4 Market Orientation and Belonging in Neo-Pentecostal Schools

The second part of the book presents case studies of the six schools of my research in Dar es Salaam to illustrate how students' and teachers' moral becoming were embedded in the schools' explicit or implicit faith orientation and specific approaches to the teaching and learning of values. It also argues that the quests for a good life in these schools are closely entwined with these institutions' structural positions in both the educational market and the local, regional, and transregional networks (of faith or other schools) that determined a school's visibility and desirability, as well as how it presented itself to potential students and the wider public.

The St Mary's school group is one of the largest privately owned networks in Tanzania. It was founded by Dr Gertrude Rwakatare, the late pastor of a large neo-Pentecostal church in Dar es Salaam, in the mid-1990s. In 2010, it comprised eight primary and secondary schools nationwide, as well as a teacher training college in Dar es Salaam. The first issue of the school network's magazine, entitled *Quality Education in Tanzania, a Vision Come True*,[1] explains that the founding of the first school, St Mary's International Primary School, was closely connected to Tanzania's educational situation at the time:

> Asked why she joined the education sector [Dr Rwakatare] is quick to say: 'I joined the education sector because I had the nation at heart. I was touched when I saw buses at Namanga [a Kenyan border town] taking students to Kenya and Uganda to acquire quality education' … [T]hese students would be foreigners in their own country since they study foreign History, foreign Geography and foreign Cultures. Thus, St Mary's international schools were born.

In their early years, St Mary's ranked among Tanzania's top-performing schools. St Mary's International Primary School in particular was known widely for employing English as the language of instruction at the primary level and for preparing its graduates for higher education and, potentially, a successful career 'in foreign embassies and international

[1] *St Mary's Mirror*, 2002–3, p. 3.

organisations'.[2] During my fieldwork, the reputation of the St Mary's schools had declined considerably. I often heard people in Dar es Salaam talk critically about the schools' business-oriented approach, Dr Rwakatare's widely known disputes with teachers about the formation of a union, and her dismissal of teachers for no particular reason.[3] At the same time, several of the schools were still attracting significant numbers of families who were willing to pay the high school fees in order to secure a good education for their children. In addition, in 2002, the St Mary's schools networks had established a number of schools to cater to those families with fewer financial means who were still seeking a 'quality education' for their children.

In this chapter, I describe how two schools in the St Mary's network – St Mary's International Primary School in Tabata and Kenton High School in Mwenge – were established in the specific socio-religious and socio-political contexts of Dar es Salaam, thereby reflecting not only processes of educational segregation but also dynamics of spiritual revivalism and 'insecurity' (cf. Ashforth 1998) in the wake of global economic and educational (Mundy et al. 2016) restructuring. As the first part of the chapter shows, the two schools catered to students and families from different socio-economic backgrounds, and in their everyday practices they contributed to class formation among the students and staff. They were also marked by specific pedagogical styles, including a 'caring discipline' ethos, through which they responded to the expectations of students' families for returns on the investments they had made into their children's future. Furthermore, there were significant tensions among the teaching staff; these resulted not only from concerns about national and ethnic favouritism in the context of transnational labour mobility in the East African Community, but also from a rigid system of surveillance and self-evaluation, and the generally weak position of teachers with regard to employees' rights and social security.

The second part of the chapter highlights how – despite these internal frictions in the context of market orientation and an extensive 'audit culture' (Shore and Wright 2015) of monitoring staff performance – the St Mary's schools established networks of local, national, and international belonging among their students and staff, which were often experienced on multiple levels as well as in relation to the institutions' socio-material and ideological environments. In particular, belonging was enhanced among both students and teachers because of the schools' reputation for providing 'high-quality' academic and 'moral education',

[2] Ibid. [3] 'Uongozi St Mary's Matatani', *Majira*, 4 July 2009.

which was realised both during the morning assemblies and through the teaching of values in Kiswahili and English lessons. Furthermore, while the St Mary's schools did not claim publicly to be 'Christian schools' and offered very little formal teaching of religious content, implicit articulations of faith played a significant part in everyday practices of moral becoming. This was the case not only in the context of the fellowshipping practices of some of the teachers, but also with regard to the healing prayers that were conducted especially for female students from Muslim families, who were perceived as being particularly exposed to the attacks of evil spirits.

Establishing Religious Infrastructure in 'the Bush'

In Dar es Salaam, the privatisation of schools since the 1990s has been linked to the restructuring, over many decades, of sparsely populated districts that were categorised either as 'bush' or 'government land' and sold to private investors after the official end of the socialist project in 1985 (cf. Cooksey and Kelsall 2011: 25).[4] A school's location in the city was thus determined in part by property prices, which were especially unaffordable for newcomers to Dar es Salaam (cf. Fitzgerald 2017: 54, 112), a city whose 'physical shape' was defined largely by its two colonial governments (Kironde 2007: 97).

The schools of the neo-Pentecostal churches were often founded by 'religious entrepreneurs' (see Lauterbach 2016; Seabright 2016: 213) from (partly lower) middle-class backgrounds who established themselves in the wealthier ranks of Dar es Salaam's urban society in the mid-1990s (Dilger 2007: 65; Hasu 2007: 230). Their educational projects were sited either on the margins of the city or in those parts of Dar es Salaam that were not densely settled at the time when their schools were built (Dilger 2013a: 467; Dilger and Janson forthcoming 2022). The choice of more remote locations was also shaped by government guidelines that required the allocation of sufficient land for recreational facilities when constructing a new school.

The St Mary's schools exemplify this trend in land use by religious newcomers. For Dr Rwakatare's first school, the International Primary School, she selected a sparsely populated neighbourhood in Tabata on the former outskirts of Dar es Salaam, which until the 1980s had been used for agricultural purposes. Then, she acquired the former grounds of

[4] According to Cooksey and Kelsall (2011: 29), corruption was also often involved in the private accumulation of land, and public assets were given away below their value in the process.

the Tanzanian National Insurance Company, and, in 2006, she established an orphanage that provided shelter and education for about 700 children in the immediate environs of St Mary's International Primary School. Next to the orphanage was the Al-Farouq Islamic Seminary for Boys, which was founded by the Africa Muslims Agency in 1997 (see Chapter 5). The areas next to the tarmac and dust roads around the primary school were also home to the St Mary's Teachers' Training College and numerous neo-Pentecostal churches and traditional clinics that promised 'healing'.

In public statements and in her conversations with me, Dr Rwakatare downplayed her connections to influential personalities and organisations at home and abroad. But while she described the founding of her school network as a national task, she relied on local and international networks of support, including the US-based NGO The Christian Working Woman as well as several members of her own church, which counted around 10,000 members in 2010 (Dilger 2009).[5] Her church, the Mikocheni B church in Mwenge, has thrived, drawing from a growing urban middle and upper class for congregants and developing its own radio and television programmes. Dr Rwakatare has also drawn on her political connections, particularly since 2007, when she was appointed Special Seats Member of Parliament by President Kikwete (Chapter 2).

In the context of the economic hardships faced by many in the city, some of the activities of religious entrepreneurs such as Dr Rwakatare have become not only a potential solution to social and spiritual problems but also targets of suspicion. Neo-Pentecostal churches especially, which promise prosperity and claim to be able to free followers from the influence of evil spirits, have also become the object of people's anxieties. In the case of St Mary's International Primary School, there were persistent rumours that the land on which the school was built was haunted by spirits (*majini*). Some of my interlocutors at the school ascribed the presence of these *majini* to the backgrounds of the pupils themselves, who may have brought them from their rural homes (as discussed later in the chapter).[6] Others, however, claimed that Dr Rwakatare herself had forged an alliance with witches and evil spirits as a way of getting rich – a not uncommon allegation against neo-Pentecostal pastors who appeared to have accumulated significant amounts of wealth over comparatively

[5] Although it is formally linked to the Assemblies of God, the congregation operates independently from the mother church.

[6] On the possession of Muslim schoolgirls through 'angry' spirits in Niger, see Masquelier (2018: 301).

short periods of time (Dilger 2007: 82, fn 12; Lindhardt 2009). One of the schools' former teachers referred to this in a conversation:

MR WALKER In Tanzania with these private schools, people believe that if you build a school or buy a plot, you make an agreement between the owner and those *majini*, so that they help you to attract many students and to get rich.
HD But the owner of this school is a pastor?
MR WALKER Some of the pastors in this country use magical powers. [Laughs.] Also, if you want to go to another school as a teacher, you will tell [the school owner] only if you have already received a contract from this other school. If not, they can manipulate the *majini* so that you stay in [their] school.
HD What do these *majini* get for their services?
MR WALKER They want blood. They want the flesh of people. There was one bus driver; he was under the bus and repairing the bus. Suddenly, he fainted and died.

The St Mary's Schools as Social and Moral Signifiers

In Dar es Salaam, a school's physical location marked its social position in the wake of urban and educational transformations; it became a 'moral signifier' in the intersecting processes of class formation, inter- and intra-religious competition, and urban transformation in the city (cf. Rowe 2017: 37). In general, students and families preferred the location of a school in a rural area – or a city's periphery – where young people were assumed to be able to focus exclusively on their studies instead of being lured into the 'immoral' distractions of city life. This discourse on the perceived immorality of urban space was expressed in public concerns about premarital sexual relations and the risk of HIV, which were assumed to be widespread in urban Tanzania (Setel 1999: 183; Dilger 2000: 171; see also Figure 4.1).[7] Students also expressed a desire to be housed with likeminded young people of their own age, a contrast from their family homes where they had to adjust to the rhythms of their siblings and other children. One student, 12-year-old David, explained the advantages of being a boarding student at St Mary's International Primary School: 'My father asked me if I want to go to another school but I wanted to stay. Here, you get time to review your books.'

[7] While crime rates in Dar es Salaam were increasing in the years before my research (Louw et al. 2001), my interlocutors' concerns at the neo-Pentecostal schools were more with the city's perceived moral dangers. These concerns were partly sustained by comparatively high rates of HIV infection, especially among sex workers and drug users (PEPFAR 2019: 6), and of teenage pregnancy (Pfeiffer et al. 2017) in the city. At the same time, the alleged 'moral decay' of Dar es Salaam has shaped popular perceptions of the metropolis for many decades (Dilger 2005: 57–9) and even during colonial times (Ivaska 2011: 62).

Figure 4.1 'Make a true decision: keep your education in mind!' Mural in Dar es Salaam, 2010.

However, not all the parents of the St Mary's schools' pupils were either interested in or able to afford boarding school. For these families, schools had buses to pick up the pupils close to their homes in the morning and drop them off in the evening. The headmaster of St Mary's International Primary School explained to me that the school-owned transport system kept the pupils' minds 'fresh' and prevented students from 'mixing' with other children and people in a *dala dala*, the city-run minibus.[8] This experience was strikingly different from the *dala dala* rides to some of the other schools of my study, including Kenton High School (see below).[9] Apart from the long waiting times, many of these pupils, who were easily recognisable by their uniforms,

[8] I was able to witness the comforts of the school's transport system personally when I was included in one of the bus drivers' schedules for a period of two weeks. During the drive between my home and the school, which took about 40 minutes, I was able to relax in the softly cushioned seats, escaping the city's dust behind tinted windows. The children next to me joked and talked happily, or got some additional sleep despite the often deafening music, mostly hip-hop and rap, played by the bus driver.

[9] Kenton High School did not have a boarding section of its own and many parents could not afford the additional school bus fees.

were taken only reluctantly by the *dala dala* drivers as they paid only half of the standard ticket price. Students often had to stand throughout the ride or were asked to sit on the laps of other passengers, especially girls, which did not assuage the concerns of their parents and schoolteachers about 'interacting too closely' with other people in the city.

In general, the social position of St Mary's International Primary School reflected the ongoing dynamics of internal stratification among Dar es Salaam's private primary schools, which were all competing with the even larger number of free but less well performing government schools in the city.[10] School fees for the day school in 2009 were set at TZH 1,080,000 per year (about €570); this included school buses, meals, and supplies excluding textbooks. However, while studying in the costly St Mary's International Primary School could be afforded by only a limited number of families, such social differentiation was not acknowledged by the owner of the school. When I asked Dr Rwakatare whether social segregation could lead to conflict in a rapidly transforming society, she denied that there were 'wealthy' people in Tanzania at all and claimed that '[we] are all struggling'.[11] At the same time, according to her, social differentiation was a 'natural process'. She said: 'We can't go back to socialism. Even in Scandinavia or in your country this hasn't worked. If you look at our hand, you will see that one finger is longer, the other one is shorter. They will always differ.'

The 1,800 pupils of St Mary's International Primary School came primarily from the middle and partly from the upper classes and shared a certain sense of 'achievements and orientations' (James 2019: 43). This social profile was confirmed every morning when expensive four-wheel-drive vehicles dropped off those pupils who were not brought by the school bus. Among the Grade 7 students, most of the fathers and mothers – who were usually both working – earned income from business, government, or other white-collar jobs. A few parents were employed as doctors, university professors, or at an international embassy. Furthermore, the students reported engaging in activities that were typical of the emerging middle class in the city, including reading story books, watching television, playing football or videogames, and swimming or going to the beach.

Finally, Grade 7 pupils had clear expectations of what the future would hold for them. Many of them expected to graduate from university and

[10] Attending a public primary school in Tanzania has been 'free' since 2001, except for the often considerable costs of uniforms, textbooks, and transport.

[11] For more on the processes of social differentiation within Dr Rwakatare's own church, see Chapter 3.

hoped to become doctors, lawyers, or pilots. Similarly, all aimed to study in one of the country's top-rated Christian secondary schools – or in one of the few top-performing Muslim secondary schools – after graduation. The topic of choosing one's future secondary school mirrored both the trends of the educational market and those of individual classrooms. The statements by Abdul and Nathan (both 12 years old) illustrate how students at the primary school articulated their ambitions for their personal future:

ABDUL I want to go to St Marian later. It takes the cream people – people who are clever. I want to be a doctor later.

NATHAN I want to go to Marian Boys or Feza Boys. These two schools are among the most famous schools. I want to become a representative of Tanzania and work for the success of the nation. You know, Tanzania is a poor country. I want that it makes progress like the G8 countries. My cousin is studying in the US. I want to do it like him – but not in the US, but Europe.

Kenton High School as a 'Local' School for 'the Poor'

While St Mary's International Primary School was designed to train Tanzania's 'cream people', Kenton High School in Mwenge, which has admitted students since 2004, set out with a very different agenda. Mr Adam, the principal of Kenton, who came to Dar es Salaam from Uganda in 1999, recalled that the idea for founding the school was born at an international school conference in South Africa, which he and some of the other headteachers and principals of the St Mary's school network attended with Dr Rwakatare. Right after the conference, Dr Rwakatare – to whom Mr Adam referred as 'Mama' – acquired the plot of land in Mwenge[12] and started building the school:

[At the conference] in 2002 – we were free on that day, sitting around the swimming pool or in the hotel bar. [I expressed] the idea for starting a local school, for those students from poor families, people who cannot afford schools like St Mary's [International] High School. When we came back Mama … [built the school] because by then, there was an outcry. People were looking for quality education. Many people wanted their children to go to St Mary's.

[12] Kenton High School was located in the Mwenge area, one of the busiest hubs on the former (relative) outskirts of the city. The area was also home to three of Dar es Salaam's largest neo-Pentecostal churches: Bishop Kakobe's Full Gospel Bible Fellowship church (Dilger 2007); the Efatha Ministry, which had its own bank and TV station (Hasu 2007); and Dr Rwakatare's church, located in the Mikocheni B neighbourhood.

In 2010, Kenton High School had 600 students taught by 26 teachers in total. The school fees were set at TZH 620,000 per year in 2010 (about €330), to which fees for medical exams, uniforms, supplies, and registration were added. The costs for transport via the school-owned buses, which was optional, were set at TZH 240,000 per year. Furthermore, some of the students opted for additional evening teaching in Form IV ('tutoring'), which had to be paid separately.[13] The fact that the school was founded as a 'local school' indicated the close correlation that the school management – as well as the students and teachers themselves – established between 'locality' and 'class'. Thus, while the clients of St Mary's International Primary School had been categorised by its headmaster as belonging mainly to the (internationally oriented upper) middle classes of Dar es Salaam, the students of Kenton were assumed by its management to come mainly from 'poor local families' who were not able to afford some of the other, costlier private schools in the city.

At first sight, the difference between the social backgrounds of the pupils from the primary and the secondary school was not as striking as the 'international–local' dichotomy might suggest. Most parents of the Form IV Kenton students were employed in business and government, and a few were doctors and lawyers. However, significant differences did exist between the two schools with regard to the students' preferred high school[14] and life goals. Even though half of the Kenton students had a sibling who attended one of the popular Christian schools in the country, the majority preferred a government school for their future high school. This was related to the fact that few of them assumed that their parents, or other family members, would be able to pay the school fees of one of the more prestigious Christian high schools. Furthermore, while all Form IV students expected to graduate from university – and had high hopes regarding their future employment (e.g. doctor, engineer) – their concrete expectations for their future lives were often more modest. For example, Kenneth (20 years old) said:

> [I want] to do better in my studies in order to get a better future, to have any kind of work, you know. And to live independently [so that] I can support myself and my sisters, and my family in general.

The most striking difference between the two schools concerned the command of English; this was of particular concern among both Kenton

[13] In contrast, attending a government school at the secondary level was comparatively cheaper at TZH 20,000 for day schools and TZH 70,000 for boarding schools at the time (Godda 2018: 3).

[14] The Kenton school calls itself 'High School' but comprises only Forms I–IV. Thus, in my survey I asked Form IV students which other high school (Forms V and VI) they aimed to attend after graduation.

High School students and their teachers. Many of the students who attended the school had graduated either from a government primary school where English was taught only as a foreign language or from a private school that 'claimed' to teach English but did not have enough well-trained teachers, leaving students insufficiently prepared for learning in English at the secondary level. As one 18-year-old student noted: 'Most of the students who are coming here, they are from government primary schools where their English is not their medium of communication.' Thomas (17 years old), who preferred to speak Kiswahili during our interview, claimed that he spoke mostly Kiswahili to his friends at school:

> You cannot *force* [*huwezi ukamforce*] someone to speak *English*, maybe he does not know it [well], or he is afraid to be joked about [*kutaniwa*]. In class, you may *perform* well in Kiswahili, but in the other lessons you fail.

The teachers of Kenton High School attributed some of their students' poor command of English to their low social backgrounds, and they used various strategies to help such students 'catch up'. Ms Gracious, a 26-year-old teacher from Uganda, said:

> We have students from government primary schools where they were taught in Swahili. So to teach them in English is the biggest challenge. I advise [them] to read small story books, so that they get [to a certain] level. I have a student who was – nothing. But right now, she performs well and listens [to] English. [B]ut some of them are not cooperative: you tell [them] 'read' and they do not do it. So that makes them fail.

At both the St Mary's schools, many students were well aware of their own socio-economic status, as well as the potential impermanence of different levels of the privilege that is an inherent part of 'middleclassness' in many urban African settings (Lentz 2015: 23). Some of the former students of the primary school had experienced personally how wealth and social status were often transitory in the context of quickly shifting economic circumstances. In one of the families I talked to, the children had previously attended St Mary's International School but the parents were no longer able to cover the costly tuition fees: the father – a well-paid government employee – had been sent to jail for corruption. The children of another family, who attended the same school, had to switch to a less costly government school when their father lost his job due to chronic illness. Thus, while private schools such as St Mary's International Primary School and Kenton High School have become entrenched in the logics of the neoliberal market economy, students' quests for a good life were shaped by their shifting social circumstances. In such instances, students and families realised that social mobility – which has become linked so strongly to educational investments since the

mid-1990s (cf. Stambach 2017: 2) – can go in either direction, substantially affecting their individual and collective life chances.

Infrastructural Differences and Caring Discipline

The fact that the students' families at the St Mary's schools paid comparatively high school fees for their children's education and future raised specific expectations with regard to the returns on these 'educational investments' (Hunter 2019: 87). Mr Kariuki, the headmaster of St Mary's International Primary School, explained that students spent the whole day at the school and parents therefore expected their children to be well taken care of, with regard both to facilities, classrooms, and food and to their academic performance and their acquisition of 'good' behaviours.

The care that the St Mary's schools extended to their students was manifest in the aesthetic and material standards of their buildings, which simultaneously created 'boundaries and differences' (De Boeck 2012) across the two educational sites, as well as in the educational marketplace. Both schools were painted white and pink with red corrugated roofs, but the material infrastructure at the primary school was of higher quality than that of the high school. At the primary school, the doors and window frames of the classrooms were painted sparkling blue and the floor was covered with blue and white chequered PVC flooring. Some walls were covered with faith-oriented murals; additionally, the interior yard contained tall trees encircled by benches as well as painted wooden sculptures of Tanzanian wildlife (Figure 4.2). At Kenton High School, in contrast, over the course of 2010, the ivory-painted walls of the classrooms became grey, the reddish PVC floors faded, and the red and green flowered curtains lost their colour as well. Furthermore, while the primary school was equipped with a computer room that put it on a par with other expensive private schools in Dar es Salaam, Kenton High School's library held largely outdated textbooks and novels. Nevertheless, the campus of Kenton High School radiated a welcoming atmosphere, too, with its large pitch for playing football and its abundant trees surrounding the site.

The 'caring environment' at the St Mary's schools to which the headmaster referred was also evident in a pedagogical approach that was said to be distinct from most government schools and also many other private schools in the city. Their 'caring discipline' emphasised the importance of instilling confidence in pupils, the proximity of students and teachers, and the value of an 'empowering pedagogy' (Frueh 2020). In particular, the St Mary's schools highlighted the value of 'teaching knowledge', which Mr Kariuki identified as the main reason for the strong

Figure 4.2 School buses and pupils in St Mary's International Primary School's inner yard, Dar es Salaam, 2009.

performance of his school. In contrast, teachers at government schools were 'drilling [students] for exams', he said, but they did not make them internalise knowledge or encourage them to express their own views. Such encouragement, he argued, depended strongly on teachers' ability to 'connect' to pupils through a caring relationship.

When I attended some of the classrooms over several weeks, I found that pedagogical styles depended largely on individual teachers and specific class situations. In several instances I observed elements of top-down teaching and rigid repetition and memorising of content, not dissimilar to what was described as the common pedagogical approach of government schools (see Chapter 2). Discipline was enforced among pupils through a set of intimidating practices that included student monitors registering attendance and maintaining silence in class,[15] the

[15] Students at both schools were encouraged early on to help enforce discipline by running for one of the offices in the school government (head boy, head girl, class captains at Kenton High School; monitors and prefects at St Mary's International Primary School). In the 2002–3 *St Mary's Mirror*, students described how such positions trained them to become 'academic giants' (pp. 12–13) and 'leaders in the future' (p. 31). Mohamed Wadi, from one of the other St Mary's schools in Dar es Salaam, stated: 'I have served as

public posting of students' performance in each classroom, and unannounced assignments. In one situation where several students had failed to deliver their homework, the teacher said: 'I will take you to the principal. I don't know what punishment he will give you. I give you homework and you don't do it!'

At the same time, however, I observed multiple instances of active efforts to involve all students in the learning process. Some teachers tried to motivate quiet students to reply to their questions, others reminded pupils of the importance of 'sitting properly', and they provided feedback on their pupils' individual performance. Most teachers were remarkably patient with their students and invested significant effort in helping them understand the subjects of their lessons. Some brought images to class in order to illustrate a particular phenomenon or made their pupils curious about the issues they had not understood (by asking them to read more about it, for instance). Others asked students to keep trying until a problem had been solved, and they rewarded students who performed well by leading a round of applause.

Furthermore, similar to the Catholic mission school of Simpson's research in Zambia (2003: 60), the pedagogical approach at the primary school was shaped by its emphasis on being physically and emotionally 'close' to students. Teachers mixed with their pupils during the breaks and stated that they 'liked to eat what the pupils eat'. Moreover, some teachers enhanced their proximity to students by making jokes in class and being comparatively relaxed regarding students' minor failures in complying with the school regulations, for example with dress codes. Finally, most teachers emphasised the importance of group solidarity and ensured that none of the students in their class were excluded by others, posing questions such as 'Are we together?' or – in Kiswahili – '*Tumeelewana*?' (Have we understood each other?). If students mocked a classmate, teachers intervened and pointed out that such behaviour was 'not good'.

At Kenton High School, the teachers' caring attitudes were also acknowledged by the students themselves, some of whom had heard of the school's reputation even before starting there. Kenneth, a 20-year-old male student, recounted how he had heard that Kenton High School was a good school and how he valued his teachers' commitment and care: 'St Mary's [is] widely known as one of the good schools … The teachers are more in contact with the students, yeah.'

When I asked the teachers at the St Mary's schools why they adopted a caring attitude in their teaching, their explanations differed significantly

Head Boy for one year and I think it has been a great job … All it takes is to maintain the students' discipline and the naughty students to be handed over to the teachers … I hope to become the Vice President of Tanzania.'

from those of the students; they also differed between the primary and the high school. At the primary school, the teachers claimed that they wanted to prepare their pupils to meet the future challenges of their personal and professional lives by learning morally and socially responsible 'lifestyles'. In contrast, the teachers at Kenton High School adopted an almost paternalistic approach, emphasising that their students came from 'risky' and 'harmful' environments from which they needed protection. The principal of Kenton High School, who had studied social work in Uganda before becoming a teacher, said:

> The students [here] are facing a lot of problems, at home [and] in school. So they need to be talked to, they need to be hugged. They are surrounded by drugs. [The girls] are dropping out due to pregnancy. They need [someone] who is talking to them. Actually those are the reasons that made me go for [this job].

'The Most People Least Valued': Parents' Investments and Teachers' Pressures

Especially at St Mary's International Primary School, the teachers I talked to expressed a strong commitment to their work and described it either as a pedagogical style of caring for their students or as the result of a Christian work ethos. In this regard, they complied with other Christian private schools' 'explicit' ethical frameworks (Bochow et al. 2017: 451), which were based on the reputation that their teachers were highly disciplined and 'worked harder' than those at government schools. But their engagement was also motivated by the higher salaries such schools usually paid. One teacher at the primary school explained that the salaries at his school shaped his own and his colleagues' work ethos:

> The difference [from government schools] is the way [the teachers] care for the students. In the government schools [the] salary is less. In private schools [the teachers] care for the students well because they are getting money.

Market-based expectations of effective and well-performing schoolteachers, who deliver a good return on the investments made by their students' families, were internalised by the teachers, who told me how busy they were during their working hours and how arduous their job was. When students or their parents confronted them with a problem, some teachers first responded that they were 'very busy', although they later attended carefully to those problems and were generally highly committed to finding solutions. In one instance, a teacher greeted a colleague with the question, 'You are very busy, aren't you?' The colleague was preparing something for the school's administrators and replied jokingly: 'They are on my neck. Every five minutes they come and ask if it is ready yet.'

As my conversations with the teachers progressed, it became obvious that the trope of being busy – and the apparent satisfaction with the higher salaries at private schools – overshadowed other, more critical discourses on the neoliberal excesses of Tanzania's educational market. Thus, on the one hand, many of my interlocutors criticised the relatively low salaries in the government education sector, where payments were regularly delayed. It was against this background of critical discourse on government schools that teachers found Christian schools such as St Mary's more attractive with regard to salaries, better teaching conditions, a strong work ethos among the staff, and their overall higher academic reputation. Furthermore, one of the female teachers at the primary school, Ms Kitula, asserted that the university graduates who had been deployed to rural areas by the government in the late 1990s sought to transfer to private schools because they were often situated in urban environments: 'Many teachers like myself went to the private schools when they were established. Because it is difficult to live in rural areas when you are not used to it. There are no good hospitals, clean water.'

On the other hand, however, teachers – especially Tanzanians[16] – complained about the generally low social status of teachers in the country, saying that they were 'the most people least valued'. Even Ms Kitula complained strongly about the working conditions at St Mary's International Primary School, which, she claimed, had deteriorated significantly since she started there in 2002. According to her, many of the teachers had moved on to other private schools, since their salaries had not been increased for several years. The system of token payments, a kind of 'performance incentive' – given, for instance, on the successful completion of annual final exams – had been discontinued in 2006. She confirmed extensive media coverage reporting that the teachers, who did not receive work contracts, were forbidden from joining unions and thus had little power to negotiate salaries or pension payments. Echoing a growing 'neoliberal critique' of contemporary education (De Saxe 2015), she claimed that the school's policies had been defined entirely by the logics of the free market economy. She said:

MS KITULA We [teachers] even went on strike in 2006. But [the management] simply dismissed them. There are no contracts. In 2006, we were given forms to fill in for pensions, but they made us fill in that we started in 2006 – even those who started earlier.

HD How could this happen if the owner of the school is a pastor?

[16] For more on the international backgrounds of some of the teachers at St Mary's, see the next section.

MS KITULA She is establishing business after business – but then she doesn't follow up. She just says: 'If they have got greener pastures, they can just go. We will hire another teacher.'

Another teacher, Mr Walker, quoted earlier, was equally critical:

It is a big problem at this school [to negotiate the salaries]: Maybe you can go as an individual [and negotiate], but not as a group. I haven't received a contract here since [I started in] 2007. We can say that we are doing cheap labour here. This is no social service, this is a business. We have no security here.

The insecurity of employment due to the absence of work contracts, along with the lack of a union to negotiate salaries,[17] led to competition and fluctuation among the staff, who largely saw their position at the schools as temporary. Several teachers confirmed that internal rankings covered classes, subjects, and teachers and were circulated within the primary school, thereby creating a scale of well-performing teachers. Furthermore, they were aware of the hierarchical landscape of schools in Dar es Salaam, which in turn defined their ambitions concerning their own futures. Being well aware of their reputation as hard-working teachers, they had hopes of eventually joining one of the 'top schools' in the city. One of the teachers concluded our conversation with the question: 'If you get a better opportunity, who can hold you?'

Teacher Mobility, Ethnic Tensions, and Audit Culture

The growing competition for 'good teachers' in Dar es Salaam's educational market has also become connected to the dynamics of teacher migration within Africa, which often takes place 'within the regions or to neighbouring countries where standards of living are slightly higher than the origin country' (Yonemura 2010: 2). As already mentioned, St Mary's International Primary School in Dar es Salaam was established with the goal of offering 'quality education' in English; it hoped to discourage families from sending their children abroad – especially to Kenya – for advanced education (cf. Abdulaziz 1991).

To realise this goal, Dr Rwakatare hired teachers from Tanzania's neighbouring countries who were fluent in English; she even travelled to some of these countries herself to recruit teachers in person. Over the years, the St Mary's network has recruited a significant number of teachers from the East African Community, especially from Kenya and

[17] Many teachers engaged in income-generating activities outside their school employment, for example by running small businesses or offering tutoring to students, including those from the St Mary's schools.

Uganda, and also from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi.[18] Some of these teachers were promoted to leadership positions within their schools and established small national – or ethnic – enclaves in their institutions by recruiting additional teachers from their home countries. The primary school, for example, was led by a headmaster from Kenya and employed a group of Kenyan teachers; similarly, Kenton High School, led by Mr Adam from Uganda, had hired a large number of Ugandan teachers.

For these teachers from abroad, their position – like that of their Tanzanian counterparts – was often only a transitory stage in their quest for a good life; many of them dreamed of moving on either to a better school in Dar es Salaam or, preferably, in their home country. However, while their professional ambitions resembled those of their Tanzanian colleagues, their reasons for leaving their home countries, and how they defined the relation between state schools and private schools there, were very different. The teachers from Kenya and Uganda both claimed that the employment situation 'back home' was better overall in government schools than in the private sector. For instance, Mr Maina from Kenya said that government schools there offered more 'benefits' than private institutions, with higher salaries, access to loans, and pension payments. He had come to Tanzania as there had been a surplus of teachers in Kenya at the time of his graduation, which forced many graduates to wait a few years until they were able to secure a position in a government school. Similarly, Ms Gracious from Uganda, who was the dean of students at Kenton High School in 2010, said:

> If you get into a government school, then you are okay. In Uganda we have these prominent schools like Mengo, Makerere College. When you enter in such schools, you have that security, you have a job and you depend on that.

The relationships between the Tanzanian teachers and those from abroad were shaped in particular by three factors that established an internal hierarchy among the teaching staff, with the Tanzanian teachers usually at the bottom. First, the Kenyan and Ugandan teachers were described – by all teachers, irrespective of their country of origin – as being more qualified than their Tanzanian counterparts. They usually taught the prestigious 'hard' subjects such as biology, mathematics, and other sciences, while their Tanzanian colleagues taught the 'soft' subjects, including civics, history, and Kiswahili. Furthermore, the Kenyan and Ugandan teachers were usually more fluent in English than their Tanzanian counterparts, which was what had made them desirable hires

[18] The latter teachers were hired to offer classes in French.

in the first place. Correspondingly, many felt that their Tanzanian colleagues were less prepared for leadership positions than their international counterparts. Such attitudes of superiority were expressed by two high-ranking Kenyan staff at St Mary's International Primary School:

MR MAINA Kenyan teachers became the pioneers of English-medium schools. They were marketable.

MR KARIUKI I am sorry to say this but Tanzanians – I try to train the Tanzanians. When I left [the school temporarily], I [appointed] a Tanzanian as headmaster, but things did not go well. This is why I came back.

Second, while the Tanzanian teachers acknowledged the 'marketability' of the international teachers, they complained that the internal hierarchy made them particularly vulnerable. Before the start of my fieldwork, several teachers were dismissed from the primary school, either because they had not complied with orders from the school administrators or because there had been a surplus of teachers due to low enrolment rates that year. Even though a teacher from Kenya was among this group, the Tanzanians felt that such dismissals were based on national and ethnic favouritism, as two new teachers from Kenya were hired a short time later. The Tanzanian teachers had little hope that this system could be challenged, as it had been established by the school owner herself. One teacher, Mr Walker, put it like this: 'Many [leaders] started with Mama here at the headquarters. These people became headmasters and principals; some of them are in other branches [of the school] now. Some of them are also in her church.' Among the Kenyan teachers themselves, there was little solidarity with the Tanzanian teachers. Instead, there was a shared sense that the Tanzanian teachers were hostile to the international teachers. As Ms Mwangi, a 25-year-old teacher from Kenya, said: 'Life is good here, except – don't quote me wrong – they don't like Kenyans here. They think that we are taking away their jobs.'

Third, mistrust and tension among the teachers increased, especially at the primary school, when an internal system of evaluation was introduced by the school management shortly before my arrival.[19] The school administrators claimed that 'close monitoring' of the teachers' work was a way to improve staff performance. They argued that some of the teachers needed 'guidance' in their professional development and that they still had to earn the salary that they were paid. As the headmaster and the academic deputy put it:

[19] The teachers' scepticism initially also extended to my own position as researcher at both schools, as some of them thought that I was a school inspector evaluating their classes. The atmosphere became more relaxed after I had responded to all their questions during collective meetings in the teachers' rooms.

Table 4.1. *Quotes from performance evaluations*

Section heads	Deputy headmaster	Teachers
'Absenteeism of pupils and lack of morning preparations are sources of these [poor] results.'	'Good work portrayed. A self-motivated teacher.'	'I shall give more attention to the weak pupils.'
'I will be strict in clearing up if all topics are covered, homeworks, morning preps and enough exercises are given.'	'Science averages are below the agreed average. The teacher should give subject tests regularly.'	'The school should provide teaching aids for the sciences.'
'Quite poor performance [of named teacher]; a lot should be done to rectify this next time.'	'In Grade 1 there should be no pupils scoring below Grade D. Much effort is needed.'	'The performance is good but I have to put more effort in History Grd 4 by giving pupils more exercises to improve their standards.'
	'The teacher should find out why pupils absent themselves from school.'	'More exposure is needed equipping the library with more story books and ensuring pupils use English language. However, am doing my best to ensure good performance.'

MR KARIUKI A main challenge is that some of the teachers may not be teaching in the right way. Teaching is a noble job. You need someone to guide them.
HD What happens if a teacher performs poorly?
MR JONAS We give them a letter of warning. You know, this school is maintained by the market. This will be an eye-opener for him or her.

While school administrators denied that the evaluations had a negative impact on the teachers' employment status, the systematic monitoring had become part and parcel of a pervasive 'ethics of accountability' (Shore and Wright 2015: 23) that assessed – and ensured – the teachers' efficient performance at all levels of the school. In Table 4.1, select quotes from one of the end-of-year performance evaluations demonstrate how the three section heads,[20] the deputy headmaster, and the teachers themselves commented on issues such as absenteeism, students' grades in various subjects, and the performance of individual teachers. Each group of actors identified other concrete steps to improve the performance and discipline of teachers and students. As these quotes make clear, especially from the

[20] The seven grades at St Mary's International Primary School were divided into three sections: two lower sections (Grades 1 and 2, Grades 3 and 4) and one upper section (Grades 5–7).

perspective of the teachers, responsibility for taking measures for improvement should not be placed on their shoulders alone.

Intermediate Conclusion

The first part of this chapter has shown how two schools in the St Mary's school network have been established in Tanzania's neoliberal market economy since the mid-1990s and how their particular structural position in Dar es Salaam has been shaped both by urban restructurings and by growing social stratification (see Hunter 2019). Among the students and teachers, these processes were tied closely to perceptions of class difference, which differed strongly across the two schools and were simultaneously embedded in the dynamics of (upward and downward) social mobility. These dynamics also gave rise to the cultivation of a learning environment that engaged students and made them 'understand' what they learned; furthermore, the teachers made strong efforts to meet the expectations of their students' families, who had made significant investments in their children's future. Finally, among the teachers, highly insecure employment conditions created a strong sense of competition and insecurity and enhanced tensions, especially among the Tanzanian and international staff of the two schools.

The second part of this chapter highlights how the St Mary's schools fostered a sense of belonging to an overarching academic and moral community, despite the frictions that were experienced in both educational settings. Students and teachers articulated multiplicities of belonging (see Kempf et al. 2014: 1–2), navigating the complex dynamics of their schools' inward and outward orientations in highly situated ways. Moral belonging was enhanced through formalised school rituals, and both schools taught values in the classroom in often highly interactive ways. Students' and teachers' moral becoming also happened implicitly, for instance through the religiously informed symbolism within the schools, as well as the teachers' 'fellowshipping' networks. These everyday practices of faith orientation established a direct connection between the schools, on the one hand, and the neo-Pentecostal churches in Dar es Salaam on the other, not least through the healing of 'possessed' female students from Muslim families.

'Feel at Home in This School': Identities and Networks of Belonging

While students – and especially teachers – experienced multiple frictions and pressures in the St Mary's schools, their educational settings also

fostered a sense of academic and moral belonging. Belonging at the St Mary's schools implied a formalised affiliation (as employee or paying client), but it also referred to a sense of being connected to, and identifying with, groups and localities within and beyond the schools, and it became manifest in acts of solidarity and care (see Mattes et al. 2019b). While relationships of belonging at the St Mary's schools were self-chosen and self-ascribed, they were also embedded in multiple social contexts (see Röttger-Rössler 2018) and in complex hierarchies and power relations.

The students of St Mary's International Primary School and Kenton High School articulated aspects of belonging, first and foremost, to their family and kinship networks, which transcended the immediate bonds with their parents and (blood) siblings. The majority of Grade 7 students at the primary school had been born in Dar es Salaam, but some of them had parents living abroad, for instance in Ethiopia and Germany; however, when I asked them about their 'home' (*nyumbani*) or 'tribe' (*kabila*), almost none of them claimed an attachment to Dar es Salaam or the *kabila* mainly associated with the city (Zaramo) – or, conversely, with a place outside Tanzania. Rather, the students indicated that their home was in cities such as Moshi, Morogoro, or Mwanza, or that they visited their grandparents, who belonged, for instance, to the ethnic group of 'the Wahaya', for Christmas.

The picture at Kenton High School was similar: a minority of the Form IV students had been born in Dar es Salaam (42 per cent) and only 26 per cent claimed a home attachment to the city or, alternatively, to 'the Zaramo'. Like the primary school students, they also claimed belonging mostly to the places from where their parents had migrated and that were tied closely to their kin's ethnic groups. Such claims of belonging showed the persistence of ethnic identities in a country that has emphasised national over ethnic belonging, especially through the Ujamaa policies during its socialist years (Tripp 1999). They also reflected the continued importance of rural–urban ties, even among the middle and upper classes in Dar es Salaam (see Geschiere and Gugler 1998; Dilger 2013b).

Relationships of belonging were also forged within the space of the school, often closely entwined with the material and immaterial aspirations that students and families articulated in the context of wider class formation processes. In particular, the pupils of St Mary's International Primary School had a range of school-specific experiences that cultivated their sense of belonging to the city's emerging, internationally oriented middle class. These bonding experiences included, for instance, trips to different sites within Tanzania where they learned about their country's

heritage, as well as to places such as the United Kingdom, South Africa, and Korea, where they learned about these countries' educational and cultural lifestyles and met students abroad.[21] For some pupils, such trips ignited a desire to study at an international institution in the future. Others argued that it was important to continue their higher education at one of the universities or colleges in Tanzania. Mgeni A. Ngongolo, a graduate of the school's network, described her educational years in an essay in the *St Mary's Mirror* in a highly affective way:

> I am twenty-one years old, pursuing a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Dar es Salaam. I am actually one of the pioneer A' [sic] Level Students of St Mary's High School … I advise the students not only to think about universities abroad. Most students spend a lot of time discussing about foreign universities and colleges and at the end of the day they fail and join inferior colleges rather than universities.[22]

While no study trips were undertaken at Kenton High School, ties of belonging were also emphasised among the students and teachers – although the sense of belonging at the school was more local in scope than the one at the primary school. For example, at one of the morning assemblies, Mr Jonas, the academic deputy, stated: 'The body of students is one family, the body of teachers is one family, and even the body of support staff is one family. Feel at home in this school.'

This metaphor of the common body was also extended to the Tanzanian nation, which was a central reference in articulations of connectedness in both schools. Thus, as in other schools in the Western and Southern African region, a close moral and emotional bond was evoked in the framework of an overarching national identity (Coe 2005; Fumanti 2006; Phillips 2011), which was manifested in the raising of the Tanzanian flag in the schoolyard and the display of the president's photograph in the schools' central offices. Furthermore, the schools started each day with the singing of the national anthem (in Kiswahili) – 'the prayer for the nation', as one teacher described it – and, in the case of the primary school, the 'patriotic song' (Kiswahili) and St Mary's own anthem (English). In all these songs, allegiance to the Tanzanian nation and the close entanglement of the school's identity with the motherland's future were stressed (Figure 4.3).

Finally, relationships of belonging were forged in reference to faith-oriented identities and practices. In particular, the Christian pupils of the

[21] *St Mary's Mirror*, 2002–3, pp. 28–9. The trips were partially funded by the parents (who paid for the airfare) and partially by institutional partners abroad (who paid for accommodation and food).

[22] *St Mary's Mirror*, 2002–3, p. 18.

Figure 4.3 Pupils performing in Maasai and in national costumes at the morning assembly of St Mary’s International Primary School, Dar es Salaam, 2009.

boarding section at the primary school told me that practices of ‘moral and spiritual education’ – which were otherwise not strongly formalised in the school – were prominent at the Bible school that was available to them on Sundays. Muslim students enrolled at the St Mary’s schools could practise their faith in the schools too, although for several of them this was a more troubling experience than for their Christian counterparts. During Ramadan, Muslim pupils could fast and receive special food; Muslims in the boarding section received prayer mats to pray in the dormitories and could also pray on Fridays during the ‘pastoral programme’ unit (see below). However, after Ramadan ended, they had to return to praying on Sundays with the Christian students and were not allowed to pray in the dormitories. For some Muslim students, this was a challenging situation and they discussed it repeatedly. Several of these students were also particularly curious about the situation of Islam in Germany and asked about my own religious identity, things I was rarely asked about by Christian students. Ahmed, who was 12, started one of our conversations with a volley of questions: ‘Are you fasting? Are you Muslim? Are there Muslims in Germany?’

Teachers' Networks and Faith Orientation in a Transnational Setting

Like the students, some of the teachers at the St Mary's schools claimed belonging to the various networks established in the space of the schools. Even the Tanzanian teachers who complained about employment insecurity and mistrust within the multinational staff setting reported that there were regular interactions among the teachers that extended well beyond the confines of the school. These interactions included mutual invitations to weddings or funerals as well as exchanges with other teachers in the St Mary's school network at football games or education seminars. In this latter regard, St Mary's International Primary School functioned as the mother school of the network and the teachers expressed pride in working at such a 'high-quality' institution. Furthermore, even those teachers who were critical of the school administrators' practices joined their colleagues in calling Dr Rwakatare 'Mama' and in using metaphors of kinship and relatedness when talking about the communities of teachers and students at the two schools.

However, this sense of mutual connectedness was even stronger among the teachers from abroad. I have already described how nationality and ethnicity became markers of both contestation and belonging in a context of transnational professional mobility and hierarchies (see Bakewell and Binaisa 2016). In addition, many of the teachers from Kenya and Uganda lived in one of the schools' staff quarters, provided especially for international teachers and for unmarried, predominantly male teachers from Tanzania. Living in close quarters, the teachers engaged in a number of joint activities, such as watching television, cooking, attending football games, and going swimming at the weekend. This established a sense of belonging in a context where they felt partially alienated (ibid.), not least due to the use of Swahili, which not all of them knew well. Ms Gracious from Uganda explained this to me:

MS GRACIOUS It's quite different here in Dar es Salaam. I mean, you are black and you don't know Swahili! It's kind of ironical. So, it was hard going to the market, buying things, [whose name] you don't know.

HD How did you solve it? Do you live in one of the staff quarters here?

MS GRACIOUS Yeah. It makes it easy … because we don't have to communicate too much in Swahili. You can find a person, you feel you have a connection with.

In addition to ethnic and national belonging, religion was also important for developing a sense of mutual connectedness among teachers in the transnational setting (see Settler and Engh 2018). Through the practice of joint fellowship or prayer, teachers in the staff quarters even overcame some

of the dividing lines that they had ascribed to ethnic favouritism in hiring decisions. Mr Walker, a Tanzanian who had been very critical in this regard, lived with several Kenyan teachers and reported: 'Every Saturday, we have a lesson of praying. It is a big house there [where we live]. There is always someone who is leading – who is praying and reading the Bible.'

Other teachers became equally drawn into 'fellowshipping' and connected their adoption of this practice to an encompassing spiritual and moral transformation in their lives. Ms Mason from Uganda (34 years old), who had been raised in an Anglican family, recounted that her move to Dar es Salaam had effected a spiritual challenge in her to which she responded by fellowshipping with other teachers as well as by joining an Evangelical church:

> [When we moved here,] things were different. This is a coastal region, there are many foreigners, there are things like witchcraft, so I decided to give my life to Jesus. In an Islamic school, my upbringing would be demolished. In a Christian school, I feel in my own place. I feel like I am at home spiritually.

Other teachers reported similar experiences of sharing practices of faith in the common residences, although all of them also attended their individual church services. Thus, Ms Gracious had been brought up in a Catholic family and had been drawn, along with her siblings, into the Pentecostal faith at a Catholic boarding school and then continued in this community of faith after finding a new Pentecostal congregation in Dar es Salaam. She claimed that fellowshipping with her school colleagues was an important way of providing mutual encouragement and solving problems: 'In the evenings [we] read the Bible and exchange words of encouragement. Many people have their own problems, some are depressed. We encourage each other.'

Finally, Mr Mukuru from Kenya explained that the community of teachers provided moral guidance in a 'foreign' context where he needed a continuous reminder of the values he had accepted during his own educational formation at a Catholic school:

> You know, in a Christian school you get guidance. This moulded us – I still hold the same values. Especially here in Dar es Salaam I live alone – there are no parents, no wife, no kids. [At my school they] taught us not to engage in drinking and activities like sex before marriage. They also taught us how to socialise with people from different communities and with different characters.

A Total Education: Minds, Bodies, and Spirits

Competition and unstable economic circumstances – as well as the perceived 'immorality' of urban life in a partly different national context – have become an integral part of the everyday experiences of teachers and

students, and many emphasised the importance of combining academic and moral guidance in materially and spiritually troubling urban environments. At the two St Mary's schools, the rhetoric linking 'quality education' both to success in life and to the teaching of (religiously informed) values aimed to build a community of 'well-adjusted, knowledgeable and responsible' future citizens for the sake of the Tanzanian nation. In their mission statement, the schools promised to achieve this goal through a 'total' education that included attention to the value of cultural and religious difference and 'academic perfection'.

The morning assembly was one of the key sites for instilling discipline and values in the students (see Simpson 2003: 46–7). Each day, before the start of the morning classes, all students were summoned to the central courtyards for assembly, where the recitation of a prayer and the singing of the national anthem and other songs fostered a distinct sense of academic and moral belonging. The assemblies were also used for discussing issues that required correction according to the school administrators. Typical problems at Kenton High School included students' failure to communicate in English consistently or to buy textbooks for their classes. At the primary school, assemblies might address students' misbehaviour during breaks or their improper 'lining up' for the march to the dining hall.

At both schools, such scrutiny also focused on how students took care of their bodies and how they dressed. Dress codes and bodily discipline are core issues in Tanzanian education, and government schools, too, teach students how to dress properly and how to respect 'the African way of life' in dressing oneself (Stambach 2000: 56). During the morning parade at the primary school, pupils were carefully screened by the teachers for cleanliness and the styling of hands, fingernails, hair, and uniforms; the rules for each were noted meticulously in the 'Cardinal School Rules', which had to be signed by the students and their parents on admission to the school. Those students who failed to comply were singled out and corrected in front of the others.

In general, however, such codes of body care and dressing were dealt with somewhat more liberally at the St Mary's schools than at the Catholic and Muslim schools of my study. This pattern mirrored the overall comparatively liberal approach to dressing that was promoted in the teachings of Dr Rwakatare in her church. The middle- and upper-class women of her church dressed in colourful, shiny clothes, sometimes trousers, wore make-up and fashionable hairstyles, and adorned themselves with jewellery. This was significantly different, for instance, from the way in which women dressed at the Full Gospel Bible Fellowship church, led by Bishop Kakobe, who reminded female worshippers to

dress 'decently' (in other words, to cover their heads, to eschew trousers, and to not wear jewellery). At one of her services, Pastor Rwakatare countered such proscriptions, without referring to Bishop Kakobe's church explicitly, saying:

> Shall a woman smell badly because you tell her that perfumes are of the devil [*ya shetani*]? In the Bible, there is no law which forbids women to wear trousers – this is a law of the church. What about the Indian women who wear belly top dresses? Are they all sinners? Each person has his or her own character [*kila mtu ana tabia yake*]. The most important issue is that you teach people to avoid sin.

At Kenton High School, this liberal approach to dress and style caused occasional trouble at the morning assemblies. Here, the girls' uniform consisted of brown, knee-length shorts and a white blouse; the boys wore brown trousers and white shirts. All students were supposed to wear brown neckties with white stripes, white socks, and black shoes. Diverging from this dress code, some girls wore golden earrings or hair-bands and braided their hair according to the latest fashion. Several female Muslim students wore long black gowns or headscarves that covered the whole of their upper body (not just the head and neck, as prescribed). Some of the boys wore their trousers below the hips, and when they bent their backsides were exposed. At the morning assemblies, such 'failures' were announced in front of all the students and teachers. On one occasion, the principal remarked: 'Some girls look like Christmas trees.' After reminding the young men to 'always shave', he declared: 'If I see any of these things again, students will be sent back home!'

Teaching Values in Class

Classrooms represent an ideal venue for teaching the values and norms of a society and/or the group and the ideological context to which they are connected (Simpson 2003: 87ff.; Xu 2014). The 'explicit' teaching of values within the curriculum of the St Mary's schools occurred especially in the Kiswahili and English lessons. At the primary school, the Kiswahili teachers used little stories and sayings (*nahau*), poems (*mashairi*), and proverbs (*methali*) to explain the core values of 'good living' (*kuishi vizuri*). These included, for instance, the value of sharing (*kushirikiana*), the immorality of stealing (*kuiba*), and the importance of not losing hope in life itself (*kutokata tamaa*).

One teacher provided a more abstract reflection on Kiswahili terms that represented key values and virtues, including the terms for 'morals' (*adili*: everything right and good), 'luxury' (*anasa*: pleasure, enjoyment), and 'desire' (*ari*: the state of wanting to accomplish something and not

allowing oneself to fail). The teacher then asked the students to provide illustrations for each of the terms and to clap when the contribution was particularly strong: for example, one student suggested 'Our hospital has hung up *mabango* [billboards] concerning the harm of smoking' and was rewarded with applause. Other pupils were corrected, however, when they used their illustrations for making jokes about their peers. This was the case, for instance, when Ahmed said: '[X] has a lot of *anasa* [enjoyment].' As the other pupils laughed, the teacher remarked: 'It is not good to say about a fellow student that he has a bad character if he does not have it. This is bad.'

At Kenton High School, core values of human life were discussed in the English lessons when novels such as *Passed like a Shadow* by Bernard Mapalala or *Weep Not, Child* by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o were read. The Mapalala novel describes the story of a Ugandan family whose members die of AIDS one after another, survived only by one young woman who falls in love with an AIDS counsellor. After asking the students to identify the protagonists and themes of the book, Ms Gracious asked them to reflect further on some of these themes (poverty, betrayal, death, ignorance, promiscuity) and to think about how the novel's main characters had failed to live up to the core values of human behaviour and their responsibilities as fathers, mothers, siblings, and spouses. In particular, she involved them in a conversation about 'conflict' that gradually evolved into a discussion on relations of failed care and support in times of HIV and AIDS – although she provided some of the answers to the increasingly challenging questions herself:

MS GRACIOUS What kind of family conflicts are represented in the novel?
STUDENT Being irresponsible.
MS GRACIOUS Good. What is the father supposed to do?
STUDENT To show love to the children.
MS GRACIOUS This father [Adiyeri] is not doing it. When he comes, he is drunk and battering the child. If his child lets the dishes fall, he is supposed to show love and care. But he is doing his own things, drinking and being a womaniser and all that. How is Amooti [the wife of Adiyeri] described? [No response from the class.] She is described as short and talkative. So if she sees that Adiyeri has another woman, she freaks out. She doesn't care for him when he falls sick … When Adiyeri dies, who felt sorry? [No response from the class.] Didn't you feel sorry? Of course, he has done some bad things, but he hasn't deserved to die.

'This Is Not a Christian School': (In)formalising Faith

Faith-oriented schools in Tanzania have long had the reputation of exerting a specific disciplinary effect on their students' and teachers'

bodies and souls (Stambach 2010b; 372). According to Anastasia Martin from the Christian Social Services Commission,[23] such promises and expectations are also translated into the work ethic of the teachers and administrators of these schools in the country and have become part of their 'identity' – as well as a necessary condition to survive as a fee-dependent school – in the educational market: '[Christian schools] have a vision – they refer to the work of Jesus Christ: He was a teacher and a doctor. Even those schools which are not good are trying to be good. If not, you lose your identity.'

However, in addition to the practice of fellowshipping, which was widespread among the teachers in the staff quarters, there was little agreement among the students and teachers on whether the St Mary's schools were 'Christian schools'. Most of my interlocutors rejected such a label, and the academic deputy master of Kenton High School, Mr Mumbi, said: 'This is not a Christian school. It is affiliated to St Mary's. But it was established for the locals who cannot afford St Mary's High. Not as a Christian school.' Mr Walker, who was himself a member of the Moravian church, agreed: 'For me, this is not a Christian school. People say it is a Christian school because the owner is a pastor. But we don't have [religion] as a subject here, there is no teacher for this.'

Claims about the St Mary's schools' alleged faith neutrality were partially undermined by the fact that the teachers from abroad had been hired as 'missionary workers', something they ascribed to the fact that visas for missionary workers were cheaper than for other, regular work categories and that it was easy for Dr Rwakatare, a Christian pastor, to obtain this type of visa. More importantly, there was a widespread – albeit diffuse – perception among the teachers and students of both schools that the St Mary's schools were 'somehow' connected to the Christian field, as they were owned by the pastor of one of the largest neo-Pentecostal churches in Dar es Salaam. This association was reinforced further by the neo-Pentecostal symbolism that dominated the spaces and everyday routines, especially at the primary school. Thus, walls of the school buildings of St Mary's International Primary School were painted with messages of faith including 'God is Able' and 'My Home is a House of Prayer: Jesus Christ'. Similarly, murals on the perimeter walls of the neighbouring St Mary's Bright Future Orphanage Centre were painted with large-lettered, colourful phrases such as 'Jesus loves you', while an advertisement for Kenton High School read 'Stop suffering, K. High School is your answer' (see also Figure 4.4). This slogan echoed one of

[23] Interview with Anastasia Martin, Dar es Salaam, 10 October 2008.

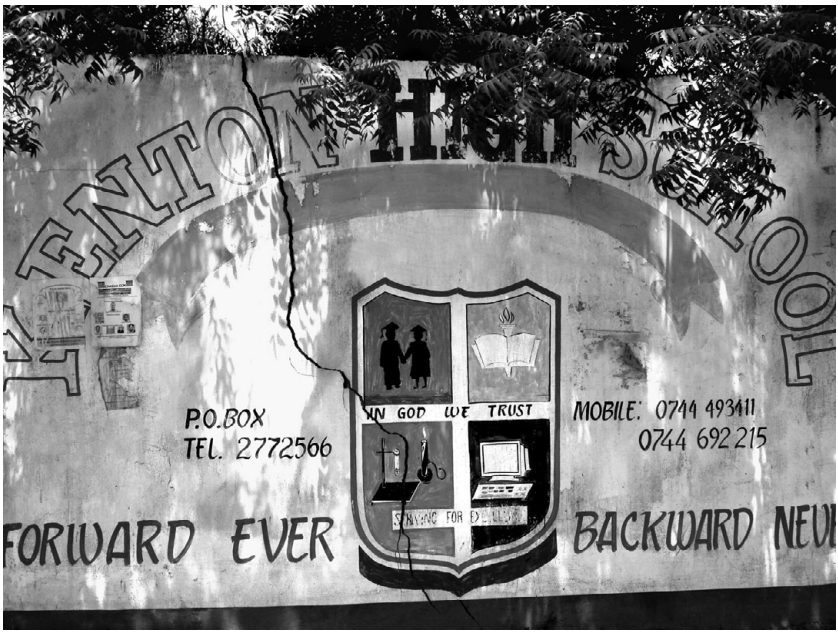

Figure 4.4 'Forward ever, backward never.' Mural on the perimeter wall of Kenton High School, 2010.

the core promises of neo-Pentecostal churches in Dar es Salaam, a similarity that was brought home to me in one of my first conversations with Mr Kariuki, the headmaster of St Mary's International Primary School, who was also one of the elders at Dr Rwakatare's church: 'If you want to be successful, if you want to be rich, come to our church.'

Beyond such materially visible manifestations of the St Mary's schools' Christian (and neo-Pentecostal) orientation, however, faith had a rather implicit presence in the everyday operations of the two schools. Both institutions admitted students from various religious backgrounds and there was no clear preference for any one denomination within the highly diverse Christian spectrum. Out of the 52 students in Grade 7 at the primary school, 14 were Roman Catholic, 11 Muslim, and 27 'Protestant'.[24] At Kenton High School, among the Form IV students, nine identified as Roman Catholics, nine as Muslims, and 14 as Protestants; four of the last

[24] These included Seventh Day Adventists, Evangelical-Lutherans, Moravians, and a few Pentecostals.

category were Pentecostals. The teaching of religious content at the schools was not formalised, and there existed no formal subject such as Christian education (but see the next section). Equally, while the libraries at the two schools were fairly well stocked with novels and textbooks on different school subjects, there was no shelf for books on religion.

Under these circumstances, issues of faith were enacted and negotiated mostly in the informal conversations and interactions among students and teachers at the schools. This 'moral becoming within the domains of everyday life' (Mattingly 2014: 27) through Christian rhetoric and symbolism was strongly present in informal conversations during class and at lunchtime. In one instance, one of the Grade 7 pupils proposed to 'play church' during the break but was interrupted by her fellow students ('Stop preaching!'); teachers and students made the sign of the cross on themselves before lunch, discussed the content of church services, and invoked God when jokingly scolding a teacher who claimed to be unable to speak Kiswahili ('We have heard that you speak Swahili! God is watching you!'). Finally, some of the staff joined in singing Christian songs that were popular at Dr Rwakatare's church when cleaning up the dishes; these had titles such as '*Ametenda maajabu na siwezi kueleza*' (He performs wonders that cannot be fathomed).

The statement of Happiness, a 12-year-old boarding student, summarises how important the connection was between the categorisation of St Mary's International Primary School as an academically well-performing institution, on the one hand, and implicit personal as well as collective ascriptions and experiences of faith on the other. I asked her why she hoped to attend a Christian school after graduation:

HAPPINESS Because I want to learn more English. I want to perform well, to get Division 1. I cannot go to a local school because I don't understand what they tell. Nowadays, English is better than Kiswahili.
HD Is your belief important for doing well in school?
HAPPINESS I am Roman Catholic. You cannot learn without praying to God first. If you pray to God, he will make you perform better.

Teaching Values and Faith in 'PPI'

In various parts of Africa – including Tanzania (see Chapter 3) – a kind of religious instruction is currently being established that 'encourages [pupils] to grow in their inner spiritual and moral dimensions' by learning about different faith traditions (Tayob 2018: 146). This shift towards the non-denominational teaching of values was also described by the students and teachers of the St Mary's schools. Apart from referring me to the teaching of values in Kiswahili and English lessons, teachers

at both schools claimed that lessons about morally appropriate behaviours were also taught in a specific class period that they identified as 'PPI'. However, when I asked them to explain what the abbreviation stood for, they were largely unable to. Some teachers claimed that PPI was a form of 'religious club' or 'counselling', but others conceded that they knew neither what the abbreviation meant nor what was taught during the lesson period.

When I asked the primary school administrators about PPI, it turned out that the 'pastoral programme instruction' unit, as the period was called, had been introduced shortly before I started my research. According to the headmaster, Mr Kariuki, students were taught about core challenges of life through 'counselling' and were given 'advice' about being selective in their TV watching, relationships (including especially sexual relations), and lifestyles in general. He claimed that being exposed to the allegedly 'risky' and 'immoral' context of Dar es Salaam provided the students with a unique opportunity to learn about lifestyles that would not 'distract' them later on in life: 'I like my children to get exposed.[25] Children get pregnant because they do not know. Through counselling we make them fear the consequences, not the act itself.'

However, when I went deeper with my research, it turned out that PPI was not so much a time for the intellectual reflection on values but rather a space where students practised and learned about their respective denominations and faiths together. At the time of my fieldwork, Mr Gregory from Uganda was teaching PPI at the primary school and was thus able to explain its content:

> We teach the children how to believe well on the side of religion, the goal is to have God-fearing children. Our children here are sometimes lacking discipline – performance goes together with discipline.

At Kenton High School, one 20-year-old male student said that during PPI they split up the students into three groups: Muslims, Pentecostals, and 'all other Christians'. Mr Mumbi, the deputy master, added that PPI was taught by teachers from the school and not from 'outside', as was the case in other schools, including those of the government (see Chapter 3). The following excerpt from my field diary illustrates how PPI was conducted at Kenton High School on a Wednesday morning in March 2010:

> First, I attend the PPI of the Muslim students. There are about 160–170 students in the room, which is packed. More than half of the students are boys; the girls,

[25] As discussed earlier, however, the primary school students' contact with other inhabitants of Dar es Salaam was limited due to the use of school buses or private cars.

who all wear their headscarves, are seated collectively in the back rows. Outside there are about 40 students who didn't fit into the room and pursue the 'lessons' through the window grills, on chairs they brought with them. From the floor above, we hear the almost constant singing and clapping of 'the Christians'. The teacher from Burundi, who also teaches French, is a Muslim and supervises the period. After an introductory prayer (in Arabic), he asks one of the older boys to guide the session. The boy, obviously unprepared for this task, clears his throat several times and starts to speak in Kiswahili about *sitara* (the covering of the human body through dress),[26] *usafi* (cleanliness), and the general preservation (*kuchunga*) of the Islamic faith in society. During the around 25 minutes of my attendance, there is no space for questions, but many follow the speaker attentively. The leading boy establishes his authority while he speaks and corrects some of the younger pupils intermittently, which in turn causes embarrassed laughter among the senior students. However, his role is generally well accepted – even if there remains a constant murmuring in the background. Compared to the songs and clapping from above, the rather monotonous 'preaching' of the speaker seems rather sober and down to earth.

I move on to the dining hall where 'the Pentecostals' have assembled. At the back of the room, 'God is able' is painted on the wall, framed by bunches of grapes on the left and right. Girls and boys sit next to each other – and some of them (boys with boys and girls with girls) have rested their hand on their neighbour's shoulder. As I arrive, one of the teachers asks one of the senior boys to step forward and speak to the other students ('We are preached to,' a girl next to me whispers). There are about 200–250 students in the room. The boy points repeatedly to the Bible (which he has obtained from the Academic Deputy beforehand) and the importance of faith and *Mungu* (God) in the everyday life of the school. He slowly finds comfort in his role. At the end, he moves to the centre of the hall and imitates the preaching style of a church service. As in the Muslims' group, there is no space for questions from other students. The period ends with a song that I know from church services at Rwakatare's and Kakobe's churches, as well as a prayer that is spoken by a female student. Outside, I encounter one of the students who I have interviewed the day before; he greets me enthusiastically with 'my friend'.

My attendance at the PPI periods confirmed much of what I had been told by the teachers and administrators of Kenton High School. There was little formalisation of the content, and the students in their sub-groups joined in prayers and were instructed about core issues of (their own) faith in their everyday lives within and beyond the school. However, the teaching of values and religious content was even more arbitrary than I had expected from what I had been told, as it depended on the ad hoc assignment of individual senior students for this task. Furthermore, the groups of students did not necessarily assemble according to their own religious affiliation; rather, they made choices about the group they

[26] *Sitara* means 'concealment, covering' in Kiswahili (see Chapter 5).

attended according to their individual preferences. In some cases, it was exactly this flexibility that made PPI an enjoyable part of life for the students at the school. Thus, when I asked Kenneth (20 years old) why he had attended the 'Pentecostal' period despite the fact that he was Roman Catholic, he replied as follows:

KENNETH Well I'm not so sure if it's Pentecostals or Lutherans, but I know it was not the Roman Catholics. I decided to go there because I liked it, even though I'm Roman Catholic. I liked it. Because they are praying and singing about – I mean, praising God. So I really liked it.
HD Is religion important for you?
KENNETH Oh yes. I feel I need to believe in something. I can't be just sitting here and I'm not Muslim, I'm not Christian. It is like absurd, you know?

'We Are Going into Battle': Possession and Healing in the Space of the School

While the St Mary's schools fostered students' and teachers' sense of moral and faith orientation far beyond the school settings, they also helped them to engage in a 'spiritual battle' against invisible forces – 'agencies that thwart progress' (Strong 2017: 83). In particular, instances of spirit possession and healing were an important part of the moral becoming at the two schools. Possession by malevolent spirits (*majini*) in educational settings was not exclusive to the St Mary's schools: in March 2010, *The Citizen* reported that there had been a panic among teachers of a primary school in Mwanza 'after dozens of pupils … uttered in strange tongues before they fell down unconsciously'. The incident attracted a number of pastors from Pentecostal churches and the African Inland church, who conducted healing prayers jointly. One 'specialist in psychiatry' explained the phenomenon in terms of a 'mass conventional [sic!] disorder … in a community mostly comprising teenagers' who feared 'punishment' and 'threats' at their school.[27]

While psychiatric interpretations remained absent in explaining spirit possession at the St Mary's schools, the phenomenon was partially connected to the pressures that some students experienced with regard to examinations. Happiness, the 12-year-old girl quoted earlier, was the only student I talked to at the primary school who had experienced *majini* possession in her own body. She came from a religiously mixed family where the father of her (now) Christian mother had been a Muslim. During the exams in 2008, she had troubling dreams of talking to her late grandfather. Her mother consulted her grandmother and a local

[27] 'Teachers panic when pupils turn hysterical', *The Citizen*, 6 March 2010.

'witchdoctor' and the attacks on her body were identified as the requests of a malevolent *jini*. She went to a healing church to be prayed for and was also healed during prayers at her school:

HAPPINESS I was having the *majini* myself last year. It was when I was doing exams, they were coming – they wanted me to eat the blood and meat from someone. At night, I was talking to my late grandfather. One morning, I told my mother about it. She went to my grandmother in the village and my grandmother went to a witchdoctor. He said that I must eat the blood of someone. But my mother said: 'You must go to church and pray.' I went to a Lutheran church in Magomeni, and they prayed for me. When they prayed, I fainted, and when I woke up I asked my mother what happened. Since then I started to pray to God.

HD Were you scared by the *majini*?

HAPPINESS Yes, I was scared. But then I started to pray.

Several teachers emphasised that it was only girls – and among them, Muslim girls – who were affected by the *majini*. They ascribed this to their family backgrounds, where spirits of late ancestors were allegedly trying to 'protect' their descendants in the context of a Christian school. Mr Walker explained:

Most Muslim students have those *majini*, which is not good for a Christian school. From my experience, those *majini* are taken from grandmothers – they like to give them to the children as protection. If two *majini* meet in one class, they will compete – one starts to shout and then the other one.

For other teachers, however, especially Pentecostals, *majini* possession also hinted at occult activities by the school owner who was trying to harm the children in order to enrich herself (see the section above). Mr Kaduri, one of the teachers involved in the teaching of PPI, said: 'Some of the older teachers told us that the owner of the school brings [the *majini*]. You know, people say you can't get rich without doing bad things.' Ms Mason added:

[The *majini*] say that they come from the ocean, but it is only talk. We interrogate [the *majini*]: 'Where do you come from?' And they shout: 'You are killing us, you are harming us! We have been sent by so and so.' We are going into battle with these spirits through the prayers.

At Kenton High School, the discourses on possession by *majini* were even more elaborate than at St Mary's International Primary School, although they echoed some of the tropes that shaped experiences of spirit possession at the primary school, too. One of the teachers, Mr Masome, claimed that spirit possession was caused essentially by wealthy families trying to get even richer, which made the phenomenon a particular challenge for private schools:

HD Somebody told me that there are many [*majini*] in Dar es Salaam.
MR MASOME They are many, yes. But it depends on those people themselves. They get their wealth in a bad way, so there must be something you agree [to], which if you don't fulfil then they follow you. It is often [among] rich people.
HD Would this also happen in government schools?
MR MASOME In government schools it is very [rare]. Most people in the government [schools] are poor people. Students fall down only if [they are] sick.

The students at Kenton High School were also well informed about instances of spirit possession at their school. In particular, they had a higher awareness overall of the diversity of the spirit world on the East African coast (Giles 1999; Dilger 2007: 67–8), although only a few were able to identify individual *majini* by name or by their specific characteristics. Thus, when I asked the students whether there were different types of spirits that entered students' bodies, they largely confirmed this. However, it was only Thomas (17 years old), who also attended a Pentecostal church on Sundays, who provided me with more concrete information in this regard:

THOMAS They differ from each other [*yanatofautiana*]. There are *majini* who are [called] *mufilisi*; this one makes people poor. Then [the spirit of] *uchafu* [dirt], I don't know his name; he makes a person being dirty.
HD Where do these *majini* come from?
THOMAS I think they come from hell [*kuzimu*]. From the devil [*shetani*].
HD Where does this *mufilisi* live? In East Africa or in the whole world?
THOMAS In the whole world. And often these spirits are sent by someone [*yanatumwa*], someone can just order [-*agiza*] them to make that someone else makes bad things, and the person doesn't know it.

Conclusion

Since the late 1990s, students' and teachers' quests for a good life in Tanzania have been shaped by the educational institutions of neo-Pentecostal churches and pastors, whose establishment has become embedded in processes of urban transformation and segregation, regimes of neoliberal schooling, and the demands of the educational market for 'high-quality' education. The learning and teaching of values at these schools have been shaped by a capitalist logic of schooling that aims at the 'transmission of economic status from parents to offspring' (Bowles and Gintis 2002: 5) and moulds the learning and working environment through pervasive systems of monitoring and disciplining. While these capitalist logics of education have been largely formed in the US/American and West European context, models of privatisation, market

orientation, and competitiveness have been established in the wake of economic globalisation in all parts of the world (Mundy et al. 2016: 5).

At St Mary's International Primary School and Kenton High School in Dar es Salaam, this trend towards a market-based model of schooling is closely related to specific processes of moral becoming, which included a strong awareness of class distinction as well as the articulation of particular forms of moral and bodily discipline among their students and staff. In this context, learning was 'not simply the acquisition of skills and knowledge' but became 'a process of identification and belonging' (Coe 2005: 162) that extended far beyond the schools themselves. Thus, in opposition to the mission school of Simpson's study in Zambia, which maintained 'a boundary … between the "world"' and the Community' of the school (Simpson 2003: 62), the St Mary's schools reinforced a sense of belonging not only within the Tanzanian nation but also to an emerging urban middle class with international connections and aspirations (in the case of the primary school) or, conversely, to a 'local' class of less well-positioned urban citizens who still perceived themselves as privileged (in the case of the high school). In all these regards, these quests for a good life in the St Mary's schools were characteristic of Dar es Salaam's heterogeneous and fragile middle class (see Darbon 2019) as they could be interrupted by unexpected life events and/or the sudden inability to meet the high costs of a 'top education' in the educational market. Among the teachers, this sense of fragility was also present as their professional trajectories were shaped by the highly competitive logics and hierarchies of the labour mobility of the East African Community.

Religion and faith played an ambiguous and contested role in the practices of moral becoming at the St Mary's schools and in the dynamics of learning and teaching values in the educational setting (cf. Mattingly 2012; 2014). Thus, while the schools were widely perceived as 'Christian schools' due to their link to Dr Rwakatare and her church, students and teachers often disputed such a categorisation; this was also underlined by the somewhat diffuse status of the PPI lesson in the schools' schedules and by the students' and teachers' mixed religious and denominational backgrounds. Nevertheless, the schools' Christian, and even neo-Pentecostal, orientation was central for students' and teachers' moral becoming in both explicit and implicit ways. This became visible not only in the imagery displayed in the school buildings and the use of prayers and songs in everyday interactions within the schools, but also – and in stark contrast to this – in the way in which Muslim students' freedom to practise their faith was restricted to particular festive seasons and the formal context of PPI.

In addition, both schools became home to new networks of personal and professional belonging among the teachers. These were informed not only by processes of ethnic and national identification in the transnational setting (see Bakewell and Binaisa 2016) but also by the practices of fellowshipping in a spiritually and morally challenging urban environment (see Settler and Engh 2018). Furthermore, spiritual healings from malevolent spirits, which are common in Dar es Salaam's neo-Pentecostal churches, were important occasions for the everyday embodiment of values in the context of religious diversity and an increasingly stratified educational market. They also became a powerful moral counternarrative to the excesses of the St Mary's schools' neoliberal market orientation, which – in the views of students and teachers – has become embodied by the school owner and some of her wealthy clients.

In Chapter 5, I show how experiences of faith and belonging are, in some ways, very different in educational settings that identify as purely 'Islamic'. The two schools of my study were established by the Africa Muslims Agency and the Kipata mosque, and both are gender-segregated schools. However, while the two seminaries cater only to families of the Islamic faith – and also claim to belong to the *umma*, the global community of Muslims, while simultaneously negotiating lines of differentiation *within* the Islamic field – they involve different experiences of social exclusion and inclusion in Dar es Salaam. In the boys' school in particular, feelings of religious difference were tied to an overall perception of marginalisation that the students – and also the teachers – experienced in society and in the city; at the Kipata seminary, in contrast, the struggles of the female students to become 'good Muslims' were tied closely to their belonging to an aspiring Muslim urban middle class, not dissimilar to the pupils at the St Mary's primary school. Finally, both schools moulded the students' and teachers' moral becoming through specific disciplinary and didactic approaches, which – especially at the boys' seminary – were often more authoritarian than at the other schools of my study.