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An In-Depth Analysis of the Elizabeth Center in Tanzania



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This report provides a clear overview of the current activities of the Elizabeth Center in Kolila Village, its interactions with and impact on the local village, as well as the potential of current and future cash generating activities in order to increase further self-reliance of the Center. Furthermore, the impact of the Elizabeth Center on the local Kolila Village and its economic development is described, as perceived by the local parties as well as quantified wherever possible.

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Preface

“The difficulty lies not in new ideas, but in escaping from the old ones, which ramify into every corner of our minds” ~ John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) ~

This report is the result of a five-week internship at the Elizabeth Center in Kolila Village, Tanzania. It is about change. Not only about the ongoing and necessary changes at the Elizabeth Center, but it also reflects personal challenges and changes encountered whilst doing research.

We still remember our first day very well, with no knowledge of the Elizabeth Center and thus no clue how to contribute with this project. During the first days, the environment, culture, people and other new experiences also overwhelmed us and we knew from the beginning that this project would be challenging. But besides some setbacks during the research process, it was a very inspiring project and the results are definitely worth all efforts. It was a major opportunity for us since we could finally use all our theoretical knowledge in practice, and moreover learn from the contributors and employees of the Elizabeth Center and the local inhabitants of Kolila Village and gain a good insight in their environment and our personal functioning within it.

We would not have been able to write this report without the knowledge, insights, data and support, directly and indirectly, of many people, so we would like to thank all of them. Especially, we would like to thank Sister Immaculati for her kindness and very informative and pleasant cooperation. Thanks for giving us the opportunity to write our report at the Elizabeth Center and for all beneficial and constructive inputs to the research. We would also like to thank Sister Regina, Sister Stella and Sister Josepha for all their goodness, care, delicious meals and guidance during our stay, and everything that we have been able to see and experience at Kolila Village. Furthermore, we would like to express our gratitude to all the teachers and workers at the Elizabeth Center for their kindness and willingness to help us when and wherever necessary. Another special thanks to Dr. B.J.W. Pennink, our supervisor at the University of Groningen, for the opportunity to do this research and for his guidance and support throughout this project. We are also very thankful to the inhabitants of Kolila Village and the children of the Elizabeth Center’s nursery and primary school, for sharing their culture, happiness and experiences, and for the great time in Tanzania.

Hopefully, this research proves itself valuable to the Elizabeth Center in the coming future.

Junxi Shao, Saaira Mushtag, Lauritz Elmshäuser & Maureen Wouters
Kolila Village, August 2014

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1. Introduction

1.1 Reason for Research

The Elizabeth Center (EC) has been established in 2005 by the Sisters of Charity of Saint Charles Borromeo, initially with the aim of catering Kolila Village with clean water. Soon the idea emerged to teach children while their mothers were queuing for water. Starting in 2005 with a kindergarten, today the Elizabeth Center is offering education beginning with a two-year nursery school up to the seventh and final year of primary school. It furthermore offers boarding for some of the children, operates a maize and sunflower oil mill, rents out buildings to local people, and still operates the water depots of the early days.

The rapid growth of the Center by acquiring land, constructing the necessary buildings, and facilitating the formation of many of the 19 current teachers has been possible by the strong commitment of a series of domestic and international partners. Next to the congregation of the Sisters these are most noteworthy the Dutch Florentina Foundation as well as the Hans van Bokkem foundation. By bringing in outside knowledge and the necessary funding for the growth of the school, they enabled the Elizabeth Center to cater today for about 393 primary school children as well as 67 kindergarten children.

Through the support of generous donations, it was possible to expand the reach of the Elizabeth Center in a short time frame. Yet, alongside the growth of the school, the daily operating expenses increased likewise. Currently, two main pillars provide these funds, the first one being the yearly school fees, the second one further outside funding. Furthermore, in order to increase the self-reliance of the Elizabeth Center, cash generating small-scale business operations were started. Among those are the renting out of a shop house, the mills, and potentially the establishment of an Internet café. Strengthening those activities is thought to allow the Elizabeth Center to operate more independently of outside funding and thus further secure its future operations.

Purpose of this research is thus to provide a clear overview of the current activities of the Elizabeth Center, its interactions with and impact on the local village, as well as assessing the potential of current and future cash generating activities in order to increase further self-reliance of the Center. Ultimately, this will further allow us to assess the impact of the Elizabeth Center on the local Kolila Village and its economic development, as perceived by the local parties as well as quantified wherever possible. Thus, our leading research question can be stated as following:

What is the present and potential impact of the differing activities of the Elizabeth Center on local economic development of Kolila Village and how is its potential for strengthening its self-reliance by cash generating small-scale operations?

1.2 Objective of Research

1.2.1 Research Questions

To provide answers to the aforementioned question, our research question is further divided into six interconnected sub-questions.

As a first step, our aim is to create a clear overview of all activities the Center is currently undertaking. It is known that scope and scale of these activities have increased over the course of the last years. These activities range from the initial offering of schooling and clean water to milling, micro financing, as well as renting out of local shop houses. Some activities are thus at the core of the Center, most notably the schooling, while others can be regarded as supporting functions to facilitate funding or operation of the Center. As an initial step in the research process the first sub-question therefore derives itself as:

Q1.1 What are the current activities that the Elizabeth Center is taking care of?

The idea of the Elizabeth Center is to cater to the local needs of the people. Offering education can hereby help increasing the employment potential of the local community. Furthermore, the Elizabeth Center creates many jobs directly or indirectly connected to its operations. Taken together, education and employment can initiate a local economic development process. However, as also noted by Stimson (2009), the potential for local economic development of a given region depend to a certain degree on local factor endowments. These might include socio-structural factors like social capital, geographic factors such as the location and its connection to infrastructure or natural resource endowments. An analysis of the Elizabeth Center and its local impact therefore also should include an assessment of the local situation. Our second sub-research question therefore states.

Q1.2 What is the local situation in Kolila Village with regard to its influence on the operation of the Elizabeth Center?

Connected to the previous question, the importance of local endowments becomes even more influential as the interactions between the village and the Center increase. Local inhabitants or the share of locals that have a connection with the Center can measure the strength of interactions in terms of utilized activities of the Center. It is therefore important to assess those interactions between village and Center and the respective activities to which they pertain.

Q1.3 What is the strength of the interactions of Kolila village and the Elizabeth Center?

Based on the analysis of the previous three questions, our aim is to determine the current impact of the activities described in sub-question 1, based on their importance in the local context explained in sub-question 2 and with regard to their utilization as assessed by sub-question 3.

Q1.4 What are the most prevailing current and potential activities of the Elizabeth Center and what is their impact upon the local situation.

Having analysed the local situation, the impact of the work of the Elizabeth Center and the ideas of its future impact might differ depending on the perception of the respective local actors. The two most important local actors that should be asked for their ideas about the impact of the work of the Center are the sisters and the inhabitants of Kolila Village. The Sisters are the driving force for the Elizabeth Center and responsible for taking decisions about new projects and local support. The local inhabitants in turn are both receivers of the services of the Center as well as active participants in the form of workers, parents, or other stakeholders. Taken together, this analysis might in turn generate new ideas about the prospects of the Elizabeth Center and the direction future endeavours might take. Consequently, our sub-research questions five and six are as following:

Q1.5: What is the perception of the Sisters about their work, impact, and possibilities for individuals, the local community, as well as local economic development?

Q1.6: What is the perception of the local inhabitants about impact the work of the Elizabeth Center on individuals, the local community, as well as local economic development?

1.2.2 Research Plan

The research has been conducted as on-field research during a period of one month in July 2014. In order to generate answers to our questions, in-depth interviews were conducted with all major stakeholders. All interviews were attended by one to four researchers and whenever necessary a translator or guide was present. In total, 10 people were interviewed and their answers later either transcribed or summarised. These interviews were later analysed with the possibility of follow up questions. Wherever possible, the qualitative data of interviews and field observations was complemented with quantitative data, thereby facilitating triangulation as also proposed by Yin (2008). Analysis of the interviews was done by using grounded theory. Following Eisenhardt's (1989) approach to data analysis it was tried to look beyond initial impressions after having familiarized with the data by employing an iterative, inductive process typical to grounded theory. Hereby were the transcribed interviews first coded and emerging codes later categorized. This iterative process was continued until data saturation had been reached.

1.2.3 Limitations

This case study was explorative in nature, thus giving room to interpretation by the researchers. Consequently, investigator bias cannot be excluded. The interviewees' answers might furthermore be biased as translation problems can have occurred and thus could have lowered the amount of information the interviewees initially intended to give. Another bias might result from the fact that the majority of the interviewees had a strong relation with the Elizabeth Center.

1.3 Structure of Research

The remainder of this report is organized into six chapters. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the situation of the Elizabeth Center and their current and planned services and activities. Kolila Village is described in chapter 3, followed by the impact of the Elizabeth Center on the village and local inhabitants of the village in chapter 4. In chapter 5, several perceptions of the Elizabeth Center are considered and chapter 6 discusses the Elizabeth Center within the helix model. Finally, chapter 7 discusses the main conclusions of this study and provides recommendations.

2. Overview of Elizabeth Center

2.1 History

In 2005, the Elizabeth Center was founded by the Sisters of Charity of Saint Charles Borromeo to serve the villages around the airport of Kilimanjaro. It is located in Kolila Village, in northern Tanzania between Arusha and Moshi. Since 1993, the Sisters have an active mutual relationship with the rural communities in Kolila Village. Initially, the village requested a nursery and a primary school where parents would assist the Sisters with setting up a school council and donating various building materials for the first phase of the Center. The Sisters then drafted a governance agreement with the Florentina Foundation, which commits the Sisters to administer and manage the Center, while the Florentina Foundation commits to sponsor a large portion of the operation costs up until 2017. Eventually the start up funds of the Florentina Foundation, the help of the parents and the land of the Sisters resulted in a small nursery school room for up to 30 children. Within a month after opening there were already 65 children attending the school of the Elizabeth Center.

In 2006, the dream of the Sisters and Kolila Village could be expanded through a generous gift of the Hans van Bokkem Foundation and Wilde Ganzen. Ten more classrooms were built for a primary and a nursery school. The primary school is now able to enrol 393 children (with a maximum of 400) and there are currently 67 children that attend kindergarten.

Despite of the fact the Center started with only a one room red brick building, it has developed to a full service nursery school (2 grades) and a primary school (grades 1 to 7). In addition, the Florentina Foundation facilitates fund drives for other capital investments with the aim to endow the Elizabeth Center with self-generating income activities.

2.2 Mission, Vision and Aims

Elizabeth Center Mission : Promote, encourage and facilitate child and adult academic, social and emotional education and health care

Elizabeth Center Vision : Support harmony, justice, freedom, peace, dignity and self-reliance among rural communities in Tanzania

Elizabeth Center Motto : Helping each other together

The Elizabeth Center aims to:

- Develop and manage a community centre in Kolila Village that will incorporate a nursery and a primary school, vocational training and basic health facilities.
- Develop appropriate academic, social and emotional education methods that are professional and culturally sensitive.
- Promote, support and encourage local self-reliance initiatives that help to promote a “sense of community”.
- To be an active member of the community.

The primary objects for the Elizabeth Center's education programs are to:

- Provide a broad and balanced learning environment through play and participation.
- Create a sense and pride in social responsibility, tolerance and open exchange with different cultures and ideas.
- Provide sporting and social activities, which will encourage physical development, healthy competition and team spirit.

The administrative objectives are to facilitate:

- The allocation of appropriate educational books and equipment.
- To provide classrooms/buildings conducive to fun, learning and achievement.
- To employ staff with likeminded application towards teaching children the sound basics in education, alongside encouraging the children to become confident and successful in their achievements.

2.3 Services

The Elizabeth Center provides several services, which are summed up below.

1. Pre school and primary school education in Kiswahili, utilizing the Tanzanian government curriculum. The school is registered with the District Education Office. In July 2014, 393 students are enrolled in the primary school and 67 children in the kindergarten.
2. Young adult apprentices and study: The Elizabeth Center trains young women in childcare and early year child education, in expectation that young women will complete courses for nursery school and primary school teacher. The Center sends up to six individuals per year for 2 to 4 years study.
3. Social services: The Center's social services focus on the village's needs for water supply depots, microfinance and food relief and future planned health care. Short-term jobs at the Center are given to marginalized people.
4. Self-generating income: In order for the Elizabeth Center to become mostly self-sufficient, the Florentina Foundation has found donors for the Center's maize mill. The Center also builds and rent out property and there is a plan to open an Internet café in the future.
5. Vocational training for rural context (planned): childcare, sewing, machine knitting, animal husbandry, with plans for carpentry, welding, plumbing, electrician, cooking and mechanics. The Center's staff, including men, already has access to adult education programs in English and computer skills. The program hopes to expand to the public.

2.3.1 Schooling

In September 2014 the third cohort of seventh grade students will graduate from the primary school of the Elizabeth Center. The school at the EC, catering to children of a radius of about 6 kilometres, starts with two years of pre-unit or kindergarten and continues with seven years of primary education. Currently, 67 children are attending the pre-unit and 393 the primary



Figure 1: School compound

school, of which 184 are girls and 209 boys. Education at the EC is conducted primarily in Kiswahili, as it is the working language for all the inhabitants of the village. Yet, achieving a certain degree of English proficiency is a crucial goal for the EC as well, as most classes at secondary schools are conducted solely in English. However, the school currently does not cover an English minor, meaning a deepening of English education, as resources such as trained staff for all levels of English are not substantial enough to offer it in a meaningful way. Nineteen full-time teachers, some of which are Sisters of the Center, who have all attended formal teachers education, give classes. The curriculum covers all classes that are normally taught at primary school level. The most important benchmark for the quality of education at the EC is the centrally organized and governmentally administered tests at the end of the seventh grade. In 2012 and 2013, the 20 students of each cohort have been tested. While no detailed records have been kept, most students have passed with grades well above average and were thus allowed to attend secondary school. For the cohort 2014, the EC expects all students to pass the test as well. The high results in the central tests also led to recognition of the work of the EC by the government, as the school has been consistently among the best in the district in the last years.

While school and parents are proud of the good results, the problem of high-quality secondary education became more central. Good students leaving the EC after the seventh grade often have to attend mediocre education at the secondary level. Consequently, many parents wish that the EC would continue its education as a secondary school. Even though the EC likes this idea, financial and organizational means are currently not provided to accomplish this.



Figure 2: Class 1a and 1b

2.3.2 Yong Adult Apprenticeships and Study

Since the beginning of the Elizabeth Center, it has been a priority to facilitate teacher education of the staff. Until today, three teachers have completed teaching education financed by the EC, donations by the Florentina Foundation and most recently reduction in cost by the teaching school itself. A year of teacher education costs about 1,300,000 Tanzanian Shilling, deducting the reduction allowed by the institution; the EC is paying 800,000 Shilling per year per person undergoing formation. While part of these fees is paid back after completed education, another benefit from educating teachers is increased loyalty towards the EC. This is particularly important considering the considerably lower salaries the EC is able to give.

Other students are supported in further pursuing their education at secondary school level. Normally, the Center does not simply provide the financial means, but aims to create opportunities for the students to finance (part) of their studies, e.g. through part-time employment at the EC. A third opportunity is supporting students in becoming kindergarten teachers. This requires two years of training after having finished at least primary school. Overall, the EC tries to constantly support future staff already during their apprenticeship, given that funds are available.

2.3.3 Social Services

Providing social services has been the initial idea when the Sisters of Saint Charles Borromeo started their activities in Kolila Village. The provision of clean water was not only the starting point of their operations in the region; it was also crucial for the establishment of the village itself. When initially erected, the water that was provided from Mount Kilimanjaro was the only source of clean drinking water in the region. Water was providing at half the costs of other providers and is today still sold at a discounted price. While the water supply is not operated with the idea of generating profits, it is able to cover its costs, incorporating supply, maintenance, and salary of the person in charge. Today, the EC does not only provide clean water at the main road, but also at the Center itself. Furthermore, other NGO's have established water supplies from Mount Meru. Nevertheless, the water supply of the EC remains the most important source of clean water in the region with a total of 2642 m³ litres of water provided in 2013 (including water usage for the mill).

When the provision of water was started, the Sisters also tried to educate the queuing mothers about health issues. Today, some of the sisters have an education in nursing and the Center employs a strong relationship with the local hospital. While the Sisters today still try to raise awareness among the adults for health issues, the children of the Center are dewormed at a monthly basis and their health checked routinely by Sisters and teachers.

The EC also holds cattle, which were formerly used for the provision of breakfast for the children. Since the school provides lunch now as well, milk is no longer required for a big breakfast of the children. The milk is instead given at low price to parents of small children of the village. Money coming in is just enough to provide for the food of the cows. Breeding of new cows also allows slaughtering a cow each year for the graduation ceremony.

Alongside the provision of milk for new-borns, the Center also tries to help starving people with food in times of need. This is done on a casual and case-by-case basis, yet the Sisters are always willing to help.

The EC tries to live by the motto “helping each other” by creating opportunities instead of providing social services entirely for free. If parents lack money to pay for the school fees or former students are searching for work to either cover their expenses or finance further education, the Sisters try to help by assigning casual work at the Elizabeth Center. This can be in gardening, maintenance and security or in other fields. Similarly, micro finance loans are given out to people affiliated to the Center. Repayment normally only covers the principal without any interest and is paid back over a longer period. However, those financed feel an even stronger commitment to the Center and often pay interest in form of services through the created business. Even though collateral is never demanded, all lenders except one have repaid their entire loans.

Overall it can be said that the Center is a major provider of social services in the region that span well-beyond the provision of primary education.



Figure 3: A local shop owner (supported with micro financing by EC)

2.3.4 Self-Generating Income

In order to increase self-reliance of the EC, several income-generating projects were started. In the following, the maize mill, rented property, and the potential Internet café will be shortly assessed.

The maize mill started its operations in March 2010 and is operated by a single full-time employed person. The maize mill consists of a separator, a grinder, as well as a generator. While the EC did not own or rent any fields in the past five years, corn is either acquired and grinded by the Center or the mill is used by other farmers against a fee. The maize flour is afterwards sold in 20kg bags. To ensure the availability of the product in many stores of the

village, five bags per seller are given out in advance with payment being delayed until enough bags are sold. The high investment for the machines was facilitated by donations. Today, the maize mill is able to cover its costs of salary, maintenance, and electricity as well as generate a small profit. It is used throughout the whole year, but there are usage peaks at certain harvest times throughout the year. Similarly, the most profitable period of the year is September to November, while grinding activity in the beginning of the year until March is rather low. In 2013, the grinding machine was able to generate a profit of 632,000 Tanzanian Shilling.

The Elizabeth Center constantly pursues supporting their employees financially with building their houses. This way, a number of buildings around the village have been established in the past years. However, some of the buildings remain entirely in the ownership of the Center. On the main road, alongside the maize mill, a shop and house have been established by the Elizabeth Center. It is rented out to craftsmen who sell their goods to tourists. The initial investment sum in 2012 to erect the building was about 2,000,000 Tanzanian Shilling. It is rented out for 85,000 Shilling per month, thus 1,020,000 per year, meaning that by year-end 2014 the building will have refinanced its initial investment sum and start contributing to the self-reliance of the EC. Furthermore, as a food silo made room in a former stockroom of maize, the Center has been able to rent out the room for another 20,000 Tanzanian Shilling per month.

The EC has the idea of starting an Internet café on the ground of the Center. The building with 12 Internet connections is already erected, yet operations of the café could not yet start. The Center owns six laptops of which three to four could be used immediately for the Internet café. However, problematic is financing the additional computers that are needed to scale up operations to a self-financing level. The biggest running costs would be for the salary of the person in charge as well as the Internet provider. While provision of the later is working, even though with intermissions typical for the region, finding a suitable employee is the harder task. It would require a person with Internet literacy that is also able to fix occurring problems, as people from the provider coming from Arusha are relatively expensive. Internet contracts are of high costs compared to European standards. However, in case the EC opens its Internet café for the usage of students of the local secondary schools, the NGO Habari Node Marie might be willing to bear the costs of the Internet connection as they did at other schools in Tanzania as well. Usage of the Internet café would thus be likely to start with the children and those affiliated to the Center as the pass-through rate at the Center by passers-by is relatively low. However, Internet cafés in other villages have proofed to be financially viable, especially on weekends. Besides, in Kolila Village there has not yet been an Internet café established.

Income-generating projects of the EC have been started and further operations are likely to be taken up over the next years. However, those projects largely operate on a re-financing basis and did not yet provide larger profits. When a project is creating money, this money is usually used to finance further projects instead of providing capital streams for the running costs of the EC itself. It can thus be said that while there are many opportunities for self-financing

operations, their profit potential and contribution to self-reliance of the Elizabeth Center appear rather limited.



Figure 4: The maize flourmill

2.3.5 Vocational Training

The idea of vocational training has been with the EC since it started with education at primary school level. Yet, as of now it has not been put into practice. While the local government could give the required land, buildings, equipment, as well as teachers are missing and financial means are not at hand. However, the need for vocational training is not just recognized by the EC itself but also by the village and its government. Especially vocational trainings in tailoring, carpentering, welding, and childcare are strongly required by Kolila Village.

2.4 Facilities

Facilities at Elizabeth Center	Description
Nursery and Preschool	1 building block, 2 classrooms
Primary 1 to Primary 7 classes	4 building blocks, 8 classrooms
Multi Purpose Assembly Hall	1 building block with a stage in the front and chairs in the back
Administration block	Administration office and teachers office
Kitchen	1 block with inside and outside cooking facilities
Small dining	For Nursery and Preschool children (Primary classes eat in classroom)
Toilet block	7 toilets, 1 urinal
Managers house	House with 4 bedrooms for the Sisters
Public water & hygiene depot	Water depot with public showers and toilet
Small temporary dormitory	2 rooms for up to 6 small children with toilet and shower
Girls and boys boarding dormitories	1 building block, 3 rooms for up to 16 children
Toilet and shower block	1 building block with 4 showers and 4 toilets
Kitchen	1 building block with inside cooking facilities

Hostel	1 building block, 2 rooms for up to 6 people (including bathroom)
Maize mill and shop (off site)	Selling households goods and staple foods at reasonable rates
Female teacher training housing (off site)	Housing for up to 8 women who are in various training programs with the Center
Farm	Livestock, fish pond and vegetable garden providing fresh meats and vegetables for students and staff at the Center
Food bank	2 silos with 2 more silos planned for storage of maize and beans used for school meals
Utilities at Center	3 phase electricity TANESCO, borehole and water pipeline from village supply.

2.5 Employees and Students

The Elizabeth Center has currently 19 teachers and one secretary employed and 13 to 15 support staff. Besides, some casual workers are employed on an on-going basis dependent on need and availability. Furthermore, there are currently 5 Sisters resident at the Elizabeth Center, of which one is only an intern and will stay 6 months to get experience. Furthermore, 393 children are attending the primary school as well as 67 children the kindergarten.

2.6 Work of Sisters

There are now in total five Sisters at the EC. However, there is only space for four Sisters to live at the Elizabeth Center, thus one sister is living a bit further away in the village. The fifth Sister is here only temporarily for 6 months, to gain some experience. The house is not a house of the congregation, but meant as a management house for the school, thus it is not expected that the house will be extended with outside capital to provide room for more Sisters.

The Sisters are getting up at around 5:30 am and at 6:00 am they are doing their morning prayer. After that, all the Sisters start with their own respective activities, which differ everyday because of the employment basis. If someone has nothing specific to do, they will approach Sister Immaculati to ask her for a task for the day. But every Sister has a clear role or task. Sister Regina serves as the Head Master of the school of the Elizabeth Center, where she also teaches. Actually, she does not have to teach because she is the Head Master, but she took over this responsibility next to being responsible for keeping everything clean in the primary school. Sister Stella is responsible for the preparation of the food for the children, teaches in the kindergarten and is currently also helping with taking care of the guests. The same holds true for Sister Josepha, who is also responsible for the administration, including being the accountant of the EC. However, Sister Josepha is currently also attending the teachers education, so they have to find another accountant. Sr. Immaculati is organized everything. Sister Immaculati walks around the compound to see what has to be done and based on that starts arranging by assigning tasks for the day. At 16:00 pm, all Sisters come

together. The same in the evening, when the Sisters pray and eat at around 19:00 pm. Afterwards, they watch the news and sometimes a movie if they are not yet too tired.

2.7 Finances

The operating costs of the EC, totalling 285,632,000 Tanzanian Shilling in 2013, are currently funded by semi-annually paid school and transport fees of the children, the three-monthly paid contribution of the Florentina Foundation, as well as by support of the Hans van Bokkem Foundation. In 2014, school fees of the children amount to 50,580,000 Shilling, the Florentina Foundation provided US\$32.320, while Hans van Bokkem Foundation supported the EC with €20.000. Cash generating activities like the maize mill have been established; however they do not yet constitute a substantial part of the budget (0.4 per cent). Similarly, cash received from renting out newly established houses to staff and local people is still primarily used to refund the initial investment for the houses. Other activities of the EC such as the water supply or the cattle are operated only on a self-financing basis and are not intended to generate income.

Security of funding by school fees is strengthening, as parents are increasingly willing to pay the school fees in money as opposed to goods. Support by the Hans van Bokkem Foundation is secured by a contract until 2015 and donations by the Florentina Foundation are secured on an annually decreasing basis until 2017. Over the course of the past years, the EC has been able to generate a small budget surplus by the end of the year. However, this is only possible as most teachers are willing to work for a salary below market rates in exchange for food or subsidized housing. The income statement for the year 2013 is presented below:

Item	In (TSh)	Out (TSh)
Donation Van Bokkem Foundation (for salary of teachers)	51,066,000	
Donation Van Bokkem Foundation (for food and transport)	14,374,000	
Donation Florentina Foundation	56,220,000	
School Fees	28,440,000	
Transport Fees (paid by students)	7,900,000	
Grinding Machine	632,000	
Total Income	<u>158,632,000</u>	
Salary Teachers		52,140,000
Salary Other Staff		25,280,000
Food		23,700,000
Transport		30,020,000
Materials		6,320,000
General Maintenance		3,160,000
Other		17,380,000
Total Costs		<u>158,000,000</u>
Net Income	<u>632,000</u>	

School fees differ based on the year the student is enrolled in. They incorporate costs of classes as well as food provided by the EC, yet do not cover uniforms or transportation. However, it should be noted that not all school fees are paid to the Center in total. Some parents pay part or all of the fees in goods or in services performed for the Center. Furthermore, a few children are supported free of charge or at reduced costs, e.g. in case of some orphans. The school fees per class as of 2014 are as following:

	School Fee (TSh)	Number of Children	Total (TSh)
Kindergarten	60,000	67	4,020,000
Class 1	120,000	77	9,240,000
Class 2	120,000	51	6,120,000
Class 3	140,000	46	6,440,000
Class 4	140,000	36	5,040,000
Class 5	170,000	40	6,800,000
Class 6	170,000	43	7,310,000
Class 7	170,000	33	5,610,000
Total	-	393	50,580,000

Funding by the Florentina Foundation for the remainder of the current contract is outlined as presented here:

Year	Amount
2014	\$32,320
2015	\$29,290
2016	\$26,260
2017	\$23,230

When the memorandum of understanding between the Florentina Foundation and the Elizabeth Center had been established, the decreasing amount of yearly contributions was introduced as the EC was supposed to constantly increase self-reliance through cash-generating activities. However, when reviewing the finances of the Center, it becomes apparent that those activities have not yet been established as a third pillar next to school fees and donations.

3. Overview of Kolila Village

In order to assess the influence the Elizabeth Center has on the village, this chapter will first describe Kolila Village by analysing key figures, societal and infrastructural factors, as well as activities among the community.

3.1 Introduction of Village

Kolila Village is situated in Arusha region, half-way between the towns of Arusha and Moshia and only six kilometres from Kilimanjaro International Airport. The local population mainly consists of Masaai and Meru tribes, however increasingly people from other ethnics are settling in the region. The local population is about 21,000 people, most of which are employed as farmers, at the airport, as miners or as local shopkeepers. Many hold several positions due to short-term contracts and high turnover rates. Economic activity increased in the village over the course of the last years and an increasing amount of shops has been established. Hereby it should be noted that the erection of the first houses within the village was not before the Elizabeth Center provided clean water in 2008. Just as economic activity took up, so did population growth. While a 2002 census of the region of today's Kolila Village counted 920 families, each of about six people, the 2012 census already counted 21,000 people.

3.2 Societal Factors

Alongside the increasing heterogeneity of ethnicities of the local people are people of diverse religions and confessions present in Kolila Village. The largest religion is Christianity, with Catholic being the largest confession, followed by the Islam. However, just as at the Elizabeth Center, religion does not considerably hinder cooperation between individuals of the village. Women of similar occupations are establishing cooperatives to lend money to each other and neighbours are helping each other with building their houses. However, jealousy, e.g. with positions offered by the EC, poses a threat to higher levels of social capital within the village. This might be increased by ethnical stereotypes and mistrust. Yet, as the region has experienced immersion of different ethnical groups for the last years, this problem is less dominant than in most other areas of the country. Two additional big problems of the village are low income and high unemployment rates. According to the governmental official of the village, average income per family is only about 1,000 Tanzanian Shilling per day. This can partly be explained by much economic activity-taking place as owner-occupation, while famers only create income on the two market days, Tuesday and Friday. High owner-occupation is also not surprising as official unemployment statistics are around 70 per cent. Next to owner-occupation, short-term contracts and high job volatility foster this problem. Alcoholism by some inhabitants as well as a still strongly paternalistic society further decreases developmental potential.

3.3 Infrastructure

The infrastructure of Kolila Village has been improved considerably over the last years. New roads and houses have been developed, the governmental building was established in a

collaborative effort and a large bus station in the centre of the village, typical to villages of the region, has been established. Before the EC had started its operations, there was no water or electricity supply for the region. Following the immediate water supply of the EC on the main road, the Center established additional water tanks on the ground of the Center and a Danish NGO developed a water supply from Mount Meru not far from the market place. The village now enjoys access to electricity and the EC as well as the hospital operate several generators in case of blackouts.

Health infrastructure in the region of the village is rather rudimentary. While a hospital in a collaborative effort of church and government is established and operated, village officials and inhabitants raise the issue of an additional health centre. Such a centre had previously been built, yet budget shortages of the government led to the discontinuity of its operations.

The educational infrastructure of the village consists of a public primary school four kilometres from the village centre, which caters to about 400 children, and the Elizabeth Center School with 393 pupils. Within further reach are several public and private secondary schools, yet none of them is in the village itself. School fees at public schools are considerably lower than at the Elizabeth Center, yet materials and test results are below the standard of the EC.

3.4 Collaboration among Inhabitants

Just as the EC aims to help people to help themselves, the village inhabitants have displayed collaborative efforts over the last years that span beyond the work of the EC and are often encouraged by the local government. The governmental building near the market place was established in a collaborative effort, while the local stone crushing factory provided the stones for the fundament as it did for other buildings in the village as well. In order to provide micro financing to peers, groups of women of similar occupations started creating groups. Within those groups, money is pooled and lent out to its members. Similarly, the government supported the provision of starting capital for micro businesses. For road projects, women are encouraged to form worker groups. Together, they receive the fee for the work to be completed and this fee is afterwards evenly distributed among the members of the group. Furthermore, these groups often remain in existence even after the road-building project has been terminated.

4. The Impact of Elizabeth Center on Kolila Village

In this chapter, it will first be attempted to answer the second research question about the local situation in Kolila Village with regard to its influence on the operation of the Elizabeth Center. Having described the most important facets of the village in relation to the work of the EC, we will draw upon the answers for question 1 and 2 of this research when turning towards the interactions that happen between the Center and village.

4.1 Interaction between Kolila Village and Elizabeth Center

The interactions between the village and the Center mainly evolve around the services the Center is offering. While the supply of clean water at the beginning of their work in Kolila Village was an important point for the formation of the village, the work of the Sisters is nowadays mainly recognized for the education of children. Schooling affects many people and those making use of the other services of the Center, except water and mill, normally have a strong connection to the Elizabeth Center because of the primary school. In effect, most people who are casually employed or who have received micro loans had their children at the Center or graduated themselves in the last years. To a lesser extent, the same holds true for the provision of food for the poor and milk for new-borns. That the supply of water is less recognized might result from the fact that other sources of water have been established over the last years. The working of the maize mill affects less people, however as the flour is sold in bags branded as “Elizabeth Center” flour, recognition might increase over the next years.

The Elizabeth Center is not only providing services, but it is also consuming. Daily required products, especially for the food of the children, but also as grass for the cows, is acquired to large extends locally. The Sisters are well recognized at the market and have long-established relationships with some farmers. Furthermore, people employed, such as teachers, drivers, and gardeners, live in the village as well. This further facilitates interaction, as in the case of the governmental official of the village, who is the wife of a teacher at the primary school.

For the Sisters as well as the employees, the purpose of the EC, to cater to the village needs by helping each other, is clear. An unclear mission therefore does not impair the interaction with the villagers. In turn, the villagers appreciate the work of the Center and have high trust in their work. Many of the local inhabitants believe that the EC is the more promising actor to tackle the current needs of the village as opposed to the government.

As previously stated, the Elizabeth Center’s mission is to promote, encourage and facilitate child and adult academic, social and emotional education and health care. Although the main goal is to supply primary education, the Center also engages in many other activities that affect the local community in Kolila Village. In the next sections, an in depth description of the activities of the Elizabeth Center is provided, focusing on the main activities and the function of the Center at present and in the future for the local communities and for the individual Tanzanian people who are living in the village.

4.1.1 Education

The Elizabeth Center's primary purpose is to supply high quality primary education to the children of Kolila Village. So far, it can be concluded that it has been highly successful in achieving this, gaining high marks in the Standard 7 national exams with many students from the two graduating years going on to attend secondary school. The Center follows the national curriculum set by the Tanzanian government. This includes the teaching of subjects such as Kiswahili, English, Mathematics, Science, Geography, History and Music. The Center's vast range of facilities allow for education to be delivered in a dynamic way.

The delivery of education will help to improve the literacy rates in the local community. This will allow for the future stimulation of economic development in Kolila Village if these educated students remain in the village after they complete their education. For example, they may open businesses, become teachers or join the police force or army. The future effects may take a few more years to appear as so far, only two years have graduated from the school and many students are still in secondary education.



Figure 5: Teaching at the Elizabeth Center

The Elizabeth Center is also unique compared to other primary schools in the local vicinity as it allows children across large distances to access education. It has facilities that house boarding students who live too far away from the school to make the daily journey to receive education. Some children are collected by parents at the weekends while other students only return home at the end of term times. Fees are higher for boarding students due to the provision of an evening meal and for supervision during the evenings. The boarding of students is hugely important as education can reach children who live in area in which there is no school. This ensures that there is an opportunity for children from extremely rural areas to gain access to education.

However, there are concerns as to the future ability of the Center to continue to deliver this education as its contract with the Hans Van Bokkem Foundation ends in 2015, while its contract with the Florentina Foundation ends in 2017.



Figure 6: The boarding accommodation and boarding students

If these contracts are not renewed, the Center will see a considerable reduction in funds available to run the school. It should be acknowledged that the school fees paid by parents are not enough alone to cover the costs of the school. The main opinion of parents is that the fees are high with many not able to pay in money but pay with maize and cattle. It is fair to say that the future of the Center looks uncertain if they attempt to run the school without this crucial funding.

There may be some possible solutions to this advancing problem if the current contracts for funding from foundations are not renewed. Requests for funding by the Center can be made to other foundations. This would be the most likely solution as there is already much NGO presence in Tanzania. A further option is to continue discussions with the government to attempt to get funding similar to public schools. This may be an unlikely solution as the Center is classed as a private school and at present, is entitled to no funding from the government. This situation seems unlikely to change in the near future as there is already a shortfall in funding for public schools, especially secondary schools as this service is more expensive to deliver. Another possible solution is that the school could increase the school fees. But this is an unsustainable solution as many parents already struggle to pay the fees and consider them high when compared to public education, which is free to all.

In addition to providing education to the young population of Kolila Village, the Center also provides young adult apprenticeships and study as well as plans to provide vocational training. For example, the Center trains young women in childcare and sewing and sends individuals to teacher college, to name just a few of the adult education opportunities available at the Center. The Center will continue to provide this service but also has plans in the future to expand its adult education programme to include training such as carpentry, welding and plumbing. This will further promote economic development in Kolila Village by providing education to members of the local adult community and providing them with skills that will increase their employability.

4.1.2 Employer

The Center acts as an employer to the local community and for individuals within the village. It employs 19 full-time teachers and 13 to 15 other staff with roles such as gardeners, drivers, mill workers, watchmen and cooks. Some staff employed by the Center receives no formal salary but instead provide their labour as payment for school fees. Employees of the Center, in addition to their basic salary, are also provided with meals (breakfast and lunch) as well as free water which is also a benefit to their families. In some cases, the Center also provides accommodation for staff for only low rental payments. The staff is also allowed to have their young children accompany them to work, meaning that they do not need to bare the expense of childcare while they work. This provides an incentive for those with young children to work for the Center. Therefore, the Center employs many teachers and workers from Kolila Village, which helps to promote local economic development through a multiplier effect with wages paid to workers most likely being spent in the local community at local businesses.

Although the Elizabeth Center is at full capacity with a total of 393 children at the primary school, there are hopes in the far future to build a secondary school, if funding can be obtained. There is an urgent need for this as there is only one secondary school servicing



Figure 7: A driver employed by the Elizabeth Center and the teaching staff

Kolila Village and from the opinions of the local community there is enough demand for another. If this project goes ahead, the Elizabeth Center will become an even larger employer in the local community with a need for new teachers and grounds staff as well as providing employment to many who will partake in the building of the secondary school. This is likely to be the largest source of new jobs created by the Center in the future.

Furthermore, there are plans for an Internet café with a general consensus that this will benefit the local community. The building for this is complete and the Internet connection already established and funded by the Hans Van Bokkem Foundation. However, the interior is yet to be furnished, but this should be completed in the near future. This Internet cafe may also provide local employment if the café needs to be supervised or maintained.

4.1.3 Consumer

The Center is one of the largest entities in Kolila Village and essentially stimulated much of the development of the village. Due to its size, the number of staff it employs and the number of children attending the school, the Elizabeth Center acts as one of the largest consumers in the village. This implies that through consumption in the local area, the school helps to support local businesses and stimulate economic development. The school buys many products in the local area. This may include food, medicines and fuel to name a few products.

If plans for a secondary school take place in the future, then this will enhance the consumption power of the Center in the local area due to the new school, extra staff and extra school children.

4.1.4 Food: Cattle and Vegetables

As previously mentioned, staff and children receive breakfast and lunch at the school during term time. Also, many parents who cannot pay in the form of money pay instead with maize, chickens or cattle.

To help contribute to these meals, the Center keeps various animals, which help provide a meat-based meal once a month to the children and staff. The Center keeps chickens, cows, turkeys, goats and pigs and when there is a shortage of finance these animals can be slaughtered and the meat sold. The cows kept at the Center are the source of the milk provided to the younger children who attend the school.



Figure 8: Animals kept at the Elizabeth Center

Vegetables such as maize, beans, carrots, lettuce, cabbages and potatoes are also grown, as well as fruits such as bananas, papaya, mangoes and passion fruits. However, this is on a small scale and is to service the Elizabeth Center. These are not resold for a profit.

The Center will continue to engage in these activities in the future and will continue to help the local community by providing two healthy meals every school day to school children, taking the burden away from the parents to provide meals.



Figure 9: Vegetables at the Elizabeth Center

Normally, in Kolila Village, children only receive one meal a day. At public schools, students receive one meal a day (only lunch is provided). This provision of meals will clearly benefit the health and productivity of children that attend the Center.

4.1.5 Social Services

It is apparent that one of the main aims of the Elizabeth Center was to provide clean drinking water to the local area and they have succeeded in this. Families only have to pay 25 Tanzanian Shilling per bucket of water, which is cheaper than the market rate of 50 Shilling. All families can access this facility with staff of the Center entitled to free water. This will continue to be available to all in the future, impacting the local community by reducing illness caused by an unclean water supply. This activity is purely altruistic and the aim is not income generation but rather to ensure all can access clean water easily. Although, there is often a surplus from this activity, it is not a large amount and is mainly used for reinvestment in the water supply.

In terms of healthcare, the Center ensures that ill children get treated at the local hospital. The bill is totalled and settled every 3 months and is rarely very expensive. This is extremely helpful to parents who may find even small health related costs unaffordable. This helps the local community by ensuring that children's health issues are dealt with immediately. The Center will continue to do this in the future and will continue to budget for this.

4.1.6 Income Generation

As mentioned before, the Center currently engages in many income-generating activities that help to provide further funds and aim at making the Center increasingly self-sufficient. For example, the Center operates a maize mill and sells maize flour in 20kg bags as the finished product. In 2013, the mill only generated \$400 in profit, which is not a substantial amount and still requires one more year of use to pay off the original cost of the equipment bought for the mill. Therefore, technically, the mill will not make a profit until one more year has passed.

In addition to this, the Center buys maize and resells it at the local market, which also raises funds for use in the Center. For example, in five months, this activity has raised 1,200,000 Tanzanian Shilling.

It is highly doubtful that through these activities, the Center will be able to become self-sufficient in the future. Only small profits are made in regards to the flourmill and the selling of maize and the Center is realistically far from becoming self-sufficient and unable to operate without funding from various foundations.

4.1.7 Use of Facilities

The Elizabeth Center is made up of many buildings as summarised previously in this report. This ensures that there are many facilities available to the local community for special events. The most poignant building that can have an impact on the local community is the relatively new Multi-Purpose Hall. This is mainly used for school activities such as plays, music lessons and graduation and benefits the school greatly as it is an extra learning space. In the local community, this hall has previously been used for weddings and other village ceremonies and is a potential source of income if the hall can be rented out for use on the weekends or during non-term time.



Figure 11: The Multi-Purpose Hall

4.1.8 Microfinance

The EC engages in various microfinance activities. For example, the Center lends money to the local community and its staff allowing them to build houses, buy equipment or start businesses promoting development in the area. No interest is charged, and individuals repay the Center simply when they can afford to. There are no means to chase payments and there have been few cases in the past in which a loan has not been repaid. Nevertheless, repayment is generally a very slow process due to the low wages in the local area. The Sisters do not keep exact records of the amount of people that make use of their micro financing, so it is unknown how many people are currently borrowing money from the Center.

These microfinance activities that the Center performs are highly beneficial to the local community in Kolila Village in several ways. The largest benefit is that no interest is charged on loans so it is cheaper to get a loan from the Center than a bank. Furthermore, a bank may not approve a loan to some of the individuals that the Center makes loans to. Therefore, the Center provides loans to those on low or unstable incomes. Allowing individuals to buy equipment to start businesses provides employment and allows for individuals to provide for their families. Building houses also has a wider effect on the community as it provides accommodation for local families, ensuring they have a safe home to live in. However, the asymmetric information problem is applicable here. The Center makes loans to an individual for a particular purpose, but cannot be entirely certain that the loan will be spent solely on this purpose. For example, there are a few cases in the past in which individuals the Center has lent to have had gambling or drinking problems, leading to the money being wasted or being repaid at an incredibly slow rate.

Although repayment of loans made is generally over a long time period, the Center will continue to make loans to the local community where possible and will continue to support the local community in this way.

5. Perception of Elizabeth Center

Having analysed the local situation, the impact of the work of the Elizabeth Center and the ideas of its future impact might differ depending on the perception of the respective local actors. This chapter attempts to answer the fifth and sixth research questions and describes the perceptions of the two most important local actors about the impact of the work of the Center: the Sisters and the inhabitants of Kolila Village.

5.1 Perception of Sisters

With the Sister's foundation of the Elizabeth Center, Kolila Village was able to further develop. Parents did not have to walk for hours anymore to get water, since this was now provided by the Elizabeth Center. Furthermore, parents did not have to stay home for their children, because they could bring them to the kindergarten for a certain amount of money. This enabled villagers to work more and earn money for the family. With potential jobs in the area, like at the Elizabeth Center, Kilimanjaro International Airport and the crushing stones company, a kindergarten and water, more people moved to Kolila Village and more buildings were built. Soon after, the Sisters expanded the Elizabeth Center by offering education, beginning with a two-year nursery school up to the seventh and final year of primary school. They furthermore decided to offer boarding for some of the children, operate a maize and sunflower oil mill, rent out buildings to local people and provide microfinance to trustworthy residents.

With all the current activities of the Elizabeth Center, inhabitants of Kolila Village and neighbourhood areas have the opportunity to educate their children. Although the school fees are higher than the school fees of public schools, the level of education is much higher, which ensures a well-educated generation. Currently, most of the people in Tanzania still work to live, due to which they largely lack the achievement motivation and greed for social and economic advancement. Capital is usually devoured instead of created and profitably invested. The well-educated young generation will learn that they have to cooperate and invest to become successful. The good education on primary level will form a good base for these ideas, but unfortunately, a proper secondary school in this area is missing. For this reason, this education does not yet turn out in promising jobs because proper education after primary school is absent here. If there would be a good secondary school, children would get at least 13 years of proper education, after which some children can already use their knowledge to further develop Kolila Village. Other children might go to university and return to the village to start up a business or support their family from the money they earn with their well-paid job somewhere else. All of this will make Kolila Village grow and become more developed.

Besides education, the Sisters provide cheap and clean drinking water to the inhabitants of Kolila Village, food for the children that are attending school and maize for people with no access to food. There is also free healthcare for all the employees of the Elizabeth Center and the school children if something happens within the school. All this contributed to the health

and productivity of the villagers and caused some of the developments made so far. Furthermore, the Elizabeth Center allows parents to pay school fees with animals instead of money if they do not have it or provides employment for people in desperate need for money to pay the school fees. They can for example become the school's driver, make the school uniforms, cook for the children and teachers, become a teacher at the school etc. If people are in need of housing, they can rent a house of the Elizabeth Center for only a low monthly rent or they can borrow money to build an own house. The Sisters try to help as much people as possible, but only do so if they trust the people in need. They have to know them for about three years to make sure that people are reliable and pay back their loan when possible. However, they require the villagers to become independent in the long run. They therefore push them for example to start their own business with the materials, like sewing machines, provided by the Center. By providing people microfinance, the Sisters also stimulate villagers to start an own business that can create more income and jobs for other villagers. Furthermore, the Sisters stimulate people to work together and start co-operatives. When people discovered the potential success of these organizations, more people decided to work together and now it is even stimulated and recognized by the village supervisor. All of this not only helps individuals and their families; it stimulates the whole company and hopefully local economic development in the long run.

According to the Sisters working at the Elizabeth Center, they receive a lot of respect from most of the people living in the area. Corruption and people with bad interests are often a problem, so it is important that the Elizabeth Center is ran by people who are trustable. For example, not long ago there was a woman who got money from the community to build a school. However, the particular women used the money to build a nice house for herself. Obviously, the community did not accept this and she got arrested. These kinds of examples make it difficult for villagers to trust people with their money. There is no local newspaper in the village and there are only few people with a phone and Internet access, which makes information about people scarce. However, Sisters of the church still have a good reputation in the area and are therefore widely accepted and trusted. This makes it possible for the Sisters to make an impact in Kolila Village. Question rises whether this will remain unchanged in the future.

It is difficult to answer whether all the goals of the Sisters have been reached. Their goal, inspired by Mother Elizabeth, is to help people in need wherever and whenever possible. The goal, in terms of less people being in need of help, is still very far. All that the Sisters have achieved so far in Kolila Village is not just due to their work, but thanks to the help of the teachers and workers as well, who do a great job even though the salary is very low. Sometimes it is very hard to help, as the Elizabeth Center cannot reach very far financially and lots of people are asking for jobs or are in need of other kinds of help. However, the Center also has some influence on people helping each other, for example within the families. But once again, the Sisters cannot quantify the success of their work.

5.2 Perception of Local Inhabitants

In this section, local people's perceptions towards the impact of the Elizabeth Center on individuals, local communities and local economic developments are analysed. The data is gathered through semi-structured, structured interviews and group discussions with local people from various professions, including farmers, miners, business owners, doctors and etc. People from a radius of 5 kilometres around the Center are concerned as locals.

Murray and etc. (2008) indicates that the household is a crucial part of the social economy both through labour in the household, and via the contribution to the substance and direction of the social production. The interaction between households and NGOs plays an important role in delivering social and economic developments, and it is largely influenced by people's perceptions. NGOs often rely on the local people to provide basic services and assist the communities in area where the government fails to deliver services asked by the locals. Misperceptions or miscommunication can sometimes severely hinder NGOs from delivering satisfactory results. Thus, studying the perceptions of local people is of great interest of any NGOs.

5.2.1 General Perceptions

Most views held by the local people towards the Elizabeth Center are positive, and no major misperception is found. This is expected as the head Sister appears to be an informal leader of the nearby villages, and the Center provides services according to the local people's needs and wants. However, no interviewee was able to give a holistic view about the Center. Although the Center provides many social services including the provision of clean water, vocational training and microfinance, it is most perceived as a primary school. One possible reason is that the coverage of other social services is still limited and communication still needs improvement. For example, some villagers who live only five-minute walk away from the Center would seek water from a nearer source, as they do not have donkeys to carry the heavy water buckets, or are simply unaware of the water service provided by the Center. The total litre of water sold in 2013 is only around 3000 cubic meters.

The Elizabeth Center is also highly trusted and perceived as more reliable than the local government. Some interviewees described the Sisters from the Center as leaders or spiritual leaders of the village. All interviewees believe the Center aims to help the local people and it does not make a profit.

Several factors that influence the local people's perceptions are then identified. These include education level, income level, occupation and religion. Usually, people with a higher education level understand the activities of the Center better, and have a more favourable attitude towards the Center. Income level and occupation mainly affects people's perception towards the school fees. But occupation also decides whether the person is a beneficiary or a competitor of the Center, and thus to affect people's perceptions. Although different religions co-exist in the local area harmoniously, they do cause some barriers. Many Muslim housewives interviewed did not know what the Elizabeth Center is.

5.2.2 Perceptions of Impact on Individual Level

The Elizabeth Center benefits the local people directly or indirectly in various ways. The main beneficiaries of the Center are local parents who value education and send their children to the Center's primary school. These parents are most likely to be either farmers or in some employments. They usually describe the Center as fairly supportive in terms of helping them with their difficulties, as the school's policy gives them great flexibility to pay the tuition fees. Fees can be paid by crops, poultrys and livestock. Yet, the school policy does not benefit many other parents who neither are employed nor own a land to grow crops. For instance, there are many single mothers in the village who resell vegetables bought from another village. These single mothers earn a very low income and have no crops or livestock to pay the school fees. They recognize the contribution of the Center, but think the Center is unable to help them with their difficulties.

People also perceive the Center as a place that can offer help for individuals. The Center receives a large number of job applications every year and has offered shelters and jobs for people from disadvantaged groups. However, the Center is experiencing a brain drain problem as many teachers find the salary too low to support their families. Compared to government schools, the average salary offered by the Center is nearly three times less.

While all interviewees agreed the Elizabeth Center helps the local people, most interviewees could not give a specific example of how the Center is affecting own their lives. This is understandable as the impact of education is more obvious in the long run than in the short run, and scale of the operation and employment of the Center still has room to expand. But the Center has earned a good reputation over the last 9 years through the desirable results it delivered. This will benefit the Center's future development.

The operation of the Elizabeth Center is bound to affect some existing parities' interests. The most obvious conflict lies in the water service provided by the Center. As the Center provides water at a much lower price, it triggered some conflicts with the local water selling businesses. These businesspersons perceive the Center as a threat, and they made the local water department to charge the Center a higher water selling tax. Moreover, some parents do not value education and think the school fee policy is unhelpful. Some of them even think the Center intervene with their families issues and are unwilling to provide labour or goods to deduct some of the school fees. Nevertheless, the tension between the Center and relevant parties is minimal. As the mainly activity of the Center is the provision of education, it can hardly affect any parties' existing interests.

5.2.3 Perceptions of Impact on Local Communities

The provision of education is the main contribution of the Elizabeth Center recognised by the interviewees. The school is perceived as having a good teaching quality and nice facilities. Although the Center provides water at a much lower price, this is usually not recognized as a main contribution to the local communities.

Local people also perceive the Elizabeth Center as the ‘hub’ of the village, and describe the Sisters there as leaders or spiritual leaders of the village. To some extent, the Center tightens the bonds among people within the local communities. Especially after the establishment of the multi-purpose hall, several social activities including wedding ceremony, festival celebrations as well as religious events were taken place in the Center.

5.2.4 Perceptions of Impact on Economic Developments

In the long run education contributes to economic developments through the generation of human capital. However, since it has been less than 10 years since the start of the Elizabeth Center, the impact of education on local economic development has yet to appear. In the short run, the Center has contributed to the nearby villages through several ways, such as the providing jobs, offering interest-free loans, helping disadvantaged groups, purchasing activities and cultivating entrepreneurship.

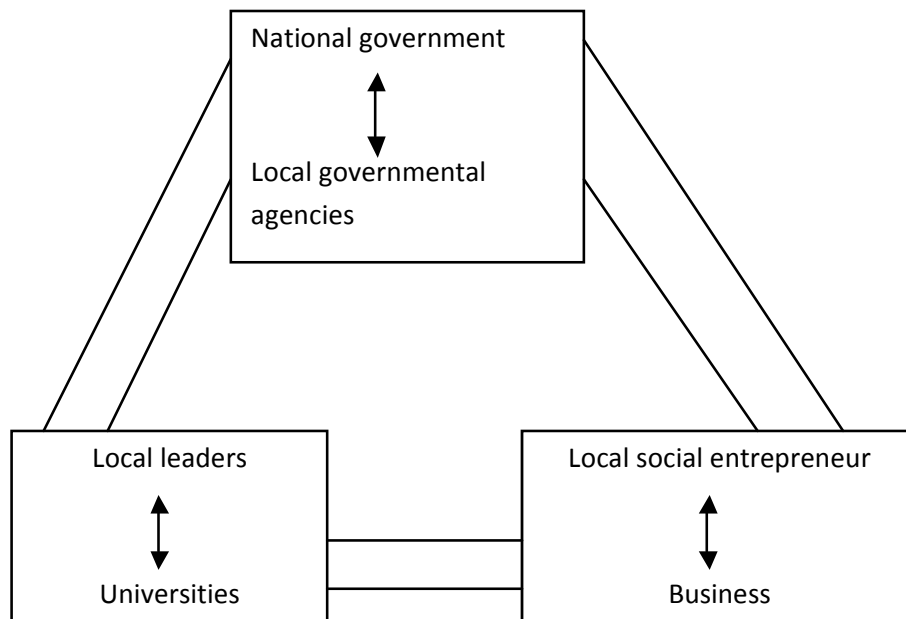
Over the last 9 years, the Kolila Village has undergone some changes. New businesses, factories and resident houses financed by the Center were set up. Local people believe that their lives over the past few years have been improved thanks to the Elizabeth Center. With the help of the Center, some women in the village learnt how to sew and were given the sewing machine for free to develop their own businesses. People with skills but having financial difficulties have come to the Center for help. They were often offered jobs or provided loans by the Center. Some people use the fund to buy land and grow commercial plants, while others set up their own retail businesses. In such way, the Center has been promoting economic development over the past 9 years.

Although the Center’s short run impact on the local economic development is obvious, getting local people’s perceptions about it is hard. Most local people have an education level no higher than secondary education. Thus their perceptions about economic developments are limited. Furthermore, as the Center mainly provide education, its impact on economic development is hard to be perceived by people without some economic knowledge.

6. Elizabeth Center within Helix Model

As has been proved by history, communities should undertake a collaborative, strategically planned process to understand and then act upon its own strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats to build a strong local economy. The question rises how this perspective is related to the perspective from the Helix model in which three actors are explicitly introduced: the Government, the Industry and the Universities. From the perspective of the Helix model, this chapter focuses on the questions of which actors take the initiative and what kind of activities they are beginning with. We will use the double triangle in the triple helix model of B.J.W. Pennink (2012) for our research project, which is further discussed in his article “From Family Based to Industrial Based Production: Local Economic Development Initiatives and the HELIX Model.”

The Elizabeth Center does not only function as an important institution for the village but also plays a major role for the economic development of the local region. Making use of the double triangle in the triple helix model, the research questions that led the previously presented report are employed to assess the influence of the Center. Based on this analysis, future research can be oriented and facilitate a better understanding of the economic potential of the region and how to unlock it. The model is depicted below:



The first research question deals with the activities the Elizabeth Center is fulfilling. Similarly, the positioning of the Center within the helix is a first step in assessing the role the Elizabeth Center is playing for the local economic development. On first sight, the Center and the respective Sisters are typical local leaders. They recognize local needs and are starting initiatives that allow the region to prosper economically. They are well connected to the inhabitants of the village and thus are able to reach a critical mass of people. Yet, the activities that are carried out typically resemble those conducted by the local government.

Schooling, the provision of clean water and giving food to those who are in need are expected to be carried out by governmental agencies. Logically, the Elizabeth Center does not act as a local governmental agency in the model, yet the fact that the many of the functions resemble those expected by local authorities has implications on the necessary interaction of the three participants of the model. In fact, the Center has a well-established relationship with the local government, whose activities are rather limited. A good example is the building of a public health Center that did not start operations due to a lack of funding. It is the Sisters who would take the lead in making it run if time would be at hand. Of course, the Center also has strong connections to the private sector and hereby fulfils activities largely similar to those of local social entrepreneurs. The mill, the provision of micro financing, and renting out houses to local businessmen is an example of those activities. Consequently, the Center cannot be limited to one position in the model. Yet, given that the most crucial activities of the Center were major undertakings that required a local leader to tackle those needs, the Sisters will be classified as local leaders for the ease of illustration.

The next research question concerned the village and the local situation. An assessment of the local situation has importance for researching local economic development with the helix model, as the model primarily is concerned with endogenous variables. It can be understood as the toolset, the local actors have at hand for the enhancement of the local economic situation. Based on the analysis of our second research question, we observed a lack of educational, health, and technical infrastructure while societal variables such as social capital appear to be sufficiently present in the region. Overall, while factor endowments of the region are not well developed, most of the crucial variables appear to be present to a degree that does not hamper attempts to develop the economic potential of the region.

The third research question dealt with the interactions of the Elizabeth Center and Kolila Village. Typical for local leaders, the Sisters are not just well respected by the villagers but often act as connecting dots for much interaction of the village. Interactions, largely based on trust as an antecedent for social capital, happen both on a personal and on an economic level. As a trusted institution, people with their personal concerns approach the Sisters. In turn, also for economic activities are the Sisters well trusted. Consequently, when the Sisters initiate incentives for the local economic development, their approach is widely accepted by the village and supported where necessary. This does not only hold true for the inhabitants of Kolila village, but also other governmental, religious, and community institutions. It can thus be stated that interactions of the Center and the local community are strong enough to allow for new developmental initiatives to take root.

Having analysed the local situation, the role of the Elizabeth Center within this setting, as well as interactions with the other local players, the potential impact of the Center on the village was assessed by the fourth research question. The most important impact of the Center was on water supply and educational infrastructure. While the importance of the provision of clean drinking water on the village in the preceding years can hardly be stressed enough, nowadays there are substitutes for the water of the Center. Consequently, the focus of developmental activities of the Center lies on schooling. This activity is both largest in scope

and reach, while other activities such as micro financing are taking only a supporting role. Research on the Elizabeth Center is thus expected to be most relevant in areas concerned with education and even more so regarding the potential and need of additional educational opportunities such as secondary schooling and vocational training.

Regarding the last two research questions, the perception of the Sisters and of the villagers of the Center's potential on local economic development, both Sisters and villagers accepted the Center as a local leader as depicted in the model. Interactions are working well, yet resources and local support are limiting the potential impact on economic development. Therefore, it is expected that the Sisters are able to fulfil their role as local leaders as good as possible for them and creating further support for their activities is likely to enhance their potential impact on economic development through education and other, leading initiatives. Further research based on the helix model is furthermore expected to provide a clearer picture of strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities of the Center and thereby increase the potential reach of their activities.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

After spending one month conducting research at the Elizabeth Center, observing its activities and living in Kolila village, it is clear from our findings that the Center does much to aid development in the local community. All intentions are pure and help is given to all those that request it if possible. The school effectively provides primary education largely supported by several foundations. It has hopes to open a secondary school in the future if suitable funding can be found which would increase the benefits the Center provide to the local area. Schooling provided and facilities available are of a high standard when compared to public schools funded solely by the Tanzanian government.

The school is working at full capacity for the third year in a row, yet quality did not decline with the increase of students. On the contrary, central examinations depicted the Elizabeth Center School constantly ranking among the top primary schools of the district. The current extension of the Center to include boarding for a limited number of students both displays the sisters wish to allow students to excel as well as the aim of helping those in need. Assets are shared to help those around the Center. Once started, the operations of the Internet café are supposed to be shared with local secondary schools wish in turn will ensure funding of the Internet connection by a local foundation. It is this drive and the believe that helping each other will ultimately benefit everyone, including the Center itself, that is the driving force in all operations of the Center – schooling, training, food and water supply, and the maize mill.

With funding contracts from foundations running out in the near future and pending renewable up until now the Center is continually developing its income generating projects and there are already a vast range of these in operation. However, these activities remain small-scale and generate little profit when compared to the funds the school needs to survive. We can concretely conclude that the Center does not have the ability to become self-sufficient and this is further acknowledged by Sister Immaculati who oversees the logistics of the Center. The Center's aims are not to do with profit maximisation but rather to provide much needed services to Kolila Village. As long as funding is provided, the sisters will continue their work – this is ensured by the congregation.

The impact of the Sisters and the Elizabeth Center on Kolila Village cannot be stressed enough. The Sisters are well-respected members of the community with an open ear to those in need, a drive to help, and the ability to objectively assess the potential reach of their support. Starting with water supply and health education, the Elizabeth Center nowadays is crucial for the educational infrastructure of the village, as a consumer, and as an employer. It is thereby largely filling gaps of governmental work and is the most dominant local player for economic development in Kolila village. Therefore, while we do not see the Elizabeth Center becoming self-reliant in the upcoming years, we can only encourage the continued support for their running and future operations.

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