

History and Heritage: Socio-economic profiles of six former American Board Mission Stations in southern KwaZulu-Natal

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Introduction

This paper is based on a questionnaire that a team of researchers at the Howard College Campus, University of KwaZulu-Natal in collaboration with community activists conducted between February 2007 and May 2008 in six former American Board Mission Stations; namely, Adams, Amahlongwa, Ifafa, Mfume, Umthwalume and Umzumbe in southern KwaZulu-Natal.¹ The research questionnaire sought in the first instance to establish a socio-economic profile of these mission stations. We think such a profile shall allow us to answer the following two questions. First, what is to be done with the old infrastructure and memory of the activities of the American Board Mission? Second, how residents of the identified mission stations feel about the possibility of their church structures becoming heritage sites?

Even before we begun our research, we noted what historians of this region of south east Africa have observed over the years that one of the major interventions of nineteenth century missionaries was the setting up of mission reserves (glebes)² where missionaries and their Christian believers (Amakholwa) lived. Overtime, these reserves helped to shape not only property ownership in the third quarter of nineteenth-century Natal and Zululand but also nurtured a group of leaders who sought to reconfigure the political landscape of twentieth century South Africa.³ Indeed, Eleonor Preston-Whyte hints at the possibility that what development practitioners of twentieth-century South Africa saw as their new tools of social development were not unlike the initiatives at social engineering that missionaries of various denominations experimented with in the 1850s.⁴ While we noted these claims, we used the

¹ This paper is part of a study of the heritage and history of six former American Board mission stations in southern KwaZulu-Natal. The team of researchers comprised the following graduate students; Bridget Portmann and Scott Couper on Umzumbe (Couper's paper will appear in the forthcoming publication); Eva Jackson, Jennifer Upton, Percy Ngonyama and Desmond Makhanya on Adams Mission; Nokuthula Cele and Nonkululeko Nzama on Ifafa Mission; Gordon Fakude on the potential of these mission stations for tourism; and members of the six Mission Stations who helped with the questionnaire and the Health Pioneers Teams led by Catherine Burns, Julie Parle and Vanessa Noble. The questionnaire that forms part of this paper was conducted by Ntokozo Zungu, Sbongiseni Vilakazi and Vukile Khumalo. We would like to thank Nokuthula Shangase for introducing us to the Glebe committees of the six mission stations and members of the History and African Studies Seminar for constructive comments.

² Due to the sensitivity and controversy around the use of phrases/terms 'mission station' and 'mission reserves', in this report we generally use the word glebe. However, in its 19th century form the word 'glebe' referred to a small area inside the mission reserve where a missionary together with a few core Amakholwa families lived.

³ Norman Etherington, African Economic Experiments in Colonial Natal, 1845 – 1880, *African Economic History*, No. 5, (1978), 1 – 15.

⁴ Eleonor Preston-Whyte, "Land and development at Indaleni: A Historical Perspective", *Development Southern Africa*, vol. 4, No. 3 (August 1987), 402.

questionnaire to find out what has become of the mission stations a century and half later. In this paper we map out socio-economic profiles of the six mission stations mentioned above.

In addition to the socio-economic profiles dealt with in this paper, in our current research on the same mission stations we ask questions such as: how these former mission reserves deal with the perennial challenges of unemployment and lack of infrastructure development. In our field research we seek to establish how local residents use a history and, indeed, a particular memory of their historic communities to plan or anticipate future challenges. It is true, like their neighbours in what used to be referred to as locations, former mission reserve residents still face major challenges of poverty and lack of infrastructure; but as we begin to note in this paper, some of the gains that these communities made in the past especially in the field of education put them in good stead to envision a better tomorrow from the ashes of the past-present predicament.

Journeys to the South: Method of Inquiry

Interviews were carried out in the glebes using a semi structured questionnaire. The questions in the questionnaire sought to capture an approximate demographic profile of people living in the glebes as well as the general usage of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCC) structures or facilities by communities at the six Mission Stations. The questionnaire assumed both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection (triangulation).

To make data analysis manageable, data reduction techniques were utilized, using SPSS,⁵ to refine the data and reduce it to manageable form. This allowed us as the researchers to make summary statements about the sample as a whole rather than to refer to each participant's scores. Data reduction techniques were further used to generate tables on the array of information based on frequencies in questions such as those that aimed at establishing the attendance and the use of church facilities.

The questionnaire method of data collection was not without limitations. For instance, our goal was to secure 180 household interviews within the identified glebes. However, not all questionnaires could be used and the study only used 176 household interviews. At this level, this was just a minor glitch if one considers the targeted number of households.

It should also be noted that the sampling rules were not strictly adhered to because official population figures within the glebes were not available. Similarly, there was no data pointing to the exact boundaries of the glebes. The data that exists is more than a hundred years old. It was generated by the Natal colonial government in 1898 as part of its efforts at social engineering and its political endeavour to limit the influence of the American Board Mission Stations. The data shows the original size of the land that was allocated to the American Board Mission between 1856 and 1880. See table below:

Mission Reserves⁶

Name	Mission Body	Date	Acres
Amahlongwa	American Board	4th November 1862	6,965

⁵ Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

⁶ *Digest of Report of the Lands Commission*, 1902, 15 – 16.

Amanzimtoti	American Board	4th November 1862	8,077
Ifafa	American Board	4th November 1862	6,209
Imfume	American Board	4th November 1862	7,498
Umthwalumi	American Board	4th November 1862	12,922

When we began research in February of 2007, the leadership of the United Congregational Church indicated that the process of establishing reliable statistics on current Mission Station residents was due to take place but the dates were not fixed yet. Notwithstanding these limitations on fieldwork, the demographic figures provided below can offer an approximate picture of how the glebes look like in terms of its population composition.

Findings

Table 1: Population Composition in the Glebes

Name of the Glebe	Frequency	Valid Percent
Umthwalumi Glebe	194	20.7
Ifafa Glebe	83	8.9
Imfume Glebe	167	17.8
Amahlongwa Glebe	201	21.5
Umzumbe Glebe	165	17.6
Adams Glebe	127	13.6
Total	937	100.0

The frequency table above shows that the 176 households visited yielded a population of 937 people. More populous among the glebes were Umthwalumi and Amahlongwa at 21% and 22% respectively. Imfume, Umzumbe and Adams followed (19%, 18% and 17%). The glebe that recorded the least population ratio was Ifafa at only 10%.⁷ To some degree, this table is a probable indication of the sizes of the families.

Table 2: Average Household Sizes in the Glebes

Name of the Glebe	Family Size
Umthwalumi Glebe	6.90
Ifafa Glebe	4.05
Imfume Glebe	5.52
Amahlongwa Glebe	4.74
Umzumbe Glebe	7.56
Adams Glebe	5.24

⁷ This can probably be ascribed to RDP houses found in this glebe. RDP houses are not designed to cater for big families.

The table above indicates that, although the variations are not that great, the bigger family sizes were found in Umzumbe, with 7.56, and Umthwalumi, with 6.90, respectively.⁸ Imfume, Adams and Amahlongwa followed with average sizes of people between five and six. This table read in conjunction with the table on household monthly income shows that 70 percent of the people in the glebes live below the poverty line (Table 6 below expands further on the discussion from Table 2 above).

Table 3: Age in Years

Age	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Total	937	442	495	194	167	201	127	83	165
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
0 – 4	8	11	6	9	8	10	6	0	13
5-9	7	7	6	7	9	1	7	0	13
10-14	9	11	8	10	17	4	8	0	14
15 – 19	11	14	9	13	11	12	10	7	12
20 – 24	11	13	10	13	9	11	13	24	5
25 – 29	9	9	9	7	12	10	14	11	4
30 – 34	8	9	7	5	5	11	9	7	8
35 – 39	6	4	8	8	5	6	5	7	6
40 – 44	5	4	6	4	2	6	9	7	3
45 – 49	5	4	7	7	6	4	5	11	4
50 – 54	5	4	6	4	4	8	3	10	4
55 – 59	4	4	3	1	4	8	3	4	2
60 – 64	2	1	3	3	2	3	2	2	1
65 & over	7	5	9	6	7	7	6	10	9
Not Disclosed/ Known	2	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	2

The majority (39%) of people in the glebes is constituted by persons between the ages of 15 and 34 (youth); while children (between the ages of 0 and 14) accounted for nearly a quarter (24%). It is worth noting that Umzumbe recorded lowest percentages of youth⁹ within the segments of those between the ages 20 – 24 and 25 – 29 respectively. Adults (18 and older) made up about 34

⁸ Worth noting with these two glebes is that they are located in the most ‘traditional’ settlements that often get labelled rural. The issue of space is not yet a problem and that is probably an influence to the size of the family. The contrary would hold for Ifafa where the space is taken by the local municipality for the building of RDP houses

⁹ This could, presumably, be ascribed to outward migration as youth leave for cities in search of employment opportunities.

percent of the sample where the split between persons of working age and pensioners – 29 and 7 percent respectively.

Table 4: Levels of Education

Level of Education	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Total	937	442	495	194	167	201	127	83	165
Percentage	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
No Education	9	10	9	20	7	10	2	1	7
Some Primary	18	17	20	17	22	12	19	6	30
Some Secondary	15	14	15	17	13	14	15	16	13
Some High School	41	42	41	44	41	35	44	57	36
Tertiary	8	6	10	2	7	16	9	19	0
Underage	6	7	4	2	4	9	5	1	12
Crèche/ Pre-Primary	6	5	2	0	6	4	6	0	3

Slightly above two fifths (41%) of people living in the glebes had some high school education. Ifafa’s proportion surpassed the rest with 57% and Amahlongwa and Umzumbe at the lowest rung of the ladder (35% and 36%).¹⁰ The variation among other glebes ranged below three percentage points. The same applied in relation to gender where the ratio of males was three percentage points above that of females. Those with primary and secondary education were next in the line in terms of representation (16% and 15% respectively). A tenth (10%) of people had tertiary education with a majority of them coming from Ifafa and Amahlongwa. Noticeable with tertiary education was the fact that the representation of females was five percentage points above that of males. There were also people (children) at preparatory schools that were recorded and they constituted seven percent of the sample.

The last tenth (10%) was made up of people with no formal education at all and their distribution between sexes was almost equal. The majority of these people were captured from Umthwalumi (20%) and Amahlongwa (10%).

¹⁰ At 67 percent (as the overall percentage of literacy rate shows) the literacy rate of all the glebes compares favourably (and is in fact slightly higher) with Umdoni Municipality’s rate which is 63 percent and eThekweni Metro where the literacy rate is 67 percent (Statssa: Census 2001). This is a reflection of the long-standing association of education and mission stations (especially in rural areas) and is here reflected by higher levels of education attainments by people residing near the mission stations.

Economic Indicators

The study also sought to establish economic activities that obtained in the glebes. The activities included, *inter alia*, qualifications, skills, employment levels as well as household monthly income levels and sources thereof. The type of transport used in the glebes was also examined as it also forms part of socio-economic conditions in the areas.

Table 5: Occupation

Occupation	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Total	937	442	495	194	167	201	127	83	165
Percentage	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Administration	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	1
Artisan	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Professional	8	6	9	1	8	11	13	17	2
Labourer	11	9	12	18	8	5	21	6	7
Self-Employed/ Business Person	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	0
Learner/ Students	32	37	27	40	36	25	28	7	39
Pensioner/ Retired	8	5	10	6	7	8	8	11	9
Unemployed/ No Occupation	32	31	33	25	28	39	24	57	28
Underage/ Child	9	11	7	9	11	11	6	0	13

About a third (32%) of persons in the households (economically active in terms of age) was unemployed or had no occupation and there was no variation between the sexes. Proportionally, the Ifafa glebe was the most affected with 57% unemployed. In a similar vein, Amahlongwa accounted for about two fifths (39%). Other glebes shared a similar status.

Thirty two percent (32%) of the people were still attending educational institutions and in this case the percentage of males exceeded that of females by 10 percentage. Umthwalumi and Umzumbe glebes had the highest representation with two persons in every five attending an educational institution. It was followed by Imfume (36%), Adams and Umzumbe each accounting for 28% and Amahlongwa (25%) and in the tail Ifafa (7%).

Eleven percent of people in the families worked as labourers where the ratio of females was five percentage points above that of males. The bigger number of these people came from Adams and Umthwalumi glebes (21% and 18% respectively). The proportion of labourers from Imfume glebe was close to a tenth while Ifafa, Amahlongwa and Umzumbe glebes were almost on par.

Professionals accounted for eight percent overall and the highest proportion (17%) of them came from Ifafa glebe. The other glebes recorded relatively significant ratios in the following order:

- Adams (13%);
- Amahlongwa (11%); and
- Imfume (8%).

Nine percent (9%) of the people were underage or children. They could not be labelled as unemployed or without occupations as their age forbade them from engaging in any form of work. The majority (13%) of these people came from Umzumbe while Imfume and Amahlongwa were on par each accounting for 11 percent of this age group.

Pensioners and people who relied on government social security for income constituted seven percent (7%) of people in the households. Female persons were more reliant on this social security system when compared with their male counterparts. In terms of glebes, Imfume had the highest representation (11%). Amahlongwa and Adams each accounted for eight percent (8%) and the rest were below this percentage.

The percentage of people who were reported as entrepreneurs in the glebes was negligible. The same applied with people in the administration sector as well as the artisans.

Table 6: Household Monthly Income

Income Levels	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
No Income	26	26	26	27	9	0	38	45	35
R1 - R500	5	4	6	3	15	0	3	3	4
R501 - R1000	22	19	25	43	21	0	21	16	31
R1001 - R2000	17	23	13	17	33	15	14	16	3
R2001 - R3000	7	6	8	3	6	26	0	7	0
R3001 - R4000	3	0	5	0	0	11	7	0	0
R4001 - R5000	3	4	3	0	6	4	3	3	4
R5001 - R6000	2	4	1	0	3	0	3	3	4
R6001 - R7000	2	3	2	3	0	7	0	0	4
R7001 - R8000	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	4
R8000 +	11	10	12	3	6	37	7	7	12

Seventy percent (70%) of the people in the glebes earned below the minimum living levels (MLL) as the table shows that their households rely on pension. According to the Bureau of Marketing Research in March 2003 (BMR, Report 3/19), R1 871 for a household of 4, 7 people met the MLL.¹¹ This figure concurs with the R18000 per annum that some South African households rely on.¹² For example, just above a quarter (26%) of the households reported a zero income where the gender impact was the same. Regionally (in terms of the glebes) Ifafa recorded the highest percentage (45%). The glebes of Adams and Umzumbe were also high where Adams was three percentage points above Umzumbe.

Above a fifth (22%) earn between R501 and R1000 and the burden of these low earnings weighed heavily on females (six percentage points above the ratio of their male counterparts). Umthwalumi and Umzumbe were the hardest hit with 43% and 31% respectively earning in this bracket.

¹¹ “R1 871 is the MLL for an African urban household. Using it as the cut-off for rural households is a bit harsh. In general the MLL in rural areas is lower. But by using the urban figure for all, one certainly reduces the risk of under-statement considerably” in *Breaking the Grip of Poverty and Inequality in South Africa 2004-2014* Current trends, issues and future policy options edited by JP Landman. With the recent inflation figures, it would make sense to assume vast changes in the MLLs.

¹² Statistics South Africa Portfolio (2006) *Municipalities in South Africa*. The impact of the recent economic recession might have changed this picture significantly.

Respondents were asked if they had other sources of income separate from their reported regular or conventional sources. Almost all respondents did not have alternative sources of income. Those that reported some income from other sources were below a percent and in most cases, the supply referred to the children’s grant from government.

On the question of savings, almost all respondents reported that they had no money invested elsewhere. This correlates with what the tables on household incomes and sizes depicted above. Chances of households in the glebes having extra money for saving are close to zero.¹³ A few of those interviewees who saved asserted that the savings were meant for the education of their children and funerals in case of deaths in the families.

Table 7: Transport

Means of Transport	Total Population	Gender		District					
		Male	Female	Umthwalum	Imfume	Amahlongwe	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Total	937	442	495	194	167	201	127	83	165
Percentage	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Walk	60	63	56	63	58	73	20	81	66
Bus	0	1	1	1	1	0	6	0	0
Train	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	19
Mini Bus Taxi	18	19	19	1	14	11	48	49	8
Motor Car	7	7	8	1	0	9	4	40	6
Lift Club	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0
Do not go to church	24	22	32	59	26	12	21	0	1

Almost three in five persons (60%) accessed the church by walking. This was a similar phenomenon across all the glebes except for Adams which, proportionally, recorded a low percentage. Close to a fifth (18%) of people relied on mini bus taxis to reach their place of worship with Adams and Ifafa accounting for higher ratios. Some, especially those respondents from Ifafa, used their own motor cars. The use of lift clubs and buses was not significant.

There were also people in the glebes who reported that they “do not go to church”. These people constituted 24 percent of the sample and the ratio of males was 10 percentage points above that of females. The highest proportion of these people came from Umthwalumi (59%). Imfume and Adams also recorded significant ratios of these people (26% and 21% respectively). On the contrary, Ifafa reported or recorded a zero on the people who did not go to church while Umzumbe recorded a percent.

¹³ The problem of saving is widespread and it is national as some studies show.

Basic Needs in the Glebes

Attempts were made at collecting data on basic needs in the glebes. Questions on access to types of energy sources, water and sanitation were asked from respondents. The following tables are providing a summary in this regard.

Table 8: Energy Source for Cooking

Energy Source for Cooking	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Electricity	76	70	79	23	79	100	93	84	77
Gas	9	7	10	20	9	0	0	10	15
Paraffin	9	13	6	40	3	0	3	3	0
Wood	7	10	5	17	9	0	3	3	8

More than three quarters (76%) of the households in the glebes rely on electricity for cooking. However, it would seem glebes such as Umthwalumi are lagging behind and may be presumably attributed to slow electricity reticulation in the district. The study showed that use of electricity for cooking was far below the levels of the other glebes (23%).

Nine percent of the families relied on gas for cooking and the biggest proportions of this percentage were recorded in Umthwalumi and Umzumbe glebes (20% and 15% respectively). Ifafa and Imfume glebes also used gas although at levels below that of the former two glebes. Amahlongwa and Adams glebes recorded a zero percent use of gas as a source of energy for cooking. There was also about a tenth (9%) of the families that relied on paraffin for cooking. Again, the most affected glebe was Umthwalumi which accounted for 40 percent. Other glebes' consumption of paraffin as a source of energy for cooking was not significant.

The use of wood was also recorded in the glebes where Umthwalumi accounted for 17 percent of the seven percent (total use of wood as source of energy for cooking). Other glebes that used wood significantly were Imfume and Umzumbe (9% and 8% respectively). The percentage of use in the other glebes was small to warrant any analysis (refer to the table above).

Table 9: Energy Source for Lighting

Energy Source for Lighting	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Electricity	80	71	85	20	94	100	97	87	81
Gas	2	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	12
Paraffin	3	4	3	17	0	0	0	3	0
Candles	15	23	9	60	6	0	3	10	8

Four in five (80%) households used electricity for lighting and all of them recorded more than 80 percent except for Umthwalumi (20%). The second major sources of lighting recorded were candles as 15 percent. As expected from the trend above, Umthwalumi glebe was the highest in the use of candles (60%) and this was supplemented by the use of paraffin in some households (17%). Other glebes that used candles were Ifafa (10%), Umzumbe (8%) and Imfume (6%). The highest use of gas was recorded in Imfume glebe (12%).

Table 10: Type of Electricity in the Household

Type of Electricity	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	18	27	12	77	6	0	7	10	8
Electricity with Conventional Meters	13	13	12	20	0	4	10	32	8
Electricity with Prepaid Card	69	60	75	0	94	96	83	58	85
Generator	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0

Above two thirds (69%) of the households in the glebes used prepaid card electricity. Those families that used metered electricity accounted for 13 percent with Ifafa and Umthwalumi

showing higher ratios (32% and 20% percent respectively).¹⁴ There were also families that did not have access to electricity (18%) and more than three quarters (77%) of these households came from Umthwalumi. Other glebes were not as affected.

Table 11: Sources of Water

Sources of Water	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Piped water from full pressure pipes	57	56	59	0	42	89	97	81	39
Piped water from roof tank	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
Ground tanks next to the house	2	1	3	7	0	0	0	0	8
Street taps (standpipes)	29	34	26	80	55	11	0	19	0
Borehole / rainwater tank / well	7	3	9	7	3	0	0	0	35
Dam / river / stream / spring	3	6	2	7	0	0	3	0	12

The households in the glebes accessed portable water from different sources. However, the first major source of water reported in the glebes was “piped water from full pressure pipes” (57%). Umthwalumi, in keeping with the energy trend above, had no access to this source of water.

The second source of water reported were street taps (standpipes) which recorded 29 percent accessibility. This source was overwhelmingly used in Umthwalumi (80%) followed Imfume glebe (55%). Other glebes in the line were Ifafa (19%) and Amahlongwa (11%). The use of “borehole / rainwater tank / well” was also significant (7%) in the glebes with Umzumbe and Umthwalumi glebes receiving the highest representation (35% and 7% respectively).

There were also households that relied on “dam / river / stream / spring” and they accounted for three percent of the households. Most of them came from Umzumbe (12%) and Umthwalumi (7%) glebes. Ground tanks next to the house (2%) and piped water from roof tanks (1%) were also a source from which households drew water. Umzumbe glebe accounted for eight percent of each of these two sources. Umthwalumi accounted for seven percent ground tanks next to the house.

¹⁴ This was a deviation from the trend for Umthwalumi. One would assume these families are well off and had applied for electricity on their own.

Table 12: Toilet Facilities

Toilet Facilities	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Full waterborne flush toilet (off site disposal)	23	30	18	0	3	33	41	42	19
Septic tank (on site disposal)	14	10	16	3	0	0	45	13	23
Ventilated improved pit latrine	5	6	5	0	0	4	0	23	4
Basic pit latrine	57	53	59	97	97	63	7	23	50
Chemical toilet	2	1	2	0	0	0	7	0	4

The use of basic pit latrines was dominant in the households (57%). This was even the case with Umthwalumi and Imfume each accounting for 97 percent proportionally. Amahlongwa and Umzumbe glebes followed with 63% and 50% respectively. At the lowest rung were Ifafa and Adams with 23% and 7% respectively.

Households with access to full waterborne flush toilet (offsite disposal) made up 23 percent. In this case Ifafa and Adams glebes proved to be in better a state than the rest (42% and 41% respectively). Amahlongwa and Umzumbe followed (33% and 19% respectively). Imfume glebe was at the foot while Umthwalumi (3%) recorded an almost zero access.

Fourteen percent (14%) of the households relied on septic tank (on site disposal) as method of disposing 'dirt'. Significant usage of this toilet facility was recorded in Adams (45%), Umzumbe (23%) and Ifafa (13%).

Membership to the Glebe Community, the UCC and Attendance of Services

In order to have an idea of who exactly constituted the communities found in the glebes, the question seeking to establish who belonged to which church denomination was asked. This question was asked in tandem with the question of community membership in the glebes and whether it automatically translated to UCC membership. The questions were as follows.¹⁵

¹⁵ The presumption behind these questions was that communities in South Africa were always in flux and not bounded. Lack of access to basic needs such as shelter or housing and employment opportunities make them change indefinitely.

Table 13: Are you a member of the glebe community; and Are you a member of the UCC?

Are you a member of the glebe community?	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzambe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	99	70	99	100	100	96	100	100	100
No	1	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0
Are you a member of the UCC?									
Yes	68	66	69	87	79	26	35	87	89
No	32	34	31	13	21	74	66	13	12
Do you attend services of the UCC?									
Yes	69	66	72	90	79	67	66	87	86
No	31	34	28	10	21	33	35	13	12

When interviewees were asked if they were members of the respective glebes, almost 100 percent of them were positive and the variation among the areas was not major. The variation was noticeable when interviewees were asked if they were members of the UCC or not. The variation pointed to the fact that the constitution of the glebes was no longer an exclusive preserve of the UCC members. For instance, close to a third (32%) of people living in the glebes were not members of the UCC. The high number of these people was recorded in Amahlongwa (74%) and Adams (66%).

There existed a correlation between membership to the church and attendance. Almost all respondents who reported membership to the UCC attended all services. The foregoing table affirms this correlation. The correlation was matched by the frequency on attendance by the members. The following table is a summation to this effect.

Table 14: If yes, how often do you attend church services?

Frequency of Attendance	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzambe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

All Services	5	7	3	13	0	0	0	0	15
Every Sunday	41	37	43	3	36	11	35	87	73
Every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday	18	20	16	73	18	11	0	0	0
Never	28	29	27	10	21	48	66	13	12
Occasionally	9	7	10	0	24	30	0	0	0

About seven in ten people (72%) interviewed attended the services of the UCC. These interviewees were divided into the following groups:

- The first group was constituted by interviewees who attended services “every Sunday” and they accounted for 41 percent. The proportion of females was six percent higher than that of males. In the same mode, the proportion of females from Ifafa were the most represented and followed by Umzumbe (87% and 73% respectively);
- The second group (18%) was made of people who attended services “every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday”. Umthwalumi glebe accounted for the highest (73%) ratio of this group. Most of these people had responsibilities in their glebes. These responsibilities ranged from ensuring maintenance of the church buildings, teaching ‘Sunday school’, participation in the youth activities such as *amabutho* and general progress of the church;
- There were those respondents who claimed to attend services of the UCC occasionally (9%) and this was a common practice in Imfume and Amahlongwa glebes;
- The last group was made of people who attended “all services” (5%) and these were mainly males at Umzumbe and Umthwalumi glebes.

Twenty eight percent (28%) of the respondents claimed that they “never” attended services of the UCC in their respective glebes. About two thirds (66%) of this percentage were people from Adams. In the same vein, Amahlongwa accounted for 48 percent. The reasons for not attending were attributed to the fact that these people belonged to different church denominations. Those denominations that were mentioned included, *inter alia*, Roman Catholic Church, Anglican, Apostles, Nazareth Baptist Church, Zionists and faith based churches such as the Durban Christian Centre. There were those respondents who asserted their lack of interest in church matters in the following words, “I am not a church going person”.

In spite of the presence of diverse denominations in the glebes, the relations that prevailed among the churches were progressive. The following are the words from respondents that typified the relations: “excellent”; “great”; “fine” etc or “In my years of being a mission station member it has been very good. We communicate, the relations are great”. The good relations were further enhanced by the accessibility of the UCC buildings to non-members for developmental activities such as meetings and education in the case of pre-primary and crèche learners.

Beyond conventional worshiping in the UCC structures, respondents reported that they also carried out health related programmes such as that of HIV and AIDS counselling in the buildings. Memorial services, music rehearsals, community meetings, weddings were among other activities that were conducted in the UCC precincts. This was a common practice across glebes.

Respondents were further asked to indicate if they had any knowledge as to the establishment of their churches. In this case, the percentage of people with knowledge of the dates was too miniscule to warrant any analysis. The motive behind the question was based on the assumption that time and age run together in the heritage industry. People would, therefore, appreciate the age of their churches and probably realize their heritage value. The following question was, as a result, rendered irrelevant.

Development and its Management in the Glebes

The first question posed to this direction was to establish if communities in the glebes were involved in any development activities. This question did not yield data that would warrant generation of statistical information. A few activities mentioned centred on agriculture and specifically vegetable, sugarcane, piggery and poultry farming. These agricultural activities were mostly found in Umthwalumi and Umzumbe glebes. On visits, the most dominant agricultural activity in Umthwalumi was sugarcane farming but lacked coordinated operational structure that would enhance productivity and eventually profits.

Similarly the other forms of agricultural activities around Umzumbe were more subsistent in their nature. Farmers in this glebe could not go on large scale farming owing to a number of difficulties such as lack of agricultural implements, irrigation schemes and land.

About 100 percent of the respondents reported that they did not generate any meaningful profits from their activities. Those activities that could convert produce into monetary values were limited to between R100 and R400 per month.

In the same context, respondents were asked to indicate if there were development organizations in their respective glebes. This question showed that there were few organizations working on development in the glebes. Those existed were too few to warrant any statistical analysis. These were non-governmental organizations that focused on HIV and AIDS management, multilateral organizations such as the Red Cross and subsistent agricultural organizations. Agricultural organizations focused on vegetable, piggery and poultry farming. There were also community members involved in sewing.

The penultimate question sought to establish glebe communities' preferred manager of development projects, if it was availed to them. The following table is a summary of their responses.

Table 15: Development Management¹⁶

Who would you prefer to manage development in the glebe?	Gender			Glebes					
	Total Population	Male	Female	Umthwalumi	Imfume	Amahlongwa	Adams	Ifafa	Umzumbe
Totals	176	70	106	30	31	33	27	26	29
Percentages	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Church	53	53	53	57	58	30	7	58	52
Development Committee	28	33	26	40	9	48	14	39	23
Tribal Authority	3	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	19
Local Government	8	9	8	0	0	0	48	0	0
Municipality	7	6	9	0	3	19	24	0	0
Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs)	5	6	4	0	12	4	7	3	0
Other	6	4	8	0	30	4	0	0	0

More than half (53%) people in the sample believed that the church would manage their development better than any other establishment. This feeling was shared equally among the sexes. However, Adams and Amahlongwa glebes reported less confidence (7% and 30% in that order) in the church in favour of provincial government and local municipalities (48% and 24% respectively).

Respondents also had trust in the development committees (28%) in that they could manage their development appropriately. Males were more (33%) stronger in this belief compared to their female counterparts who were seven percent below that of males. As indicated above Adams glebe had the strongest representation in this respect (48%). Umthwalumi and Ifafa glebes were next in the line (40% and 39% correspondingly). The least faith in the development committees was recorded in Imfume glebe at nine percent.

The provincial government and municipalities shared a similar grading by respondents where they accounted for eight and seven percent respectively. The same applied with the 'other' and NGOs. Strong faith in the 'other' and NGOs was recorded in the Imfume glebe (30% and 12% in that order).

The traditional authorities were at the bottom of the confidence index by the glebes (3%). The biggest ratio of people who believed that traditional authorities could manage their development came from Umzumbe (19%).

¹⁶ This is multi-response table. Percentages may go beyond 100 percent, but their totals are still based on respondents.

Declaration of Church Structures as Heritage Sites

Finally, interviewees were asked if they would approve of the idea that would have their church buildings or structures declared heritage sites. Almost all respondents approved the idea of declaring their church structures as heritage sites. They felt the idea “would be good to create employment for their youth”. Others felt the idea would help in the preservation of the church legacy in the politics of liberation in the country. “The church has produced statesmen”, argued a respondent from Adams. Respondents further argued that the gesture would help in the renovation of the buildings as they were struggling to raise funds in this regard.

The approval was, however, not without conditions. Interviewees wanted to know how would their local churches benefit from the whole exercise of declaration of their religious structures as heritage sites. Further, interviewees would not approve of the declaration if that interferes with their worshipping. In this case, alternative structures would have to be provided in the very same premises. Preservation of the original architecture of the structures was also among the conditions.

Conclusion

The number of households in the glebes has increased due to general settlement programmes by government. People living in the glebes now include people from other church denominations. There are also people who do not attend church at all. The use of church facilities accommodates all people living in the glebes.

Development: All the glebes highlighted the need for development in their respective areas. More than half (53%) of respondents in the glebes prefer development to be managed by the church. The Development Committees come second (28%). Umzumbe respondents felt their tribal authority would play a meaningful (19%) role.

Heritage Sites: All six glebes approved the idea of their old worshipping structures possible declaration as heritage sites, but cautioned that worshipping should not be interfered with.

The key findings of the socio-economic survey reveal a picture that is roughly in tandem with what one obtains in the local municipalities where glebes are situated; although, it is noticeable that in terms of educational attainments, glebes do better than local municipalities. The relatively higher levels of education in areas around glebes confirm the long-standing association of education with mission stations especially in rural areas. This suggests that for any development interventions that may be planned or anticipated for these areas, such as the proposed heritage site declaration of the mission stations, can take advantage of the long legacy and association of some of these mission stations with education institution, for example, Adams College and Umzumbe Home for Girls. The findings also show that, with the exception of Adams Mission, local residents still have faith in church structures to lead development programmes.

