to all groups of society. However, because of the protected nature of the Common and its importance as a biodiversity hotspot, the activities that can occur on the Common are limited, which also at times causes conflict (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015; Di Masso, 2012).

In early 2012 once again the Common became a focal point for larger societal issues. An application was lodged with City of Cape Town for permission to host a three-day People's Land, Housing and Jobs Summit on Rondebosch Common. The purpose of the Summit was to place segregation, land redistribution and opposition to the privatisation of public space on the City's socio-political agenda. Before the Rondebosch Common was known as the Rondebosch Common, it was used, as was the entirety of the Cape Peninsula, by indigenous Khoisan people. After colonisation the sections of the common became a racially integrated community. More and more of the Common was enclosed for housing until about 40 hectares remained. The Common ceased being a true common when people of colour were removed in order to comply with the Group Areas Act and were not able to return until after 1994. In this way the Common was not really a common area open for public enjoyment, it became a pseudo-common open and accessible to the wealthy and mostly white population of the area. The symbolism of holding a summit such as this on the Common was therefore significant and clear. The Take Back the Common movement aimed to liberate public spaces such as the Rondebosch Common which belong to everyone. The purpose of the movement was not to invade the Common and cause damage, only to gather in groups (Sack, 1993; Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). The Take Back the Common movement came as the result of past injustices that had been done to a particular group of people and the failure for those injustices to be adequately addressed. Groups that had been forcibly removed from the Common felt a claim to it similar to that felt by current Rondebosch residents. They felt a historical claim to the land and desired to use it in order to make themselves be heard. The Common's history held meaning and symbolism for the group and its location would bring the attention they need to their cause (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015).

5) Conclusion

Through my studies of the Rondebosch Common I sought to gain an understanding of how the use and perception of urban green spaces have changed throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. During the first half of the twentieth century the local government was influenced by its status as a member of the British Empire and that dominated the narratives around urban green spaces (Thompson, 1972). In addition the racial and class segregation of the pre-independence era also influenced who was permitted access to certain spaces and, in turn, how those spaces were seen by local residents, and by residents of Cape Town more broadly (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). These led to numerous conflicts over the purpose of the space and how it should be used, even once the space was declared a conservation site, and it's purpose solidified, conflicts over the space remained. Increasingly urban green spaces are being valued for their biodiversity and ecological benefits but in previous centuries urban green spaces were valued mostly for what they could offer urban residents and how they could improve city living (Bocking 2005; McHarg, 1964; Eckbo, 1985).

The Common was used as sporting grounds, for grazing, and as a military campsite up until 1964 when its significance as a historical and ecological site were recognised. Up until this point its purpose had been to serve whatever need urban residents had at the time. The main purpose of the Common was to be used to fulfil human needs. When an urban green space fails to meet the exact standards and requirements placed on it by urban residents it becomes a point of contention (Bocking, 2015; Eckbo, 1985). This is shown by the numerous complaints from urban residents about the depressions in the Common and the seasonal flooding. The perception of the value of nature influences the form it takes and in the case of the Common, the differing perceptions of the space led to conflicts on what form it should take (Bocking, 2005). Urban green spaces are, in many cases, designed, constructed and managed spaces. In the construction of cities, nature was tamed and changed in order to better suit human needs and ideas. Present day trends in urban green space design attempt to focus more on ecological and scientific designs to address

problems such as environmental change and the decline in biodiversity in many regions. Many countries are moving toward more sustainable urban development planning and the production of green or eco cities (Freytag, Gössling and Mössner, 2014). The present day Rondebosch Common is an important biodiversity site and is protected for containing Cape Flats Sand Fynbos which the International Union for Conservation of Nature has classified as critically endangered. This current use of the Common falls in line with trends toward more ecological urban green space design, the importance placed on the conservation of the world's biodiversity (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015).

The archival documents show an obvious bias towards flowering trees, and for an urban public space such as the Common to be very much a controlled and designed space. The documents coming out of the City Clerk's office give the impression that when any design choices were made about the Common, aesthetics were giving top priority, and that even the opinion of the Rondebosch residents were not taken into account despite the Church Land Act of 1909 stating that the land be used to for the enjoyment of the community. Suburbs, as spaces where people make their homes and communities, are open to being constructed in a particular way if most members of the community agree on that image. The Common provided a medium for these ideas to be contested and challenged and this led to a great deal of conflict (Talen, 2000; Bocking, 2005). As Hebbert (2008) discusses in his paper on the evolution of green design in the West, the good intentions of city planners and local municipality were not so easy to implement as they'd assumed, or even suitable to the situation on the ground. The archival materials demonstrate how decisions were made in committees and subcommittees without much consideration of what the people who used the Common wanted, even waving off their concerns when petitions from residents were sent to them. For the residents of Rondebosch, the Common provided a cause for them to bond over, strengthening community ties.

One of the reasons the Common was such an interesting site for study was its location in the suburbs of Cape Town. Bocking (2005) discusses how nature in the suburbs embodies "not just

an approach to planning, but as a set of ideas and images about family and community life” (2005:5). I found this to be true in the case of the Common. As a green space located in a suburb, a well-to-do one, the residents of Rondebosch created meanings which they attached to the Common, which were centred on family and community life. For them the Common provided an important and valuable space for children to play, to go on walks and picnics and provided pleasing views to those who lived nearest the Common. To the residents it was important that the Common be a highly visible space so that the community could keep watch on the activities occurring within the Common and so that people would be discouraged from partaking in undesirable activities. Particularly prior to the end of apartheid and the opening up of the country, the Common was a public space that was claimed by a small group and in a way a public space was privatised. This process of ‘othering’ was easier during the segregated years of colonial and apartheid Cape Town but is less so now. The meanings of public spaces are often in contention by different groups of actors and finding a common narrative is important to avoid conflict (Yuggla, 2014; Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). Urban green spaces, as with other public open spaces, are socio-political spaces in which people interact, create meanings and exercise the ownership and entitlement they feel to a space by virtue of their citizenship and use of the space. Di Masso writes that “Public spaces can be conceived as the natural arena for the enactment of the right to the city” (Di Masso, 2012:138), and this is evident in the case of the Rondebosch Common (Talen, 2000; Di Masso, 2012).

As a result of South Africa’s apartheid past, many of the historical residents of Rondebosch were forcibly removed through segregationist planning and laws such as the Group Areas Act of 1950. This creates a group of people with historical cultural and social claims to the space but without immediate access as a result of distance from the Common. Also, as a result of past apartheid planning, many of the neighbourhoods that had been constructed for non-whites, and where these people still mostly live, do not have adequate green space provision (McConnachie and Shackleton, 2010). This inequality caused the Common to be a sight of political action by those still suffering the effects of past policies. This supports Di Masso’s position that claims over public spaces are representative of larger issues of citizenship and belonging (Di Masso,

2012). Mitchell (1995) also discussed how people create meanings and belonging through continued use of a space and how they act out socially and politically when a space with special meaning to a group is threatened, or the meaning they have created is threatened. Urban green spaces can be sites of conflict when two groups of users wish to use it for different purposes. This is also the case with regards to the residents of Rondebosch rejecting the playing of club sports on the Common. More often than not, the group with the most political power triumphs over those with less. This can be seen by the City Council pushing forward with plans for the Common despite the valid concerns the residents have.. The group with the most legal and political power with regards to a public space is usually the group that wins (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015; Mitchell, 1995; Di Masso, 2012).

Many of the conflicts that arise over urban green spaces are a result of differences in perceptions with regards to what is appropriate for the space and to whom the space belongs. As a public open space it would technically be for the general public, but as we can see with the case of the Rondebosch Common, people become attached to the places they experience regularly over time (Talen, 2000). The meanings associated with spaces change over time; with old spaces such as the Common meanings have changed in part because of the country's history as a colony and as an apartheid state. This history creates tensions around the nature of public spaces, who has access to them and who does not, and who has a say in what they are used for, what meanings are associated with them, and these persist through time (Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2015). With regards to urban green spaces, these kinds of attachments are important for its survival. Land in urban areas is often desired for urban development and strong community attachment to a green space will aid in its continued existence (Uggla, 2014). Urban green spaces are important social spaces as well ecological. They aid in creating sense of place and provide a space for community interaction. Also, people living in greener urban areas experience better health regardless of socio-demographic characteristics. This makes urban green provision important as it provides an opportunity to improve the lives of urban residents through the provision of green spaces. The purpose of nature in the urban is most often to meet the needs of

urban residents, to fulfil a human need. Green spaces in cities are likely to grow in importance as cities continue to grow (Bixby et al, 2015; Barbosa et al, 2007).

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Appendix A

Source	Vol no	Reference	Description	Begin Date
AG	1886	359/11	Rondebosch Municipality: Regulation for control of Rondebosch Common	1912
3/CT	4/1/3/19	B39/3	Rondebosch Matters: Rondebosch park and Rondebosch Common,	1913
3/CT	4/1/4/62	B341/4	Rondebosch Common: Complaints Re Exercising of Racehorses on,	1916
3/CT	4/1/4/41	B153/4	Rondebosch Common: Regulations: Correspondence with Rondebosch Golf	1916
3/CT	4/1/3/13 1	G238/3	Regulations for control of Rondebosch Common	1919
3/CT	4/1/4/30	B39/4	Cricket Pitches, Rondebosch Common:re	1920
3/CT	4/1/4/78	C3/4	Removal of tree trunks, Rondebosch COMMON: W Barlow	1920
3/CT	4/1/4/35	B93/4	Cricket pitches, Rondebosch Common 1921-1922	1921
3/CT	4/1/4/36	B103/4	Football pitches, Rondebosch Common	1922
3/CT	4/1/4/37	B112/4	Cricket pitches, Rondebosch Common - 1922-1923	1922
3/CT	4/1/1/37	B113/4	Football pitches, Rondebosch Common	1923
3/CT	4/1/4/40	B143/4	Cricket pitches, 1923-1924: Rondebosch Common	1923
3/CT	4/1/4/43	B170/4	Football pitches, Rondebosch Common: re	1924
3/CT	4/1/4/52	B236/4	Cricket pitches, Rondebosch Common, 1924-1925: re	1924
3/CT	4/1/4/52	B235/4	Cricket pitches, Rondebosch Common, 1925-1926: re	1925
3/CT	4/1/5/12 8	B622/5	Football pitches: Rondebosch Common	1925
3/CT	4/1/5/12	B609/5	Cricket pitches: Rondebosch Common	1926

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3/CT	4/1/5/11 6	B527/5	Rondebosch Common: Water supply and dressing accommodation for Rondebosch Common	1929
3/CT	4/1/5/15 6	B936/5	Fraserdale Farm and Rondebosch Common: Rondebosch Golf Club and Cape Town	1929
3/CT	4/1/5/13 6	B693/5	Rondebosch Common: Route for 33 K.V cable across	1934
3/CT	4/1/5/15 5	B927/5	Football pitches, Rondebosch Common	1935
3/CT	4/2/1/1/ 1245	12/1/706	City lands and buildings, Rondebosch Common	1938
3/CT	4/2/1/3/ 1046	B1268	Proposed military camp, Rondebosch Common	1940
3/CT	4/1/11/1 67	G6/37/8	General purposes section. City Land. Payment for quitrent. Site G on Rondebosch Common	1945