

GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CEDERBERG WILDERNESS AREA: SOME ORGANISATIONAL ASPECTS

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ABSTRACT

The realisation of the goals of any public institution is dependent upon a proper organisational structure and sound governmental relations. Although the former has characteristics of the closed model of organisation, this is offset by the need for governmental relations both within, but especially with, the external environment of the institution concerned. These aspects had a profound influence on the management of the Cederberg Wilderness Area (CWA) in the northern section of the Western Cape province since the Dutch occupation of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Colony). Up to the present day a proper organisational structure and sound governmental relations still play a major role, not only in goal determination, but especially in goal realisation in the CWA.

1 INTRODUCTION

In this article, cognisance will be taken of how an organisational structure for the Cederberg Wilderness Area (CWA) was instituted and its influence on its management. The article will start by explaining the use of the term *Cederberg* as opposed to *Cedarberg*. This will be followed by an indication of the location and a description of the CWA. The importance of an organisation realising pre-determined goals and the characteristics of open and closed organisations will then be considered. Governmental relations in the management of the CWA are all important. To this end, cognisance will be taken of vertical intergovernmental relations, horizontal intergovernmental relations, vertical intragovernmental relations, horizontal intragovernmental relations and extragovernmental rela-

tions. In such a study it is necessary to consider the type of organisational structure – whether it is indicative of an open or closed structure.

2 CEDERBERG AS OPPOSED TO CEDARBERG

The Cederberg range is named after the cedar trees that are found in the forests near Clanwilliam and which were nearly exterminated in the past two centuries for their fine timber (Bristow 1988:32), and should thus be spelt *Cedarberg*. However, to prevent confusion, the spelling *Cederberg* was approved on 3 April 1981 by the then Minister of National Education on the recommendation of the National Place Name Commission (Taylor 1996:3).

3 LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE CEDERBERG WILDERNESS AREA

The range forms an important and natural water catchment area in the drier northern part of the Western Cape Province and lies east of the towns of Clanwilliam and Citrusdal in the Olifants River valley (Taylor 1996:1, 3). The range is a massive wall of mountain separating the area stretching from the coast and the hinterland beyond, and is similar in appearance to the Atlas Mountains of north Africa. For this reason, when a forestry station was established in the range during 1904, it was named *Algeria* (Bulpin 1978:56). The whole range is 125 km long (Bulpin 1978:56–57), 25 km wide at its widest point near the middle (Taylor 1996:3) and 2 150 m at its highest point (Bulpin 1978:56–57). The range is traversed by three roads: the main road from Clanwilliam over the Pakhuis Pass to Klaver and Calvinia in the north, a secondary road from Clanwilliam to Ceres in the central part, and the main road between Citrusdal and Ceres which crosses a narrow section in the southern part (Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping: map 3218:1999). It extends from the Middelberg Pass on the road between Citrusdal and Ceres to a point just north of the Pakhuis Pass and covers an area of approximately 130 000 ha of which 75 000 ha is State forest land. The original wilderness area comprised 71 000 ha of this land and on 27 July 1973 was declared the second wilderness area declared on 27 July 1973, in terms of the 1971 amendment to the Forest Act, 1968 – the first being the Drakensberg. The area is divided into two parts by the provincial road which branches off the national road between Citrusdal and Clanwilliam, and runs through the mountains in a west–east direction to the farm Matjiesrivier, itself a nature reserve, and from there to Ceres. This road passes the Cederberg Forest Station at Algeria and is the main point of entry into the wilderness area. The CWA, in common with other wilderness areas, enjoys the highest conservation status possible (Documents File, *The Cederberg Wilderness Area*, Cederberg Forest Station, page 1). Mention is made of the water catchment area, State land and wilderness area on State land within the range (Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping:

Cederberg: 1981). The term *wilderness area* will be used when referring to that section in the range controlled by the state and now managed by the Western Cape Department of Nature Conservation. This is in agreement with the map issued to hikers and visitors to the area (Western Cape Department of Nature Conservation, *Cederberg Wilderness Area: Map and information brochure* (s.a.)).

The range whose dark-blue tops are capped with snow in winter, rises in the south – a smaller and nearer range of low-lying karoo hills that seem to be a continuation of the southern range towards the east. This also extends in a series of peaks and sandstone battlements until it joins the eastern end of the southern range. Between lies veld and valleys, parched barren in summer, but clothed with blooms and greenage in spring and winter (Kannemeyer 1999:16–17). These topographical features of the CWA have a profound effect on the success of the organisational structure, since they determine where personnel are stationed, and the management of governmental relations.

4 IMPORTANCE OF AN ORGANISATION TO REALISE PRE-DETERMINED GOALS

Organising the process of establishing an organisation consists of classifying and grouping functions as well as allocating the groups of functions to institutions and workers in an orderly pattern so that everything the workers do will be aimed at achieving predetermined objectives. After the individuals have been grouped into an organisational unit, attention has to be given to their mutual relations as individuals within the unit and also their relations as a group towards other groups (Cloete 1991:112–3), be they internal or external to the institution.

5 OPEN OR CLOSED ORGANISATIONS

The question can be raised whether the management of the CWA is indicative of an open or closed organisational system. Katz and Kahn (1966:28) have, amongst others, identified more dynamic relations between open organisations and their external environments. Evan (1993:5) stated that the key concepts of the open model of organisation referred to organisational input from the environment, organisational output and feedback to the environment, accompanied by new inputs from the environment providing support or making new demands on the organisation. Furthermore, interaction with other organisational systems in their environments is ongoing.

Hodge, Anthony and Gales (1996:14), however, identified the following characteristics of closed systems: these systems are themselves responsible for their survival in that they receive no input from their external environments in the form of energy or resources. Consequently, there is no need for interaction with their external environments. This means that closed organisational systems will gradually consume their energy and resources, and die. Henry (1980:57) stated

that the closed organisation represented the formal actions related to a hierarchy or structural framework. This structure is further characterised by particular interactions such as communication, delegation and unity of action.

6 GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

During the establishment of a hierarchy or structural framework, cognisance should be taken of, and the necessary steps taken to cater for, governmental relations. These relations can be regarded as giving life to an otherwise dead hierarchy and is an indication of whether an institution has an open or closed organisational system. Cognisance will be taken of inter-, intra- and extragovernmental relations (Hattingh 1986:74).

6.1 Intergovernmental relations

Intergovernmental relations refer to the mutual relations between governmental institutions. The legislative framework for such relations is embodied in a constitution or other legislation in terms of which governmental institutions are established for specific purposes. Intergovernmental relations between the various governmental institutions occur at both the horizontal and vertical levels (Hattingh 1986:74).

6.1.1 Vertical intergovernmental relations

Vertical intergovernmental relations come into play between governmental institutions in different tiers of government and in the Republic of South Africa (South Africa) – they currently represent relations between the central, provincial and local authorities. The possession of power is an important feature of these relations. The central authority will wield more power than provincial authorities which will, in turn, wield more power than local authorities (Hattingh 1986:77–8).

An example of the impact of vertical intergovernmental relations is that once forest land has been declared as demarcated, it cannot be alienated without the approval of Parliament. For instance in 1952, Parliament approved the exchange of forestry land for private land (Box file FCW L810/2 352, District Forest Officer, Cape Town, letter L.810/2 dated 1952-02-11). This means that the Western Cape Department of Nature Conservation, which currently manages the CWA, cannot change the demarcated status of the forest land within the CWA without the approval of Parliament. This seems to be the position notwithstanding the fact that both the central authority as well as the provinces have, amongst others, concurrent legislative competence for the administration of the indigenous forests, the environment, nature conservation and soil conservation (Constitution

of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), schedule 4) (Constitution Act, 1996).

6.1.2 Horizontal intergovernmental relations

These relations are indicative of governmental relations on the same tier of government, such as those between the various provinces or government departments, for instance, at the same level of governance. These relations differ considerably from the vertical intergovernmental relations in that they are not characterised by the formal concept of power. Secondly, there should be no relative disparity in the respective negotiating and bargaining powers of governmental institutions on the same tier of government. Thirdly, interdependence between government institutions also occur in horizontal relations, although the nature of interdependence differs according to the facilities mutually required. *Information* and *physical assistance* will presumably be the main issues discussed at the horizontal level (Hattingh 1986:78–9).

An example that can be used to explain the impact of horizontal intergovernmental relations on various governmental institutions occurred in the management of the CWA during 1892. Up to this date, the civil commissioner/magistrate issued licences to the local population for grazing rights on forest land belonging to the State, while the forester was responsible for the conservation of the CWA. This meant that both the civil commissioner/magistrate and the forester were forced into sound horizontal intergovernmental relations in the management of the CWA. The CWA was by then no longer under the administrative control of the civil commissioner/magistrate. This meant that control over the management of the CWA was divided between two functionaries, a situation which was bound to lead to dysfunctional situations. The forester could not execute his conservation functions properly as he had no control over the number of grazing licences issued by the civil commissioner/magistrate. This is an example of an unfortunate grouping of functions in the execution of the management of the CWA. Under these circumstances it was difficult to achieve the predetermined objectives of conserving the CWA. This is borne out by a report which stated that it was deplorable to witness how, for instance, the valuable cedar trees had been ruthlessly burnt and the young trees destroyed by sheep and goats with the result that the cedar forests were almost destroyed. A watershed policy change occurred in 1891 when it was decided that in future the forester would issue all licences to cut timber in the wilderness area (*Report of the conservator of forests and district forest officers* 1891:94). This meant that for the very first time the forester was responsible for both the conservation and utilisation of not only the cedar trees, but also for the granting of grazing rights. It remains an anomaly that the civil commissioner/magistrate should have issued licences for grazing, but that the official responsible for the protection of the CWA was the forester.

6.2 Intragovernmental relations

The prefix *intra* seems to identify the official relations within a government institution. In this regard a constitution will provide the general guidelines for the creation of the internal structures. Individuals and institutions within any government institution cannot function independently and without considering the functions and activities of others within the same institution. Because of this, all government institutions are characterised by an extensive internal network of interdependent vertical and horizontal relations (Hattingh 1986:82).

6.2.1 Vertical intragovernmental relations

Government institutions and individuals within these institutions are grouped according to a vertical structure of authority and at central government level, the hierarchic structure is that of president, the legislature, Cabinet or the ministers and the departments. A vertical structure of authority is essential for establishing lines of authority and determining accountability and responsibility. It also further facilitates control to ensure that the policy and decisions of a higher authority will be implemented (Hattingh 1986:82–3).

In the following section, the development of vertical intragovernmental relations in the CWA from the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652 will be described.

6.2.1.1 Development of a hierarchy for managing the Cederberg Wilderness Area

During the Dutch occupation of the Cape Colony, various measures were taken by the authorities to protect the forests of the settlement at the Cape Colony and the surrounding districts such as the promulgation of legislation and the appointment of staff (Smith 1993:21). However, it seems as if the field of operations of these appointees were limited to the near vicinity of the settlement at the Cape (Theal 1881:21). These measures to protect the forests were not successful, as insufficient staff was appointed to control the activities of the woodcutters in the whole of the settlement at the Cape and the surrounding districts.

In 1820, a number of British immigrants hailing from Ireland came to the Cape Colony and it was decided to settle them in the CWA. At that time a governor was heading the administration of the Cape Colony, assisted by a permanent public servant known as the *colonial secretary* (Engelbrecht 1953:36). Locally, Clanwilliam, the main commercial and business centre in the CWA, had a magistrate to see to the local administration (Kannemeyer 1999:6). Later a clerk, a messenger of the court, a clerk of the peace, a gaoler, a scavenger, a chief constable and six constables were appointed (*Blue book of the Cape of Good Hope* 1849). However, their activities were not limited to the conservation of the CWA only, as they were mainly appointed to combat crime. A Heemraad represented the local inhabitants (Engelbrecht 1953:77). The Irish immigrants who settled here were divided into

groups managed by four group leaders (Engelbrecht 1953:39). The system of Heemrade was eventually replaced on 16 January 1844 with the justices of the peace for each district. To assist these appointees in the administration of the division of Clanwilliam, the Division was divided into a number of wards each consisting of a number of districts with a field cornet appointed in each ward (Notice 456 dated 4 May 1904).

The civil commissioners or magistrates of the divisions in which the forests were situated managed the forests more or less as they saw fit. The situation was addressed on 1 December 1872 when responsible government was instituted in the Cape Colony, and the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works became the responsible minister (Muller 1973:161). For administrative purposes, the Department of Crown Lands and Public Works was divided into two branches, each directed by a responsible head. The Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works had charge of, amongst others, the Crown woods and forests of the Cape Colony (Cape of Good Hope civil service list 1886:40).

In 1876 'forests and plantations' were categorised as a distinct department of the ministerial Department of Crown Lands and Public Works, its principal officers corresponding directly with the ministerial office (Cape of Good Hope civil service list 1886:41). This exposition represents the political office-bearers, head office and 'regional office' as well as the local civil administration when the first forest officer was appointed in the CWA.

A further development took place on 28 June 1880 when the House of Assembly voted for a salary for the first permanent head of the Department of Woods and Forests (Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List 1885:35). After the appointment of Count Vasselot de Régné in January 1881 as Superintendent of Woods and Forests, the Department of Forestry (the department) was organised in the following manner: a governor assisted by a prime minister, colonial secretary and a Commissioner for Crown Lands and Public Works (Muller 1973:161) acted as the political office-bearers. De Régné was the permanent head of the department assisted by an assistant and a clerk at head office. He reported direct to the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works (Reports of the conservators of forests 1893:18).

For administrative purposes, de Régné divided the Cape Colony into four forestry regions known as *conservancies*. Each conservancy was managed by a conservator of forests. In turn, each forest district within a conservancy was managed by a district forester, while each plantation within a district was managed by a superintendent assisted by a number of foresters. The CWA was part of the Western Cape Conservancy. This system of management remained in force until the post of Superintendent of Woods and Forests was abolished in September 1891 (Cape of Good Hope civil service list 1906:1). Since then each conservator has been in direct communication with the permanent head of the ministerial Department of Crown Lands and Public Works in Cape Town. The result was that for the 14 years after de Régné's, departure each conservancy had

been more or less administered independently of one another and each conservator continued with his professional duties and operations to the best of his ability in the light of his own personal experience (*Reports of the conservators of forests* 1905:1). However, the system of conservancies, districts and plantation managers instituted by de Régné remained in force until 1992 with the advent of the South African Forestry Company Limited (SAFCOL) (Smith 1993:5).

From 1 October 1905, the Forestry branch was placed under the direct control of the Chief Conservator of Forests as the permanent head who was accountable to the minister, then known as the Secretary for Agriculture (Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List 1907:198). This remained the position till 31 May 1910 when the Forestry branch became part of a national Department of Forestry under the management of a responsible minister (*Jaarverslag van die hoofd bewaarder van bossen* 1911:1). The CWA remained under the control of the Department of Forestry until 1986 when control over the area was ceded to the Cape Department of Nature Conservation (Staatspresidentsminute no. 1109 gedateer 1986-11-18). The above exposition explains the development of an organisational structure for the realisation of not only the goals of the forestry department as set out in the various legislative measures, but also that of the CWA.

6.2.1.2 Control over the forester

As explained earlier, a hierarchy to manage the Crown forests in the CWA and to control the activities of the forester was already established when the first forester was appointed on 1 September 1876 (*Reports on condition of crown forests and drift sands* 1876:2). In 1882 the Cedar Forests were placed under the charge of the Superintendent of Plantations at Rondebosch. In 1891 the forester was empowered to obtain additional help during the summer months to combat fires (*Report of the conservator of forests and district forest officers* 1891:93). In the same year, the forester reported that the inspector then sent out was the first to be sent by the government and who did his duty by going about in the wilderness area with the forester so that he could obtain information (Box file 39, Agriculture folios 106–114 to December 1895, letter by the forest ranger Algeria dated 1891-04-01). This was the first recorded visit by his superiors since 1883 when the Conservator of Forests, Western Division visited him (Box file 39, Agriculture folios 106–114 to December 1895, letter dated 1887-12-14, by the district forest officer, Tokai). The fact that the immediate supervisor of the forester was stationed a considerable distance from the CWA can be regarded as a factor in the overall management of the area as he had no expertise in the field of forestry readily available to assist him.

6.2.1.3 Working plans

Another way to effect control over the activities of the forester, was by way of

working plans. During 1905 it was decided that working plans for each forest or plantation should be drawn up and submitted before any operations were undertaken (*Report of the conservator of forests* 1906:8). Prior to this, the forester was instructed to keep a diary to note the work done in the range, points visited from time to time and to record any observations and suggestions. He had also to maintain a list of all stock found trespassing and impounded, cases of wood stealing and people who were caught starting fires and brought before the magistrate. In addition, an abstract of the diary had to be forwarded to the superintendent at Rondebosch, at the end of each month (*Report of the superintendent of woods and forests* 1882:3, 19). Only much later were preparations made to draw up a working plan and fire protection plan for the range (*Annual report of the department of forestry* 1955:1). This resulted in a ten-year working plan (*Annual report of the department of forestry* 1957:7). The original working plan drawn up by the working plan officer for the period 1956/7–1965/6 was revised for the first time in 1964 to cover the period 1964/5–1973/4 (*Working plan: Algeria Plantation: 1964/5–1973/4*). Annual plans of operations form the basis of all field work and include the working and planting plans (*Annual report of the Department of Forestry* 1959:1).

During 1999 the Western Cape Department of Nature Conservation compiled a comprehensive management plan for the range. This plan, which should be approved and implemented soon, provides for, among other things, the zoning of the area into pristine and primitive areas, special and degraded zones, and a management infrastructure. Management activities include indigenous plant management, rare, endangered and endemic plant species, and alien plant management. Further activities provided for include fire management, rehabilitation of certain areas, hydrological management and the conservation of cultural, historical, archaeological and paleontological sites (*Cederberg Wilderness Area management plan 2000*, Department of Nature Conservation, Algeria).

6.2.1.4 Staff component

An organisation basically concerns its staff and their activities. The staff stationed at the CWA steadily increased over the years. However, it seems as if the forestry operations in the CWA were never treated as a separate plantation under the management of a superintendent. In 1891 for instance, the district forest officer of Rondebosch (Tokai) reported on the activities at the Cederberg Forest (*Report of the conservators of forests and district forest officers* 1892:89). In 1900 the district forest officer Uitvlucht reported on conditions at the Clanwilliam Plantation (District forest officer Uitvlucht letter dated 1900-09-20 to the conservator of forests, Western Conservancy), while in 1947 the district forest officer of Cape Town, in his capacity as overseer, reported to the Director of Forestry on matters concerning the CWA (Box file FCW L810/2 352 letter L.810/2 dated 1947-09-19).

In 1954 the staff at the CWA consisted of a forester stationed at Algeria Forest

Station with foremen stationed at Algeria, Uitkyk, Welbedacht and Heuningvlei. They were assisted by 18 non-European workers. Additional workers were hired at Welbedacht and Heuningvlei as and when required (*Verslag van die interdepartementele komitee oor die Sederberg Bosreserwe* 1954:7).

By 1968 the staff component in the CWA consisted of a forester, 3 foreman and 45 other employees. The forester and 1 foreman were stationed at the Algeria Forest Station, the former being responsible for the office work. The other 2 foremen were stationed at Uitkyk and at Eikeboom (ex Kliphuis). Of the 45 other employees, most stayed at the settlement at Algeria Forest Station while a number out of necessity, such as fire fighting, stayed at Welbedacht, Kliphuis and Heuningvlei (Box file FCW (M3104) M3200/112, letter M.3200/106 dated 1968-12-20 by the Chief Regional Forest Officer: Western Cape Region to the Director of Forestry). Up to 1986, when the management of the area was ceded to the Cape Provincial Administrator, there had always been a forester stationed in the range to manage it (Staatspresidentsminute no 1109 gedateer 1986-11-18). At present the staff in the CWA consists of 26 members stationed at Algeria Forest Station, Kliphuis and Matjiesrivier (Telephone interview with C du Pessis, Manager, CWA, 27 September 2000).

From the very beginning, the workers were arranged in a hierarchy or structural framework to reach predetermined goals. The following example is indicative of this statement: A *placaat* was promulgated to protect the forests against over-exploitation. To enforce these prescriptions Jan van Riebeeck appointed a chief wood-cutter serving under his supervision to oversee the utilisation of the timber resources. Later, two wood-cutters controlled by the chief wood-cutter were also appointed. This process of appointing staff and arranging them in a hierarchy to reach predetermined goals was, as explained earlier, continued during the period when the Cape Colony was administered by the British. As mentioned, this procedure was also followed in the CWA. This, in turn, has the characteristics of a closed organisational structure. The arrangement of a head office and a regional office to oversee the activities in the CWA, is continued to this day (*Cederberg Wilderness Area: Accommodation and outdoor recreation:1*).

6.2.2 Horizontal intragovernmental relations

The formal seat of (macro) horizontal intragovernmental relations between departments is the Cabinet, and the Cabinet ministers. However, this does not exclude horizontal relations between government departments (on a particular level) since regular discussions are held between departments on matters of mutual interests, such as committees of investigation (Hattingh 1986:83–4).

The following is an example of micro horizontal intragovernment relations. In 1959 it was decided that the Forest Research Officer at Jonkershoek should take over control of the cedar plantations in the CWA. The policy statement had a provision that, in future, no silvicultural operations should be undertaken in these

plantations without the instructions of this official. However, the exploitation of dead trees such as had been taking place in the past can continue provided that the work is properly controlled to guard against any abuses, and that living trees are not cut down. All other forestry activities remained under the control of the forester stationed at Algeria (Box file 67 FCW R100/R1970, Forest research officer, Jonkershoek Research Branch letter R.J. 32/1 dated 1959-03-23). Once again, there was divided control over the forestry activities in the CWA.

6.3 Extragovernmental relations

Government institutions are involved in promoting the general welfare of the community and relations of various kinds exist between government institutions and members of the public (Hattingh 1986:85). By implication, this means that external participants may also influence the activities of government institutions and governmental relations in general. This is also a condition set by section 41(1)(b) of the Constitution Act, 1996, while section 41(1)(c) lays emphasis on the provision of effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government.

The relationship between the authorities responsible for the management of the CWA and the general public reveals whether the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and now the Department of Nature Conservation of the Western Cape are open or closed organisations. The following examples from past actions are considered in order to arrive at a conclusion.

6.3.1 Utilisation of the natural resources

The activities of humans in the CWA necessitated action by the authorities. The agricultural activities of the stock farmers, such as the patch-burn system of veld management for early summer grazing and to encourage the growth of the buchu plant, led to the degradation of the veld (Taylor 1996:8). Furthermore, humans also had a severe impact on the rich and diverse flora as only 30 per cent of its former area remains (Taylor 1996:3). Apart from this, invasive alien plant species were also introduced (Taylor 1996:9). Through over-exploitation, frequent fires and possible decrease in seed predation, the cedar population has been reduced to the point where its recovery by natural regeneration may become problematic (Taylor 1976:8).

In 1820 the authorities decided to settle British immigrants from Ireland in the unpopulated areas of the CWA as they could not be settled in the Zuurveld in the eastern parts of the Cape Colony as originally intended (Engelbrecht 1953:36). However, this project failed mainly because of the agricultural potential of the land which was not suitable for the raising of crops.

In February 1891, a meeting was held with all stakeholders to decide whether a plantation should be established on the commonage at Clanwilliam as water for this purpose would be drawn from the public furrow that supplied the village with

water (*Report of the conservator of forests and district forest officers 1892:94*). Permission to graze stock on land under the control of the department was initially given to the local community on the commonage, both at Clanwilliam and on the CWA (Letter A/7/91 dated 1891-09-15, pages 17–20 by the District Forest Officer, Cape Town to the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, Cape Town). However, all leases were terminated in 1938 (*Annual report by the conservator of forests, Western Conservancy 1938/39:3*). Relations between the department and the local population were also fostered in that buchu and bush tea were collected in the CWA by the unemployed local population, thereby creating much-needed job opportunities (*Annual report of the department of forestry 1955:13*).

The department also reacted to the need for more water for irrigation emanating from the environment. By the end of the 1933/4 financial year, 300 000 morgen (approximately 257 000 ha) of State land were held and administered by the department especially for the protection of the water sources (*Annual report of the department of forestry for the year ended 31 March, 1934:1*), although not declared as such. Certain areas within the wilderness area were declared a water catchment area on 11 June 1976 (Government Notice 984 dated 1976-06-11). On 27 January 1978 an enlarged area of the wilderness area was declared a water catchment area (Government Notice 155 dated 1978-01-27). That the declaration of the water catchment area in the Wilderness Area was necessary, is borne out by the fact that, in 1909, the Director of Irrigation suggested an irrigation scheme on a perennial basis by means of a canal system fed from a high weir with a considerable storage capacity. Irrigation should then take place on as much land as possible on both banks of the Olifants River and along the lower reaches of the Doorn and Hol rivers. Not only the low-lying alluvial land would then be irrigated, but also the greatest possible area of the high-lying natural soil which is very fertile. To keep the scheme running, additional water will have to fill the proposed weir. (Kanthack 1909:1, 5.)

It cannot be expected that the authorities alone should make land available for conservation purposes. To this end, the local landowners assisted the authorities in the establishment of the conservancies bordering on the CWA, such as the Cederberg Conservancy and the Biedow Conservancy. The total area including the CWA consists of 312 000 ha. Broad conservation goals are realised by means of environmental management plans and ecological auditing (Map and information brochure: *Cederberg Wilderness Area: 5*).

At present, a programme is being conducted in which schoolchildren are involved in collecting cedar seed and placing them in prepared plastic bags for later planting at various venues. This is to bring home the message that proper utilisation of natural resources goes hand in hand with conservation measures (Personal interview, Marius Brand, Assistant Manager, Algeria Forest Station, 28 March 2000).

6.3.2 Research programmes

The department actively co-operated with scientists in various scientific disciplines. A team consisting of archaeologists, botanists, members of the National Botanical Institute, foresters, local conservation personnel and research staff from the Stellenbosch Herbarium undertook various research projects in the CWA which were funded by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (Taylor 1996:1–41). The public also assisted members of the staff in research by observing birdlife and wildlife (*Report of the director-general: department of environment affairs* 1984:172).

During the period 1987 to 1998, the *Widdringtonia cederbergensis* Monitoring Programme was conducted in the CWA on 5 225 ha of state land between The Rift and Sneekop by a group of scientists from the University of Cape Town. In a report on the restoration programme conducted on the cedar trees, the researchers came to the conclusion that fires are necessary for the propagation of the seeds of fynbos and that it was possible for cedar trees to survive under such conditions, the success rate being between 50 and 60 per cent (Shana Young, Environmental and Geographical Science Department, University of Cape Town, March 1998).

Apart from the mentioned programmes, a leopard sanctuary was established in the CWA with the assistance of private individuals who made their land available for this purpose (Map and information brochure: *Cederberg Wilderness Area*:5).

6.3.3 Establishment of recreational facilities

The development of a caravan park at Algeria Forest Station was undertaken in consultation with the Chairperson of the Western Province Caravan Owners' Association (Box file FCW L2400/130–L2400/110, Forester Algeria letter L.2400/106 dated 1968-10-29 to the Regional Director of Forestry, Cape Town). This eventually resulted in 48 stands on the banks of the Rondegat River at Algeria. Apart from this, there are ten sites available at the camping site in the Pakhuispas. These facilities are supplemented by a further seven holiday houses in the CWA. To limit the impact of visitors to the area and to maintain a wilderness atmosphere, the CWA is divided into three zones of about 24 000 ha each. The number of visitors is restricted to 50 people per zone per day (Map and information brochure: *Cederberg Wilderness Area*:7).

6.3.4 Policy on the alienation of State land

In a departmental memorandum on an application by a private individual to buy land which was part of the forestry reserve in the Wilderness Area, it was stated that this forestry reserve was one of the most important reserves in the country and that the alienation of any section thereof should not be allowed. It is the policy of the department to buy land for its activities. Should negotiations not be successful, attempts to reach a compromise are made to exchange forestry land for

private land. However, forestry land which is part of a water catchment area is never sold or exchanged (Box file FCW L.810/2 352, departmental memorandum in file L.1120 dated 1947-09-24).

In 1954 the Interdepartmental Committee on the Forestry Reserve conducted an investigation into its management thereof. On completion of its investigations, the committee submitted a report stating, among other things, that the purpose of demarcation was to entrench the ownership of the land in what might be called the *interior economy of the state*. This is done in such a way that it cannot be disposed of lightly. No demarcated forest or portion thereof may be alienated without the consent of Parliament. The procedure of demarcation is only applied where the department is satisfied that the land should remain in the ownership of the state forever. It stands to reason that as circumstances change, the need for the retention of any particular piece of land may also change so that in actual practice areas are often withdrawn from demarcation. It is the policy of the minister that any section of the forestry reserve not intended for afforestation or for the conservation of the water resources, but possibly suited to agricultural purposes, should be alienated. The determining factor in the decision whether land in dispute should be alienated or not was whether it was a sponge area where streams or rivers rise. Considering the aforementioned, the objects of the reservation and demarcation of the Cederberg Forest Reserve are the protection of the cedar trees and the protection of the water catchment areas within the Wilderness Area. Protection is necessary to supply water to the Bulshoek Dam completed in 1917 and the Clanwilliam Dam completed in 1934. Lastly, the area is also needed for the production of timber, mainly from exotic trees planted in the Wilderness Area (*Verslag van die interdepartementele komitee oor die Sederberg Bosreserwe, afdeling Clanwilliam* 1954:4-5 & 20). The minister approved the recommendations of the committee. In executing the recommendations, he decided, among other things, that a survey should be conducted to ascertain which sections of the wilderness area should be retained by the state as a water catchment area or for the purposes of soil conservation. Those areas not needed for these purposes, should be sold to private individuals. Furthermore, the cedar trees should be protected and action taken for the maintenance of the natural vegetation and for the extension of the existing exotic plantations (*Annual report of the department of forestry* 1955:3). In 1955 the recommendations to sell sections of the reserve not needed for forestry purposes was implemented, the excisions totalling 468,6 acres (approximately 190 ha) (*Annual report of the department of forestry* 1956:1, 21).

6.3.5 Direct managerial assistance by the public

Members of the public were consulted and later became members of the Advisory Committee for the Cederberg Water Catchment Area, while fire prevention was

undertaken on a temporary basis by the Citrusdal Fire Protection Committee (*Annual report of the department of forestry* 1978:48 & 60).

The Advisory Committee for the Cederberg Water Catchment Area eventually finalised and approved a management plan for the area (*Annual report of the department of forestry* for the period ended 31 March 1979:57). Attempts are made to ensure that flower pickers on private property in the mountain catchment area keep to the picking regulations as recommended by the advisory committees concerned (*Annual report of the department of environment affairs* 1985/86:44).

7 TYPE OF ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

If the aforementioned explanation is taken into consideration, the organisational arrangements for the management of the CWA have the characteristics of both the open and closed organisational models. From the very outset, and soon after the settlement at the Cape had been established, the authorities had to act to protect the natural forests against the ravages of the inhabitants. Furthermore, private individuals and institutions participated in the policy-making process and management of the CWA. This represented a reaction to the input on the environment with the result that legislation was promulgated and staff appointed to address problems encountered in the CWA. This is indicative of an open organisation. However, the hierarchy in which the staff was arranged, is indicative of a closed organisational structure.

8 SUMMARY

The importance of an organisation was considered, as were the characteristics of open and closed organisational systems. Governmental relations will to a large extent be influenced by the fact whether an institution is indicative of an open or closed organisational system. Open organisational systems have more dynamic relations with their external environments. This leads to organisational input from the external environment, output and feedback from the institution to its external environment accompanied by new inputs from the environment. The last-mentioned can consist of support or the making of new demands. Interaction between an institution and other organisational systems is ongoing. Closed systems, however, are themselves responsible for their survival as they receive no input in the form of energy or resources from their external environments. There will be no need for interaction with their external environments and they will gradually consume their energy and resources, and die.

To ascertain whether the management of the CWA is indicative of an open or closed organisational system, governmental relations were scrutinised. During the period of the Dutch East India Company, it became necessary to appoint a chief wood-cutter and two wood-cutters. This was in response to pressure from the external environment to protect the forests. By 1828 there was a hierarchy of

officials responsible for the management of the CWA. The civil commissioner/magistrate managed the forests more or less as he saw fit. Responsible government was instituted on 1 December 1872. During this latter period the CWA became the responsibility of the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works in the Department of Crown Lands and Public Works.

When establishing a hierarchy or structural framework, cognisance should be taken of, and the necessary steps taken to cater for, governmental relations. These relations can be regarded as giving life to an otherwise dead hierarchy and is an indication of whether an institution has an open or closed organisational system.

Intergovernmental relations refer to the mutual relations between government institutions at both the vertical and horizontal levels. The former refers to the relations between government institutions at different tiers or spheres of government. An example is that once forest land has been declared demarcated, it cannot be alienated by the department without the permission of Parliament. The latter refers to relations on the same tier or sphere of government and is not characterised by the formal concept of power. There is no relative disparity in the respective negotiating and bargaining powers, and there is a degree of interdependence based on information and physical assistance. Up to 1892, the civil commissioner/magistrate issued licences for grazing rights in the CWA, while the forester was responsible for its conservation. This meant that they were forced into sound horizontal intergovernmental relations in the management of the CWA. This, in turn, meant that the management of the CWA was divided between two functionaries, a situation which led to dysfunctional situations and necessitated remedial steps.

Intragovernmental relations refer to official relations within an institution and also consist of both vertical and horizontal relations. A constitution will provide general guidelines for the creation of the internal structures as individuals and institutions within any government institution cannot function independently and without considering the functions and activities of others within the same institution. A vertical structure of authority is essential for establishing lines of authority and determining accountability and responsibility. When the 1820 British immigrants came to the Cape Colony, the administration was headed by a governor and a colonial secretary. At Clanwilliam there was a magistrate assisted by, among others, a clerk, a messenger of the court and a number of police officers.

In 1876 the first forester was appointed in the CWA. At the same time, forests and plantations became a distinct department of the ministerial Department of Crown Lands and Public Works, its principal officers corresponding directly with the ministerial office. This represented a hierarchy of political office bearers, a head office and a 'regional office'. In 1881 the first permanent head of Woods and Forests, a civil servant, was appointed. The Cape Colony was divided into four forestry regions with the CWA becoming part of the Western Cape Conservancy. Each conservancy was managed by a conservator of forests, while each forest district within a conservancy was managed by a district forester. Each plantation

within a district was managed by a superintendent assisted by a number of foresters. This system of conservancies/regions, districts and plantation managers remained in force until 1992 with the advent of the South African Forestry Company Limited. On 1 October 1905 the Chief Conservator of Forests became the permanent head of forestry in the Cape Colony. On 31 May 1910 the Forestry branch became part of the National Department of Forestry. The establishment of a strict hierarchy for the management of forestry, including the CWA, was completed.

A hierarchy was established in the management of the CWA when the first forester was appointed and placed under the charge of the Superintendent of Plantations at Rondebosch. Furthermore, the former was empowered to obtain additional help during the summer months in order to combat fires. He was also visited by his superiors who inspected his work and had to maintain a written record of the work done by him. Working plans as further control measures were later instituted. The number of workers under the control of the forester steadily increased. From the very beginning the workers were arranged in a hierarchy or structural framework to reach predetermined goals. The Cabinet is the formal seat of (macro) horizontal intragovernmental relations between the various departments. This does not exclude such relations between departments on a particular level. This led to the Forest Research Officer at Jonkershoek taking over the control of the cedar plantations in the CWA.

Government institutions are involved in promoting the general welfare of the community and relations of various kinds exist between government institutions and members of the public. These extragovernmental relations are a prerequisite of the Constitution Act, 1996 for the provision of effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government. These relationships between the authorities responsible for the management of the CWA and the general public is an indication of whether the official institutions are indicative of open or closed organisational systems. Relations existed and still exist in the utilisation of the natural resources of the CWA, in research programmes, in the establishment of recreational facilities towards input in the determination of a policy on the alienation of state land, and direct managerial assistance by members of the public in the Advisory Committee for the Cederberg Water Catchment Area.

The organisational arrangements for the management of the CWA have the characteristics of both the open and closed organisational models. Soon after the establishment of the settlement at the Cape the authorities had to act to protect the natural forests – a reaction to an input from the external environment. Furthermore, private individuals and institutions participated in the policy-making process in the management of the CWA. These are characteristics of an open organisational system. However, the staff was arranged in a hierarchy which is indicative of a closed organisational structure.

9 CONCLUSION

It should be mentioned that the organisational arrangements for the protection of the cedar trees prior to 1876 were not satisfactory. This is borne out by the fact that when the first forester was appointed in the CWA during that year, he reported that irreparable damage had already been done by amongst others, the farmers and their animals. What must be taken into consideration is that the civil commissioners/magistrates and the other civil servants such as the police were not only responsible for the conservation of the CWA, but amongst other things for combatting crime. The fact that both the civil commissioner/magistrate and the forester were responsible for controlling the activities in the CWA, also meant that a common approach to its conservation could not be formulated. For instance, the former was responsible for issuing grazing licences to the local population for grazing rights in the CWA. The animals nibbled at the growth points of the cedar trees which the latter were suppose to protect. However, the appointment of the forester did enhance the control over the activities in the CWA. Another point to consider is that having the immediate overseer of the forester stationed in Cape Town, meant that the forester had no trained forester to assist him in his daily activities. Visits from the overseer were initially very sporadic. Sound extragovernmental relations had in the past, and will undoubtedly in the future, have a huge influence on the activities in the CWA. This is clear from the goals of the new management plan for the area.

The possibility exists that the activities in the CWA may be commercialised. This will create a rethinking of the present organisational arrangements. New projects that would generate additional income should then be considered in collaboration with the local population.

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