ABSTRACT

BLAKEBROUGH, DONNA WELCH. “Lest We Forget”: A Study of Teaching and Learning at Henderson Institute, 1952 to 1970. (Under the direction of Dr. Paul Bitting.)

The purpose of this study was to learn the students’ perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms of Henderson Institute, a black segregated high school, in operation from 1952 to 1970 in Henderson, North Carolina. The study identified factors that were common in the interviews of Henderson Institute graduates about their experiences in the classroom and in documents from the school.

A qualitative narrative study was used to research the students’ perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. The researcher interviewed 10 graduates of Henderson Institute, five females and five males, who graduated between 1957 and 1966. The interviews were recorded on a digital recording device and transcribed at a later date. Other sources of data were documents and artifacts in the Henderson Institute Museum collection. Common themes related to the students’ perceptions of their experiences in the classroom emerged from the analysis of the transcripts and documents using open coding.

The analysis of the data revealed five common factors in the students’ perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. The main findings were school culture, teacher attributes, classroom activities, teacher student relationships, and parent, teacher, school relationships. These common factors were identified by the students as important reasons for their success in high school and in pursuits beyond high school.

“Lest We Forget”: A Study of Teaching and Learning at Henderson Institute, 1952 to 1970

by
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to Judge James S. Welch, my father (1931-2005), and Michael John Blakebrough, my husband (1936-2011). They both believed in my ability to accomplish this work.

BIOGRAPHY

Growing up in the fifties and sixties in what was at the time the small town of Lakeland, Florida, I was surrounded and sheltered by a large extended family. This extended family included baby boomer cousins, my father and uncles who fought in World War II, my mother and aunts who were homemakers and proud exacting cooks, and precious grandparents and great-grandparents with Florida pioneer roots. I still cherish the family times filled with traditions, family stories, and Florida food. I am always eager for a chance to tell the stories that they told of WWII, old Florida before the railroad and the interstates, the islands along the coast and keys, and the wildlife on the Florida ridge.

Leaving Florida for college changed everything for me. The rebellious days of the middle sixties began for me at Agnes Scott College in Atlanta and ended at American University in Washington, D.C. with a B.A. in Political Science, a concentration in African-American studies, and enough education classes to teach in Maryland. My undergraduate education and experiences in the Vietnam War Protest made questions of social justice and the continued evolution of the meaning of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights in the courts fundamental parts of my world view. The Civil Rights Movement, Women's Movement, and Anti-Vietnam protests focused and shaped my values.

After getting married, I moved to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1972, where my son was born. As part of a family business, I began my work as a self-taught fiber artist and then improved my skills by going to textile school at NC State University. I operated my own design studio in Durham, NC until1994. To market my work, I travelled the eastern half of

the United States for twenty years working between thirty to forty major Art Shows per year with a son in the shotgun seat of the van. It was fun and often exhausting working sometimes seven days a week.

When the art market slowed in the late eighties and travel became a burden, I returned to NC State to earn a M.Ed. required by the state of North Carolina to get a North Carolina teaching license. As a middle-aged new Social Studies teacher, it was difficult finding a job near home. People wanted to know why I wanted to teach and change everything at this late date. I had always wanted to teach. I was thrilled to finally find a mid-year replacement position with Vance County Schools at Northern Vance High School, teaching World History and US History. The inequities between my school and the schools of my son and his friends in Chapel Hill, NC, were glaring and unfair. I became committed to the students in Vance County Schools, having over ninety percent free and reduced lunch populations in the schools and a continued inequality between its schools and the schools in more prosperous districts. I have been a teacher, assistant principal, and principal in Vance County Schools for twenty years.

In a conversation with the Drop-Out Prevention Director, Dr. Raphael Holloman, I was lamenting that my middle school students had no idea of the long hard struggle for education by Black people in this country that went all the way back to slavery. I mentioned my belief that our schools are not working for so many Black students. This led to a conversation about at Henderson Institute. I began to wonder if there was something to be learned from studying a school like Henderson Institute that graduated so many distinguished

Black educators, lawyers, military men, government officials, nurses, and middle class citizens.

That evening I attended my doctoral class at Southern Vance High School, and during a break in the faculty lounge with others talking about their dissertations, I decided that I wanted to know about the education of Black students at Henderson Institute. Is there something about the educational experience at Henderson Institute that we could possibly use in our integrated schools to meet the needs of our Black students? Some of the school staff were eating their dinner on one side of the faculty lounge and I went over to talk with them. They knew us as those NC State students who came twice a week but not much else. In telling them about our classes, I asked if anyone had gone to Henderson Institute. One man sat up squared his shoulders and said, "We loved that place." I was overwhelmed by the passion in his voice and the realization that my students would never say that about their schools today. I wanted to know more about Henderson Institute. Is there something that I could learn that might help my Black students today?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the guidance and support given to me by the members of my dissertation committee, the Henderson Institute Museum staff, and the graduates of Henderson Institute, who gave me their time and related their perceptions of their classroom experiences at Henderson Institute. My Chairperson, Dr. Paul Bitting, has been steadfast in his encouragement and guidance throughout this whole process. His belief in me through my struggles after the death of my husband, when I needed time to heal and refocus, made me want to keep going with this research. He has helped me refine and focus my ideas with his insight and depth of knowledge. I can only continue to repeatedly thank him. Thank you to the members of my committee, Dr. Bass, Dr. Fusarelli, and Dr. Hessling for your time, support, careful reading, and guidance through the writing of this dissertation. I would like to thank my editor, Christina Irvine, for her editing expertise and her patience in helping me complete this dissertation.

The Director of the Henderson Institute Museum, Ms. Edna Scott, has been invaluable to my research into Henderson Institute. She has given me access to the documents and artifacts stored at Henderson Institute, allowed me to use the study room at Henderson Institute for my interviews on Saturdays over several months, stayed beyond closing to let me complete my interviews, vouched for me with graduates, and encouraged me to keep going after my husband's death. I am grateful to her for her open welcome, thoughtful conversations, continued positive smiling encouragement, and her belief in my research. I could not have done this without you, Edna. Thank you for everything. Mr.

Willie Holloway, thank you for being willing to open the museum when Ms. Scott was out of town. Your kindness is much appreciated. Thank you to the graduates who graciously agreed to be interviewed and so openly shared their experiences at Henderson Institute. Your stories and memories made this research possible.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Awareness of the fact that changing times often causes us to forget the influences and the agencies which have motivated these changes, I was seized with the inspiration to gather the facts of our educational history in North Carolina and place them in one package for preservation that—"Lest we forget"—unborn generations might tell their children "how we came through." (Brown, 1961, p. 9)

The system for Black education that developed in the South after the Civil War grew out of a combination of public and private groups' efforts, both of which had differing purposes for Black education. At the end of the Civil War, ex-slaves initially created "native schools" and Sabbath Schools that preceded the private missionary and public Freedmen's Bureau schools in many parts of the South and reflected the "ex-Slaves' intent to restructure and control their lives" (Anderson, 1998, p. 5). By 1865, John W. Alvord, the national superintendent of schools for the Freedmen's Bureau, founded "native schools" in most of the Confederate states. These early schools served as the starting place for the northern missionary societies' and Freedmen's Bureau schools. Missionary Societies were focused on supporting "classical liberal education for Black Americans as a means to achieve racial equality in civil and political life. . . . In other words, that the former slaves would be active participants in the republic on an equal footing with all other citizens" (Anderson, p. 240).

The Freedmen's Bureau Schools were public schools of varying quality established first in newly freed areas before the end of the Civil War and throughout the

South during Reconstruction with a Freedmen's Bureau School Superintendent in charge of each state. Lieberman (2003) explains: "Remaining in business for five years, the Freedmen's Bureau helped to establish more than 4,000 schools throughout the South… All were founded with funds from the Freedmen's Bureau" (p. 136). Four thousand Freedmen's Bureau schools could not meet the demand for education by the Black population in the South. A system of "adequate common schools could [not] be developed until there were Black teachers to teach in them because most Southern white educators would not teach Black children [and] … northern white missionary teachers…could not be acquired in sufficient numbers" (Anderson, 1998, p. 110). The large number of Black teachers needed to teach in the Black common schools had to be developed. The answer to this demand came from the public and private normal schools opened across the South at the end of the nineteenth century.

Normal Schools

In the late nineteenth century normal schools were founded "to train teachers for the growing number of common schools" (Ogren, 2003, p. 641). It was the purpose of the Black normal schools in the South "to increase the number of Blacks who could teach others of their race as the African-American population continued to fight for freedom in employment, jobs, housing, and education" (Byrd, 1998, p. 201). Normal schools provided an opportunity for women and minorities to gain a higher level of education at a time when these students could not attend the elite universities of the day: "By 1890,

there were 102 state normal schools throughout the United States, including- though mainly in the South - some all-white and all-Black institutions" (Byrd, p. 641).

> State normal schools created a lively and challenging intellectual life for all students. The bedrock of a strong academic community, the formal curriculum constructively recognized students' limited background and helped them reach further.…All students focused on a core of academic studies in mathematics, the sciences, history and civics, and English and language arts. (Byrd, p. 652)

The students in the normal schools were socialized into leadership roles and public life through participation in societies, clubs, and publications; socialization in the normal schools was not just focused on academic studies but also on how students "carried and presented themselves" (Byrd, p. 655). The state normal schools at the turn of the twentieth century met the needs of their non-traditional students by placing them in "a rich intellectual and social community that encouraged them to reach beyond their unprivileged backgrounds" (Byrd, p. 658).

Henderson Normal and Industrial Institute offered an education through high school for students from the Henderson, North Carolina area, for boarding students from other parts of North Carolina, and for students from other states. Schools in the segregated Black communities of the South provided "the anchor for their communities, representing values, traditions, and ideals that have persevered across decades" (Ravitch, 2010, para. 1). Henderson Normal and Industrial Institute (later Henderson Institute) was the anchor and source of traditions and ideals for the Black community in Henderson,

North Carolina, from its beginning in 1891 as a normal school for training teachers to its closing as a Black public high school in 1970 with implementation of school desegregation.

Henderson Institute

Henderson Normal and Industrial Institute was established in 1887 in Bluestone, Virginia, by the United Presbyterian Church but was later moved to Henderson, North Carolina in 1891. The school's objective was to give Black people an opportunity to obtain a good education. While the school was operated initially to educate Black teachers, it also taught pupils of all ages and evolved into a Black high school. The school remained in operation until 1970, when it was closed as a high school due to integration of the Vance County Public Schools (Henderson Institute, 2010, para. 1).

Henderson Institute was a school with roots in the Northern missionary movement focused on the education of the ex-slaves following the Civil War. The Freedmen's Board of the United Presbyterian Church, whose central office was in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, founded Henderson Normal and Industrial Institute as part of "a chain of missions in Southern Virginia and northern North Carolina" (Peace, 1955, p. 99). When the smaller school in Bluestone, Virginia, was closed, the classroom buildings and out buildings were moved to Henderson, North Carolina in 1891. Drawings of the buildings and the architectural features of Henderson Institute are shown in Figure 1.

Henderson Institute provided a four year training school for teachers and nurses, a classical education preparing students for college, vocational training, plus an education

for students from first grade through high school. Each year, the Board of Control of the United Presbyterian Church published an *Annual Catalogue of Officers and Students of Henderson Normal Institute.* The North Carolina Collection at the Wilson Library in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, has a collection of the annual catalogues from Henderson Normal Institute. The Henderson Institute Museum in Henderson, North Carolina, has copies of these catalogues available for visitors. An examination of the catalogues provides a picture of the school budget, the school facilities, the teachers, the students, the curriculum, and the mission of the school. The curriculum included English Literature, Greek, Latin, Biology, Physics, Algebra, Geometry, and practical classes in "printing, broom making, carpentry, sewing and cooking" ("Annual Catalogue, 1904," p. 99). This combination of a classical education preparing students for college and industrial classes training students for work is a combination of both W.E.B. Dubois's classical education model and Booker T. Washington's Hampton-Tuskegee industrial training model for the education of Black students. The industrial courses were first offered in 1904, when Dr. Cotton became principal (*Henderson Institute Historical Journal,* 2011, p. 17).

Figure 1. Drawings of Henderson Institute Buildings, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Before the school became a public high school in 1952, it served as a private school for boarding and local students at the secondary level and local students at the elementary level. The boarding students came from North Carolina, Virginia, New York,

Philadelphia, and Boston. In the early years, the boarding students' enrollment numbered in the hundreds ("*Annual Catalogue 1904"* p. 8). Dr. J. A. Cotton, principal from 1904-1943, changed the name from Henderson Normal and Industrial Institute to Henderson Institute in 1904 even though it continued to train teachers, nurses, and printing press operators during the early part of his tenure. The catalogues that will be discussed in Chapter Four are the ones that identify a shift in school curriculum or mission to provide a picture of the evolution of the school from Henderson Normal Institute to Henderson Institute to a public Black high school. Henderson Institute, the public Black high school, closed in 1970, ending segregation in the Vance County Public Schools in response to *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.*

Brown v. Board of Education

It has been fifty-eight years since *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.* ended de jure racial segregation of public schools and forty-five years since the schools in Henderson, North Carolina, were integrated and Henderson Institute was closed. One belief surrounding the *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.* decision was that Black students were going to receive a better education in integrated schools rather than in the existing segregated schools created as part of the Jim Crow legislation that resulted from the separate but equal doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*:

> The Supreme Court "validated the principle of racial discrimination … in [t]he decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in 1896 [that] upheld the Louisiana statute which, 'To promote the comfort of passengers,' required Louisiana railroads to furnish,

> and passengers to use, 'equal but separate accommodations' for Blacks and whites - a rule of separation to which the statute made a compassionate exception, namely 'nurses attending children of the other race.' The court had found no merit in the equal protection argument advanced on behalf of Homer Plessy, arrested for refusing to sit in the Jim Crow car. (Pollack, 1973, p. 126)

The *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.* was a unanimous decision by the Supreme Court that rejected the separate but equal doctrine in the Plessy decision:

> A group of parents in Topeka, Kansas, decided to take a stand in 1951. For more than 50 years, a policy of 'separate but equal' — in practice, separate but unequal — had kept Black and white people segregated on many levels in the United States. The Topeka families wanted their children to be admitted to the white grade schools in their neighborhoods instead of being sent across town to attend all-Black schools. When their children were denied admittance to the white schools, the parents sued the Topeka Board of Education. (Bledsoe, 2010, p. 38)

According to Wilson and Segall (2001), "In the final analyses, *Brown v. Board of Education* changed the lives of all Americans" (p. 3).

The Supreme Court did not deny that in some places, the Black schools were equal in resources, staff, and curriculum to the White schools. The ruling was that the Black children were deprived of equal protection under the law because they were separated solely based on their race and that this created "a feeling of inferiority as to

their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone" (Wilson & Segall, 2001, p. 38). They continue to explain:

> Underlying the *Brown .v. Board of Education* decision in 1954-1955 was an assumption that the desegregation of public school would result in better life opportunities for Black children. The *Brown* decisions set in motion a slow and tortured quest for equality of educational opportunities through the desegregation of the nation's public schools. (Wilson & Segall, p. 95)

Derrick Bell (1980, January) in the commentary "Brown v. Board of Education and the interest-convergence dilemma," analyzed the *Brown* decision and the remedies created to enforce the *Brown* decision with the Critical Race concept of interest-convergence. He identified both the need to change the racist perception of the United States in third world countries during the height of the Cold War, and the desire of businesses in the United States to develop the American South into the Sunbelt as converging with the interest of Black Americans in overturning the injustice and inequality of segregated schooling in the South. "The interest of Blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites" (Bell, 1980, p. 523). Later rulings that have dismantled some of the mechanisms of desegregation, such as *Swann v. Charlotte-Mechklenburg Board of Education*, are identified by Bell as evidence of a growing interest-divergence that threatens to reverse school desegregation in favor of "local autonomy" (Bell, p. 526).

Problem Statement

The buildings of Henderson Institute are gone and the teachers and the students are going, too. Time is running out for capturing the students' perceptions of their experiences of the classrooms at Henderson Institute because the students in the last segregated graduating class of 1970 and the students who graduated in 1950's and the 1960's are all aging. A study capturing the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom of a segregated school has some urgency because these perceptions are disappearing as the students who went to segregated schools age and die. These students' perceptions of their experiences in a segregated high school's classrooms offer information that can be used in comparing the similarities and differences to the classrooms experiences of students who transitioned from segregated to integrated schools, and to the experiences of Black students in integrated classrooms of today. This study focuses on the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute, a segregated Black public high school in Henderson, North Carolina, from 1952-1970.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

Why would a study of the vanishing perceptions of the students in the classroom in a segregated school in a rural community in the South be worth the effort? The students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute have not been recorded. This study adds to the history of Henderson Institute, contributes to the history of segregate education in the South, and provides a description of the

students' experiences in Black segregated classrooms that can be compared to Black students' experiences in integrated classrooms today.

The passing of time gives urgency to this effort of capturing students' perceptions of their school experiences at Henderson Institute. Creating a record of the perceptions of the classroom experiences of students who attended Henderson Institute broadens the picture of Henderson Institute beyond the information in the written catalogues and documents that are available in the Henderson Institute Museum collection, and the Henderson Institute records retained in the Vance County Schools archives. Wilson and Segall (2001) identified the need for researching the unrecorded stories of Black education in the segregated South because "the private recollections are fading and disappearing from possible public memory as the major participants age and die" (p. x). The research on segregated Black schools in the South prior to desegregation has primarily focused on the schools' cultures, teacher attributes, parental involvement, and community relationships with these schools. Ware (2006) advocates for studies of the beliefs and practices of the teachers and the dynamics of the classrooms in segregated Black schools in the rural South prior to desegregation as an important and needed element of the overall picture. This study contributes to the overall history of the segregated education at Henderson Institute by capturing the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom.

This study also adds to the history of Black segregated education in the South. Siddle-Walker (1993), Foster (1995), Emerson (2003), Ware (2006), and Wilson and

Segall (2001) all identify the need to document the experiences of students in segregated schools as urgent and important to providing a more complete historical documentation of segregated education. It is urgent because the students, who attended these schools, are aging and dying. As Sidde-Walker (1993) explains, "The history of education has many references that depict the inequalities African-American children experienced during the pre-integration era, but few studies that describe the positive interactions in segregated school environments" (p. 161). Emerson (2003) identifies the need to capture the experiences of the students attending segregated schools as a way to provide a more complete historical record of students' education in segregated schools in the South (p. 4). Siddle-Walker and Emerson both advocate for studies that record the students' experiences as important to gaining a more complete picture of education in Black segregated schools in the South. This study adds the students' experiences at Henderson Institute to the history of education in Black segregated schools in the South.

The history of segregated education in the South should include the stories of the students who attended these Black segregated schools. Documentation of students' perceptions of their experiences in the segregated classroom adds to our knowledge of the process and pedagogical practices of educating Black students in the segregated South. An understanding of this process and pedagogy may provide some insights to compare with practices in the integrated classrooms of current public schools. Anderson (1988) attributes the limitations of Black education in the South to the ascendancy of the Hampton model of industrial training, which provided "instruction suitable for adjusting

Blacks to a subordinate social role in the emergent New South" (p. 36) as opposed to the "New England classical liberal curriculum" (p. 28) that prepared students for higher education and equality. An examination of the students' perceptions of their experiences at Henderson Institute in the segregated classroom may help identify the purpose of education as conveyed to the students in the Henderson Institute classrooms and can be compared to today's practices in integrated schools.

Creswell (2007) proposes the use of a script to help make the purpose statement carefully constructed and written in clear and concise language (p. 103). Based on Creswell's model script, the purpose of this narrative study is to describe the students' perceptions of their experiences based on their descriptions of what it was like to learn at Henderson Institute.

This study of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute contributes to the historical record of Henderson Institute, adds another case study to the history of Black education in the pre-integration rural South, and provides some insight into the dynamics of the classroom in a segregated Black high school. There is only occasional recognition in Henderson, North Carolina, of this important local institution and its significance at the time to the segregated Black community. Henderson Institute Museum is a historical site preserving the history of the education of Black students in Henderson and the state of North Carolina. This research effort provides insight into the experiences of students attending Henderson Institute

when it served as the Black public high school from 1952 to 1970 in Henderson, North Carolina.

The narrative produced in this research on the perceptions of the students' experiences in the classroom in a segregated Black school in the rural south uses the lens of Bell's (1992) Critical Race Theory as the conceptual framework. Landon-Billings' Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (1995), a conceptual theory of education and Kwame Gyekye's (1996) guiding principle of Critical Sankofa, are both related to the overarching elements in Critical Race Theory. Culturally Relevant Pedagogy examines the classroom for alignment with the students' culture. Kwame Gyekye uses the Andrinka symbols of Sankofa and Ofamfa to create a combined symbol as a guiding principle for an examination of cultural history in *African Cultural Values an Introduction*. Critical Sankofa underscores the value of looking back to find the important meaning for people in the stories of the past. The African Sankofa symbol is divided into two images. The bird on the top means return for it and the Ofamfa symbol on the bottom means critical examination to create the figure reproduced in Figure Two. Gyekye identifies this combined symbol as meaning "a return to the past must be guided by critical examination" (Title Page). Research into the students' perceptions of past classroom experiences must be a critical one that is not just a report of people looking back with fondness.

Figure 2. Critical Sankofa Symbol, in African cultural value by Kwame Gyekye, 1996.

Research Question

The level of analysis for this research study is the individual student. The reason for this level of analysis is that the data on the perceptions of the students will provide the descriptions of students' experiences in the classroom. The individual participants' stories will create the narrative about the teaching and learning at Henderson Institute. Analysis of the students' experiences of the classroom in a Black public high school in Henderson, North Carolina, from 1952 to1970 produces the following research question:

How do the students perceive their experiences of teaching and learning at Henderson Institute?

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited by its narrative theoretical framework, the participants chosen for the study, the historical school context, and the skills of the researcher. As a narrative study, the scope of this research is limited to the perceptions of the classroom experience by the selected participants. This study is only about the students' perceptions

of their classroom experiences. It does not include teacher perceptions, the community's perceptions of the school, the parents' perceptions of the school, administrator practices and decisions, or the school board decisions. The choice of the participants limits the study.

This study is limited to an examination of the perceptions of the former students who are interviewed for the study. The study was anticipated to produce differing outcomes based on the students' years of attendance, the gender, the class, the education, the age, and the number of the former students chosen for the interviews. The context of the school starting as a Presbyterian Missionary Normal Institute in the rural South that served boarding students as well as local students over a long history will have shaped the school in ways that may impact the students' perceptions of their experience that would not be present in other types of Black segregated public high schools in the rural South or in urban areas of the South. The results of this study were dependent on the skills of the researcher in designing the study, choosing the participants to interview, asking the questions in the interview, interpreting the interviews, and reporting the findings. The results may also have been impacted by the differences in the race, gender, and power of the interviewer and the participants.

Definition of Key Terms

There are several key terms that must be defined to provide a clear understanding of the use of the terms in this research.

Culturally relevant refers to connections between the students' home culture and their experiences in the classroom (Ladson-Billings, 1995). In this research this will be the elements of the culture of the segregated Black community in Henderson, North Carolina, as opposed to the dominant white culture in Henderson, North Carolina.

Home culture refers to the unique elements of the culture of the segregated Black community in Henderson, North Carolina as opposed to the dominant white culture in Henderson, North Carolina (Ladson-Billings, 1995).

Students are the individuals, who graduated from Henderson Institute up through the class of 1970.

Perceived experiences are the descriptions of experiences in the classroom, as told by the interviewed students (Volkart, 1951).

Learning experiences are the perceptions of students, as they engaged in classroom academic activities in the classroom at Henderson Institute (Thomas, 1923).

Teaching in the classroom is the students' perceptions of teachers' academic presentations in the classroom at Henderson Institute (Thomas, 1923).

Summary

Previous studies of segregated rural schools in the South have examined the relationships of the schools to their communities, the parents to the schools, the teachers to the community, and the teachers' pedagogical style. In previous research, the students' experiences in the segregated classroom have been understudied. The purpose of this

study was to describe of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute when it was a segregated Black high school from 1952 to 1970 and a central part of the Black community in Henderson, North Carolina.

The time to capture these perceptions is vanishing, as the last of the students who attended Henderson Institute are aging. Opportunities to interview students from the 1940's and 1950's lessen with every day. The members of the class of 1970, the last graduating class, are now in their sixties. The Henderson Institute Museum preserves artifacts from the school, including pictures, yearbooks, catalogues, trophies, and memorial presentations. The catalogues, yearbooks, and photographs in the Henderson Institute Museum provide information about the students, the classrooms and the courses offered. The description of the students' learning experiences in the classroom was collected in neither student journals nor other historical records.

This research into the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom contributes to the historical picture of Henderson Institute. The students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms provide insight into the purpose of the educational experience of the students at Henderson Institute. The perceptions of the students of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute add to the larger picture of segregated high schools in the South. The students' perceptions of the classroom experiences were researched by my interviewing students who went to Henderson Institute in open-ended interviews wherein I asked them about their experiences.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The opportunity to add to educational researchers' knowledge about the classroom experiences in segregated Black schools in the South is more limited every day because the former students are aging and will not be available much longer to provide their perceptions of their experiences in these classrooms. This study was focused on students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute which was closed in 1970.

A review of the conceptual literature used in this research introduces the concepts that are explored in examining the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms. The conceptual theories on education are based in Bell's (1992) Critical Race Theory that argues for the importance and legitimacy of the counterstories of the oppressed in contributing to the overall picture of their experiences, as opposed to the single dominant White power structure interpretation of these experiences. The research literature on Culturally Relevant Pedagogy refers to the alignment of classroom instruction with the culture of the students. The case studies of segregated Black schools in the South provide a context that places this study in "a frame of reference for the researcher and the reader" (Hatch, 2002, p. 41). Critical Sankofa (Gyekye, 2006) supports looking back to examine the meaning of students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute. Looking at nostalgia as an element of remembering past experiences is also important for analyzing the value that the students give to their perceptions of their classroom experiences. Perceptual Theory

situates the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom in a framework that identifies the elements of perception, both as an act of registering experiences and objects coming from outside the person and as the internal processes that shapes the person's perceptions of the experiences and objects.

In chapter three, I review the literature on narrative research in education. Narrative research literature provides the theoretical foundation for the study of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. The research methods, the participant selection, the data collection, and the data analysis are outlined in chapter three.

The conceptual literature that informs this research study is divided into strands that provide a framework for discussing the students' perceptions of their classroom experiences at Henderson Institute. The strands include literature on Critical Race Theory, Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, case study literature on segregated Black schools, Critical Sankofa, Nostalgia in Oral History and Perceptual Theory. Critical Race Theory supports the relevance of the counterstories of the students at Henderson Institute, of the themes that develop in open coding of the interviews, and of the interpretation of the results. Culturally Relevant Pedagogy supports discussion of the alignment of classroom instruction with the culture of the students. Case study literature on segregated Black schools in the South provide studies that serve as models for this study, themes in their findings, and point out understudied areas of research. Critical Sankofa provides the framework for examining the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom

at Henderson Institute for the value and meaning in this look back. Nostalgia in Oral History clarifies the importance that people place on their memories. Perceptual Theory identifies and clarifies the meaning of the students' reporting of their experiences in the classrooms.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) was developed by legal scholars as a counter view to the "liberal legal discourse of civil rights" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 7). It is used to capture the interaction of race and citizenship through the use of storytelling as a source of counter-information to the White mainstream story of civil rights (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995). Tate (1997) quoted Calmore (1992) as having explained CRT as an "oppositional scholarship … (that) challenges the universality of White experience/judgment as the authoritative standard that binds people of color and normatively measures, directs, controls, and regulates the terms of proper thought, expression, presentations, and behavior" (pp. 196-197). Derrick Bell's (1980, 1992) writings are the foundation for the development of CRT. Bell (1992) identified four key CRT concepts (a) racism as a central and permanent factor in American society, (b) the legitimacy of the counterstories of people of color, (c) the rejection of race neutrality, and (d) the interest-convergence principal. CRT is firmly established in legal scholarship. It is just emerging in educational scholarship.

CRT in educational research challenges the liberal, multicultural, race-neutral educational policy viewpoint. Prior to the emergence of CRT Theory, Peter Hessling

(1993) argued that unless we include the counterstories of those who are other the complete picture of what is being studied will be one sided and our understanding of what we are studying will be limited:

> [H]istorians who ignore oral history miss not only what Butchart (1986) has referred to as "other voices," they limit their own understanding of what they are studying. The "other voices" include the poor, the powerless, and those who do not fit into the dominant cultural paradigm. In a field like education, where most public documents have traditionally come from middle to upper class white males … oral history represents one way of learning the views and stories of teachers and students. (Hessling, 1993, p. 26).

Ladson-Billings (1995) pointed to the complex notions of race in "conceptual whiteness" and "conceptual Blackness" as useful in framing the discussion of education practices as either reproducing or challenging the status quo. Official school curriculum was identified by Ladson-Billings (1998) as a standard of knowledge that a student should know that legitimizes the dominant upper-class White male voice as the master script. The stories of Black Americans are "muted and erased when they challenge dominant culture authority and power" (p. 18).

Morris (2001) pointed out the lack of research using "CRT as a framework for field-based research studies" (p. 576) in education and proposed the use of CRT "as an emerging conceptual framework for examining the intersection of race with educational practices, programs, and policies" (p. 578). This study is a historical study not a study of

contemporary conditions that Morris was advocating, yet CRT can be used as a framework because race and education intersected in the past as well. Lopez (2003) stated that because racism is so embedded in our system, we fail to see how it shapes our institutions and urged the use of CRT as a way to uncover and expose White privilege. This historical study that uses Critical Race Theory adds contextual contours to the stories of perceptions of students' experiences of the classroom that reveal the views of those considered the "other" (Ladson-Billings, 1998) in the dominant White view. CRT as part of the conceptual framework for this research provides legitimacy to the counterstories that emerge from the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom and provides a way to view the impact of race on their perceptions of their experiences in the classroom as revealed in the interviewing process, the data analysis of the interviews, and conclusions in my research. The counterstories of the students at Henderson Institute reveal culturally relevant patterns of classroom organization and instruction.

Classroom Pedagogy

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, Critical Race Pedagogy, and Culturally Responsive Teaching are three theories that refer to the alignment of classroom instruction with the culture of the students. Ladson-Billings (1995) used the work of anthropologists, who had identified pedagogy that matched "the home and community cultures of the students of color" and that lead to the students achieving higher than predicted levels on standardized reading tests" (p. 466) to support a theory of Culturally

Relevant Pedagogy . Culturally Relevant Pedagogy incorporates patterns from the students' home cultural patterns into the classroom organization and instruction.

In "Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy," Ladson-Billings' (1995) investigated eight teachers' classrooms in which students of color were academically successful. She found culturally relevant pedagogical elements that provided a way for students to maintain cultural integrity while succeeding academically. The counterstories of the students' perceptions of their experience in the classroom "provide a way to define and recognize culturally relevant pedagogy" (p. 465). In her research into Caswell County Training School, Siddle-Walker (1993) refers to "the presence of a positive socio-cultural system in which 'uniquely stylized characteristics' reflective of the student population developed independently of White control, and in which American youth were successful because of the school environment in which they were taught" (pp. 162-163). The teachers exhibited an ethic of caring shown through a personal accountability for their pedagogical practices and a commitment to preparing their students for life by helping their students achieve academic success, cultural competence, and socio-political critical thinking.

Hastie, Martin, and Buchanan (2006) examined a culturally relevant physical education program through the elements identified by Ladson-Billings (1995). The two physical education teachers of the culturally relevant unit on stepping reflected on the differences between their experiences in teaching the stepping unit as opposed to what they had done before in physical education classes dominated by White cultural games.

The researchers interviewed the two physical education teachers about the difference in how they taught the unit. The teachers became facilitators in encouraging the students to draw on their own experiences to construct their step routines. This experience led the teachers to a realization of how their membership in the dominant class and racial group impacted the delivered curriculum and how the pedagogy in their classes affected their students.

Michele Foster's research (1995) summarized other research on the characteristics of successful Black teachers and their use of culturally relevant pedagogy. She identified the "critical and overriding factor that characterizes effective Black teachers. . .[as] their reliance on the cultural and social underpinnings of the Black community" (p. 575). The effective teachers built an alliance with their students and were closely connected to the community. These teachers drew on the norms of the Black community in their classrooms. Foster's summary of the research literature pointed to effective Black teachers as caring adults who are respected, are respectful of their pupils, and demand that their students meet high academic and behavioral standards. Another practice that Foster identified in the literature is that effective Black teachers made the lessons relevant to the students' experiences. This synthesis of the literature on effective Black teachers reinforces the important characteristics of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy.

Coats (2010) researched students' learning experiences and teachers' behaviors that were valued by rural students who attended several different Mississippi segregated schools from 1940-1960. The students' stories of the classroom again brought out the

themes in Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. Coats' findings identified four themes: "(a) memories of caring teachers, (b) memories of teachers as professionals, (c) memories of teachers as participants of the community, and (d) passing of the flame" (p. 6). Caring was conveyed by the teacher's acceptance of all students and her insistence of students "doing their very best" (p. 7). Teachers' professionalism showed in their demeanor, their strictness, the way they dressed, and the way they presented themselves in public. As members of the community teachers knew their students' families and attended the same churches as students (Coats, p. 13). Teachers passed the flame to the next generation by encouraging individual student abilities and talents that led the students to be successful later in life (Coats, p. 14).

Critical Race Pedagogy critiques educational practices and identifies hegemonic practices that "instill in African American youth a sense of failure" (Lynn, 1999, p. 619) as well as seeks a libratory pedagogy for the classroom that includes "(a) teaching children about the importance of African culture, (b) encouraging and supporting critical thinking and dialogue in the classroom, (c) engaging in daily self-affirmation exercises, and (d) actively and consistently resisting. . .hegemonic and counter emancipator [practices]" (p. 619).

Michele Foster (1990) studied the politics of race as described by Black teachers who taught in both segregated and desegregated schools in Southern and Northern school districts. These teachers, in teaching their students, included the importance of African culture and discussed the existence of structural racism that exists in American society.

For this group of teachers, their ability to effectively teach Black students involved more than subject matter and teaching techniques. They believed that desegregation curtailed their "ability to talk with. . .[Black] students, in terms that they understand, about the personal value, the collective power and the political consequence of choosing academic achievement" (p. 133). Critical Race Pedagogy parallels Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in affirming students' cultural competence, believing in students' ability to learn, teaching a critical thinking approach to socio-political experiences, and an ethic of accountability and personal responsibility practiced by the teachers. Both of these paradigms have student achievement as the outcome.

Tyrone C. Howard (2001) researched Culturally Relevant Teaching in his study of Black elementary school students' perceptions of their learning environments. Howard acknowledges in "Telling their side of the story: African American students' perceptions of culturally relevant teaching" that the studies of student perspectives "is limited yet increasing" (p. 131). He investigated students' viewpoints as a source of input for school reform that would offer the students' beliefs about what works best for them in the classroom. His findings on what affected student academic achievement included (1) "Caring" shown through positive relationships between teachers and students that includes taking time to find out about students lives outside school, and a commitment to "student academic and social development" (2) "Establishing community" in the class through "cooperative learning", "promotion of interdependence", and using "democratic principles" in conducting the class (p. 138).

Culturally Responsive Teaching as outlined in Ware's (2006) research supports a culture of achievement for Black students through the Culturally Responsive Teaching styles of the Black teachers. Ware examined the beliefs and practices of two contemporary urban Black teachers and compared them to the practices of Black teachers identified in the historical literature on exemplary Black teachers. Ware used Siddle-Walker's (2000) identification of "unique and culturally specific teaching styles that contribute to the academic success of African American children and other children of color" (p. 428) as the conceptual framework for her study. The findings of Ware's study showed that the two teachers were *warm demanders,* defined as effective, culturally responsive teachers. The teachers' teaching styles and classroom interactions demonstrate the same elements that surface in the Culturally Relevant Pedagogy research and the Critical Race Pedagogy. The *warm demanders* were caring authority figures who believed in and demanded student success, assumed responsibility for their pedagogy, and used culturally relevant teaching approaches that incorporated cultural references in teaching "knowledge, skills and attitudes" (p. 447). These three pedagogical perspectives for creating successful classrooms for Black students provide part of the conceptual framework for data analysis of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute.

Case Studies of Black Schools

One of the prominent researchers in the area of segregated Black schools in the South is Vanessa Siddle-Walker (1993, 2000, 2001), a research professor at Emory

University. She has helped to shift the research focus on education for Black students in the South during the period of de jure segregation from inequity, inequalities, and inferiority to understanding of the counterstories of the teachers', the students', and the parents' experiences of education during this period. Before the acceptance of interviewing as a legitimate source of historical knowledge, official school, county, and state documents, and archival evidence provided a picture of Black schools in the South as inadequate (Siddle-Walker, 2000). Interviewing those who experienced the segregated schooling to write the counterstory to the dominant White picture of Black schools is expanding our knowledge of segregated schooling in the South. Siddle-Walker's (1993) research examines the teachers', students', and parents' counterstories for their contribution to the historical record of segregated schools and as a lens to inform "current school reform debates" (p. 161).

Siddle-Walker's early research took place in North Carolina at the Caswell County Training School (1993). She identified several recurring themes that surfaced in her later research on segregated Black schools in the South and in the research of others. These themes include a high level of parental involvement, a culture of caring, highly qualified teachers, and the school as an integral part of the Black community. The description of the "good" or valued segregated school by Siddle-Walker (1993) identified the importance of "caring relationships within the educational environment" (p. 63) as compared to the current conditions in integrated schools where "the valuing of. . .[Black

students] is not part of the pupil teacher interaction" (p. 64). Siddle-Walker believes that these caring relationships are motivating and support students' achievement.

Siddle-Walker (2000, 2001) published two separate studies that synthesized the findings of research on common themes and characteristics of valued segregated Black schools in the South, and she studied the historiography of Black teaching in the segregated South. The common themes and characteristics that emerge are "1) exemplary teachers, 2) curriculum and extracurricular activities, 3) parental support, and 4) leadership of the school principal as the four critical characteristics influencing the communities' perceptions of the schools" (Siddle-Walker, 2000, p. 253). Siddle-Walker (2000) also points out in these studies that the types of teaching and learning that were valued within the segregated schools remains "un-synthesized and largely unknown" (p. 254). My research into the teaching and learning at Henderson Institute describes the students' perceptions of their experiences of teaching and learning in the classrooms of Henderson Institute. The findings of my research contribute to the knowledge of valued types of teaching and learning at one segregated Black school in the segregated South.

Siddle-Walker's (2001) historiography of Black teaching in segregated schools in the South covers the period from 1940 to 1960. The synthesized research findings indicate five general principles held by Black teachers about their teaching. First, teachers believed that they should develop a relationship with the community so that they were familiar with the community's values. Second, teachers believed that they could not teach students that they did not know, so they built relationships with their students.

Third, the teachers were committed to teaching Black students well, which meant a professionalism that included a commitment to ongoing professional development. Fourth, the teachers showed their care for their students by having high expectations for the students academically and morally, and by helping students with resources and problems. Fifth, the teachers related curriculum to students' needs and interests. In addition, the teachers received community and school support in the form of financial means to meet classroom needs and commitment from the home to support the teachers' efforts with the students. These findings support the elements that make up Culturally Relevant Pedagogy.

In a comparative study of Black schools in the South during de jure segregation and schools for Black South Africans during apartheid, Siddle-Walker and Archung (2003) found some common points. In both systems, the White power structure made an effort to limit education for Black students in the American South and in South Africa by inadequate funding, poor facilities, and limited curriculum. Evidence from both situations indicates that the educators in the schools created a culture of caring that motivated students to achieve and to prepare for a more just society. Educators in both countries sought to use the schools for racial uplift.

Patterson, Mickelson, Petersen, and Gross (2008) reconstructed the history of Douglass School in Parsons, Kansas, from 1908 to 1958. One of the purposes for the study was to uncover the factors that made the Douglass School successful in educating Black students. Their findings indicate similar themes and characteristics as those found

in research on segregated schools in the South and in research on Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. The school was the "heart of the Black community" [and] "part of their extended family" (Patterson et al., p. 312). The relationships between the parents, teachers, and administrators were close and the school was seen as a trusted safe haven for children. There was strong community and parent support for the school. The teachers are remembered as "(1) caring, involved, and respected members of the community, (2) authority figures and caring disciplinarians, and (3) role models who communicated high expectations and racial pride (Patterson et al., p. 313). The "Douglass School provided students with a strong foundation, not only in academic skills, but also survival skills needed in a White world" (Patterson et al., p. 319). Patterson et al. compared the current state of education for Black students in Parsons, Kansas, to the educational picture reconstructed in their research. They found that what is missing was an understanding of students' culture, culturally relevant instructional practices, instructional rigor, caring relationships, community contact, and high expectations for students of color. They believe the current situation in schools is one of low expectations and too many referrals to special education or remediation (p. 318).

The case studies of segregated Black schools identify common themes that provide a counterstory to the dominant White interpretation of segregated schools in the official school, county, and state documents, and archival evidence as inadequate (Siddle-Walker, 2000). The themes included caring teachers who developed caring relationships with their students, were involved with the Black community, integrated instruction that

was relevant to their student, placed rigorous high expectations on their students, showed a commitment to providing the best possible instructional strategies for their students, and wanted to prepare their students for the life they would face outside of the school setting. These themes were developed through interviewing teachers, parents, administrators, and community members. My research into the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute adds another study from the perspective of students to the case studies on Black segregated schools in the South.

Critical Sankofa

Critical Sankofa encourages us to look back, but with a critical eye rather than a wishful yearning for times and things gone by. In this study, the examination of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute is a critical one that is not just a report on the fond reminiscences of people looking back. Kwame Gyekye (1996) sought the meaning and values embedded in the "beliefs, practices, institutions, myths, folktales, and proverbs [of the African people to identify] the cultural values of the African people" (p. xiii). He viewed cultural change as the product of "the reinterpretation and critical reevaluation of a cultural tradition as it moves through history" (p. 178) created from both a revision of cultural traditions and a confirmation of the "abiding worth" (p. 178) of positive elements of cultural traditions. To apply the principal of Critical Sankofa to an examination of students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute requires analyzing the

recollections of the students for the meaning and the value embedded in these experiences.

Nostalgia in Oral History

The importance of acknowledging nostalgia in oral history is that nostalgia raises questions about the reliability of people's descriptions of their experiences. Oral history is the primary means of examining the counterstories of the experiences of students in segregated Black schools as opposed to the White view of education in Black schools in the segregated South as inferior to education in White schools. Shircliffe (2001) identified the emerging common themes from research on "good" Black segregated schools as having caring and dedicated teachers, high expectation for the students, community discipline that created a safe home and school environments, and nostalgia for segregated schools among former students and teachers at these schools. Shircliffe proposed that this nostalgia can "enhance, rather than diminish, the use of oral history for understanding how we use historical consciousness to make sense of and comment on the present" (p. 60). She sees nostalgia as a commentary on what we feel is missing in schooling today. Nostalgia lends importance to the themes and characteristics found in the research on "good" segregated Black schools. Dougherty (1999) examined the use of oral interviews as the foundation for new scholarship on the history of segregated Black schools and found that such histories are social constructions that make meaning out of the past and contain stories about present. In this research, nostalgia is used to provide a

commentary on what is valued in the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute.

Perceptual Theory

Perceptual Theory defines the relationship between an actual objective situation in time and the way that situation as experienced by the individual. W.I. Thomas states, "If men define a situation as real, they are real in their consequence" (Thomas and Thomas, 1928, p. 571-572). Thomas explained the way that we define an event causes our actions, thus the defined situation becomes reality in its consequences as a result of our actions (Thomas, 1923). These "subjective impressions" are real to the life and the reality that the individual has experienced (Volkart, 1951, p.41). Perception is unique to each individual. This subjective reality becomes the memory of the situation for that individual. The memory of the reality experienced by the individual is unique to that individual. The students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute are a combination of the sensory experiences and the meaning of the event to the students. The perceptual fields of the students attending Henderson Institute shaped their individual behaviors which created the reality of the experiences that they remember (Purkey and Schmidt, 1987).

Summary

The literature on Critical Race Theory, Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, case studies of segregated Black schools, Critical Sankofa, Nostalgia in Oral History, and Perceptual Theory provide the conceptual framework for the research into the students'

perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms of Henderson Institute. Critical Race Theory is used to capture the interaction of race in the dynamics of the interviewing process, the interaction of race and the student's perceptions of their experiences through the use of storytelling, and to identify the intersection of race and classroom experiences and instruction.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, Critical Race Pedagogy, and Culturally Responsive Teaching provide a framework to examine the interviews for evidence of relevant and culturally responsive pedagogy in the classrooms. The case studies of segregated Black schools provide research findings for themes to compare to the story that emerges from the students' perceptions of their experiences at Henderson Institute.

The use of Critical Sankofa and Nostalgia in Oral History help to provide a critical examination the meaning and the value embedded in these students' perceptions of their experiences beyond just a longing for the good old times. Perceptual Theory reminds us that the students' remembered experiences of the classroom are a result of the actual objective reality of the situation and the perceptual field of each student at the time the experience happened.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

The problem that this study seeks to understand is students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute, a Black high school in the segregated South that was closed in 1970. The main source of data on these experiences are the stories of the perceptions of the former students gathered through interviews. The stories of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom produce a picture of what happened inside an institution that was out of the day-to-day control of the dominant White power structure, but not out of the influence of the White power structure. The coding and analysis of these stories help to identify the characteristics of learning at Henderson Institute.

Research Questions

Over-Arching Research Question

How do the students perceive the experience of teaching and learning at Henderson Institute?

Sub-Issue Questions

The following sub-issue questions are modeled on questions in the work of Lynn (1999), Morris (2001) and on suggestions in the work of Hatch (2002) and Siddle-Walker and Archung (2003). These questions represent the specific areas of the classroom experience that I resolved in the interviews with the students (Creswell, 2007).

1. How do the students perceive the relationships between the teachers and the students?

2. How do the students perceive the learning experiences in the classroom?
3. How do the students perceive the connection between their parents, their teachers and the school?

Justification for Qualitative Methods

To discover the experiences of the students in the classroom at Henderson Institute, students were interviewed in-depth and their stories recorded, transcribed, and analyzed using qualitative methods. The knowledge that results from this interview process is based on a social constructivist paradigm. Hatch (2002) outlined the interests of the social constructivist paradigm as the "individual perspectives or constructions of reality" (p. 15). Reality for social constructivists is based on the specific local experiences that can only be examined as mental constructions of those who were part of the experience. In *The Social Construction of Reality* Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) identify "everyday life. . .as a reality interpreted by men and subjectively meaningful to them as a coherent world. . .[and that] taking this reality as given, [allows the researcher] to take as data particular phenomena arising within it" (p. 19). The findings of the research into the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute is a co-construction by the students and the researcher.

The research questions are open-ended and very general to allow the individual participants to explain their unique perspectives and the meaning of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute. Siddle-Walker (1993) used open-ended interview questions in her research on Caswell County Training School "to uncover the themes of

the school's goodness, and to explore the nature of the relationships within the school environment that explain that goodness" (p. 164). I also used open-ended interview questions to uncover the students' perceptions of their experiences of the classroom at Henderson Institute. Seidman (2006) explains the value of storytelling:

> Telling stories is a meaning-making process. When people tell stories, they select details of their experience from their stream of consciousness … It is this process of selecting constitutive details of experience, reflecting on them, giving them order, and thereby making sense of them that makes telling stories a meaning-making experience. (p. 7)

I practiced active listening to get the deepest richest level of description and understanding about what was happening in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. The significance of the experiences of teaching and learning at Henderson Institute was constructed through the meaning given by the participants as interpreted through my analysis of the interviews.

The research design is a narrative study of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. Narrative research is focused on stories told by individuals (Polkinghorne, 1995). A narrative research design was chosen because I focused on the stories told by the students of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. Creswell (2012) describes narrative research as a method that provides a way to analyze and understand the lived experiences told by individuals. Czarniawska (2004) defines narrative "as a spoken or written text giving an

account of an event/action or series of events/actions, chronologically connected" (p. 17). The students' interviews were the data collected to write the story of teaching and learning at Henderson Institute. I wanted to draw out the students' perceptions of their experiences of classroom instruction, classroom organization, and teacher student relationships. Creswell (2012) explains, "The procedures for implementing this research consist of focusing on studying a (small number of students), gathering data through the collection of their stories, reporting individual experiences and… ordering the meaning of those experiences" (p. 54). Studying multiple students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute "the researcher [gains] a deeper understanding" of overall student experiences at Henderson Institute (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 26). These multiple data sources from students in different classrooms and different student cohorts provide a richer story of the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

The level of analysis is the perceptions of the experiences of the multiple students who were in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. In deciding on the level of analysis, Hatch (2002) advised that a researcher decide what she wants to discuss at the end of the study. At the end of this study, I wanted to be able to discuss the classroom dynamics, organization, relationships, teaching styles, and teaching strategies at Henderson Institute. The reason for this level of analysis is that student-based interview data provided the perceptions of the experiences in the classroom that informed the subsequent discussion of the classroom dynamics, organization, relationships, teaching styles, and teaching strategies at Henderson Institute. The individual participants were the producers of the

knowledge that I gleaned from studying the case at the level of the students in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

The data were coded into categories of themes that emerged from the interviews with the students. The coded data are discussed using the concepts of Critical Race Theory, Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, case studies of Black segregated schools, Critical Sankofa, and nostalgia literature. The trustworthiness of the data is supported through artifacts and documents in the Henderson Institute Museum, articles in the local newspaper, checking for clarification during the interview process, and limited member checking of the interview transcripts.

Recruitment of Participants

There are multiple sources for recruitment of participants for this narrative research into the students' descriptions of their experiences of the classroom at Henderson Institute. The list of the students that is in the Henderson Institute Museum provided the largest group of possible participants. My colleagues and acquaintances who attended Henderson Institute were another source of participants. The Classmates web site that is a social network for graduates of Henderson Institute includes potential participants from across the country. There is a yearly reunion on Labor Day that draws 150 to 200 participants. All of these sources provided potential participants.

Miles and Huberman (1994) identified the "key features of qualitative sampling" as "small samples of people, nested in their context and studied in-depth, purposive, rather than random, not wholly pre-specified, bounded by the case, the time, and means

for study, and including examples you want to study" (p. 27). From the descriptions in Miles and Huberman, the type of sampling that I did was snowball or chain sampling, and stratified purposeful sampling.

The snowball sampling began with my colleagues and acquaintances who attended Henderson Institute, the Director of Henderson Institute Museum, and with local pastors who have parishioners in their churches willing to talk with me. This provided a web of connections of people who are previously or currently involved in education. Stratified purposeful sampling was planned if I did not initially have enough students to meet important criterion of students. These criterion include students who graduated in different cohorts and are of different genders. I went to the publically advertised events at the Henderson Institute Museum to meet people from out of town in an attempt to add them to my sample. I also placed a comment about my research on the Wall on the Classmates page for Henderson Institute, and I also joined the Classmates page as a school supporter. I used student lists from the Henderson Institute Museum in seeking available participants who may not have been contacted thorough an acquaintance web, by attending the events at the Museum, or by being on the Classmates web page. I sought to strike a balance between breadth and depth (Hatch, 2002).

Since participants are the most important gatekeepers, I thought about the type of relationship I wanted to establish with the participants given the kind of study I was conducting and the questions to be asked. In using a social constructivist form of research, the relationship that I needed to develop had to have some depth to produce

trust, make the conversation comfortable and open, and bring down barriers that might have resulted from differing gender and racial demographics between me and the participants. I needed to seek the input of expert informants on this issue. Dr. Paul Bitting, my dissertation committee chairperson, and Dr. Peter Hessling, one of my dissertation committee members, were important resources to guide me in this. Dr. Peter Hessling conducted a historical study of two elementary schools in Durham, North Carolina, one of which was a Black elementary school closed when Durham Public Schools were integrated; his experience provided valuable insights.

The initial contact with the participants and the gatekeepers had an impact on my whole study (Hatch, 2002). I made a plan, including the initial contacts and the explanation of the when, how, and what of the research for the interviewees and any gatekeepers. Hatch advised that the initial contact be informal and followed up with a letter of invitation and explanation of the study. Seeking access to the participants was a continuous process and was influenced by initial contacts and interactions with beginning interviewees. The initial contacts needed to be positive for the snowball sampling and the stratified purposeful sampling to lead to other potential students.

The participants I contacted initially included people inclined to talk with me because of my previous interactions with them. Some examples of students from Henderson Institute include a colleague in my doctoral program, the parent of a former student of mine, a retired high school guidance counselor, the mother of a current teacher in Vance County Schools, and several individuals working in Vance County Schools.

Each one of these contacts was able to direct me to others. The initial contact consisted of an informal conversation explaining the elements of the research and the informed consent form. At the beginning of the interviews, the participants were given a packet containing another copy of the letter describing the research, and the informed consent form. The elements outlined by Hatch (2002) that should be included in the initial contact make up the "research bargain [including] roles and responsibilities of the researcher and each participant, what the researcher will be doing, when, and for how long, what will happen to the data of the study, what access the participants will have to the data, [and] the informed consent document" (p. 46). The initial contact should answer questions about the study. Why do I want to do the study? What is the purpose of the study? What will happen to the findings? How will Henderson Institute benefit from the study? How will the students in the integrated Vance County Schools benefit from the study?

Data Collection

The findings of the research into the experiences of the students in the classroom at Henderson Institute was a co-construction of the former students and the researcher. The data that were collected were the interviews collected from the participants answering the open-ended interview questions in conversations that involved the researcher using probing, elaboration techniques, and follow up questions to either keep the conversation focused, or to direct the conversation into specific areas of interest. The reason that interviews were the primary sources of data is that interviews are the primary

way to access "insight into participant perspectives" (Hatch, 2002, p. 97) about their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

Interview Instrumentation

The interviews were semi-structured with one open-ended question and seven potential sub-issue open-ended questions for redirecting the open-ended responses to keep them focused on the students' perceptions of the experiences in the classrooms. The interviewing model that I followed is the one outlined by Irving Seidman in *Interviewing as Qualitative Research* (2006). Seidman's "model of in-depth, phenomenological interviewing involves conducting a series of three separate interviews with each participant" (p. 16). Interviews took place either after school at my school during the school year and during the summer months during a time and at a place of convenience for the interviewee or over the phone. Initial contacts were made by phone with a follow up letter describing the research, the research bargain, and the informed consent form. Each interviewee was given a pseudonym, and each interview was given an identification number to protect the privacy of the interviewee. The connection between the interviewee, the pseudonym, and interview identification number were filed in accordance with the NCSU IRB policy. The interview data was compiled and stored in accordance with NCSU IRB policy.

Opening Question

Describe your experience of learning in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

Follow-up Questions

Follow- up questions, probing, and elaboration were used to keep the interview focused. The probing and elaboration questions were based on comments of the interviewee that were unique or connected to the concepts in the conceptual framework. The follow-up questions were used as a frame to keep the interviews from wandering into areas irrelevant to the primary focus on teaching and learning in the classrooms of Henderson Institute and to uncover areas of specific areas of interest related to the classroom experience if they did not come up naturally in the conversation.

The follow-up questions are modeled on questions in the work of Lynn (1999), Morris (2001) and suggestions in the work of Hatch (2002) and Siddle-Walker & Archung (2003). The following questions were used to focus the interview on the classroom and to help uncover a rich description of the classroom experience.

1. Can you describe an experience in the classroom at Henderson Institute that made an impression on you?
2. Tell me about the way your teachers taught the class.
3. What was an important lesson that you took from your teachers?
4. When you did not learn your lesson what did your teacher do?
5. Describe your relationship with your teachers. Does one stand out? Why?
6. How would you describe the relationship between your parents, the teachers and the school?

7. If there is one thing that you would want people to know about Henderson Institute what would it be?

Artifacts and Documents

The artifacts and documents that I used were catalogues, yearbooks, and newspapers in the Henderson Institute Museum, articles in the local paper, *The Daily Dispatch*, and any relevant documents stored by the Vance County Schools. The artifacts and documents in the Museum required me to get permission to use them. Siddle-Walker (1993) used artifacts and school documents to triangulate with her interview data. Hatch (2002) identified artifacts and documents such as the ones from Henderson Institute Museum as a way to gain different insights into students' perceptions of their experiences. Hatch also noted that the "major disadvantage" [of using artifacts and documents] is that interpreting the meaning and significance of objects is difficult because connecting them to relevant contexts is highly inferential" (p. 25).

Research Journal, Research Log, and Bracketing

I kept a research journal to record my experiences, feelings, perspectives, and observations on things that happened during the time I was doing the research study (Hatch, 2002). I wanted this journaling to be an honest, personal, reflective, and candid account of my experience of conducting this research into the students' perceptions of the experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. This journal gave me some distance from the interviewing process that allowed me to discover my personal reactions to any particular event in the process of collecting the data. I included descriptions of

how my research was going, my frustrations, my concerns, and my enthusiasms. The journal also recorded the steps that I took to get to my goal, which I compared to a calendar that I created at the beginning of my journey to use as a check list for marking my progress (Hatch, 2002).

I also kept a Research Log that was a running record of the actions that I took on my research. The date, amount of time, and the descriptions of each incident of data collection, whether an interview or artifact and document interpretation was recorded along with any follow up needed or questions about the record. This gave me an exact record of the amount of time interviewing and investigating artifacts and documents. It also provided perspective on when to stop. I needed to answer one question about the data collection process and my Research Log helped me to do this. Have I stayed as long as it takes to get what I need to answer my research questions (Hatch, 2002)?

Bracketing was a part of the Research Log to identify and separate impressions, feelings, and interpretations from the interview data, to record any field notes that are kept on the artifacts and documents, and the building at Henderson Institute. These thoughts and reflections about the transcript data from the interviews were recorded in the margins of the transcripts as raw notes in brackets to separate them from the interviews. The bracketed notes revealed patterns, reactions to the data, or my biases. This helped keep the actions that I took as a researcher separate from my preconceptions and reactions (Hatch, 2002).

Data Analysis

The main source of data for my research study was the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. The analysis of this data followed the general process used by qualitative researchers (Creswell, 2007). The steps outlined by Creswell in this process are "preparing and organizing the data. . .for analysis, then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in a table and writing a discussion of the data findings" (p. 148). This process took place for both the interview data and the artifact and document data.

Preparing and organizing the data was an on-going process. As each interview was completed, it was transcribed as quickly as possible after the interview. This was important because each interview has the potential for revealing a new concept or direction that could be important to the whole research direction or to the understanding of issues that may surface in the interview process. In this way, I was able to get a first indication of what was and was not going to show up in the data. This also kept the work load of transcribing data from becoming unmanageable.

The transcriptions were typed, identified by the pseudonyms and interview identification numbers, and read over for accuracy. The transcripts were written in a sentence by sentence form to allow for easier coding with wide margins for writing impressions, ideas, key concepts, and highlights. Creswell (2007) advised that after organizing the data, the researcher should read each transcript through several times

before beginning the next step in the data analysis of coding. The artifacts and documents were described and classified to reveal their relevance to the interview data. Some examples included a list of classes offered or a picture of honor society members that was described and classified as an example of rigor in the curriculum or high expectations for achievement by the students.

The next step in the data analysis was a systematic search for meaning in the data. The analysis was developed from an examination of the transcribed data. The search was for themes that are related to the purpose of the study and the research questions. This set of themes reflected the interviewee's meaning in the data. These themes were used to code the interview data to draw the participant's meaning out of the data. The themes were then simplified into overall domains that are reflections of the purpose of the study. The coded thematic data are represented in a table in Appendix F. The meaning found in the data is written up in the findings.

Researcher's Subjectivity Statement

"Who I am, what I believe, what experiences I have had all impact what, how, and why I research. What may make this research more problematic for me is my membership in a. . .racial/cultural group" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 470). Ladson-Billings was referring to herself as a Black upper-class woman. Patterson, Mickelson, Petersen, and Gross (2008) identified how their identity as White women researchers reconstructing the history of an all-Black school in an African American community in Kansas required them to be constantly cognizant of the history of segregation, the racially

sensitive nature of the project, and their "White, middle class assumptions and perspectives" (p. 310). I will have to be reflectively aware of my racial/gender/professional status as a White female administrator in the Vance County Schools.

Since the researcher in qualitative research is the primary instrument of data collection, my identity is an important part of the process. My status as White, female, middle-class assistant principal in Vance County Schools will affect the interviewing process (Merriam, 1988). I know that I will need to maintain a constant awareness of my class, gender, race status, assumptions, and perspective in the same manner as Patterson, Mickelson, Petersen, and Gross (2008). However, I believe that my twenty years in Vance County Schools as a teacher and administrator gives me experience and insight into the socio-economic, gender, and race dynamics of Vance County as well as credibility as an educator dedicated to the students of Vance County Schools.

I know that I make a difference for students and parents in our schools. I want to know if the students' perceptions of their classroom experiences at Henderson Institute will provide any insights that might be applicable to our current integrated classrooms for teaching Black students more effectively. I hope that the examination of the students' perceptions of their experiences at Henderson Institute through Critical Race Theory and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, case studies of Black segregated schools, Critical Sankofa and Nostalgia will make me more sensitive to racism and relevant pedagogy issues in

Vance County Schools and strengthen my advocacy for equity and excellence for all students.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Included in this chapter are a brief review of the purpose of the study, the research question, and the methodology, and finally a discussion of the findings. The interviewed students' perceptions of their experiences at Henderson Institute are presented individually. All of the interviewed students have been assigned an interview number and a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality. Each of the student's interviews was analyzed and categorized into themes that emerged during the data analysis. The data are presented as individual responses and in aggregate terms. The individual responses and direct quotes of the students allow the reader to hear the stories of attending Henderson Institute directly from the students' perspective including all of the feelings and unique details of their experiences. The emergent themes are then summarized.

Review of the Purpose

The purpose of this narrative study was to describe the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute, a public segregated high school in Henderson, North Carolina, open from 1952 to 1970. This study adds to the history of Henderson Institute by providing the students' perspective on their experience at Henderson Institute, adds another research study to the history of Black segregated schools in the South, and focuses on the understudied area of the students' perspective on their classroom experiences in Black segregated schools in the South. This study identified in the stories of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute themes that held meaning and value for Black students in a

segregated high school. These themes can be used to analyze the current experiences of Black students in integrated classrooms today.

Review of the Research Question

Historians and researchers of Black segregated schools in the South have identified the classroom experiences of the students as an understudied area of research. This narrative study of Henderson Institute explored the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom. The analysis of the interviews identified themes that were present in the students' experiences that impacted the motivation, engagement, and success of the students attending Henderson Institute.

The following research question was examined in this study:

How do the students perceive the experience of teaching and learning at Henderson Institute?

Review of the Methods

The qualitative method that was used in this research study of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute is the narrative research model. The data that were collected came from the interviews of graduates of Henderson Institute when it was the Black segregated public high school in Vance County, North Carolina, between 1952 and 1970 and from documents in the Henderson Institute Museum collection, the local newspaper, and a magazine article on Henderson Institute. All of the interviews took place at the Henderson Institute Museum on Saturday during operating hours. The interviews were digitally recorded, transferred to a

secure computer, and transcribed immediately. Journal notes were recorded on the interview to record my thoughts and impressions. Themes were identified in the interviews and the artifacts, and were open coded based on their relation to the research question: How do the students perceive the experience of teaching and learning at Henderson Institute? The analysis of the data revealed the story of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

Participants

The participants were graduates of Henderson Institute, the Black public high school in Vance County, North Carolina, between 1952 and 1970. They were selected through snowball sampling which resulted in a range of graduates from the graduating classes of 1957 through 1967. The first interviewee gave me the names of two more students who were willing to be interviewed, and this process continued until I felt I had interviewed enough students to begin to hear similar stories repeated. Ten graduates—five females and five males—were interviewed.

Prior to the interviews, I contacted each person to tell them about the research. This initial face-to-face contact either at the Henderson Institute Museum or at my school consisted of explaining the elements of the research and the informed consent form. I told them why I wanted to do the study, the purpose of the study, how the findings would be used to write my dissertation, the benefit to Henderson Institute of having this history recorded, and my hope that the findings on the experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute would benefit the Black students in integrated classrooms today.

Then I told them what I would be doing, including how I would be interviewing them, how the data would be collected, how the data would be used in writing the narrative of the students' experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute, how the data would be stored, about access to the data, and the informed consent document. I asked them if they had any questions, answered them, and gave them a copy of my initial letter and the informed consent form. I did not have to mail any letters, as I contacted each of these students in person for the first time. When they agreed to be interviewed, we set a date and time to meet at Henderson Institute Museum. The museum setting was comfortable for them and an easy place for them to agree to be interviewed. The interviews took place in the Museum study room with the Museum Director or her assistant downstairs. This setting made the interview situation comfortable for all parties involved.

The interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to two hours in length depending upon the responsiveness of the interviewees. Before asking about the students' experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute, I had the participants tell me about themselves, their lives and careers, and their families. Doing this established a positive atmosphere, good rapport, and helped me know the participants better. The atmosphere of the interviews was friendly and open. The participants seemed eager to tell about their experiences at Henderson Institute. I did not transcribe the personal parts of the interviews, as it would clearly identify many of them. In the analysis of the interviews, only generalized elements about the participants' personal lives which could apply to many of the graduates of Henderson Institute are mentioned. I found myself energized

by these people and drawn into the stories of their school years. I always left Henderson Institute eager to listen to the interview again and to get it down on paper.

The interviews were recorded using a hand-held digital recorder. The recordings of the interviews were immediately transferred to a password protected computer kept in a locked home office. Once each interview was transferred to the computer, it was erased from the digital recorder. The participants were assigned pseudonyms. The transcripts of the interviews are identified by the pseudonym and a number.

Interview # 1: Mr. Palmer

Mr. Palmer graduated from Henderson Institute in 1959. After high school he attended college and then entered the military. He is very proud that 85% of his graduating class went to college. He attributes a lot of his success to the preparation he received from his teachers at Henderson Institute. He says, "Even though we got the idea that everything was second hand, like our books, we had excellent teachers."

School culture. For teenagers at the time, there was not a lot to do in Henderson. The school provided the social life for the students. Mr. Palmer explains, "We had a social every Friday night at school." The band, the clubs, the choir, and the sports teams gave students plenty of opportunities to be involved at school and after school. He continues, "We had a nurturing environment. We all lived in the same area. Teachers were just as involved in raising you as your parents." He describes Henderson Institute as a center of learning that was the center of social life and social learning that took place in the cafeteria and the hallways: "In the cafeteria they taught you how to eat, table

manners, how to use the table utensils, if you had not been taught at home. The teachers ate with you. The teachers taught all the time."

Teacher attributes. Mr. Palmer explains that the teachers, even when they were not in the classroom, were "always teaching." What he means is that they would always correct students, explaining how to do things correctly or properly. He says that teachers were just as involved in raising the children as their parents were. He explains, "Back then if any teacher saw you doing something wrong they would correct you. They were teachers all the time. They taught all the time. …If you saw them downtown you wouldn't do anything wrong."

Mr. Palmer's teachers at Henderson Institute, in preparing their students for life after high school, made sure that their students understood two things: "Whatever you do you have to do it better than everyone else. You cannot be average." The second thing they taught was that "the key to success was education and the key to upward mobility was a college or technical degree." He went on to major in Biology in college because his Biology teacher encouraged him to go to college and major in Biology. "What HI taught me was to think and to identify the best path to success. …That is what HI taught you; find what is best for you. We became educated, we could think."

Classroom activities. The class that stands out the most for Mr. Palmer is Mr. Walter Alan Collette's Biology class. He describes standing outside his door so he could listen to his classes because he had a different Biology teacher. When Mr. Collette found this out, he let him join his class. He describes Mr. Collette:

> He was so animated in teaching. He was like a college professor teaching in high school. He taught us methods and did it with enthusiasm. When I got to A&T I found he was teaching the same curriculum as Biology at A&T. Kids loved his Biology class. His approach was different. He spent his own money to buy specimens. He would demonstrate how to dissect a frog, identify all its muscles like an AP class today. Then we had to do it. What got me was the animation of the teacher, the hands on in the lab and his dress. He always wore a lab coat.

In his English class, Mr. Palmer describes the way that they learned poetry and literature: "We learned poetry and literature not only to learn what they were about but to feel the work." The English teacher also instructed the oratory team and took them to contests: "We would compete against other high schools in Granville, Franklin, and Warren. I think I won one or two." One of the speeches that he delivered was the Gettysburg Address. He describes the method as "you were Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg. You had to deliver the address in a manner so your listeners were spellbound. This was the way that we were taught to deliver our speeches."

Relationships of students and teachers. The one teacher that Mr. Palmer describes having a relationship with is Mr. Knight: "Mr. Knight, 'Boss,' was a father figure." The way Mr. Knight treated the students generated respect:

> He would correct you when you were wrong without being mean. You just had so much respect for the man. He would do anything for you that he could. He was the boys' counselor and he taught history. He knew his subject. He could quote

every page of the textbook. He set an example of excellence and high standards. He taught by example.

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. Mr. Palmer notes that the parents and the teachers all lived in the same area and that the teachers were "just as involved in raising you as your parents." The parents and the teachers had a strong relationship centered on educating and raising the children who attended Henderson Institute.

Interview # 2: Mr. Jones

Mr. Jones graduated from Henderson Institute in 1957. The class of 1957 was the largest graduating class at Henderson Institute. After high school he went up North into the work field. He says that there were not many good opportunities in Henderson for him, so when he graduated from high school he went up North. After retiring from his field of work he and his wife, who is also from Henderson and a graduate of Henderson Institute, returned to Henderson to the family place. He enjoys being around people, working with many groups in his church, and doing volunteer work in the community with kids.

He remembers the Black community and the Henderson Institute school community as a family. He was high in his class academically and he was a leader. He has stayed in contact with his fellow classmates from the class of 1957 and gets together with them on a regular basis: "We still look out for each other, and fellowship together, and work in charitable things, like working with the Boys and Girls Club."

Mr. Jones went to elementary school at Eaton Johnson and started at Henderson Institute in the seventh grade. The first year of high school he only went to school "half a day because there were so many kids." He walked to school and went home for lunch because the students who lived close by could walk home for lunch. He remembers that "I might have gone to the cafeteria twice in high school. I could go out the back of the wing and walk past 'Boss' Knights' house and go home and have lunch. He lived right around the corner." Mr. Jones says:

> I get into conversations and tell people about back in the day going to Henderson Institute. I tell everyone there is not anything I would substitute for the opportunity I had to attend this school. … The best days of my life were my high school years.

School culture. For Mr. Jones, Henderson Institute offered a place where he could excel academically, enjoy sports, spend time with his friends, and go to social activities. He tells two stories about "Boss" Knight. "Boss" Knight loaned his brand new Pontiac car to him and his buddy, so they could take their dates to the prom. If students were skipping school and going to the pool hall, "Boss" Knight would go down there and get them and bring them to school.

He describes the strict school and classroom discipline. He was expected to be respectful to all adults and particularly his teachers: "Our principal, Mr. Spencer was a no nonsense principal." He says that students knew that they were there to learn. For Mr. Jones Henderson Institute was like a family.

Teacher attributes. Mr. Jones describes his teachers reciting all their names and the subjects they taught: "The teachers were dedicated. It wasn't about them leaving school early. If you were failing in your work they would stay after school on their own time and help you. It made a difference back in the day." He describes them as working hard, tutoring students until they got the lesson, and taking personal time to help students. He explains, "If anyone in the school was not motivated or able to keep up and get their work done, they would keep them after school. They would stay themselves to get them to do their work, you were going to do it."

In describing Mr. C. V. Knight, Mr. Jones says:

> He is the one person who touched everyone's life in the school. Kids could not be talking around him and think he did not know what was going on. Boss Knight was more of a Dad than anything else in relating to all the kids, who went through here.

Classroom activities. Mr. Jones can recall all his teachers by name and what they taught. When asked if he remembered how the teachers taught he described:

> They would call on individuals to make presentations, they worked from the blackboard a lot, a lot of times when you got to class they would have what you were supposed to do on the board and they would patrol the room to see that everyone was working. Even at that time, if someone was going in the wrong direction they would stop them and try to get them back on track.

He remembers that you had homework every day and had to take books home. You had to bring your homework back the next day and could expect to be called to come in front of the class and speak and give "an explanation of a certain topic based on the assignment." He also remembers having projects to do in certain classes: "It was great being in class, I would know the answers to the questions…"

Relationship of students and teachers. Mr. Jones is proud of his good relationships with all his teachers. He recalls that when he graduated, his teachers expected him to excel in school and in his life:

> They expected each individual to excel even though it did not always happen. They wanted us to excel because they gave up their own personal private time to stay and work with you, to tutor you, whatever needed to be done to make sure you got your work.

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. The one thing that Mr. Jones talks about in relation to parents, teachers, and the school is that he never had to be disciplined at school because he "would have to deal with my Mom and Dad."

Interview # 3: Mrs. Williams

Mrs. Williams is a graduate of the class of 1966 at Henderson Institute. She is a resident of Henderson, North Carolina, and has made her career as a staff member of Vance County Schools. The first thing Mrs. Williams said to me about Henderson Institute was, "It made us proud, not like today. You knew what you were there for to learn and the teachers taught." She is a confident graduate of Henderson Institute and

proud mother and grandmother who believes deeply in education as the answer to solving many of the problems faced in Henderson. She can still sing the alma mater and she says that "being part of that school, it was important."

School culture. For Mrs. Williams, school was a strict and caring place: "HI made you proud to be who you wanted to be, the teachers made you feel you could go wherever you wanted to go." There were many extracurricular activities for the students that made them a part of the school community beyond just going to class. She went to school every day and never missed a day. The teachers who came from out of town stayed on the school campus in a teacherage. She describes it as "like a college campus" where there was always something to do: "It was just like a family." She talks about being a kid in the sixties where the village raised the children and everyone in the neighborhood looked out for everyone else. She says, "Everyone could discipline the children and if I misbehaved I got two punishments one from the neighbor and one from my Mom." She continues:

> We had socials at the high school at Henderson Institute. You would pay your fifty cents and you could go in and dance. There was so much we did at school, pep rallies and scramble football games giving you somewhere to go. … We had the best band, best football, best basketball, best choir, and best baseball. … I sang in the choir and I was part of the Bible Club, and part of the Home Economics Club. I did not care for football but I did not miss a game. After the game you got on back to the house. They were expecting you.

Teacher attributes. Mrs. Williams describes all her teachers as "strong teachers" and "veteran teachers." She explains, "Back in the sixties the teacher was in charge. Not there to be our friend. The teacher was not our buddy, she was our teacher and we had to respect her as the teacher."

Mrs. Williams says that all the teachers made an impression on her. Mr. Butler and Mr. Collette stand out to her. Mr. Butler is described as "strict, a real strict teacher [who] allowed us to be ourselves. He got along with all the kids. You could joke with him and he would joke back." She remembers her Biology class with Mr. Collette as "funny," and Mr. Collette as fun and strict: "He was a strict teacher but we had fun." She recalls dissecting the frog and collecting leaves and bugs. Mr. Spencer and Mr. Knight were the principals that she remembers "going to the pool room and loading those boys up and bringing them back to school and telling their parents."

When asked about the teachers' expectations for their students, Mrs. Williams said the teachers expected us "to get a career." She says, "They expected you to go farther, they were preparing you for the future, they wanted you to further your education, and they expected you to go farther." She sums up the teachers' expectations by saying, "If you were going to be a cotton picker you better be the best darn cotton picker there is." Mrs. Williams says, "I wish we had those teachers today." Mrs. Williams' class of 1966 had a 180 graduates, and she feels that they fulfilled their teachers' expectations. She says, "The street did not get a lot of them. Most are retired and they are coming back and they are going to start giving back to the community."

Classroom activities. For Mrs. Williams the classroom experience was one in which everyone knew their role. The students were there to learn and be respectful, the teachers were there to teach and prepare students for their future, and the parents were there to ensure that their child did what the teacher and the school expected:

> When you went into class you knew what you were there for. We were there to learn and the teachers were there to teach you. They taught you. When you got to class you did not have to play, you knew when you went to school what you were to do. You knew when you got to class, you knew what it was going to be like, if you didn't do what you were told to do, and they contact your parent, the consequence was on you, you knew what was going to happen.

Mrs. Williams tells about a class that they had that she wishes they had today. It was a class that was separate for boys and girls. For the girls the class provided "someone to talk to … about how to take care of your body, hygiene and what not to do and how to act." In the class for the boys, they had "someone to talk to them and talk to them about how to respect young ladies." She feels this type of class about the right way for boys and girls to act toward each other is much needed.

In her classes she describes the way the teachers taught. The students would "go in sit down, be quiet, raise your hand, and wait to be called on, sit in [your] assigned seat, do not open your mouth unless you raised your hand." The teachers taught from a set of books and put the work on the board. She did not have a "lot of worksheets like today." She recalls having homework every night, even if it was to just "write your spelling

words." If there was a student who did not want to learn, the teachers "would put him with someone to make him fit in and then he would be doing it like everyone else".

Relationship of students and teachers. The relationship of the students and the teachers was, for Mrs. Williams, one of respect and comfort in knowing what to expect every day in class. She knew that if she did what was expected of her, she would not be in trouble with either her teachers or her parents. The teachers she liked the most were the teachers who made her classes fun, let her be herself, joked with them, but were also strict.

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. Mrs. Williams recognizes that parents were very involved with the school:

> The parents played a great part in education…. So our parents were there. You did what was expected of you because the parents took pride in us, they had old ways, and you stayed in your place, a child's place.

She describes the "whole neighborhood walking to the PTA meeting and back home together. She says that the teachers "knew that they could depend on the parents." In her case, if a teacher called her parents about anything that was not good, she knew that there would be serious consequences for her at home.

Interviews # 4 & 5: Mr. Green and Mr. Blair

Mr. Green and Mr. Blair came to the interview together. They were willing to be interviewed separately, but as we started talking, I realized they were more comfortable talking about Henderson Institute together, so I decided to talk with them together. They

have been lifelong friends growing up in the same neighborhood and supporting each other like family since childhood. Both of them were involved in sports while in school, and it was the highlight of their school years. Mr. Blair graduated in 1964 and Mr. Green in 1965.

School culture. The sports program was an important part of the school experience for Mr. Green and Mr. Blair and in the school's connection to the community. During Mr. Green's and Mr. Blair's time, Henderson Institute was a 4A school, and they played the big Black high schools in Raleigh and Durham. They talk about the football field and how one teacher, Mrs. Engram, raised enough money for them to get lights on the field by selling candy or anything else that people would buy. Mr. Blair describes Henderson Institute as "more like a family than a school." He says that because there was no Recreation Department in Henderson, "Boss" Knight would open the gym one night a week for the guys from the community and the school to play basketball.

Teacher attributes. "Boss" Knight was the teacher who made the biggest impression on their lives. Mr. Blair said, "People gave 'Boss' a lot of respect, he was fair… If he saw a need he would help out or find a way to help. Our teachers trusted us to even drive their cars to go to the store." Mr. Green and Mr. Blair both said that the students always went to "Boss" if they had a problem: "We went to 'Boss.' He was more lenient. He understood us." Other than "Boss" Knight, Mr. Green remembers Mrs. Alston, Mrs. Engram, Mr. Collette and Mr. Jones.

Classroom activities. Mr. Blair liked going to Mr. Collette's class because "he would ask crazy questions. But when he got ready to teach he was serious." He describes dissecting a praying Mantis that they went up town at night to catch. Mr. Blair remembers, "I liked his class. He cut up but he always taught."

Mr. Green says that math was a major part of his life and that the math he learned at Henderson Institute kept him from getting cheated later in life. He also remembers Mr. Randolph's English class. He says, "If you tried in Mr. Randolph's class, he taught English, like memorizing a speech, four score and seven years, if you tried you would not get a failing grade. He was fair."

Relationship of students and teachers. They both talk about the teachers joking with them but being strict: "They would joke with us but they were strict. We respected our teachers. Even in the lunch room you did not cut up, because the teachers were there." Their teachers communicated to them that they expected them to be the best that they could be. Mr. Blair said, "They did it in their way. It was in a way that Black people communicated, it was different from Black to White. They had a way of letting us know that they wanted us to be the best that we could be." Mr. Green said that the teachers "expected us to learn and to know what you needed later on in life. Not any need to waste these years coming to school."

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. Asked what teachers did when students did not learn, Mr. Blair said, "Well, our teachers were more like our parents; you did what they said. If you were an adult, you had to be respected. If not our

parents were going to get us. They believed what our teachers said." Mr. Blair saw the relationship between the school and the parents as a family one, explaining, "I would say that Henderson Institute was a family. Children had respect for the teachers. The whole city of Henderson was like a family everybody knew everybody all the adults watched out."

Mr. Blair remembers the year they started to integrate the White high school in Henderson: "When they began integrating the schools, they asked us if we wanted to go. We said 'No, we wanted to stay here' because it bothered me then and we walked by that school and we couldn't go to that school. It was not right." Mr. Green does not mention any interaction between the parents, the teachers, and the school.

Interview # 6: Mrs. Brown

Mrs. Brown is a lifelong resident of Henderson, North Carolina. She is a graduate of the Henderson Institute class of 1964. She attended NCCU, and upon graduation she returned to Henderson to teach school.

School culture. Mrs. Brown describes Henderson Institute as:

> It was wonderful, there was camaraderie, the teachers cared, and the Principal knew everyone. It was like one big family. There was a teacherage where a lot of the teachers lived…. Henderson Institute was a positive setting. … The principal was visible at all times. …There was a feeling of being at home, a comfortable atmosphere.

Mrs. Brown describes the campus as "a lovely place to be." She says that going to Henderson Institute made her feel "like you were somebody no matter where you came from. …If you haven't had the HI experience you have missed a lot."

The school activities were a center of community life and people followed the sports and the band. Some of the school activities that Mrs. Brown remembers were sports, drama competitions, band, chorus, and the student newspaper. The Drama department entered contests across North Carolina: "We went to Fayetteville and it was very seldom that HI didn't get First Place. People came from miles around to see our band. People followed our sports on the road." The cannery on the campus used by the agricultural classes was opened by the Vance County Extension Service so people from the county, "like [Mrs. Brown's] mother" could come in to can their vegetables.

Teacher attributes. From her perspective in college, she realized that her education at HI was rigorous as a result of her teachers:

> We had dynamite teachers. I did not realize it at the time that most schools across NC did not have great teachers. I majored in Biology at Central. I realized I had already done all the class work once with Mrs. Alston and Mrs. Palmer.

The Henderson Institute teachers and administrators treated their students as family. She says that the teachers cared about their students and if "someone [was] troubled they would gather together and help them." If a student "missed a couple of days out of school, then Mr. Spencer would go to your house to find out what was

wrong." "If you said, 'I can't,' they would say, 'You can.' The teacherage housed elementary and high school teachers:

> It gave them a place to stay and a place to eat. It made it possible for good teachers to come to this little small county and they stayed. …We had excellent teachers, I don't know where they came from. They came here and they stayed. HI attracted them. They worked well together. Mr. Spencer walked the halls every morning before first period and spoke to each teacher. We had about fifty teachers.

Classroom activities. Mrs. Brown describes Mrs. Bullock's French class, Mr. Brown's Math class, Mr. Knight's History class, Mr. Collette's Economics class, and Mr. Jones' Chemistry class. The elements that stand out in her descriptions are the hands-on activities, the student engagement in learning, and the focus by the teachers on making sure everyone was learning. All the students took Bible class every day, which Mrs. Brown describes as a continuation of what was done when Henderson Institute was a private school.

Mrs. Bullock taught French and 12th grade English. In her French class, Mrs. Brown says, "You walked in the class to an assigned seat, and after two weeks you could not speak any English. Our classes were packed but you could hear a pin drop." Mrs. Brown did not take Mrs. Bullock for 12th grade English because she was a hard teacher. When she got to Central she was failing Freshman English and returned to Mrs. Bullock at Henderson Institute for help.

> She said, "You know what? You ducked me." I said, "Yes, I made a mistake." She said, "Well, I am going to tutor you." I came home on the weekends to get tutored to pull a C in my Freshman English class at Central. I learned not to take the shortcuts. My friend did not struggle in Freshman English because she had taken Mrs. Bullocks' 12th grade English class.

In Mr. Brown's class, the students worked on the board and at their desks while the teacher monitored both activities:

> Mr. Brown taught math… Mr. Brown was the best math teacher. He could relay his knowledge in a hands-on way. When we were at the board doing math he would be walking around checking on the others while he watched us.

Mr. Knight taught History. History was not something Mrs. Brown liked, but the interaction with the teacher engaged her in the class:

> The boys called him "Boss" and had the utmost respect for him. The interaction with the teacher made it fun to learn. We had group reports and projects. He did not lecture, our class was interactive. He had an inviting voice. He made history fantastic and I didn't like history.

Mrs. Brown had Mr. Collette for Economics and Biology. She describes him as "fantastic. He had a great voice, he was not boring, and he did hands-on experiments." The one project she describes in his Economics class was about banking and budgeting: "He gave us different occupations, an income, and expenses. I realized that I needed an

education to have more than just a little money. In our discussions we learned the value of education."

She describes other science classes as hands on classes. Mr. Jones' Chemistry class involved demonstrations and labs: "Some of it we did at our lab tables and some we would go to the front and do the experiments with him overseeing the chemicals."

Relationships of students and teachers. Mrs. Brown describes the competition with classmates for academic honors and the encouragement that the teachers gave to all the students:

> We learned stick-to-itiveness in academics. There was positive competition with classmates. Everyone was trying to make the Top 10%. They wanted to achieve that honor. We were well prepared wherever we went. Henderson Institute prepared you for agriculture, or to go out and work in a trade or to go to college. …The staff encouraged you, if you were going to be a cotton picker you better be the best cotton picker ever. …It was a place I enjoyed going every day. The positive took over. Some kids didn't know where they were going but we found our path at HI because of the dynamic teachers. I was inspired to major in science in college.

One of the unique stories that Mrs. Brown tells is about the three drop-outs in her class. The Henderson Institute staff encouraged their drop-outs to return to school and to graduate:

> The ones who had dropped out, each one came back as adults with families and took classes with us during the day and graduated. One was a cab driver, one went on to become a nurse, and one went on to be a police officer. Anyone who wanted to come back was encouraged. We use to get the cab driver water in class so he wouldn't fall asleep. He had to work nights to provide for his family.

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. Mrs. Brown remembers both organized and personal relationships of the parents, teachers and the school. As a school teacher, Mrs. Brown has perspective on parental involvement from a teacher's point of view: "The parent volunteers and the PTA were very active. …Parental involvement was excellent, simply excellent." On a personal level for a teacher to call home was "double trouble." She describes how the administration handled students who had to go to the office for misbehavior: "If a student did go to the office the parents came in and the adults would solve the problem. What the teacher said was believed and there was no disagreement." The parents were very involved in the school and they expected their children to get their education and not cause problems in the classroom or in the school.

Interview # 7: Mrs. Smith

Mrs. Smith moved to Vance County when she was in the second grade. She graduated from Henderson Institute in 1965 and went to North Carolina Central University. As a result of a family situation, she was unable to finish college and she entered the work world. Through her career, she advanced to the management level at

one of America's largest corporations and retired as the top of one of the departments in the corporation. She is very professional, reserved, and to the point.

School culture. One of the main effects of the Henderson Institute culture on Mrs. Smith was teaching her how to get along with people from different backgrounds. She explains:

> You had to learn how to get along with people that you did not know. It gave me an insight in how to deal with people …throughout life. It was a real experience in learning how to get along and how to deal with all kinds of people.

Mrs. Smith also describes other non-academic experiences that impressed her and helped her in her career. She was given the privilege of helping in the cafeteria at lunch time: "It was interesting because you learned things and you met people as they came to get their lunch. The cafeteria workers set very good examples, very good examples." She was also a member of the Future Scientists of America and the Future Business Leaders of America. Both of these clubs taught the students things that they would not have gotten in class. The Future Scientists of America was sponsored by Mr. Collette who "would explain things about science that you would not get in class." She identifies the meetings of the Future Business Leaders of America club as helping her "to excel:"

> That club really helped me to excel, when I left school I had learned a lot there. We would get together to discuss techniques of how to do things and how not to do things. What to do and what not to do. What to expect in the workplace. Like not chewing gum in a business environment. They gave us hints and insights.

Teacher attributes. Mrs. Smith speaks very fondly and respectfully of her teachers. She describes a type of care for the students that focused on high expectations for them both in the classroom and in the future. She says, "My homeroom teacher was instrumental in directing us in our studies and in continuing our education." Her business teacher taught the class a lesson in perseverance when tragedy strikes on the day that President Kennedy was shot: "We were in class when it happened. She taught us that even though it is a tragedy, you go on for yourself." She recognized that even though the rules were strict that they were meant to "help us not hinder us." The teachers' focus on their students' futures and being prepared gave Mrs. Smith confidence in her abilities after high school:

> To me the teachers were all professional. They had the students' futures in their mind. They taught us to be prepared for the future. They taught us what to do and what not to do and they taught us the subject matter. …They taught us that we should always excel, always excel, always try to do better. … The teachers expected us to succeed. I did real well in the work world. All the teachers played a big part in my success. They were always concerned and always encouraging. …In the business world, I wanted to excel, I knew that my background from school was solid and I wanted to use it. I think that Henderson Institute got me ready for my work. They provided everybody that wanted a foundation to go out in the world and survive. They did for me. I was prepared for life and work. By

being an institution located here with students from all over the county, living, and studying together was a great experience.

Classroom activities. Mrs. Smith describes her classes as "well taught," "always interesting," and holding "all the students' attention:"

> In the classroom the teacher would be up front and all the students would be paying attention to the teacher. We knew that we were there to learn so we paid attention. We had the church background and that helped a lot. [There were] about thirty five students in the classroom. In the typing and shorthand classes we learned by doing it. It was interesting.

Relationship of students and the teachers. The main thing that Mrs. Smith talks about was that her teachers always encouraged her and expected her to excel: "They were always concerned and always encouraging." The expectations of the teachers were important to Mrs. Smith, as she explains: "My teachers expected me to go to college. My business teacher encouraged me to go to college." She did go to college.

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. Mrs. Smith rode the bus to school and was not able to participate in the after school activities. She says, "If you rode a bus it limited what you could do." She does not mention any interaction between her parents, the teachers, and the school.

Interview # 8: Mr. Barnett

Mr. Barnett graduated from Henderson Institute in 1965. He spent his childhood and school years living just down the street from Henderson Institute. When he retired,

he returned to Henderson and wanted to give back to the community. He says, "I thought I would give something back, so I became a substitute teacher but I was not prepared for the student mindset. I think I made it three weeks as a sub." He tells more of his story:

> I was born in Jubilee Hospital right across the street and I was raised three doors down from the band room…. I grew up in the community. I walked right past this school at least once every day. I went to Eaton Johnson and came here in the seventh grade. …Henderson Institute was such a rich experience.

After graduating from Henderson Institute, he went to North Carolina Central. In the summers he worked in jobs up North and got a job working at a TV station, which led to his career in journalism and in public relations. He describes himself as a militant in the sixties and a follower of Malcolm X.

School culture. Henderson Institute was an important part of Mr. Barnett's childhood. He spent his days on the campus, played ball on the school fields on the weekends, and knew all the teachers who lived on campus. For him, Henderson Institute was an important part of Happy Hill where he lived:

> Henderson Institute was just so much a part of the community, and you had that feeling of community, and the teachers were all there to raise you and that is what you felt. The teachers were just like parents away from home. They cared about you.

Teacher attributes. The teachers were all a part of the life in the Black community in Henderson. They lived next door to or down the street from the students and the parents:

> They all lived in the community. A lot of them lived on campus for some years. We had a teachers' dormitory right on campus and at least half of them lived on campus. They lived there when they first got here until they got established and got their own house.

Mr. Barnett describes the teachers as "very strict but still very nice" and as caring about their students.

Classroom activities. Mr. Barnett remembers his classroom experiences by the way his teachers treated the students and taught their classes. The classroom experiences that he describes include ones with Mrs. Engram, Mr. Jones, Mrs. Alston, Mr. Collette, Mr. McLaughlin, the Band Director, and the teacher who managed study hall.

Mrs. Engram is the teacher who sold enough candy to put lights on the football field for night games. She is also the one teacher at the time still on the staff who had become a teacher at Henderson Normal Institute, taught grade school, and then high school after graduating from North Carolina Central. He tells more about Mrs. Engram:

> Ok, well the first teacher that comes to mind is Mrs. Engram. She lived on Rock Spring Street up at John Street. She also had a store up there. She enlisted the kids to sell candy to raise money for the school. She was my homeroom teacher. We knew the rules she was a good person and she was nice to us.

Mr. McLaughlin, followed by Mr. July, were the Band Directors at Henderson Institute when Mr. Barnett was a student there. He remembers Mr. McLaughlin fondly, because when he was an elementary school student, Mr. McLaughlin taught him to play the trombone after school: "He also got permission for me to practice with the band." The band had a strong local following and won multiple state competitions. He remembers:

> We were known for our marching band because of our marching style. It was faster, a little more free-style, horn movement similar to A&T, Grambling, Florida A&M. We always tried to be like them. More steps per beat that was the goal.

The science teachers' classes stand out for Mr. Barnett because his favorite classes were the science classes. The things that he remembers about these classroom experiences were the teachers' enthusiasm for their subjects:

> Mr. Jones stands out. He was always very enthusiastic about science. He got our attention and held our attention. And I was always interested in science. General Science and Physics. Mrs. Alston, she was a very energetic, pretty lady, got her points over well. She was a good teacher. …She cared. We never saw any other side of her. She cared about us and the subject matter and we learned it. She expected us to learn what she was teaching us. … Mr. Colette, quiet a character, had his own style, taught Biology. Mr. Cushionberry taught science as well. They all lived in the community.

The one teacher who tried to discipline Mr. Barnett for talking in study hall was referred to as "a new teacher and did not know I was from the community." He was stopped from paddling Mr. Barnett behind the band room by his Grandmother, who was hanging out clothes and saw what was about to happen. He describes: "She hollered across all the yards. She said, 'Don't you hit that boy,' and he didn't. He took me back inside. It broke me of talking in study hall."

Relationship of students and teachers. Mr. Barnett saw his teachers as family: "The teachers were all there to raise you and that is what you felt. The teachers were just like parents away from home. They cared about you." Mr. Barnett says that the kids might have joked about teachers among themselves, but "we never openly showed any disrespect."

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. The only comment that Mr. Barnett makes about parents and school was about something from school getting back to his parents: "We never openly showed any disrespect because it might reach our parents and then you would get a whipping. You did not disrespect any adult especially not any teacher."

Interview # 9: Mrs. Edwards

Mrs. Edwards is a lifelong resident of Vance County. She graduated from Henderson Institute in 1961. Mrs. Edwards went to first and second grade in a two-room school house on the Henderson Institute campus. She transferred to Eaton Johnson when it was built for the remainder of elementary school and then to Henderson Institute for

high school. After high school she went to work for the Vance County Public School system, first as a secretary in the segregated Black schools and later in the Bookkeeping Department at the Vance County Schools' Central Office. She is a gentle lady whose life was strongly shaped by her experiences at Henderson Institute. She explains:

> I had a very good experience at HI. I had to walk two miles from Flint Hill section of Henderson, rain, shine, sleet or snow. We would walk together and meet students from other sections. It was a good learning experience for me. In fact I took Business Education, typing, shorthand, and it was very valuable to me. When I graduated I wanted to go to college. I wanted to go to North Carolina central, but due to a financial situation with my parents I did not have funds to go.

School culture. Mrs. Edwards describes Henderson Institute as "like a family:"

> It was joy to come to school. We had students driving buses. We had a high rated band. The athletic department was highly recognized. I would say that it was like one big happy family. I feel great about having gone to Henderson institute. I feel pride that I graduated from Henderson Institute. It is a warm feeling to let someone know that I attended Henderson Institute, because I see so many of my classmates retired at the top of their professions.

Even though she had to walk two miles to school she did not want to "miss school". "We wanted to be there and be part of it".

Teacher attributes. Mrs. Edwards describes herself as a shy student for whom the encouragement of her teachers meant so much. She credits Henderson Institute

teachers with giving her a start in her life. She explains, "That was my start here at Henderson Institute, the teachers were very caring, they took the time to show the students love and compassion, and to make sure that the students learned." She says that in general all the teachers "would pat you on the back and encourage you."

Classroom activities. Two of Mrs. Edwards' teachers stand out to her: Mr. Collette and Miss Keck. Mr. Collette taught Biology and Economics and Miss Keck was her English and Business Education teacher:

> I had Biology and Economics under [Mr. Collette]. He made the class very fun, but he was very strict. We had to dissect a frog and a rooster. That was very interesting at the time to get that information. He also had night classes for students who wanted extra credit. He stands out because he went the extra out of the way to teach us. He taught us Economics and we had to take notes from the board. We had to do a lot of writing.

Mr. Collette's commitment to his students, a classroom climate of feeling comfortable enough to call a class fun, and engagement with new information in his class caused Mr. Collette's classes to stand out for Mrs. Edwards.

Miss Keck was important to Mrs. Edwards because her career was based on many of the skills she learned in her classes. Miss Keck "made me love the numbers, and bookkeeping, and accounting." Mrs. Edwards found this knowledge empowering as it was an adult skill that she loved knowing how to use.

Relationship of students and the teachers. The teacher and the students were seen by Mrs. Edwards as part of a family. They all had their roles in the family. Those roles were governed by caring, respect, and high expectations: "Our teachers taught us pride, and how to carry ourselves with dignity, and moral values, right from wrong." She explains further:

> The students had a lot of respect for their teachers. With the respect of the teachers for their students and the students for the teachers we did not have a lot of misbehavior. …Because of the respect for the teachers and the teachers respect for the students, it just felt like you had to do this. If you are going to get ahead, you have to learn.

The teachers' expectations for their students in the classroom and in the future were a constant in the relationships that they built. Mrs. Edwards says, "They would say, 'I expect you to do great things. I expect you to go on with you education.'" This expectation was a powerful motivator. Students believed what the teachers said.

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. The relationship that Mrs. Edwards recognized between the school and her parents was one where both the parents and the teachers emphasized the importance of education to her future:

> They (the teachers) made sure that the students learned. We knew that we were here to learn and our parents sent us here to learn and this was the only opportunity that we would have. In order to get ahead we knew that we had to learn. If we did not learn the teachers would contact our parents. We knew what

> that was about. A lot of our parents did not have the opportunity to get an education and they instilled in us that I did not have a chance in my days to get an education and they wanted us to get an education.

A family-like atmosphere, encouraging teachers, engaging classes, and high expectations were all an important part of Mrs. Edwards' education at Henderson Institute.

Interview # 10: Mrs. Taylor

Mrs. Taylor is in the Henderson Institute Class of 1966. She spent her work career outside of Henderson both in the business world and as a teacher. She returned to Henderson after retirement and is very active in the Henderson Institute community of graduates. She is a very confident woman who loves and values her whole experience at Henderson Institute. She was an A student.

School culture. Mrs. Taylor describes Henderson Institute as a "family setting." It was a place where the teachers loved and cared for the students. She explains, "Many of them lived in your neighborhood; your teacher might live next door to you. It was a real family setting."

Teacher attributes. Mrs. Taylor wants to make sure that people know how much the teachers cared about their students:

> I do not recall a student who was left back, or who could not read or write. I think that is because the teachers truly cared about our education, not about holding us back. If a student couldn't learn the teacher would continue to work with the student on their own time.

Mrs. Taylor describes the teachers as having high expectations for their students no matter what they chose to do in life. To her, the high expectations and the teachers' love and care for all the students on a personal level made Henderson Institute a very special place. She wants people to know about:

> the loving attitude that the teachers had and their caring that their students succeed in whatever. If you want to be a farmer, that is fine. If you want to go to college, that is fine. They were going to make sure that you succeeded at your goal.

Classroom activities. Mrs. Taylor describes the classroom experience in general and two specific classes to explain the classroom experiences she remembers. One thing she wants to make clear is that "we were taught to use our brains." By this she means that that they were taught to think:

> My experiences in the classroom were all about academics and respect for our teachers. If a teacher said something you did not agree with, you knew that it was in your best interest. They focused on academics, your behavior, and respect. You were rewarded with good grades for participation. They taught whole group teaching not a lot of small groups. It worked because everyone's whole attention was on what the teacher was saying. …I don't recall the teachers having problems with classroom management, totally not like today. The teachers were actually able to teach and I think that is why we learned.

Mrs. Taylor wanted to be a secretary in the business world. The typing teacher, Mrs. Jeeter, "was very influential" in her future career. She attributes her secretarial skills to the things she learned in Mrs. Jeeter's class. The other class that she mentions as having a big impact on her life is the Bible class:

> Mr. Lewis was our Bible teacher. It was part of our curriculum every day and class started with prayer. They taught us Biblical things, so we knew the moral and correct way to act and it carries over into the way I am today.

Relationship of students and teachers. For Mrs. Taylor, the foundation of the student teacher relationship was "the love and caring attitude that the teachers had for their students:"

> They may have shown it in ways in today's world, they may say, why is this teacher being so hard on me? But they were caring and they wanted to make sure that each student was successful regardless of what path they chose in life. It was the caring attitude of the teacher and you genuinely felt that they cared for you and they loved you.

Relationships of parents, teachers, and the school. Mrs. Taylor describes the discipline that extended from the teacher to the administration, and finally to the parent. She also describes the personal relationships that the teachers and the parents built. In class she says you paid attention or you "would get disciplined by the teachers, and or 'Boss' Knight [the assistant principal] in addition to getting discipline at home." The connection between the school and the parents was on a personal level. The teachers

lived in the neighborhood and "knew your parents, you were not a number. They personally knew your parents."

Documents

The documents available in the Henderson Institute Museum and articles in the local newspaper illustrate elements of the students' educational experiences at Henderson Institute. The yearbooks are the documents that were examined as sources of information about the students' experiences. The newspaper articles in the local paper *The Daily Dispatch* focus primarily on happenings and recognitions of Henderson Institute, but do provide some historical framework to the overall picture of Henderson Institute.

The Principal's Message, the Class Sponsors' Message, the Class Song, the Class Motto, and the Class Poem reveal elements of the school culture. The leadership of the Principal, Mr. L. E. Spencer, is mentioned in several of the student interviews. In the yearbooks, Mr. Spencer's hopes for his students in the Principal's Messages from 1952 to 1966 show a vision and mission of the school as a place that prepared students to take their place in a changing world.

I have chosen the years 1952 to 1966 because they coincide with the years in which the interviewed student's attended Henderson Institute between the seventh or eighth grade through twelfth grade. The Class Sponsors' Message, the Class Song, the Class Motto, and the Class Poem refer to elements of school culture in some instances. These messages vary for each year, but the focus on student success and on service to others comes through. I have quoted from the Principal's Message for the years listed in

chronological order beginning in 1952. Some of the messages are quoted in their entirety and some in part. The excerpts from the Sponsors' Message, the Class Song, the Class Motto, and the Class Poem follow the Principal's Message for the year in which they appeared in the yearbooks. These excerpts are only quoted when relevant to one of the themes.

School Culture

1952 *Panther* Principal's Message.

> Today, you are upon the dividing ground between two areas of your lives … pleasures, rivalries, and ambitions of high school days, and a life of high endeavor and earnest devotion to a place among men of sincere purpose and noble aims. The talents you put into this production should be devoted to the service of society. "Keep your standards high, attempt great things, and you will accomplish great things" (Disraeli) … Press with confident and hopeful promise into the future. (Spencer, 1952, p. 6)

Mr. Spencer's is clearly encouraging his students to live a life of accomplishment and service.

Excerpted Verses from the 1952 *Panther* Class Song.

> "Into the world of promises and hope
> To meet with joy and pride.
> With new found courage, hand in hand
> We go in search of good,

For right and truth are golden keys

To worldwide brotherhood" (*Panther,* 1952, p. 51).

This poem encourages students to seek right, truth, good, and brotherhood, a high calling.

Excerpted Verses from the 1952 *Panther* Class Poem referring to Henderson Institute.

"We're marching on like soldiers in a fight,

Marching on with all our might,

For great glory, honor, and fame,

Joy, success, we'll bring to your name" (*Panther,* 1952, p. 53).

The students are soldiers marching toward glory, honor, fame, joy, and success to make Henderson Institute proud of their achievements.

Excerpt from 1953 *Panther* Principal's Message Excerpt.

My thoughts go with you over the hill and up the valley of life, as each of you takes his path alone. Step cautiously, as you cross the threshold into the dazzle and tumultuous whirl of a new life. He who would win must labor for the prize. (Spencer, 1953, p. 6)

Mr. Spencer recommends hard work as the key to success in their new lives.

Excerpt from 1954 *Panther* Principal's Message. "Keep memories fresh, your ideals alive, and your emotions stable" (Spencer, 1954, p. 6). This is a reminder to

students to live their lives dedicated to ideals and not torn by the whims of their emotions.

1955 *Panther* Principal's Message.

> Your days here should have taught you that the unknown is greater than the known the spiritual greater than the material. If your aspirations be of the highest, then success will indeed be broad. It is the goal over the horizon that gives character to an individual. This goal is an answer to a call to service. L. E. Spencer (*Panther*, 1955, p. 6)

Excerpt from 1955 *Panther* Class Poem. "For a voice is calling 'Rise and Do'" (*Panther*, 1955, p. 22).

1955 *Panther* Class Motto. "Knowledge comes to those who seek her" (*Panther*, 1955, p. 12). The 1955 Principal's Message again has the topics of education, success and service through hard work. Mr. Spencer links the education the students received at Henderson Institute to their futures of working and striving for success as they accept the call to service. These elements are echoed in the 1955 *Panther* Class Poem in "Rise and Do" and the 1955 *Panther* Class Motto of seeking knowledge.

1956 *Panther* Principal's Message. In the 1956 *Panther* Principal's Message (see Figure 3) Mr. Spencer writes about the broader opportunities for students in the changing character of mid-century America for Black citizens. Then he challenges his students to accept personal responsibility as the new mothers and fathers of the future to take actions that will lead to "an abundant life with health, happiness and promise for generations yet

to come" (*Panther*, 1956, p 6). This is a call to a type of action that changes the opportunities for future generations of Black Americans not just a generic call to service.

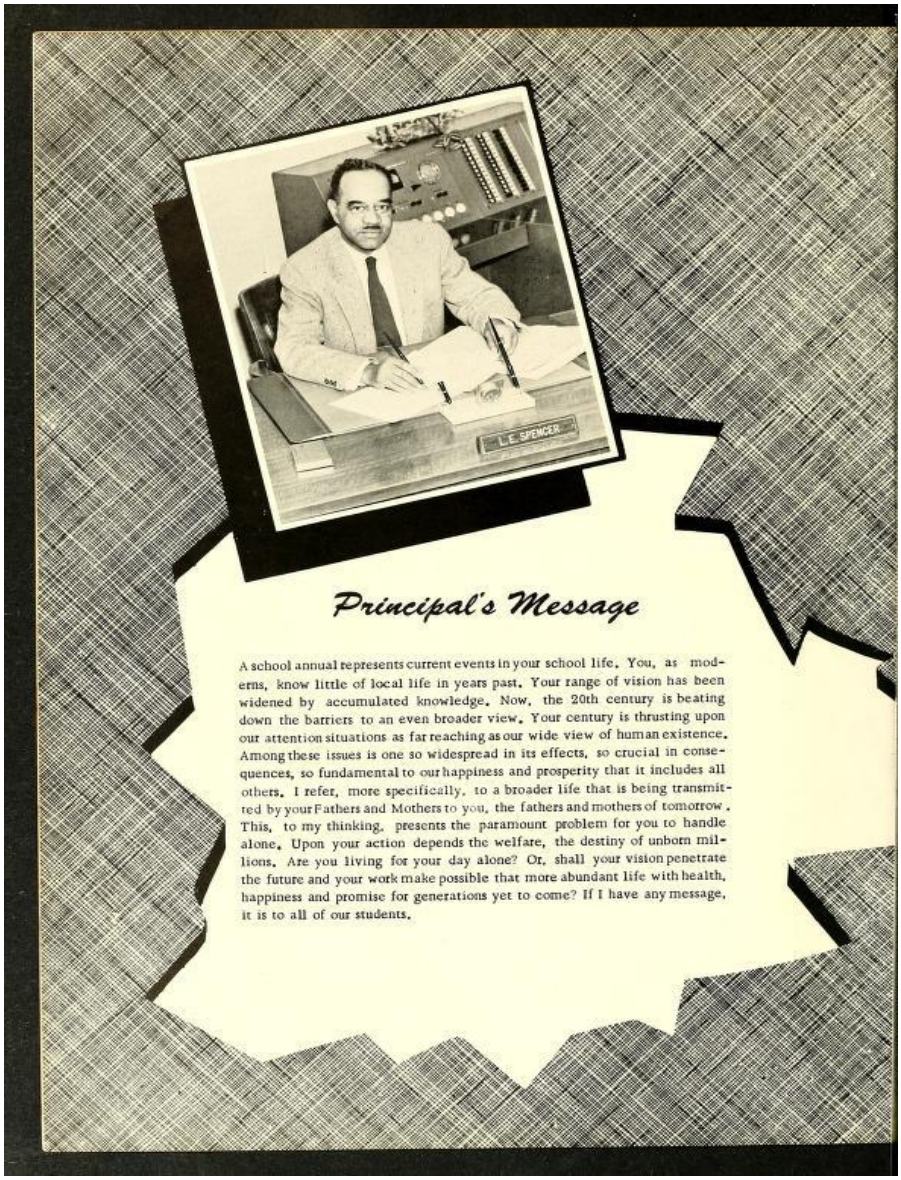


Figure 3. 1956 *Panther* Principal's Message page 6, *Henderson Institute Museum Collection*

Excerpt from 1957 *Panther* Principal's Message.

> Remember that the prestige of graduation from high school will be of great value to you during future years. It will open the way for you to many places of responsibility and profit. Such opportunities would remain forever closed but for your diploma. L. E. Spencer (*Panther*, 1957, p 6)

Principal Spencer reminds his students that their education at Henderson Institute has prepared them for success in their work in the world beyond high school. This message of confidence and preparation is an everyday part of the culture of the school.

Excerpt from 1958 *Panther* Principal's Message. Spencer tells students "Remember your education is your only hope next to God" (*Panther*, 1958, p. 6).

Excerpt from 1958 Class Poem. "Though the road was rough and rugged/ We still strive to do our Best" (*Panther,* 1958, p. 37).

1958 Class Motto. "Today We Follow, Tomorrow We Lead" (*Panther*, 1958, p. 37).

1958 Class Sponsors Message. The teacher sponsors for the Class of 1958 were Mr. Lewis, Mrs. Taylor and Mr. Miller. They have a short quote under their names. Remember: "The best comes only to those who do and give the best" (*Panther*, 1958, p. 7).

The message from 1958 is again trust in your education, work hard, and do your best. The way to success tomorrow is through hard work and your educational preparation at Henderson Institute.

1959 *Panther* Principal's Message.

> Today, in this scientific era, there is great demand for eyes that see, ears that hear, minds that think, and hearts that feel. …As the pages of the future gradually unfold before you, don't shut your eyes to the struggles of mankind, don't close your ears to the calls of service, don't narrow your minds to small thinking, or harden your heats with selfishness. If you do, you will have failed to live a life that is abundant. May God speed the moment when you are challenged to carry your share of the burden. L. E. Spencer (*Panther,* 1959, p. 12)

Principal Spencer encourages the students to live an abundant life that is dedicated to the service of mankind.

1960 *Panther* Principal's Message. Mr. Spencer ends his message with "You have my fondest expectations for a bright future. May your success be profitable and wholesome" (*Panther*, 1960, p. 7).

In the 1960 *Panther* there is a new and surprising page that includes a picture of the all the white school board and the white superintendent. This totally new page is jolting because it is the first time a white face has appeared in the yearbook. This page appears before the Principal's Message on page 6. The superintendent gives his message of congratulations.

Board of Education

SEATED, (left to right): Vernon Perry, W. Y. Bryan, Chairman, A. C. Hoover, and J. C. Folger.
STANDING, (left to right): O. H. Gwynn, T. W. Ellis Jr., R. P. Jones, J. Council Pinnell, B. A. Hartness, and W. D. Payne.

Superintendent's Message

W. D. PAYNE
Superintendent

To the Seniors of 1960:

Your class will make the tenth group of seniors to graduate at Henderson Institute during my term of office. I am happy to have this opportunity to congratulate you on behalf of the Henderson City School Board. All of us rejoice with you on the occasion of your high school graduation, and we shall follow your future careers with keen interest.

We hope that many of you will continue your education. You must prepare yourselves to meet the challenge of a highly competitive economy in our United States. More opportunities will open to you as you increase your knowledge and preparation. Highly skilled people find more doors open to them in business and the professions.

It is my sincere desire for each of you, that you will firmly resolve to develop your talents and abilities to the highest degree possible in your own life.

"Be not content with mediocrity."

Sincerely yours,
W. D. Payne
W. D. Payne
Superintendent

6

Figure 4. Superintendent's Message, 1960 *Panther*, p. 6, *Henderson Institute Museum Collection*

Principal's Message

Congratulations to you who are now finishing the first steps of your education for a career of work and service. There are several factors which make for success — the self, the other fellow/ and the relationship between the two. The success of self calls for sacrifice and study. The attainments of the other fellow call for the consideration and support you are willing to give. Both need the assurance that comes through inter-relations of a co-operative effort. May you always seek to lend a helping hand.

L. Spencer

Superintendents' Message

To the Seniors of 1961:

I am happy to congratulate each of you on your attainments. Your School Board has sought to provide excellent training for you here. You have come through Henderson Institute at a period of her greatest development. It is our hope that you have prepared well for the future that lies before you.

Your Class faces a future in the "Decade of the Sixties," that is, at best, uncertain. America will need your talents, your youth, and your abilities. We sincerely desire that you will serve well in the years ahead.

When I graduated from high school, our class motto was:

"Not failure but low aim is crime."
I commend this idea to each of you!

W. D. Payne

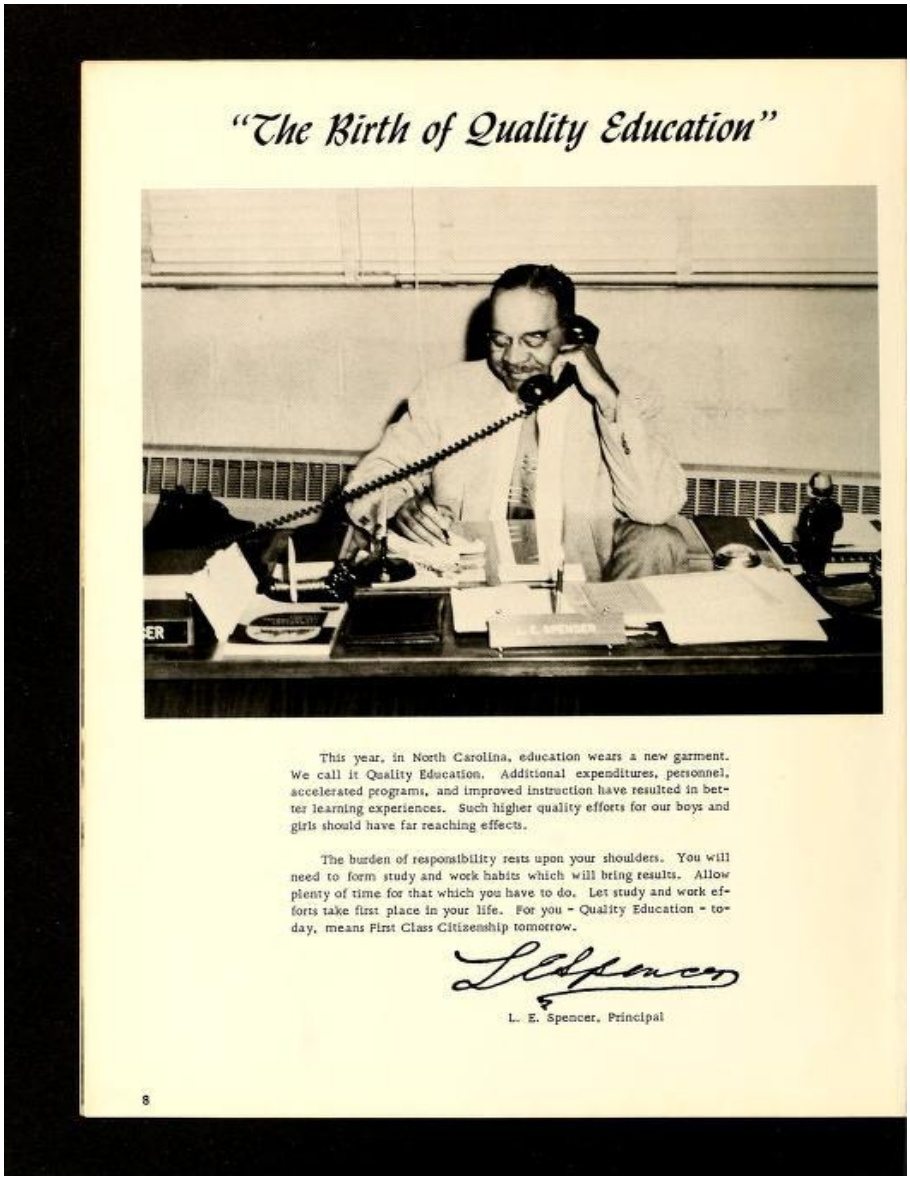
Page 8

Figure 5. 1961 Principal's and Superintendent's Message, *Panther* 1961, p. 8, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

1961 *Panther* Principal's Message. The 1961 *Panther* Principal's Message and the Superintendent's Message appear together in the 1961 *Panther* yearbook (see Figure 5). The Principal's Message congratulates the students on completing the first steps in their education calling for sacrifice and study for continued success in service. The Superintendent's Message is congratulatory but refers to attainments and completion of the excellent training provided for the students by the school board. The word training is such a value-loaded word in this school context. It refers back to a time when training was the goal of education for Black students, not higher education and lives of service to high ideals as equal participants in society.

As a comparison to this new appearance of the Superintendent's Message in the *Panther* Yearbooks of 1960 and 1961, I checked the yearbooks of Henderson High School from 1957 to 1960 that were available in the Granville County Library in Oxford, NC and the Perry Memorial Library in Henderson, NC. The Superintendent's Message disappears in 1962 from the *Panther* yearbooks. There was not a 1961 Henderson High School Yearbook or any years after that available in the libraries or on the online digital site for North Carolina high school yearbooks. In the Henderson High School yearbooks the Vance County School Board and the Superintendent are just pictured without a message and they appear years before they show up in the Henderson Institute *Panther* yearbook. The theme for the 1960 Henderson High School Yearbook was the good things of "Ole South," including multiple pictures of local plantation style anti-bellum white columned houses with students on their steps and in their gardens.

Excerpt 1961 *Panther* Class Poem. "And hope your light will lead us on to greater tasks to do" (*Panther*, 1961, p. 37).



"The Birth of Quality Education"

This year, in North Carolina, education wears a new garment. We call it Quality Education. Additional expenditures, personnel, accelerated programs, and improved instruction have resulted in better learning experiences. Such higher quality efforts for our boys and girls should have far reaching effects.

The burden of responsibility rests upon your shoulders. You will need to form study and work habits which will bring results. Allow plenty of time for that which you have to do. Let study and work efforts take first place in your life. For you - Quality Education - today, means First Class Citizenship tomorrow.

L. E. Spencer, Principal

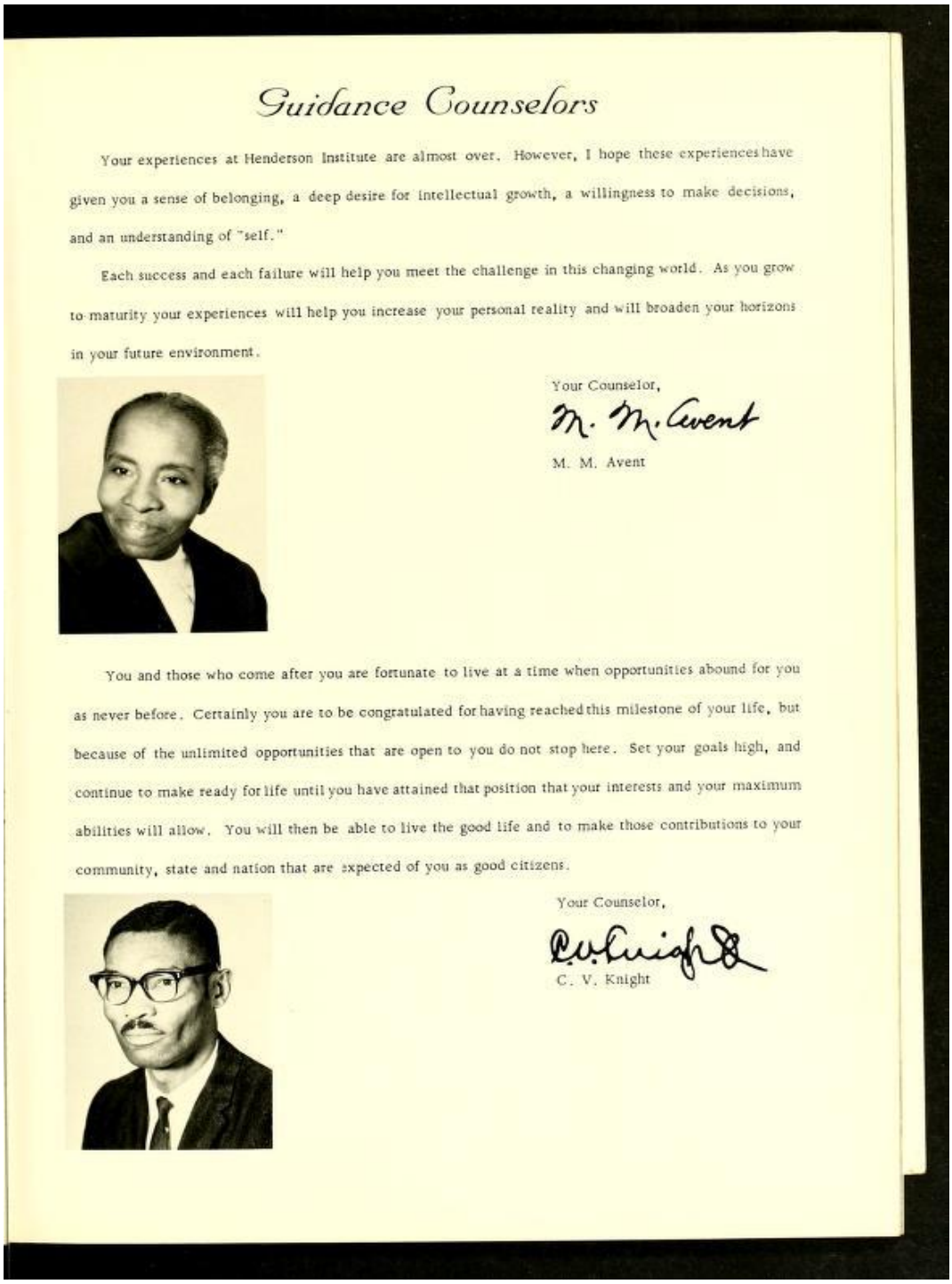
8

Figure 6. 1962 Principal's Message, 1962 *Panther*, p. 8, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

1962 *Panther* Principal's Message. In 1962 L. E. Spencer focuses on the changing educational environment in his reference to "Quality Education" (see Figure 6), which he describes as being based on expenditures, personnel, accelerated programs, and improved instruction. He encourages his students to take advantage of "Quality Education:" "For you – Quality Education – today, means First Class Citizenship tomorrow" (*Panther*, 1962, p. 8). Again the key to success is a good education achieved through hard work.

1963 *Panther* Principal's Message. This message is very short and simply congratulates the yearbook staff for completing a successful yearbook. It is uncharacteristic of L. E. Spencer's previous messages. The 1963 *Panther* Guidance Counselor's Message see Figure 7 continues the theme of opportunities for graduates, setting goals, and successful futures.

The guidance counselors express confidence in the students' preparation at Henderson Institute and encourage them to aim for success in a changing world, which was in previous yearbooks in the Principal's Message. Mr. Knight holds up the "unlimited opportunities open to" students today, the setting of "high goals," attaining "the maximum your abilities will allow," "living a good life", making "contribution(s) to the community, state, and nation," and being a "respected good citizen" (*Panther,* 1963, p. 9).



Guidance Counselors

Your experiences at Henderson Institute are almost over. However, I hope these experiences have given you a sense of belonging, a deep desire for intellectual growth, a willingness to make decisions, and an understanding of "self."

Each success and each failure will help you meet the challenge in this changing world. As you grow to maturity your experiences will help you increase your personal reality and will broaden your horizons in your future environment.

Your Counselor,

M. M. Avent

You and those who come after you are fortunate to live at a time when opportunities abound for you as never before. Certainly you are to be congratulated for having reached this milestone of your life, but because of the unlimited opportunities that are open to you do not stop here. Set your goals high, and continue to make ready for life until you have attained that position that your interests and your maximum abilities will allow. You will then be able to live the good life and to make those contributions to your community, state and nation that are expected of you as good citizens.

Your Counselor,

C. V. Knight

Figure 7. 1963 Guidance Counselors Message, 1963 *Panther*, p. 9, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Excerpt from 1964 *Panther* Principal's Message.

> The objectives sought by the president [John Kennedy] during his youth as he grew in stature were: to become well educated, to have a purpose or goal, to manifest strength of character at all times, and to be loyal to his God, his country, and his family. The world awaits your eagerness, ambition, and dedication. Press on to the highest level of your capacity. L. E. Spencer (*Panther*, 1964 p. 10)

This message was written in the aftermath of the assassination of President Kennedy. It paints a picture of President Kennedy in his youth as an example for the students at Henderson Institute to follow. They are encouraged to become educated, exhibit good character, serve high ideals and work to the best of their ability to accomplish their goals.

Excerpt from1964 *Panther* Class Poem. "Strive for service, purpose, through battles lost and won/ And through our efforts contribute to the welfare of the common man / Youth/ The time is nigh" (*Panther*, 1964, p. 54).

1965 *Panther* Principal's Message.

> People must dwell on the earth together. You fathers have long dreamed and seen visions of such a harmonious life. Since it is the peculiar purpose of democratic government to regulate men's relations with one another, dedicate yourselves to build a society in which you can dwell together in peace and unity. Strive for justice and happiness. Justice so that no class or group would be strong enough to wrong the other; happiness so that each might pursue what is best for his own

> good. The nation cries for such a people. Become a citizen imbued with the spirit of democracy. L. E. Spencer (*Panther*, 1965, p. 9)

In this Principal's Message, Mr. Spencer calls the students to build an inclusive society based on justice and happiness as citizens of a democracy. This is a call to work in service of an ideal society. 1965 was the first year that the Vance County Schools began integrating Henderson High School with just a few volunteers from Henderson Institute. The topic of justice and an inclusive society clearly speak to the struggle over integration in Henderson.

1965 *Panther* Assistant Principal's Message.

> You are completing your high school education at a very interesting and challenging period in our history. As you are exposed to many new opportunities, it is our sincere hope that the experiences you have had here have been of such that will inspire you with desire and courage to push onward until you have obtained these goals that will insure for a you a good and useful life. C. V. Knight (*Panther*, 1965, p. 10)

This is the first Assistant Principal's Message in the *Panther* yearbooks. Mr. Knight reminds the students that they have been prepared and that they must "push onward" toward goals that lead to "a good and useful life" (p. 10).

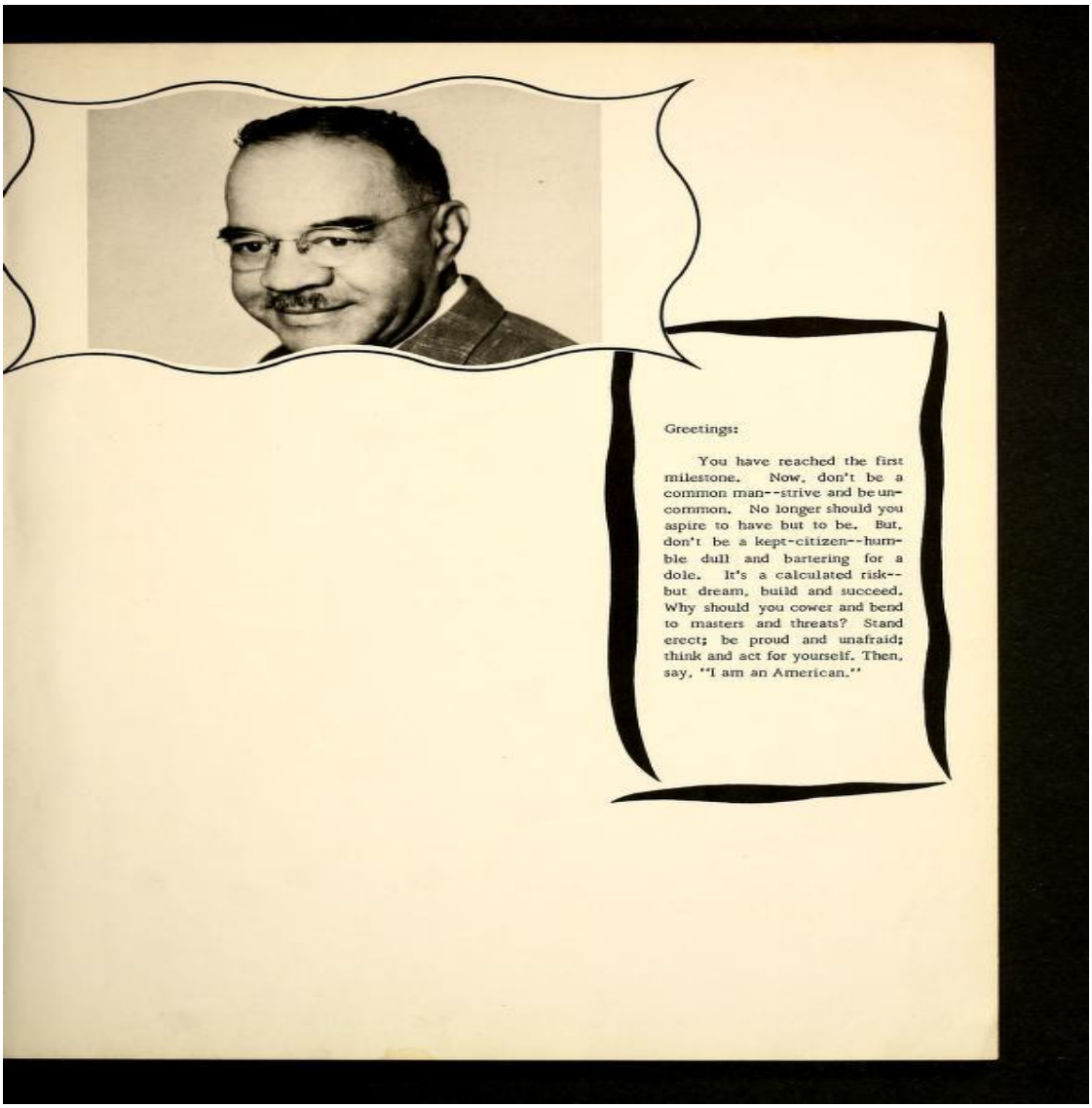


Figure 8. 1966 *Panther* Principal' Message, p. 9, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

1966 *Panther* Principal's Message. In his 1966 Principal's Message, Mr. Spencer issues a powerful challenge to the students (see Figure 8). He challenges them to be uncommon men, who dream, build, succeed, are erect and proud, and are unafraid, to

claim “I am an American” (*Panther*, 1966, p. 9). At this time the Henderson community is being in conflict over integrating the schools. The first students integrated all white Henderson High School in 1965.

Excerpt 1966 *Panther* Class Song.

“You have taught us the meaning of success

And we know deep in our heart

That when we do part

We will strive for the best.

Our time is drawing nigh

So we know that our aims must be high

The valuable knowledge here

Will remain Oh so dear” (*Panther* 1966, p. 53).

The 1966 *Panther* Class Song pulls the elements that were a part of the overall school culture and expressed through the messages in the yearbooks together. The school culture reflected these elements through-out the years 1952 to 1966. The message is that Henderson Institute has prepared students with the knowledge to strive for noble goals in service to mankind to the best of their ability.

An additional part of the school culture was that the school held an important place in the life of the Black community as a whole. The teachers were known to the students outside of the school buildings. They were either living next door to them, down the street or in the teacherage on the campus. When new teachers came to the

community they were housed in the teacherage until they found homes for their families or were able to buy their own homes. The teacherage was the former Girls Dormitory from the days when Henderson Institute was a private school and housed boarding students from out of Vance County. The teacherage is pictured in Figure 10 and was located in the heart of the campus.

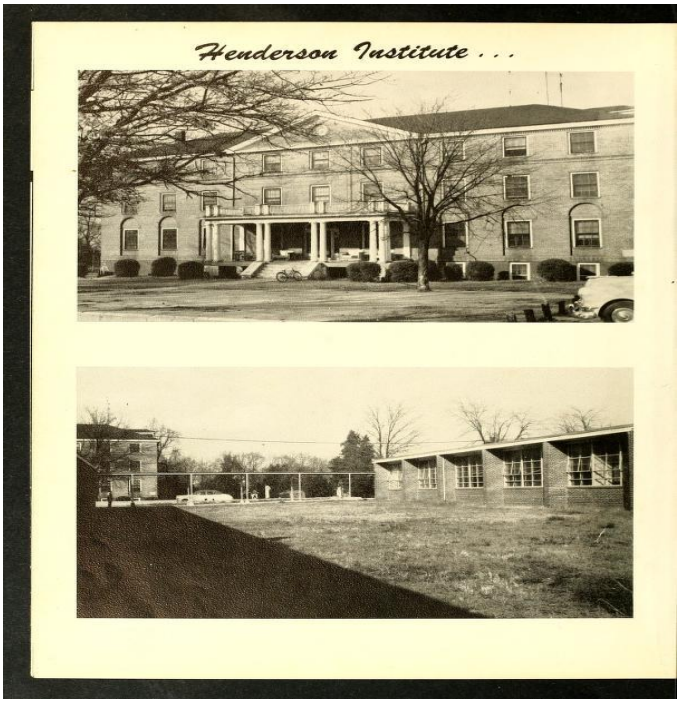


Figure 9. Teacherage (top) & Classroom Wing, 1959 *Panther*, p 4. Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Teacher Attributes

The Faculty section of the *Panther* yearbooks provides pictures of the teachers with their names. In 1959 the *Panther* Faculty section also listed the teachers' degrees

and the colleges and universities that they attended (see Table 3.1). Many of the teachers had advanced degrees. In addition, the teachers that the students mention are veteran teachers who are listed year after year as part of the faculty. In the table below are the teachers mentioned in the interviews with their undergraduate and graduate degrees and colleges from the 1959 *Panther.*

Nine out of the fourteen teachers that the graduates mentioned in the interviews had advanced degrees. For the total faculty in 1959, sixteen teachers had advanced degrees (an MA, MS, or MEd degree) and twenty-one teachers had a BA or a BS degree. At Henderson Institute, a small school in rural North Carolina, 38% of the faculty in 1959 held advanced degrees. In the yearbooks that follow 1959, the teachers' degrees are also listed.

The 1956 *Panther* Dedication in Figure 10 is to the faculty and thanks them for understanding attitudes, patience, inspiring confidence, encouraging students, and enhancing their success. For all of these things they have inspired love, honor, and respect from the students (p. 5). The dedication in the 1959 *Panther* is to Mrs. E. B. Engram in Figure 11. Her attributes are ones that the interviewed students attribute to many the teachers at Henderson Institute. She is described as devoted to duty, caring, always expecting the best from her students, and with creating programs to meet the needs of her students. Mrs. Engram taught grammar (p. 6).

Table 3.1
1959 List of Teachers' Degrees and Colleges and Universities Attended

1959 LIST OF FACULTY	UNDERGRADUATE DEGREE AND SCHOOL	GRADUATE DEGREE AND SCHOOL
Mrs. V.J. Alston	BS Science Shaw University	
Mrs. M. M. Avent	BS Science Bennett College	MA Columbia Teachers College
Mr. C.W. Brown	BS Math NC A&T College	MS Pennsylvania State University
Mrs. M. S. Bullock	BA French & English Shaw University	MA Columbia Teachers College
Mr. W. A. Collette	BS Biology & Social Studies NC A&T College	MS NC A&T College
Mrs. E. B. Engram	Elementary Teaching Henderson Normal Institute BA English Shaw University	
Miss J. Hicks	BA English Spellman College	MA University of Michigan
Miss R.M. Jeter	BS Commercial Education Livingstone College	
Mr. William E. Jones	BS Math & Science Livingstone College	
Mrs. K. L. Keck	BA English St. Augustine College	
Mr. C. V. Knight	BS History Hampton Institute	MEd Pennsylvania State University
Mr. W. H. Lewis	BA Social Studies & English Wilberforce University	MA Ohio State University
Mr. J. H McDougle	BS Math Knoxville College	MA University of Michigan
Mr. J. P. McLaughlin	BA Music Hampton Institute	MA NC Central College

The 1964 *Panther* is the first year that an assistant principal is mentioned, even though Mr. C. V. Knight acted in that capacity for many years prior to being officially called an assistant principal (see Figure 12). Every student that was interviewed mentions "Boss" Knight. He had a significant influence on the lives of the male students at Henderson Institute. They went to him with their problems. He was deeply respected because of the love and care that he had for his students. He knew them all.

The yearbook dedications echo the student interviews. The students experienced their teachers as caring, dedicated professionals whose goal was to see that their students learned what they should and were well-prepared for the future. They respected their teachers because their teachers respected them and cared that they succeeded. The teachers were an important powerful part of the students' experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

Mr. Knight, a 1935 graduate of Henderson Institute, graduated from Hampton University, served in WWII in the Air Force, earned a graduate degree from Penn State, and returned to teach American History at Henderson Institute. In an article in the August 2001 *Our State* magazine by Beth Campbell, Knight notes that the history textbooks were missing any history of Black people, so the teachers supplemented the textbooks with Black history and current events related to Black interests:

> Henderson Institute teachers made up for this by weaving African-American history throughout their lessons. They made great use of current events, especially in history and economics classes. During the 1950s and 1960s they

used the news of the day – from the Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in public schools to the civil rights movement -- to educate students about the long road that African-Americans had traveled and to remind them of the long road yet ahead. (p 58)

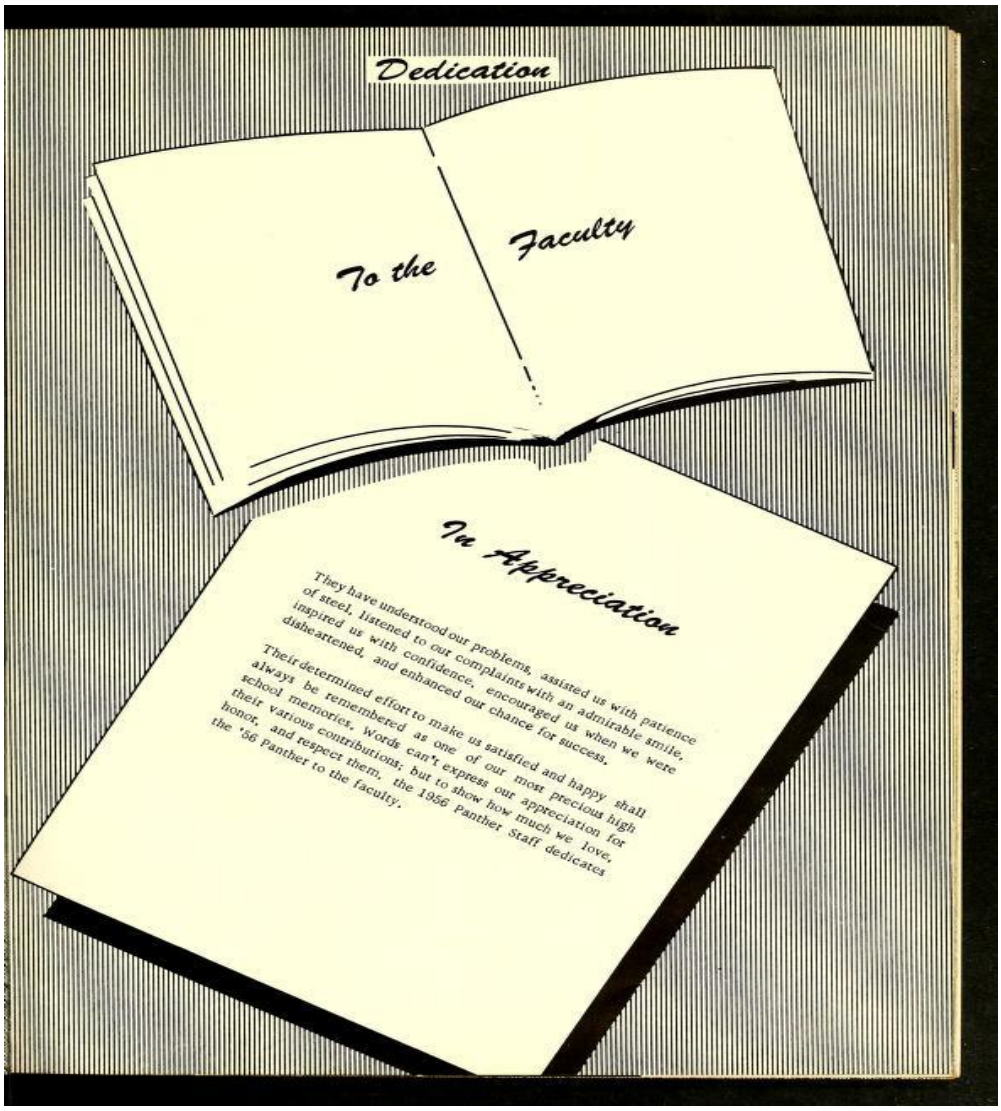
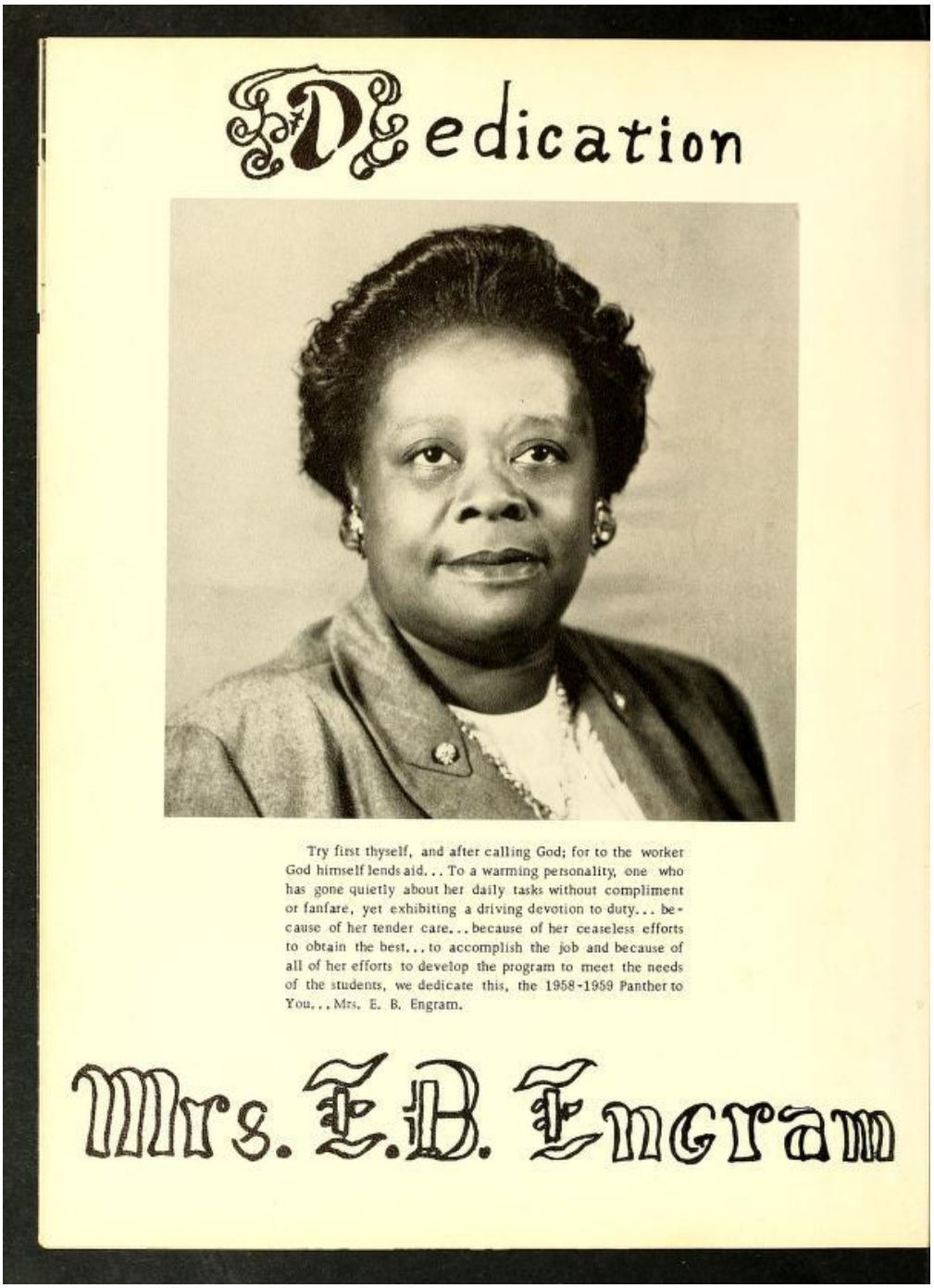


Figure 10. Dedication to Faculty, 1956 Panther, p. 5, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

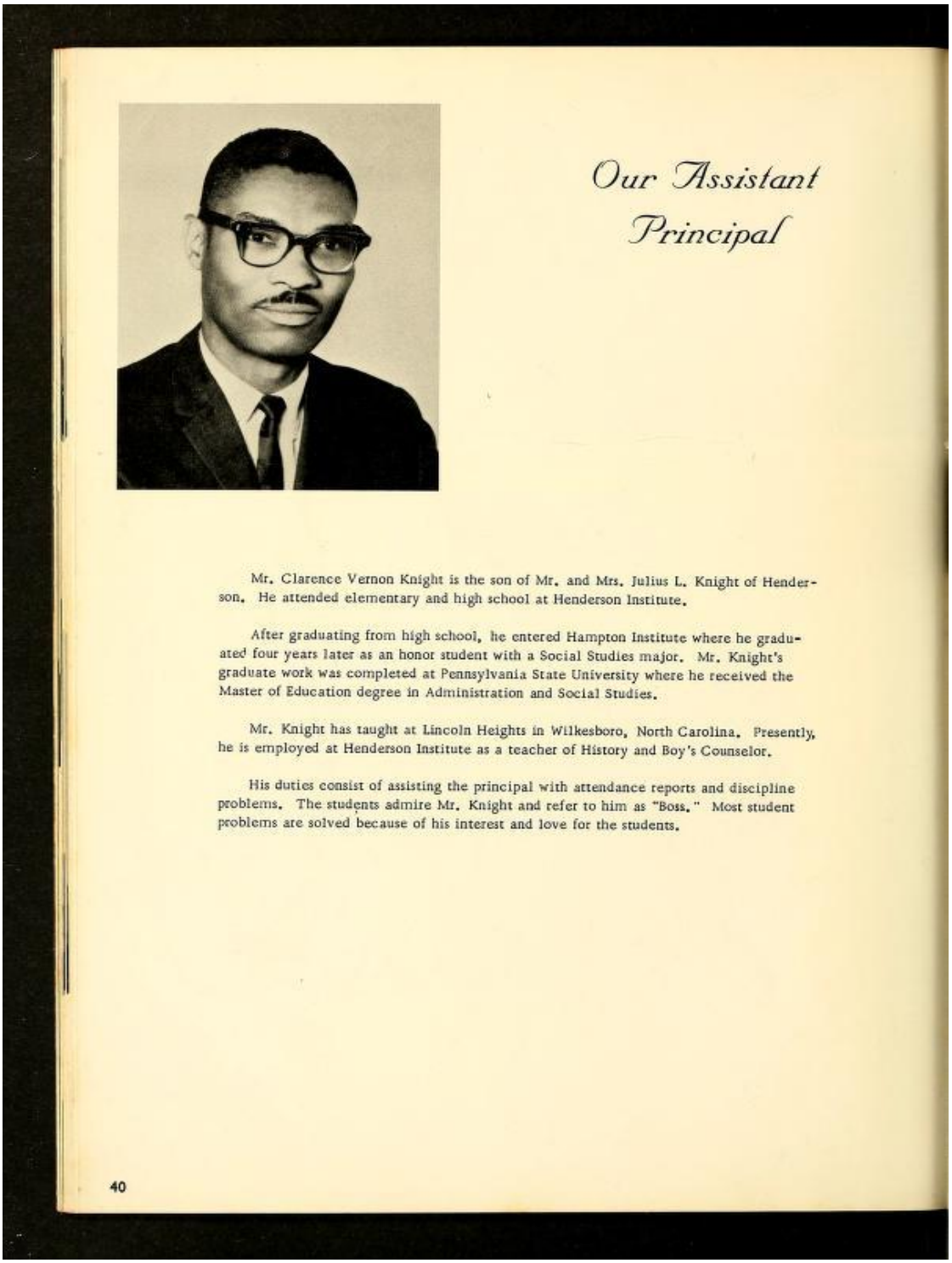


Dedication

Try first thyself, and after calling God; for to the worker God himself lends aid... To a warming personality, one who has gone quietly about her daily tasks without compliment or fanfare, yet exhibiting a driving devotion to duty... because of her tender care... because of her ceaseless efforts to obtain the best... to accomplish the job and because of all of her efforts to develop the program to meet the needs of the students, we dedicate this, the 1958-1959 Panther to You... Mrs. E. B. Engram.

Mrs. E.B. Engram

Figure 11. Dedication to Mrs. Engram, 1959 *Panther,* p. 8, Henderson Institute Museum Collection



Our Assistant Principal

Mr. Clarence Vernon Knight is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Julius L. Knight of Henderson. He attended elementary and high school at Henderson Institute.

After graduating from high school, he entered Hampton Institute where he graduated four years later as an honor student with a Social Studies major. Mr. Knight's graduate work was completed at Pennsylvania State University where he received the Master of Education degree in Administration and Social Studies.

Mr. Knight has taught at Lincoln Heights in Wilkesboro, North Carolina. Presently, he is employed at Henderson Institute as a teacher of History and Boy's Counselor.

His duties consist of assisting the principal with attendance reports and discipline problems. The students admire Mr. Knight and refer to him as "Boss." Most student problems are solved because of his interest and love for the students.

40

Figure 12. Mr. C. V. Knight, Assistant Principal, 1964 *Panther*, p. 40, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Classroom Activities

The classroom experiences that are pictured in the yearbooks show students in their different classes and areas of the campus. These scenes support many of the students' descriptions of their classrooms. There are pictures of the Science classroom showing students dissecting the frog, the History or the English classroom with students standing in front of the room reciting for the teacher, classroom group activities, business classes, trade and industry classes, and physical education classes. The pictures are from actual classes although the students and the teachers obviously know they are being photographed. The pictures provide a visual feel for the school building, the classroom arrangements, and the students in classrooms that do not come from verbal descriptions.

The first classroom picture in Figure 13 shows the cafeteria, a science class, and the library. In the cafeteria, the students are relaxed, smiling, and sitting with friends. The science class shows the often-mentioned experience in the science classes of the students dissecting a frog. The two views of the science class in Figure 14 show a demonstration at the front of the room about dissecting the frog and partners doing dissection of the frog. The students in the view of the demonstration at the front of the room have their frogs and are listening to Mr. Collette prior to cutting the frog up. In the second view, the students are in the process of dissecting their own frogs, and the facial expression say so much from smiles to scowls to looks of disgust. These pictures seem to be authentic pictures of a classroom experience. Dissecting the frog was a highlight in the interviews about classroom experiences.

The pictures from the yearbooks of the Business and Trade & Industries classes in Figure 15, and the English and French class in Figure 16 seem to be staged picture of what a class was like. The Business class picture shows the room arrangement, class make up, and the equipment, which appears up-to-date for 1960. In the Trade and Industries class, the teacher is demonstrating for the students before they start their projects. The Business class is almost completely female and the Trade & Industry Class is all male. The English class shows a common classroom experience of standing and reciting for the teacher, which students mentioned in their interviews. The French class shows a typical classroom with students learning from textbooks. The Physical Education classes show a wide variety of activities in Figure 17, including health screenings, wrestling, tennis, dance, gymnastics, volleyball, and archery. Henderson Institute offered a "rich experience" to its students.

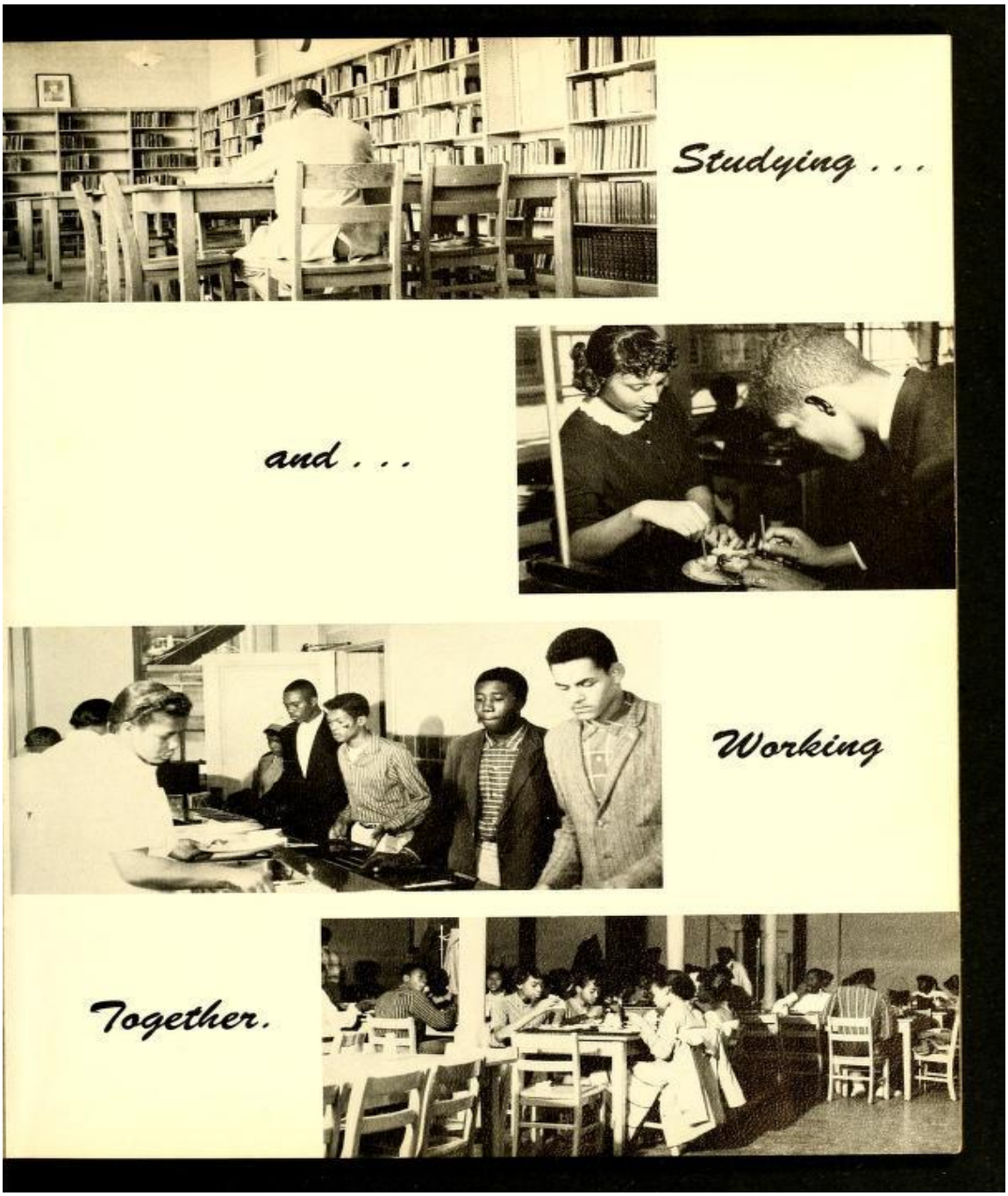


Figure 13. Library, Science Classroom, and Cafeteria, 1959 *Panther*, p. 9, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

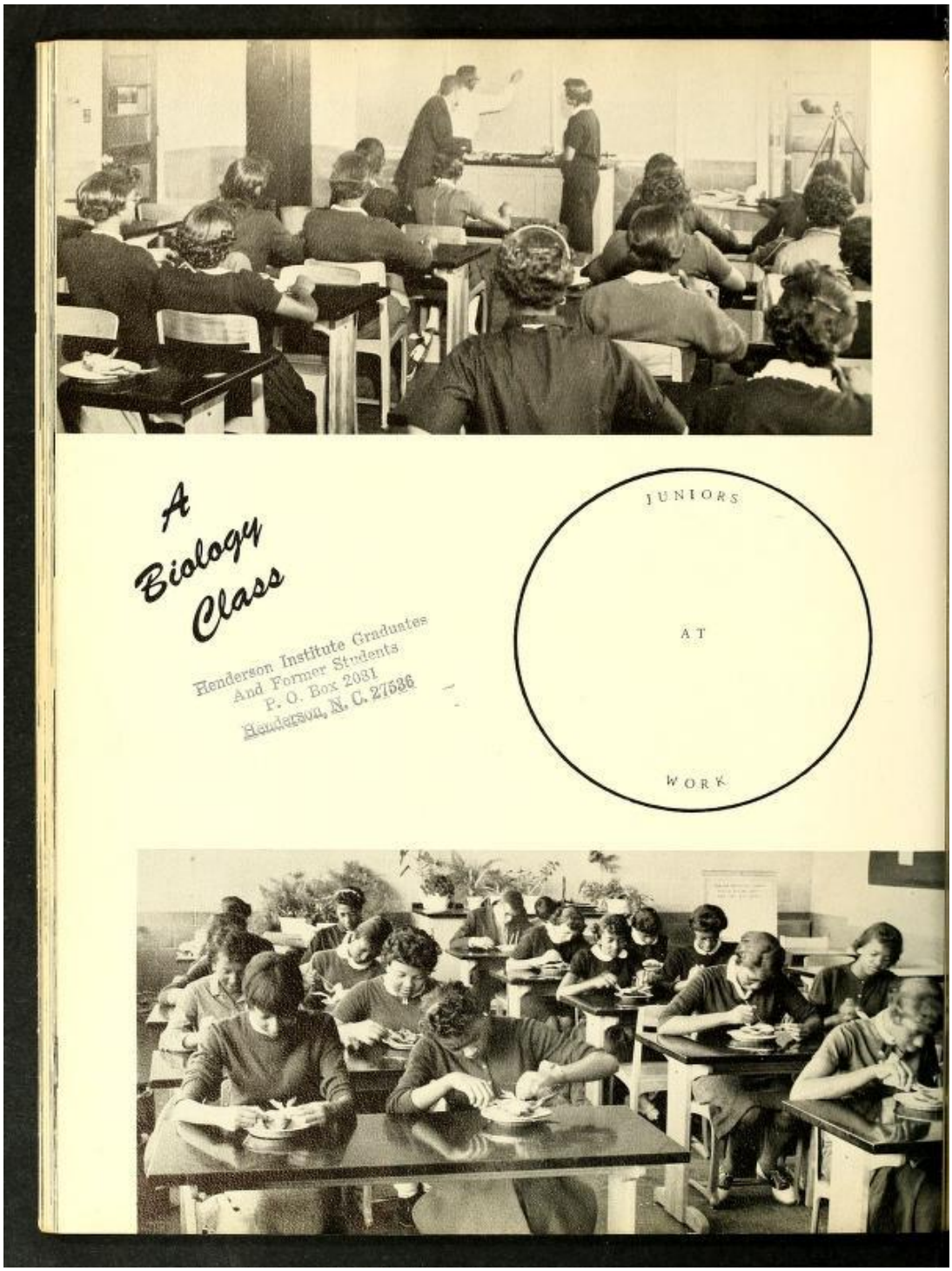


Figure 14. Two views of Science Class, 1959 *Panther*, p. 68, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

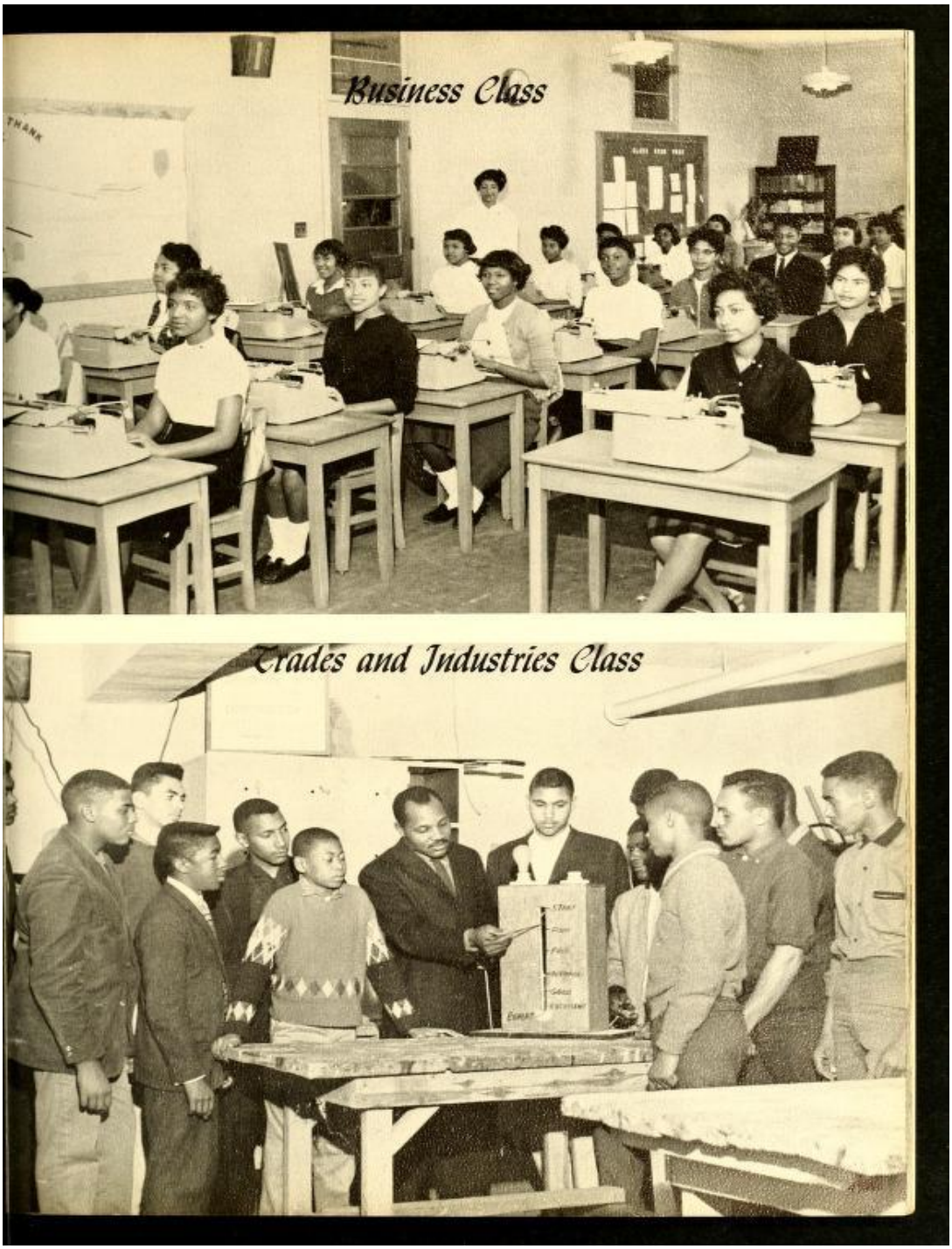


Figure 15. Business Class and Trade and Industry Class, 1960 *Panther*, p. 47, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

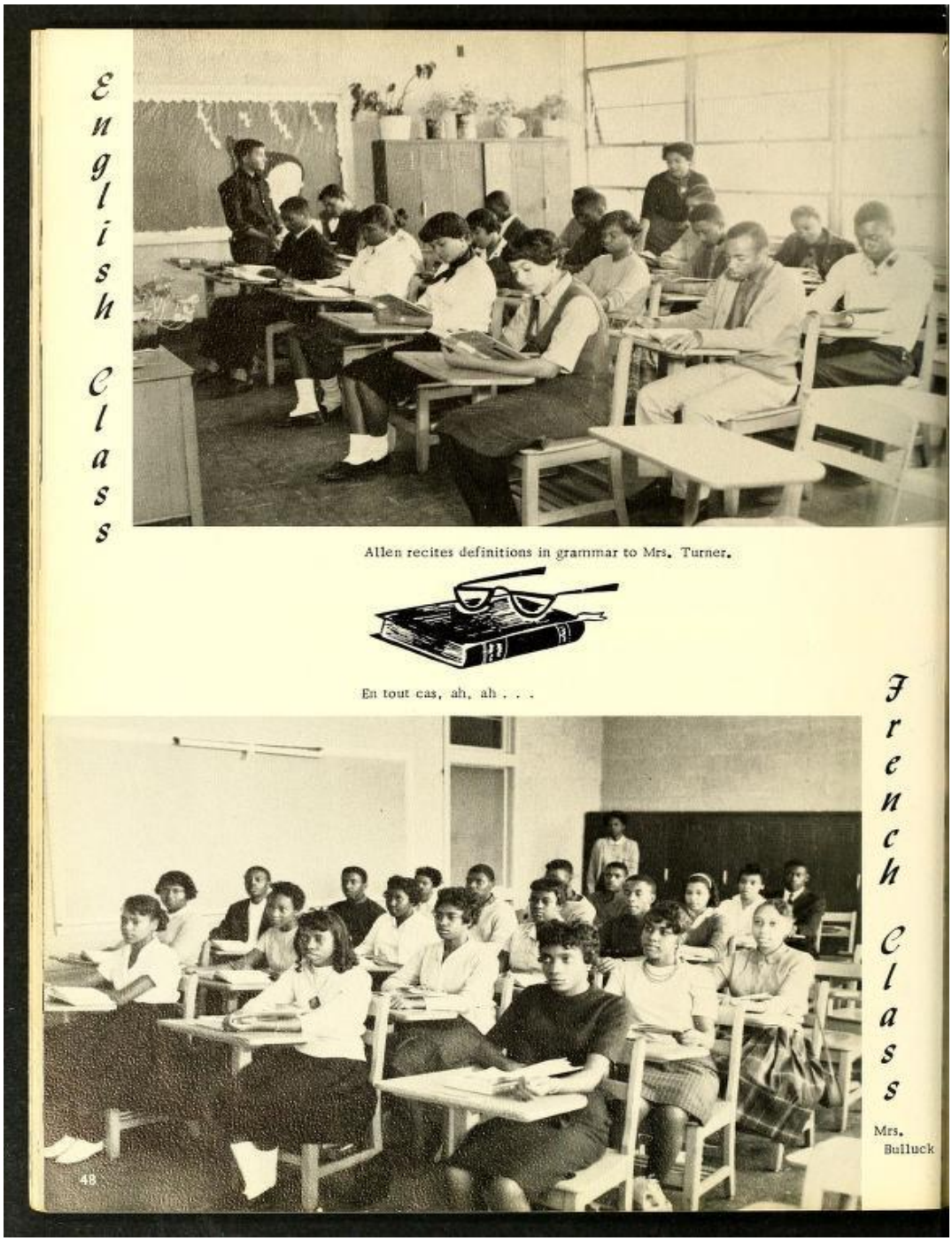


Figure 16. English Class and French Class, 1960 *Panther*, p. 68, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

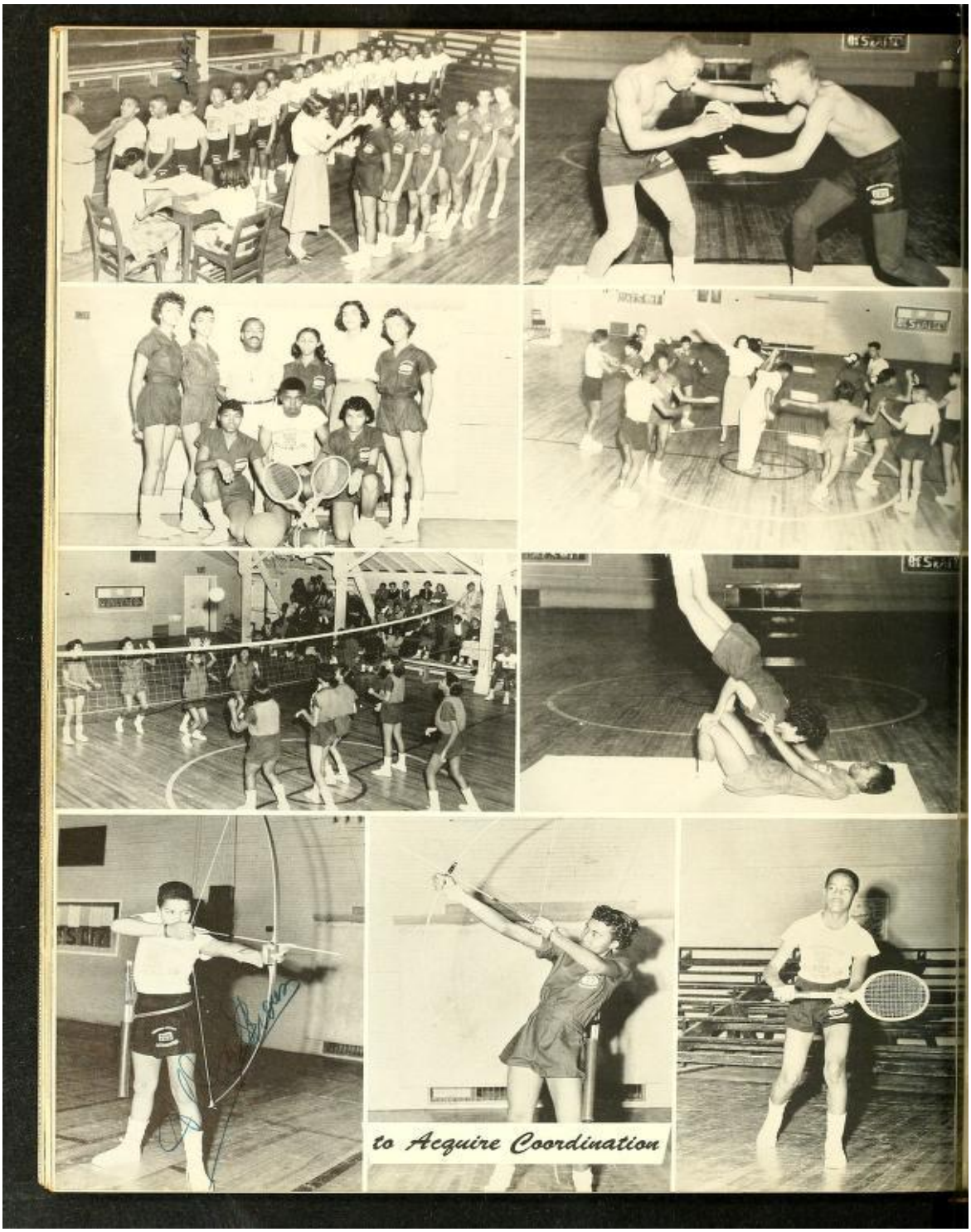


Figure 17. Views of Physical Education Class Activities, 1956 *Panther* p. 48, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Relationship of Students and Teachers

The teacher and student relationships were of primary importance to the classroom experiences of the students and were centered in the classrooms. However, there was an additional place where the teachers and students developed and reinforced these classroom relationships, and that was in the clubs and the extra-curricular activities that the teachers sponsored. Beginning in 1952, there were thirteen clubs, and by 1959 there were twenty-two clubs sponsored by one or more teachers. The clubs included Pep Squad, French Club, Science Club, Business Club in Figure 18, Bible Club, New Homemakers of America, New Farmers of America in Figure 19 , Dramatics Club, Crown & Scepter Club (a National Honor Society), Choral Club, Bus Drivers Club in Figure 18, Library Club, Newspaper Staff in Figure 20 (published *Panther Prowls*, the student newspaper, Annual Staff (published *Panther,* the yearbook), Monitorial Staff, Drafting Club, Guidance Club, Varsity Science Club, Veterans Club in Figure 21, Phi Kappa Society, Dance Group, and Art Club. The yearbooks pictures show the club members and their sponsors. Some of the teachers sponsored more than one activity. The Veterans Club was made up of graduates who were military veterans. They served as adult volunteers to sponsor socials and to help with school community projects. The yearbooks lists the clubs that the seniors participated in, and every senior was involved in at least one club with most of them involved in several clubs.

The main school-wide activities were Homecoming and the Junior Senior Prom. Homecoming included the football game, the Homecoming Parade (see Figures 22 and

23), Homecoming King, Queen and Court, and a Homecoming Dance in the gym. The Homecoming Parade was held in downtown Henderson with floats from the academic departments, the clubs, and the band, allowing many students to participate. The Junior-Senior Prom was the big culminating spring activity for Juniors and Seniors.

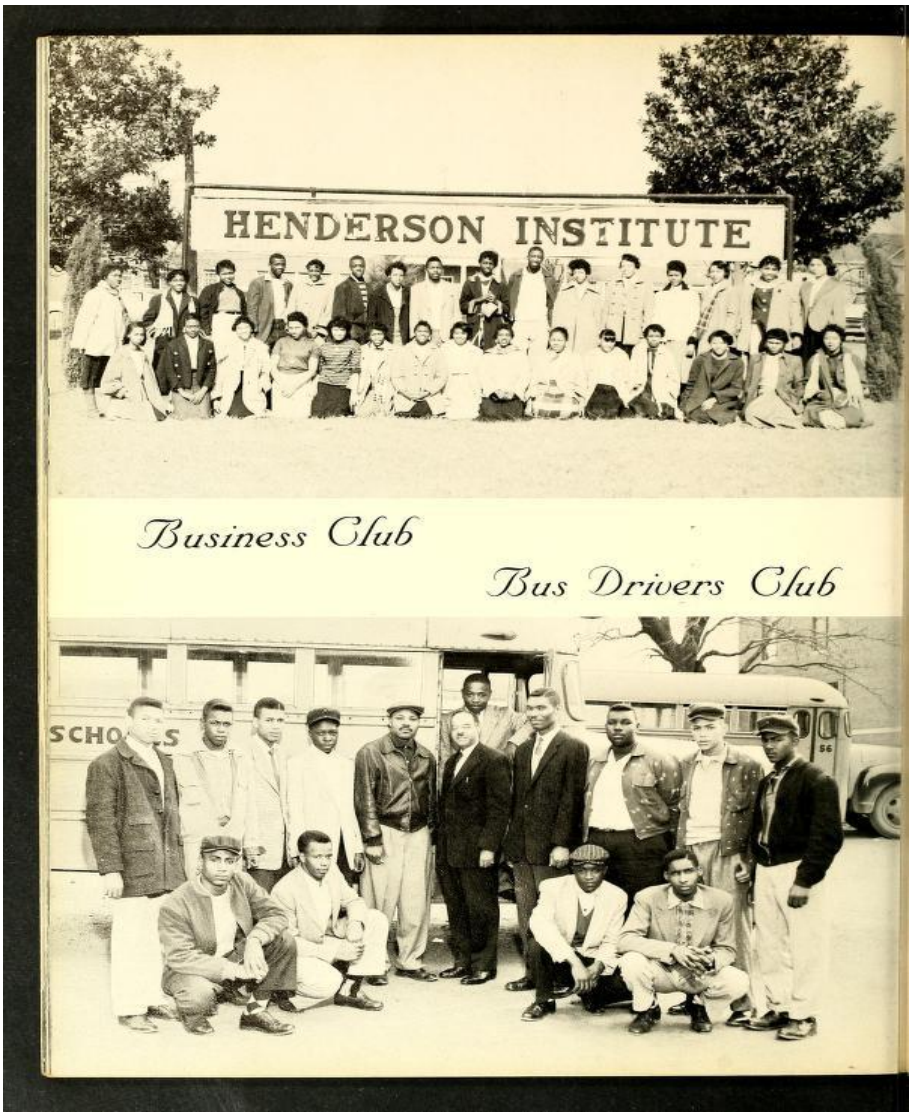
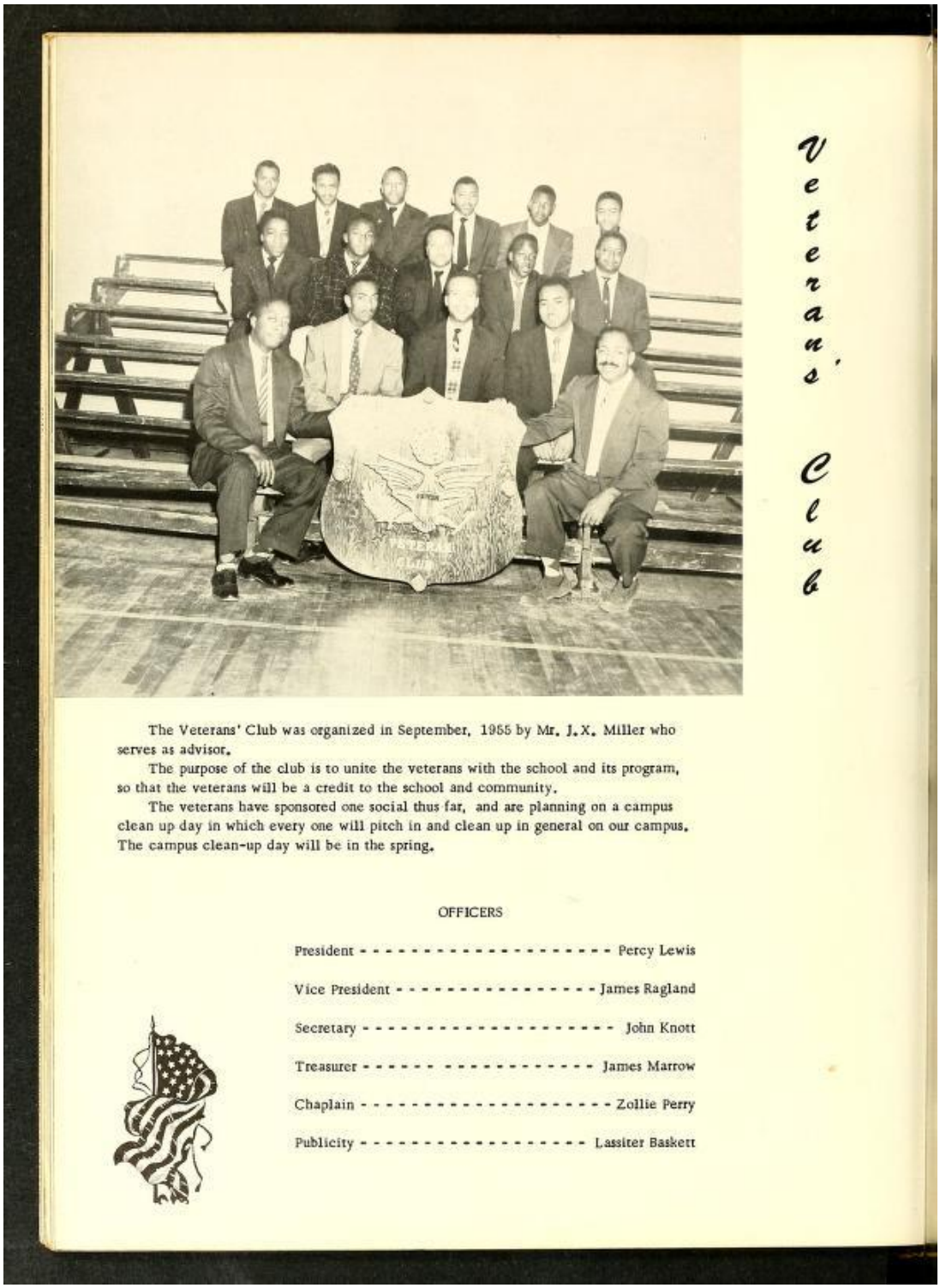


Figure 18. The Business Club and the Bus Drivers Club, 1957 Panther, p. 56. Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Figure 19. Henderson Institute New Farmers of America Chapter, 1957 *Panther* p. 52, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Figure 20. 1959 Newspaper Staff, 1959 *Panther*, p. 34, Henderson Institute Museum Collection



Veterans' Club

The Veterans' Club was organized in September, 1955 by Mr. J. X. Miller who serves as advisor.

The purpose of the club is to unite the veterans with the school and its program, so that the veterans will be a credit to the school and community.

The veterans have sponsored one social thus far, and are planning on a campus clean up day in which every one will pitch in and clean up in general on our campus. The campus clean-up day will be in the spring.

OFFICERS

President - Percy Lewis

Vice President - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - James Ragland

Secretary - John Knott

Treasurer - James Marrow

Chaplain - Zollie Perry

Publicity - Lassiter Baskett

Figure 21. Veterans Club, 1956 *Panther*, p. 36. Henderson Institute Museum Collection

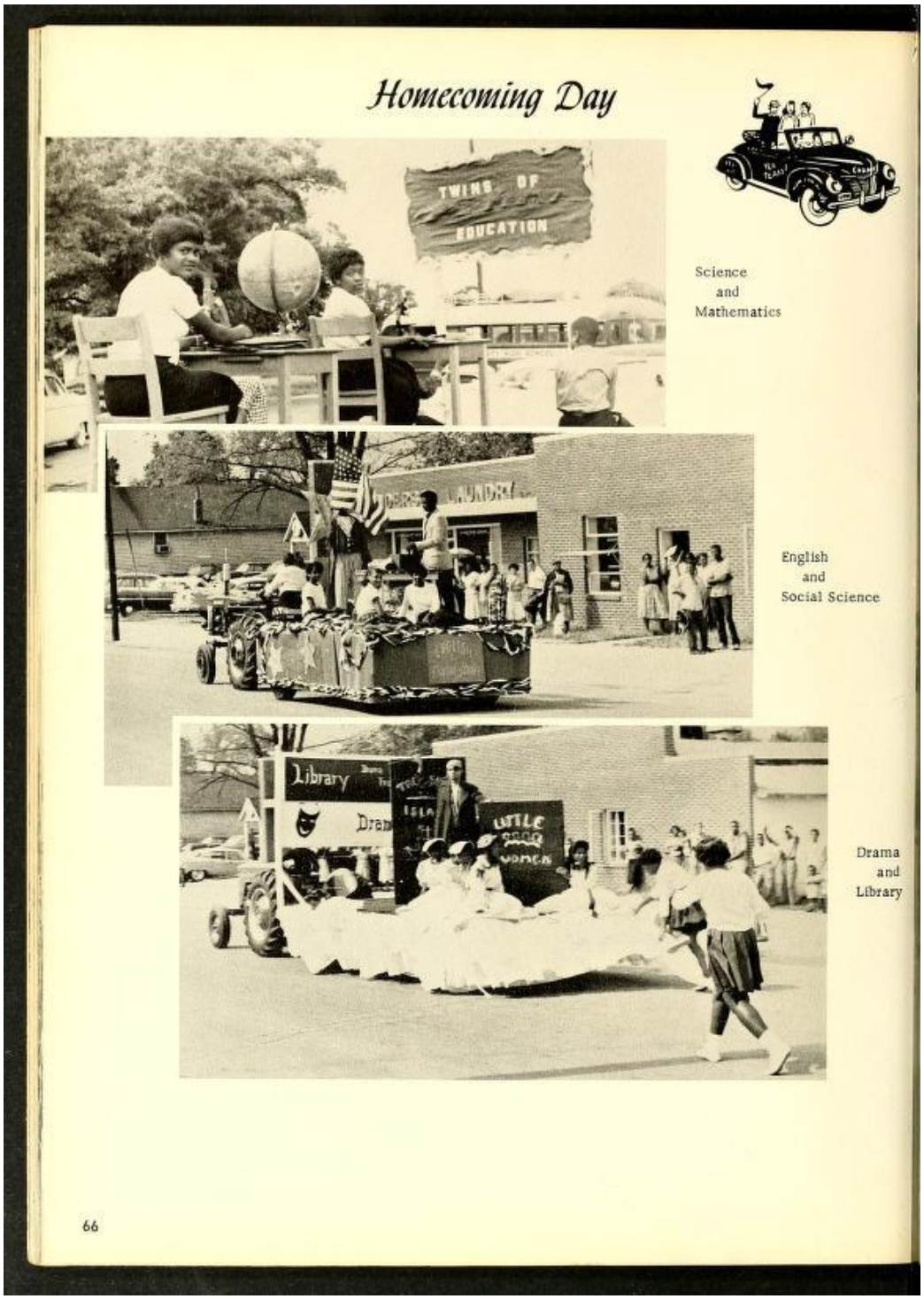


Figure 22. Academic Departments' Homecoming Floats, 1961 *Panther*, p. 66, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

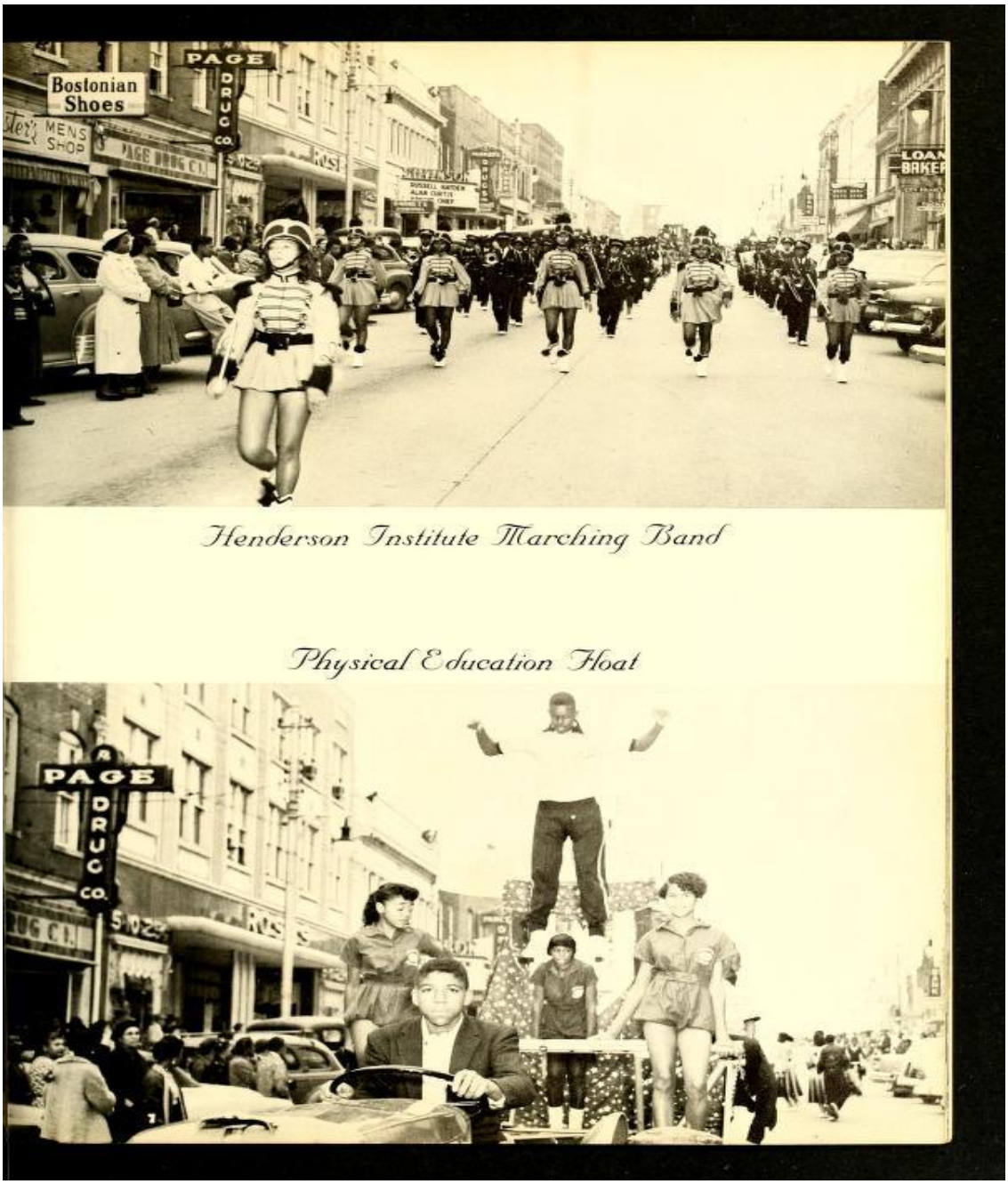


Figure 23. Henderson Institute Marching Band and Physical Education Float, 1957 *Panther*, p. 46, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Relationships of Parents, Teachers, and the School

Henderson Institute had strong support from the parents for the teachers and the school administrators. In the interviews, the graduates report if the teacher called home regarding their behavior, then they would receive not only punishment at school, but also punishment at home. The students were expected to respect their teachers and all adults. Parents attended school events and joined the Parent Teacher Association (see Figure 24) and the Band Supporters Club meetings in Figure 25. From the one neighborhood near L. B. Yancey Elementary school, the parents got together and walked to the PTA meetings together. This is a distance of about five miles. C. V. Knight was interviewed in an August 2001 article by Beth Campbell in *Our State* magazine about Henderson Institute, and he credits the parents for much of the school's success:

> The parents were very involved. And we tried to teach in a positive manner. We instilled good attitudes in them, taught them to look forward, to get ready for the future. And they were hopeful (p. 58).

Parents of students at Henderson Institute wanted to keep Henderson Institute open after the schools were finally integrated in 1970. The Black parents protested the closing of Henderson Institute and proposed that both Vance High School and Henderson Institute both be integrated (Johnson, 1986, p 1C).

P. T. A.

OFFICERS

Left to Right: Mrs. Sarah Boyd, Secretary; Mr. Hubert Martin, President; Miss Rosa Jeter, Assistant Secretary.

MEMBERS

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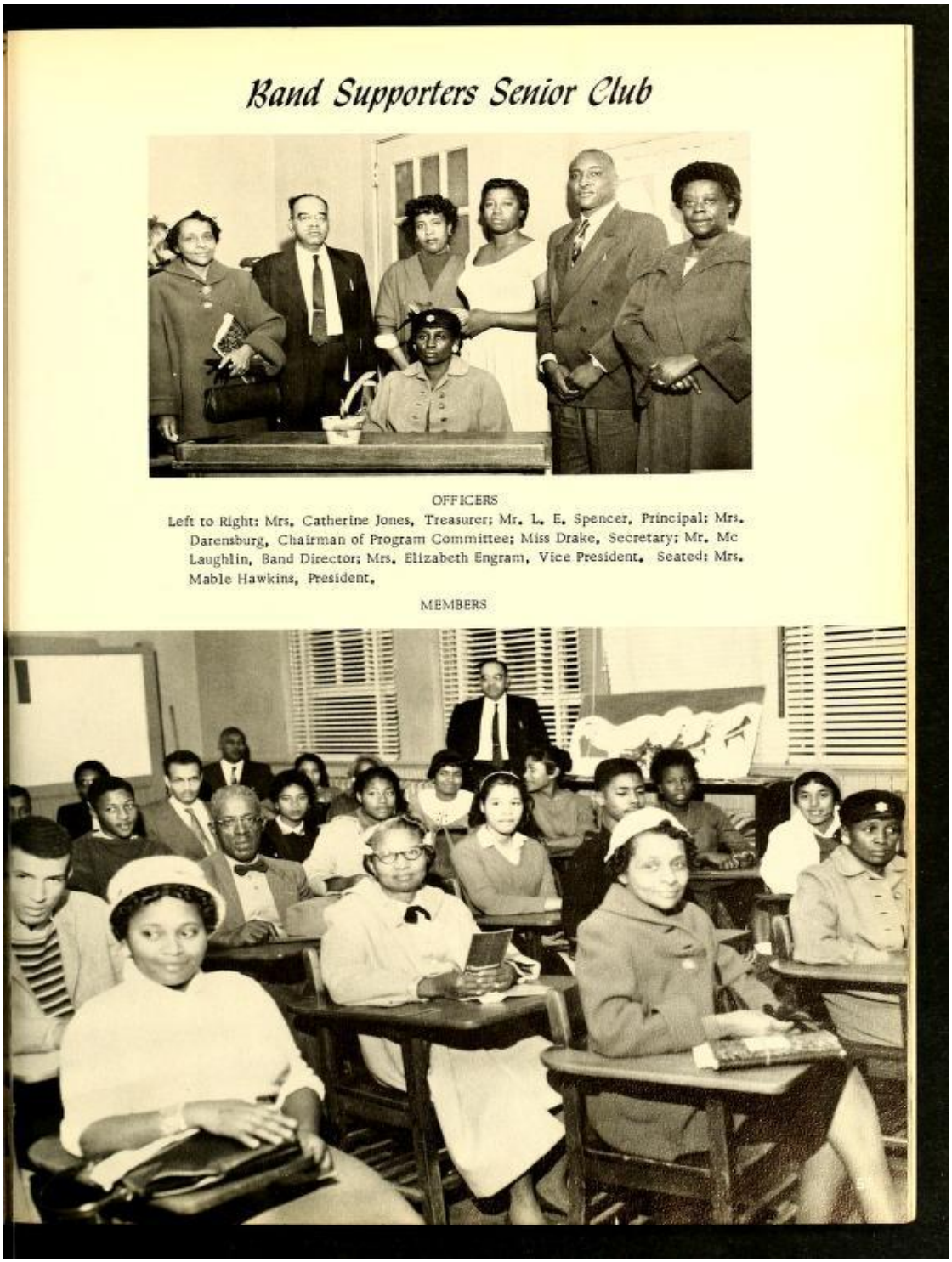
Figure 24. PTA Meeting, 1960 *Panther*, p. 56, Henderson Institute Museum Collection



Band Supporters Senior Club

OFFICERS

Left to Right: Mrs. Catherine Jones, Treasurer; Mr. L. E. Spencer, Principal; Mrs. Darensburg, Chairman of Program Committee; Miss Drake, Secretary; Mr. Mc Laughlin, Band Director; Mrs. Elizabeth Engram, Vice President. Seated: Mrs. Mable Hawkins, President.

MEMBERS

Figure 25. Band Supporters Meeting, 1961 *Panther*, p. 57, Henderson Institute Museum Collection

Themes

Analysis of the interview transcripts and the documents revealed five themes in the experiences of students attending Henderson Institute.

1. School culture
2. Teachers attributes
3. Classroom activities
4. Relationships of Student and Teacher
5. Relationships of Parent, Teacher, and the School

Summary Finding 1: School Culture

Henderson Institute was in existence from 1891 through 1970. The eighteen years from 1952 through 1970 when Henderson Institute was a segregated public Black high school were impacted by Henderson Institute's long history and traditions of educating Black students and preparing them for life. Henderson Institute was the center of the Black community in Henderson. Many students referred to Henderson Institute as a family. They felt that the administrators and the teachers cared about them and watched out for them the same way their families did. Mr. Blair describes Henderson Institute as "more like a family than a school …all the adults watched out." Ms. Brown felt that Henderson Institute "was a positive setting. …There was a feeling of being at home, a comfortable atmosphere."

This caring place was focused on success for all students, high expectations for students academically and personally beyond high school, doing their best, having high

goals and ideals, service to their fellow man, and pride in knowing that as a graduate of Henderson Institute, they were prepared for their future. Ms. Williams says that "you were always expected to do your best." Mr. Palmer was taught at Henderson Institute that "whatever you do you have to be twice as good as everyone else. You cannot be average." One stanza of the 1958 Class poem is "Strive to do your best." The Class Sponsors' Message in 1959 reminds students that "the best only comes to those who do and give the best." In 1965 the Assistant Principal's Message reminds student that they "have been prepared to work toward a good and useful life." The 1966 Principal's Message told the students to "dream, build, succeed. Be proud and erect, and unafraid to claim your full American citizenship." Henderson Institute sent a consistent message over the years to its students of high expectations achieved through hard work and doing their best.

Summary Finding 2: Teacher Attributes

Dedication to ensuring that all students learned, professionalism, commitment to and care for the students, high expectations, and enthusiasm for their subjects are attributes of the teachers that made an impact on the students at Henderson Institute. They were dedicated to educating all their students and gave of their own time to work with struggling students. They did not accept "I can't;" they always countered with, "You can." Their professionalism showed in the way they managed their classes and their expertise in their subject areas and the rigor of the lessons. The teachers were strict, yet their strictness was part of their care for their students. Mr. Blair says that teachers might

"joke with you, but they were strict." If a student was "troubled, they would gather together and help them;" this shows one type of care that Mrs. Brown observed. Mrs. Smith remembers that her teachers "expected us to excel, always excel, always, try to do better. My teachers expected me to go to college." The teachers shared their enthusiasm for their subjects and made learning engaging for their students.

Summary Finding 3: Classroom Activities

The main elements of classroom activities that the graduates remember include classroom set-ups, classroom management, whole group instruction, hands-on activities and projects, and student presentations to the class. The classroom set-ups differed depending on the subject being taught. In the Science classes, the students were at lab tables working in pairs or up front working with the teacher on experiments. In the English, Foreign Language, Math, and History classes, the students sat in rows with the teacher at the front of the class. The Trades and Industry classroom had student work benches for projects. In each of these environments, classroom management had similar elements.

The teachers had rules for their own classes that differed in some areas, but the one thing that was consistent in all classrooms was a focus on student learning. All teachers' management style was called strict when it was time to learn. Some teachers might joke with their students or allow gum, but when it was time to learn, the focus changed. Misbehavior was not tolerated. In their classes, the students had assigned seats and expectations for completing their work. Even though classes were packed, one

student remembers that "you could hear a pin drop." If they did not work or they did not behave, then the parents and the administration became involved, and this would solve the problem. They managed their classes with strict expectations for behavior and engaged their students with enthusiasm for their subjects.

The lessons were conducted as whole group or, in certain classes, in small groups. The science teachers either demonstrated a lab at the front of the room with students participating or had the students at their lab tables doing experiments in pairs. Mrs. Brown describes her Chemistry class with Mr. Jones as "all hands on. Some of it we did at our lab tables and some we would go to the front and do experiments with him over seeing the chemicals." The graduates describe classes in which the student activities were written on the board, seats were assigned, and teachers were at the front of the room. The Bible class was direct instruction teaching students right from wrong based on biblical stories and principles. In the English classes, students stood at the front of the class to recite from their homework. Mr. Palmer describes his English classes as learning "poetry and literature, not only to learn what they were about, but to feel the work." In French class after two weeks, students could only speak French. The History class with "Boss" Knight was described as not lecture, but as being conducted through group reports, small projects, and discussions with the teacher. The teachers engaged the students through their lesson designs and their personal styles and kept them motivated.

Summary Finding 4: Relationships between Students and Teachers

In the interviews, the teachers are mentioned multiple times as more like a parent. The teachers are described as being as much involved in raising the students as their parents were. They lived in the community or on the school campus and knew the students' parents personally. Teachers were seen as having as much right as a parent to correct or guide a student at any time, as a parent would. Teachers expected their students to do their best and to represent themselves with pride and dignity because they went to Henderson Institute. Mrs. Edwards says that "our teachers expected us to do great things." Teachers were respected for who they were and level of care that they showed their students.

The teachers not only built relationships with their students in the classrooms, but also in extra-curricular activities. In clubs, school-wide activities and sports, teachers continued to teach students the things that prepared them for life after Henderson Institute. In the future Business Leaders Club, students learned about how to act and not to act in the business world to be successful such as "Do not chew gum in a business setting." The teachers in the cafeteria taught students about table etiquette. The teachers took students to statewide competitions in Drama, Oratory, and Band in which they often came home with the highest honors.

Summary Finding 5: Relationships between Parents, Teachers, and the School

"Boss" Knight, in a quote in *Our State* (2001) magazine, gives credit for the success of Henderson Institute "to the parents of the students." He says, "The parents

were very involved" (p. 58). Parents were involved in school activities like the PTA and Band Boosters. They also supported sports and band activities by their attendance. The graduates experienced parental involvement on a personal level. They knew if a parent was called by a teacher because of their behavior or academics that they would face consequences when they got home. The parents knew the teachers personally because they lived in their neighborhoods and were part of the Black community in Henderson. The parents believed the teachers when they told the parents about their children. Henderson Institute was like a family in which "all the adults watched out."

Chapter Summary

After analysis of the data from the interviews and the documents, five themes emerged: school culture, teacher attributes, classroom activities, relationships of students and teachers, and relationships of parents, teachers and the school. Each of these themes contributed to the students' overall perceptions of their experiences in the classroom. These themes were perceived as being part of the whole experience of being in the classroom at Henderson Institute. The students talked about the school culture, the teacher attributes, the classroom activities, the student teacher relationships, and the parent teacher and school relationship all in the context of what it was like to be in the classroom. They did not perceive the themes in a discrete way, only as related to the whole experience of being at Henderson Institute. The students credit the experience of being educated at Henderson Institute as preparation for their success in their lives after high school.

The perception of the school as a family of individuals who were focused on raising the children and providing what each student needed gave legitimacy to the school's work and made the experience of going to Henderson Institute of primary importance to the students. A constant school-wide focus on excelling at school, working hard, doing their best, having worthy goals, being proud of themselves, and having high aspirations of service to others produced a school culture that was positive. The tone of the classroom was that students were there to learn, and students were expected to learn and to excel because this was about their future success in life. The students knew that their teachers expected these things from them and they worked to meet these standards. The individual teacher's actions based on these positive cultural expectations led teachers to work with each student until their students were individually successful based on the best of the student's ability. As adults, the students who were interviewed are very confident, competent, and focused individuals, and in retirement they are positively focused and actively engaged in their communities. They attribute what they have become to the foundation that they received at Henderson Institute.

The teacher attributes are the way that the students experienced the school culture on a day-to-day basis. Teachers cared for and loved their students like members of a family. Students were safe at school with teachers and administrators who were strict but could still joke with their students. Teachers expected their students to excel and were dedicated to seeing that they did learn. Rigorous lessons supported the high expectations that teachers had for their students. Enthusiasm for their subjects and the relevance of the

lessons kept the student engaged. The whole classroom and school experience were mediated by the teachers' attributes.

The classroom activities that the students recalled are pictures that are as varied as the teachers. The classrooms were well-managed so that the focus was on learning. Students paid attention both because it was expected and because the lessons engaged them as a result of the teacher's styles and the lesson contents. Large and small group instruction took place in the classrooms. The Science classes, the Trade and Industry classes, and the Business classes were hands-on classes that included both individual and group work. The English and Foreign Language classes were whole group classes with recitation at the front of the room. The History and the Economics classes were structured around discussions, small projects and presentations. The engagement that the students describe is related to the teachers' presentations and individual monitoring.

Relationships between the students and the teachers were based on respect. The students respected their teachers, and the teachers knew their students as individuals that they cared for and loved. The teachers understood their students' capabilities and demanded that they do their best. The students saw their teachers as strict but having their best interest at heart. Teachers were like parents and the students were treated as children that the teachers had a responsibility for helping meet their highest potential.

The relationship of the parents, the teachers, and the school was the power behind the ability of the teachers and the school to be successful in educating the students. The teachers had personal relationships with the parents because they were neighbors of the

parents and involved in the larger Black community in Henderson. Because of these personal relationships, the parents and the teachers worked together on the goal of educating the students. If there was a problem with a student, the parents, the teachers and the school administration worked to find a solution that got the student back on track. The students knew that when the parents and the teachers got together that they would be facing a united front and that they would have double trouble.

Henderson Institute provided a rich experience for its students. Students were surrounded by a positive culture of high expectations that was like a family. They were taught by caring, professional teachers. Their classrooms were engaging, orderly, rigorous, and focused on learning. They had respectful relationships with their teachers who combined strictness and fun in their classes. And finally, their parents gave full support to the teachers and the school.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter five focuses on the findings of this study of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute, the Black segregated public high school in Henderson, North Carolina, in the rural South that was closed in 1970. The findings are discussed within the context of the research literature of Critical Race Theory with an emphasis on Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, which is based in Critical Race Theory. The case studies of segregated Black schools in the South provide similar research for comparison to this study. Critical Sankofa, Nostalgia in Oral History, and Perceptual Theory illuminate the meaning of the memories that make up this study. This chapter concludes with implications and the limitations of this study in addition to recommendations for further research.

Review of the Purpose of the Study

Henderson Institute was closed in1970 when schools were integrated in Vance County, North Carolina. The passage of time gives urgency to the effort to record the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms of Henderson Institute. Wilson and Segall (2001) identified the need to research the stories of Black segregated education in the rural South as urgent because students' "private recollections are fading and disappearing from possible public memory as the major participants age and die" (p. x). The purpose of this study was to record the students' perceptions of their classroom experiences at Henderson Institute. This study adds to the history of Henderson Institute, to the existing studies of Black segregated schools in the rural South, and to the

understudied area of students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms in Black segregated schools in the rural South.

The research question that guided this study was: How do the students perceive their experiences of teaching and learning at Henderson Institute? I used a narrative research design because as Creswell (2012) describes narrative research, this method allows the researcher to collect and analyze the stories that individuals tell about their experiences. The analysis of the students' interviews through open-coding revealed meaningful themes in the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute. I was able to identify five themes in the stories that the students told about their experiences in the classrooms. I also examined the *Panther*, the Henderson Institute yearbook, from the years the interviewed students attended Henderson Institute for written and photographic evidence of the students' experiences at Henderson Institute. Analysis of the Principal's Message, the Yearbook Dedication, Class Poem, Class Song, clubs, organizations, and events revealed written and photographic evidence that supported the five themes that emerged from the interviews. These themes from the interviews and the documents produce a picture of the students' experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

Ten students—five females and five males—who graduated from Henderson Institute between 1957 and1966 were interviewed, and the *Panther* yearbooks from the years that these students attended Henderson Institute were examined. The students were interviewed individually with the exception of two males, who came to the interview

together and were more comfortable being interviewed together. The interview format was semi-structured and the participants appeared relaxed and eager to talk about their experiences at Henderson Institute. The interview data were analyzed through open-coding. The written and photographic evidence in the *Panther* yearbooks supports the interview analysis.

The results of this study revealed five themes, school culture, teacher attributes, classroom activities, student teacher relationships, and parent, teacher, and school relationships that make up the story of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom. These five themes were experienced by the students seamlessly as their experience of going to school at Henderson Institute. The school culture, teacher attributes, classroom activities, student teacher relationships and parent involvement made up the overall experience that the students described.

Theoretical Implications

The theoretical and conceptual framework used in this study provides a lens through which the findings can be examined for meaning and as they relate to previous research. Critical Race Theory is the overarching theory that underpins the stories told by the students' of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and case studies of Black segregated schools relate the findings to previous research on school culture, teacher attributes, classroom practices, teacher student relationships, and parent, teacher, and school relationships that served Black

students. Critical Sankofa, Nostalgia Theory, and Perceptual Theory frame the meaning in these findings.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory legitimizes the counterstories of the students' perceptions of their classroom experiences at Henderson Institute. These stories are an important contribution to the understanding of the complete picture of education in Black rural schools in the South. These stories give voice to the Black students who attended Henderson Institute, and their stories contribute to the history of Black education in the rural South. From the themes, we understand their education as based on a positive school culture with high expectations for academic success and behavior, teachers who were professional and caring, classrooms that were safe, orderly, relevant, and engaging, teacher student relationships based on care and respect, and parent and school involvement. The focus of the teachers and the administrators was on preparing their students for life after high school in a segregated and racist American society.

Morris (2001) encouraged the use of CRT in education to look for "the intersection of race with educational practices," and Ladson-Billlings (1998) advocated the use of CRT to discover the views of those considered "other." Mr. Knight, who taught History, noted in an article in the August 2001 *Our State* magazine by Beth Campbell, that the history textbooks were missing any history of Black people, so the teachers supplemented the textbooks with Black history and current events related to Black interests. The teachers used current events related to segregation and the Civil

Rights movement in their lessons. The teachers wanted "to educate students about the long road that African-Americans had traveled and to remind them of the long road yet ahead" (p. 58).

The teachers knew that they needed to prepare their students to live successfully in America's Southern racist segregated society. The teachers taught the students, according to Mr. Palmer, that they could not be average—that as Black students, they had to be "twice as good." Mrs. Edwards said, "They taught us to carry ourselves with pride and dignity and to know right from wrong." Mrs. Blair felt that she was prepared for the business world because the teachers taught her what she should and should not do and gave her hints about how to handle situations she might face. The experience that the students had at Henderson Institute gave them confidence and pride because they believed that they were prepared by their education for the larger world that they would face in their lives.

The Principal's Message of 1956 calls on the students to change the opportunities for future generations of Black Americans, and the Principal's message of 1966 tells students to claim the full rights of American citizenship. The administration and the teachers taught the students about their history and their current position as Black students in American society and about their responsibility to build a "society of peace – unity with justice and peace for all" (Principal's Message, *Panther,* 1965). The administration and the teachers wanted their students to know what they needed to be successful in the segregated and racist society that they would face as adults.

Culturally-Relevant Pedagogy

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, according to Ladson-Billings (1995), matches "home and community cultures of the students of color" with the classroom organization and instruction. Ladson-Billings encourages research into the classroom experiences of students of color where the students were successful to help define culturally relevant pedagogy. Siddle-Walker (1993) referred to "the presence of a positive socio-cultural system" that was reflective of the students' home culture as leading to student success in her research into Caswell County Training School. She identified teachers as showing their care for their students through personal accountability for their pedagogical practices and a commitment to preparing their students for life by helping them achieve academic success, cultural competence and socio-political critical thinking. Michele Foster (1995) summarized the literature on successful Black teachers, as teachers who were in alliance with their students, were closely connected to the community, were caring adults respected by and respectful of their students, had high expectations for student academic achievement and behavior, and made their lessons relevant to the students' experiences. Coats' (2010) findings on the learning experience of students and the teachers' behaviors in segregated schools in Mississippi identified four common factors of successful teachers. They cared about their students, were professional, were part of the community, and were focused on passing the flame by preparing students for success in later life. Ware (2006) identified these teachers as warm demanders.

The school culture, the teachers' attributes, the classroom expectations, the teacher and student relationships, and the relationships between the parents and the school at Henderson Institute all align with the findings of the Culturally Relevant Pedagogy research into effective schools and teachers for Black students. The school was perceived by the students as being a family, a home away from home. The message to the students was one of high academic and behavioral expectations. The students were expected by their teachers to be prepared for class, to be successful in whatever area they pursued, and to go out into the world to make not only their lives, but the lives of their fellow Black Americans better.

The teachers and their relationships with the students were the heart of Henderson Institute. The impact of the teachers on the students was a constant in all the interviews. In the classroom, the teachers were described as strict but still willing to joke with the students and make learning fun. They were *warm demanders.* The teachers were respected by the students for their professionalism in teaching and for their willingness to do whatever it took to see that all students succeeded to the best of their ability. The teachers encouraged their students to pursue education beyond high school. The one thing that several of those interviewed wanted people to know was how much the teachers cared for and loved their students. The students interviewed attribute much of their success as adults to their teachers and their experiences at Henderson Institute.

Henderson Institute was an important part of the Black community in Henderson. The parents had a strong relationship with the school. The parents, the teachers, and the

administration had a common goal of seeing that students behaved properly and did what they needed to do to prepare themselves for class, to achieve success in school and to be prepared for their futures beyond Henderson Institute. The things that happened at school often got back to parents before the students got home. As a student noted, his family did not have a phone, but his parents knew what happened at school before he got home. The teachers and administrators lived in the community or at the teacherage and knew the parents and members of the community personally. The Henderson Institute sports teams, band, chorus, school plays, and the Homecoming parade were part of the wider community life. One student described Henderson Institute as the center of the Black community in Henderson.

Case Studies of Black Schools

This study of the perceptions of the students' experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute adds to the case studies of rural Black schools in the South. Siddle-Walker (1993, 2000) examined the counterstories of the teachers, students, and parents to expand the historical record of segregated schools. Siddle-Walker discovered recurring themes including a high level of parental involvement, a school culture of caring, highly qualified teachers, and the school as an integral part of the Black community. Siddle-Walker and Archung (2003), in their comparative study of schools for Black students in the segregated American South and for Black South Africans during apartheid, found evidence that the schools had a culture of caring that motivated students to achieve, prepared students for life in their racist societies and prepared students for life in a more

just society. Patterson, Mickelson, Peterson, and Gross (2008) in reconstructing the history of Douglass School, a segregated Black High School in Parsons, Kansas, from 1908 to 1958, found that the school was a "part of their extended family" (p. 312). The teachers were describe as caring disciplinarians, involved in the community, having high expectations for their students, communicating racial pride, and preparing their students for life in a segregated White world.

My research has revealed five similar themes at Henderson Institute. The culture of the school was like a family, focused on high expectations for student success academically and behaviorally, and committed to preparing students for life in a segregated society beyond high school. The teachers were committed to and cared about their students, developed relationships with their students that motivated the students to achieve, taught a rigorous content in a way that was relevant to the students' lives, had strict classrooms but still joked with their students, knew and were involved with parents, and were part of the wider Black community in Henderson.

Critical Sankofa

Kwame Gyekye (1996) used the term Critical Sankofa to describe a look back at the past to seek the meaning and value in beliefs and practices. He sought to create cultural change through a combination of a revision of the beliefs, practices, and institutions of a culture with a preservation of the meaning and values of the past beliefs, practices and institutions. Looking at the five themes that emerged in this research from the perspective of Critical Sankofa enables us to find the meaning and value of these past

school experiences for past Black students that could be applied to an analysis of the school experiences of today's Black students.

The five themes that emerged in my research are a positive school culture of high expectations for achievement and behavior, strict caring professional teachers, rigorous relevant classroom activities, teacher student relationships based on respect, and strong parent and school relationships. The elements of the school culture that the interviewees valued were the school as a family, the school as a community of significant adults expecting each student to be their best and to be successful, and the school as a place that prepared students for the challenges that they would face in a segregated racist society. The teachers were remembered as strict disciplinarians demanding that students achieve to the best of their abilities, as joking with their students, and as making sure that all students learned. Classroom activities that were relevant and rigorous were the ones that were remembered as important, exciting, and challenging. Teacher-student relationships were remembered as based on mutual respect and on the caring and love of the teachers for their students. The strong relationship between the teachers, administrators, and the parents focused on student achievement and behavior, which was seen as a powerful factor in the students' remembrances of their school experience. Through the lens of Critical Sankofa, we glean the meaningful elements of the five themes that emerged in my research.

Nostalgia in Oral History

Nostalgia in oral history raises questions about people's descriptions of their experiences in the past. Shircliffe (2001) identified common themes from research on "good" Black segregated schools as caring dedicated teachers, high expectations for the students, safe home and school environment, and nostalgia for segregated schools among former students and teachers of these schools. Shircliffe proposed that this nostalgia is a comment on the present based on what was valued in the past by participants in oral history studies. Dougherty (1999) views oral history as a new type of scholarship into the history of Black segregated schools that makes meaning out of past experiences and comments on the present. If we frame the five themes that emerged from the students' perceptions of their experiences at Henderson Institute as making meaning out of the past and as a commentary on the present, then we know that a positive school culture of high expectations for achievement and behavior, strict caring professional teachers, rigorous relevant classroom activities, teacher student relationships based on respect, and strong parent and school relationships were the meaningful part of the students' experiences and a commentary on the current conditions in integrated schools.

Perceptual Theory

Perceptual Theory defines the way an individual experiences a situation. The Thomas Theorem states, "If men define a situation as real, they are real in their consequence" (Thomas and Thomas, 1928). Thomas (1923) explained that the way we define a situation causes our actions and thus the defined situation becomes reality in its

consequences. Volkart (1951) identifies these "subjective impressions" as real to life and the reality that the individual has experienced (p. 41). The subjective reality becomes the memory of the situation for the individual. The students acted based on their perception of their school as a family, as a place of high expectations for their success, as having teachers, who were strict, caring, loving, and fun, as classes that were relevant, rigorous, and interesting, as including respectful relationships with their teachers, and as having their parents involved with the school. These perceptions produced their actions, which are the memories that the students have of their school.

Practical Implications

The practical implications of my research are historical and useful in examining schooling today. My research into the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute adds to the history of Henderson Institute, contributes to the history of segregate education in the rural South, and provides a description of the students' experiences in Black segregated classrooms that can be compared to Black students' experiences in integrated classrooms today.

Henderson Institute was the center of the Black community in Henderson, North Carolina. This history is important to understanding from where the Black community in Henderson has come, "lest we forget." The story of the students' experiences broadens the history of Henderson Institute for the graduates, their descendants, and the community of Henderson. It documents the richness and the importance of the experiences that the students had at Henderson Institute.

Henderson Institute was opened in 1891 in Henderson, North Carolina, as a private boarding high school for Black students who came from many parts of North Carolina and other Southern states. As a private school, it was important in training teachers, nurses, and printing press operators for Black schools, hospitals, and newspapers. The whole history of this school has not been written, but my research into its history as a public segregated high school adds another record to the history of Henderson Institute and of Black, rural, segregated schools in the South.

The five themes that emerged from my research into the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute can be used to examine the experience of Black students in integrated high schools today. These themes show the meaning and value in the students' perceptions of their experiences at Henderson Institute that contributed to their actions and success at Henderson Institute. The students' experiences in today's classrooms can be examined for positive school cultures of high expectations for achievement and behavior, for teachers who are professional, strict, demanding, caring, loving, and fun, for lessons that are relevant, rigorous and exciting, for student teacher relationships based on respect and care, and for strong relationships of parents, teachers and the school.

School Culture

The school culture at Henderson institute was one that had high expectations for achievement and success of their students. This culture impacted the way that the students approached their education and their behaviors in the classroom. This culture

was based on wanting students to be individually successful by giving them the help and support that they needed to succeed and on the realities of the Southern racist society where they lived. Students were told that they had to be twice as good as the White students and adults in the segregated society that they would enter. This was the harsh reality of the times and gave power to the message of high achievement and success that was promoted at Henderson Institute.

Today, we have to promote high achievement and success for the individual student by taking into consideration their specific educational needs and their world views that are impacted by race, ethnicity, gender, class, or culture. Students today need to experience a school culture focused on success and high achievement within scaffolding that supports their specific educational needs and that relates to the socio-political realities of the world that they will enter. The first part of focusing on successful achievement within a school that recognizes and supports a student's specific educational needs is something that schools should be able to accomplish. The second part of this focus on success, by adding the power of the reality of the real world situations that our students will face, returns us to the type of truth telling that is part of Critical Race Theory. This type of truth-telling and recognition may be dangerous given the bureaucratic and political nature of schooling that is reproducing the status quo of the dominant power holders. I can see this being addressed as part of the curriculum in literature, history, economics, and science. Having students reflect on current events and project themselves into socio-political situations presented within the curriculum could

get to the personal level for diverse students in the same way that the teachers at Henderson Institute added Black history and current civil rights news to their lessons in the classroom to discuss their students' history and their current position in the larger racist society.

Teacher Attributes

Henderson Institute had teachers who were described as professional, strict, caring, loving, and fun. The Henderson Institute students believed that their teachers accepted the responsibility for their practices within the classroom. They describe incidents where teachers' professionalism was shown in lessons that met the needs of students based on different student abilities and levels of current accomplishment. The students describe the teachers as always pushing their students toward higher levels of achievement. They experienced their teachers' caring and love both within the classroom, as belief in each student's abilities and outside the classroom in personal advice and tangible, active help. The valued teachers were the ones who knew them personally, listened to them actively, and understood their lives. A teacher who was strict was valued by the students because they focused on student learning by having classrooms that were orderly and safe. There was little off-task talking or wasted time getting students on task. It is the foundation of this strictness that we have to examine. The use of corporal punishment by teachers and the administration was the harsh reality that enforced the classroom management at Henderson Institute. This was the accepted form of control for their day. It compelled compliance based on the threat of corporal

punishment. It is not a sanctioned or appropriate solution for classroom management today. A safe and orderly classroom is crucial to student learning, but it must be achieved through different management techniques.

Today we need the same type of teachers for our students. Teachers must be professionals who reflect on their practice to see if they are teaching their students based on their personal needs, abilities, and levels of current achievement. They have to structure their classes and lessons to take their students from where they find them to where they need to be for success, even if it means extra time teaching them outside of the specific day's lesson. Teachers today need to demonstrate their care and love for students through their actions inside and outside of the classroom by addressing their students' needs academically and behaviorally and by knowing their students as individuals, as members of families, as members of the school community and the larger public community.

Classroom Activities

The lessons that are remembered and valued are the ones that involved students actively in the lesson. The fun came from classroom experiences that included humor and relevance that were motivating. The dissection of the frog was remembered vividly by all the students. They describe the lesson after all these years in all its parts and specifics, as if it were only a few weeks ago. The teacher had them watch around the lab table as he demonstrated what they were to do. Then they were each given a frog and with their partner they dissected their frogs as a team, discussing as they progressed. The

students describe memorizing and then reciting the Gettysburg address, which several could still do. They told me about projects in their classes with partners that led to presentations before the class. They wrote and gave individual presentations in defense of their points of view for history classes. They created and presented personal budgets based on different educational and work scenarios in economics class. They went to the board to demonstrate and to explain to the class their homework in math. All of the lessons that they described involved a culminating activity that they presented and remembered. They did not talk about worksheets, lectures, or drills, although I imagine these did happen.

This picture of actively-engaged and involved Black students is powerful coming from an older era that we may remember as teaching from a textbook and memorizing times tables and formulas in math class. Our students today need to be engaged actively in creating their own learning, so that in fifty years they will vividly describe their lessons. We know the power of lessons that include hands-on activities, discovery learning, group work, and presentations of student work, but so often teachers fall into using the canned worksheets and drills that stand for independent practice. It is easy. Teachers in my school often complain that their students do not care about learning and are not motivated. It is not the students. It is the lessons.

Relationships of Students and Teachers

Student and teacher relationships at Henderson Institute are remembered as based on respect and care. The students describe their respect for their teachers and the respect

that the teachers had for their students. The students' respect for their teachers was based on respect for all adults that their families taught them, but it deepened from a formality to a deeply-held respect based on the relationships that the teachers built with their students. These relationships were built by the teachers in the classrooms, in the cafeteria, in the hallways, on the playing fields, and in the clubs and extra-curricular activities. The teachers were described as always teaching, meaning that they were always actively engaged with the students, wherever the students were, even downtown. The teachers' respect for students was seen by the students in the way that they were treated with care and love by their teachers and in the way that the teachers actively listened to each student.

Today, teachers who are successful in the classroom have built relationships of mutual respect with their students. Students today do not automatically give teachers respect because they have not necessarily been taught to respect all adult by their families like they did at Henderson Institute. Teachers today have to earn respect. To do this, they have to actively show that they care for their students, to be personally involved in school activities, to listen to their students, to advocate for their students, and to understand their students' wants and needs. No teacher can expect respect from students until they build relationships with their students. Students do not care what you know until they know that you care.

Relationships of Parents, Teachers and the School

The parent, teacher, and school relationship was a strong one at Henderson Institute. The parents, the teachers, and the school administrators had the same goals: academic success and good behavior by students. Many of the parents had not had the opportunity to go to public high school in Vance County. Public schooling for Black students ended in the eighth grade in Vance County until Henderson Institute was opened as the public Black high school in 1952; prior to that, it was a private Black high school. These parents, who had limited education because of discrimination and segregation, were actively involved in school because it was something denied to them. The parents knew the teachers and administrators as neighbors, church members, and community members. These relationships gave solid credibility to the teachers and the administrators in all issues related to their students.

Today it is harder for teachers and administrators to build close working relationships with parents that are focused on common goals for students, especially in middle schools and high schools. Teachers often do not live in the communities where they teach, do not go to the same churches, or participate in the same community activities as the parents. Teachers and administrators have to rely on school activities and in-school parent interactions to build relationships with students' parents. With both parents working, parents have a hard time getting to school and getting to know their students' teachers, even with Open House and Report Card pick-up days. School outreach to community organizations and workplaces can help to improve community

school relationships. One new opportunity is available to teachers and administrators in e-mail communications to keep parents aware of student progress and activities and is more personal than robot calls. Teachers and administrators must use all methods and avenues to develop relationships with parents, as they are crucial to all students' success.

The students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute have provided us a picture of five themes that were valued by the students interviewed in my research. They parallel themes identified in previous research on successful Black segregated schools in the South. The five themes supported student achievement and success at Henderson Institute. These themes can also inform our practice today in creating powerful classroom experiences for our Black students, and for all students of diverse backgrounds in our integrated schools today.

Directions for Future Research

Research into segregated education in schools has many facets that still need to be examined. There are segregated schools across the South and in North Carolina that have not had their stories or their histories recorded. A comparison of segregated education offered in different counties and in different states could contribute to the overall history of segregated education. In addition a comparative examination of specific elements of segregated education would add to the overall history of segregated education.

Areas for comparison could include curriculum, rural or urban locations, and private or public funding. A comparison of segregated education in schools that followed the curriculum based on the model of W.E.B. Dubois of a classical education and schools

that followed the model of Booker T. Washington of industrial education and training could add to the history of these two models by comparing the experiences of the students in their classrooms. Research into public segregated education in urban areas of the South, as opposed to that in rural areas of the South, could reveal differences in educating urban Black students. Private segregated schools offer an opportunity for research that would expand the history of segregated education and provide comparison to public segregated education. Studying Black segregated schools that were integrated could identify areas of schooling that changed due to integration and impacted the experience of schooling for Black students.

Another area of segregated education that is in need of research is segregated education in areas of the country other than the South, which had de facto segregation. It would be useful to examine the successful and less successful examples of segregated education in similar schools to identify strategies that led to student and school success. Specific research across segregated schools in the themes found in my research of school cultures, teacher attributes, classroom experiences, teacher student relationships and parent involvement in present day schools that are successful environments for Black students could contribute to the history of Black segregated schools by reinforcing or challenging the themes revealed in research into "good" segregated schools.

Limitations of the Study

There are limitations to this study that need to be identified so my research can be evaluated from the perspective of its limitations. One of the limitations is the narrative

design of this study. The narrative design was used to tell the students' remembrances of their perceived experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute, which was closed in 1970. The participants told the stories that they wanted to tell. They had many other experiences at Henderson Institute that they did not talk about in their interviews. There are possibly other experiences that they could have described that could change the picture of Henderson Institute. I relied on their responses to my question about their experiences in the classroom as being open and candid about the reality that they experienced. The participants were Black male and female graduates of Henderson Institute from the fifties and the sixties who were interviewed by a White female Vance County school administrator of similar age. Some of them may have wanted the story of their beloved school to be the best possible picture that they could tell.

Another limitation is the limited number of participants in the sample size. Ten graduates, five male and five female, were interviewed. A different set of graduates or a larger number of graduates could change the story of the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms of Henderson Institute. The story that emerged from their interviews is limited to what they revealed in their interviews. Their experiences may not be similar to the experiences of other graduates.

Researcher bias is a final limitation to my research. There is no way to escape my subjectivity. I can only make it open to readers of my research. My biases are discussed in my subjectivity statement. I know that I am passionately interested in finding Black school structures that lead to success for Black students. To address this desire to see

things in a positive light, I was careful to use the graduates' actual statements and not my interpretations in the findings. I used the triangulation strategy of multiple sources of data collected from interviews and historical documents to address this limitation.

Summary

This study looked at the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute, a segregated Black public high school in Henderson, North Carolina. The study sought to write the story of these students' experiences to add to the history of Henderson Institute, to add to the history of segregated education in the rural South, and to discover the elements that contributed to the success of the students in a "good" Black school that could be compared to the integrated schools for Black students today.

A narrative research design was used to study the students' perceptions of their experiences in the classroom. Ten graduates, five male and five female, were interviewed in individual interviews. The interviews were recorded on a digital recording device and transcribed at a later date. Yearbooks from the Henderson Institute collection were used as another source of data related to the students' classroom experiences. The interview transcripts and the documents were analyzed and triangulated based on open coding that emerged from the interviews.

The analysis of the data revealed five themes related to the classroom experiences of the students. The five themes that emerged in my research are a positive school culture of high expectations for achievement and behavior, strict caring professional

teachers, rigorous relevant classroom activities, teacher student relationships based on respect, and strong parent and school relationships.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: IRB

North Carolina State University

Institutional Review Board for the Use of Human Subjects in Research
SUBMISSION FOR NEW STUDIES
GENERAL INFORMATION

1. **Date Submitted:** _____ 1a. **Revised Date:** _____
2. **Title of Project:** *A Study of Teaching and Learning at Henderson Institute*
3. **Principal Investigator:** *Donna Welch Blakebrough*
4. **Department:** *Leadership, Policy and Adult and Higher Education*
5. **Campus Box Number:** *N/A*
6. **Email:** *dwblakeb@ncsu.edu*
7. **Phone Number:** *919 880-5406*
8. **Fax Number:** *N/A*
9. **Faculty Sponsor Name and Email Address if Student Submission:** *Paul F. Bitting, Ph.D. paul_bitting@ncsu. edu*
10. **Source of Funding? (required information):** *None*
11. **Is this research receiving federal funding?:** *No*
12. **If Externally funded, include sponsor name and university account number:** *N/A*
13. RANK: ☐ Faculty ☐ Student: ☐Undergraduate; ☐ Masters; or ☐PhD x Other (specify): *Ed.D*

As the principal investigator, my signature testifies that I have read and understood the University Policy and Procedures for the Use of Human Subjects in Research. I assure the Committee that all procedures performed under this project will be conducted exactly as outlined in the Proposal Narrative and that any modification to this protocol will be submitted to the Committee in the form of an amendment for its approval prior to implementation.

Principal Investigator:

Donna Welch Blakebrough _____ *

(typed/printed name) (signature)

*As the faculty sponsor, my signature testifies that I have reviewed this application thoroughly and will oversee the research in its entirety. I hereby acknowledge my role as the **principal investigator of record**.*

Faculty Sponsor:

Dr. Paul F. Bitting, Ph.D. _____ *

(typed/printed name) (signature)

***Electronic submissions to the IRB are considered signed via an electronic signature. For student submissions this means that the faculty sponsor has reviewed the proposal prior to it being submitted and is copied on the submission.**

Please complete this application and email as an attachment to: debra_paxton@ncsu.edu or send by mail to: Institutional Review Board, Box 7514, NCSU Campus (Administrative Services III). **Please include consent forms and other study documents with your application and submit as one document.**

****

North Carolina State University

Institutional Review Board for the Use of Human Subjects in Research

GUIDELINES FOR A PROPOSAL NARRATIVE

In your narrative, address each of the topics outlined below. Every application for IRB review must contain a proposal narrative, and failure to follow these directions will result in delays in reviewing/processing the protocol.

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Briefly describe in lay language the purpose of the proposed research and why it is important.

The purpose of my case study will be to describe the experiences of the teachers and the students in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. The experiences of the teachers will be generally defined as their descriptions of what it was like to teach in the classrooms at Henderson Institute and the experiences of the students will be generally defined as their descriptions of what it was like to learn in the classrooms at Henderson Institute. Henderson Institute , a former black school in Henderson, North Carolina, operated from 1891 to 1970 providing education for African American students in Vance County and surrounding North Carolina Counties. My qualitative case study will use interviews with former teachers, and students, archives, and documents to produce an in-depth description of teaching and learning in the classroom at Henderson Institute.

This study of the teachers' and students' experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute will contribute to the historical record of Henderson Institute, add another case study to the history of black education in the pre-integration rural South, and provide additional insight into the dynamics of the classroom in a segregated Black high school. It offer insight into successful teaching styles and strategies used by African-American teachers with African American students that can inform instructional strategies that can support the success of African American students in today's integrated settings.

2. If student research, indicate whether for a course, thesis, dissertation, or independent research.

Dissertation research

B. SUBJECT POPULATION

1. How many subjects will be involved in the research?
   Estimates or ranges are acceptable. Please be aware that if you recruit over 10% more participants than originally requested, you will need to submit a request to modify your recruitment numbers.

There will be from 15 to 20 participants in this study.

2. Describe how subjects will be recruited. Please provide the IRB with any recruitment materials that will be used.

There are multiple sources for recruitment of participants for this case study research into the teachers' and students' descriptions of their experiences of the classroom at Henderson Institute. I plan on doing snowball or chain sampling, politically important cases, and stratified purposeful sampling. The snowball sampling will begin with colleagues in Vance County Schools and in surrounding school systems, who attended Henderson Institute. The politically important cases will be a school board member, a county commissioner and prominent members of the business community who attended Henderson Institute. The stratified sampling will come from the decade cohorts that will be attending the class reunion, on Labor Day 2011.

Through contact with the Director of the Henderson In statute Museum I will obtain a list of students and teachers who were at the Henderson Institute. I will determine that the colleagues that I contact did indeed graduate from Henderson Institute and that the teachers did teach at Henderson Institute.

I will initially contact the potential participants over the phone and tell them about my research and to explain that I would like them to participate in the research by being interview about their

experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute. If they are interested in being interviewed, I will follow up with a letter that includes an invitation to participate and an explanation of my research. The initial contact should answer questions about the study. Why do I want to do the study? What is the purpose of the study? What will happen to the findings? How will Henderson Institute benefit from the study? How will the students in the integrated Vance County Schools benefit from the study?

At the beginning of the interviews the participants will be given a packet containing a copy of the follow up letter describing the research, the research bargain, and the informed consent form. The elements included in the research bargain will explain the roles and responsibilities of the researcher and each participant, what the researcher will be doing, when, and for how long, what will happen to the data of the study, and the access the participants will have to the data. I will get the informed consent form signed before beginning my interviews.

3. List specific eligibility requirements for subjects (or describe screening procedures), including those criteria that would exclude otherwise acceptable subjects.

Participants must be graduates of Henderson Institute or have been teachers at Henderson Institute.

4. Explain any sampling procedure that might exclude specific populations.

There are not any sampling procedures that will exclude any specific populations.

5. Disclose any relationship between researcher and subjects - such as, teacher/student; employer/employee.

I work in the Vance County School system and have colleagues who attended Henderson Institute. I do not have any relationship with any teachers or any of the politically important individuals who attended Henderson Institute.

6. Check any vulnerable populations included in study:

☐ minors (under age 18) - if so, have you included a line on the consent form for the parent/guardian signature

- ☐ fetuses
- ☐ pregnant women
- ☐ persons with mental, psychiatric or emotional disabilities
- ☐ persons with physical disabilities
- ☐ economically or educationally disadvantaged
- ☐ prisoners
- ☐ elderly
- ☐ students from a class taught by principal investigator
- ☐ other vulnerable population.

7. If any of the above are used, state the necessity for doing so. Please indicate the approximate age range of the minors to be involved.

N/A

C. PROCEDURES TO BE FOLLOWED

1. In lay language, describe completely all procedures to be followed during the course of the experimentation. Provide sufficient detail so that the Committee is able to assess potential risks to human subjects. In order for the IRB to completely understand the experience of the subjects in your project, please provide a detailed outline of everything subjects will experience as a result of participating in your project. Please be specific and include information on all aspects of the research, through subject recruitment and ending when the subject's role in the project is complete. All descriptions should include the informed consent process, interactions between the subjects and the researcher, and any tasks, tests, etc. that involve subjects. If the project involves more than one group of subjects (e.g. teachers and students, employees and supervisors), please make sure to provide descriptions for each subject group.

    1. Seek IRB approval
    2. Contact the Director of the Henderson Institute Museum to gain lists of teachers and students who are in the area .
    3. Work out interview times for interviewing colleagues, politically significant individuals, and cohort individuals. Each group will be explained below.

4. For Cohort Individuals: Ask the Director of the Henderson Institute for a list of the people who will be attending the Labor Day Reunion and their contact information.
5. Identify the people who are attending by decade in which they attended Henderson Institute.
6. Contact the people from in and out of town about the research and their willingness to participate in the research. Send a follow-up letter to those willing to participate.
7. Identify a convenient place for interviewing during the Reunion Weekend.
8. Arrange times to interview those who wish to participate who will be coming from out of town during the Reunion Weekend. Talk with the Museum Director to see if there is a possibility of interviewing the individuals at the Museum.
9. I will interview the participants face to face with open ended questions approved by my advisor. The interviews will be recorded, I will initially explain the purpose of the study, get the informed consent form signed and start the interview. All interview participants will be thanked for their participation and I will also send them a thank you through the mail.
10. For the snowball sampling based on colleagues in Vance County Schools and surrounding school systems and the politically significant interviews, I will contact the potential participants over the phone and send a follow-up letter about the research and the informed consent form.
11. A convenient time and place will be arranged with the people who agree to be interviewed. I will interview the participants face to face with open ended questions approved by my advisor. The interviews will be recorded, I will initially explain the purpose of the study, get the informed consent form signed and start the interview. All interview participants will be thanked for their participation and I will also send them a thank you note through the mail.

Appendix B: Letters of Invitation for Participants

Donna Welch Blakebrough
101 Dry Creek Lane
Oxford, NC 27565
Dear (Participant),

My name is Donna Blakebrough and I am a graduate student at North Carolina State University doing research to complete my Ed.D. My research proposal is about the experiences of students, who attended Henderson Institute between1952-1970. Your name was given to me as a graduate of Henderson Institute.

I am recruiting former students from Henderson Institute, who are willing to participate in an interview about their experiences at Henderson Institute. These interviews will be used to write the history of the student's experiences at Henderson Institute. This story will contribute to the overall history of Henderson Institute and its important place in the public education of the Black students in Vance County during segregation. This story will also contribute to the history of the education of North Carolina's Black students during the segregation of students in the public schools of North Carolina.

I will be asking the participants to tell me in their own words about experiences that they recall about their classes and their school. You are being asked to participate in this historical research study into the classroom experiences of the students who attended Henderson Institute from 1952-1970. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have a right to be part of this study, to choose not to participate in this study, or to stop participating at any time without penalty. The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the students' experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute. As a participant you will be asked to sign an Informed Consent Form that explains your rights as a participant in this study.

If you would like to participate in this study, I have enclosed a form for you to check off and return in the stamped self-addressed envelope to me. If you decide to participate in this study and return the enclosed form I will be contacting you to set up a time and place for the interview that is convenient for you. I look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours Truly,

Donna Welch Blakebrough

Return Letter of Interest

Dear (Participant),

Please read the choices below. Check one of the choices and return it to me in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

- o I would like to participate in the interview for your research study about the experiences of former students at Henderson Institute between the years 1952 and 1970. Please call me to set up a time and place convenient for me to meet with you to discuss this research and to participate in the interview.

- o Thank you for considering me for this research study but at this time I am not interested in participating.

- o I would like more information before agreeing to participate in this study and would like for you to call me so that we may discuss this research.

  Name:
  _____

  Address:
  _____
  _____

  Phone Number:
  _____

  Best time to contact me:
  _____

  Thank you for time.
  Yours Truly,

  Donna Welch Blakebrough

  101 Dry Creek Lane

  Oxford, NC 27565

  (919) 880-5406

Appendix C: Interview Guide

"Lest We Forget": A Historical Study of Teaching and Learning at Henderson Institute, 1952-1970

Opening Question:

Please describe your experiences of learning in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

Clarification Questions: (To be used if needed.)

1. Can you describe an experience in the classroom at Henderson Institute that made an impression on you?
2. Tell me about the way your teachers taught the class.
3. What was an important lesson that you took from your teachers?
4. When you did not learn your lesson what did your teacher do?
5. Describe your relationship with your teachers. Does one stand out? Why?
6. How would you describe the relationship between your parents, the teachers and the school?
7. If there is one thing that you would want people to know about Henderson Institute what would it be?

Appendix D: Interview Protocol

1. Introduction

Introduce myself, my background, and the reasons I am interested in interviewing graduates of Henderson Institute. Next review the purpose of my study. Finally thank the participant for agreeing to participate in the study.

2. Informed Consent

Go over the informed consent document with the participant. Then check to see if the participant has any questions about the research purpose or the interview process. Finally get the participant to sign the Informed Consent Form.

3. Collect Information on the Participants

Demographics on the participant including gender, year of graduation, and information about what they did after they graduated from Henderson Institute.

Date:

Place:

Time:

Name of Participant:

Opening Question:

Please describe your experiences of learning in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

Clarification Questions: (To be used if needed.)

1. Can you describe an experience in the classroom at Henderson Institute that made an impression on you?

2. Tell me about the way your teachers taught the class.
3. What was an important lesson that you took from your teachers?
4. When you did not learn your lesson what did your teacher do?
5. Describe your relationship with your teachers. Does one stand out? Why?
6. How would you describe the relationship between your parents, the teachers and the school?
7. If there is one thing that you would want people to know about Henderson Institute what would it be?

Appendix E: Informed Consent Form

North Carolina State University
INFORMED CONSENT FORM for RESEARCH

Title of the Study**:** "Lest We Forget": A Historical Study of Teaching and Learning at Henderson Institute, 1952-1970.

Researcher: Donna Welch Blakebrough, under the guidance of Dr. Paul Bitting.

What are some general things you should know about this research study?

You are being asked to participate in this historical research study into the classroom experiences of the students who attended Henderson Institute from 1952-1970. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have a right to be part of this study, to choose not to participate in this study, or to stop participating at any time without penalty. The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the students' experiences in the classroom at Henderson Institute. You are not guaranteed any personal benefits from being in this study. Research studies may pose risks to those who participate. In this consent form you will find specific details about the research in which you are being asked to participate. If you do not understand something in this for it is your right to ask the researcher for clarification or more information. If you would like a copy of this consent form, it will be provided to you. If at any time you have questions about your participation, do not hesitate to contact the researcher named above.

Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to describe the classroom experiences of the students at Henderson Institute between the years of 1952-1970 when Henderson Institute was the Vance County Public Schools' Black public high school in Henderson, NC. This information will add to the history of Henderson Institute which closed in 1970, and to the history of segregated Black public education in North Carolina.

What will happen if you take part in the study?

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to be part of an audio recorded interview. During this interview you will be asked questions about your experiences in the classrooms at Henderson Institute.

Risks

There are minimal risks from participating in this study.

What if you are an employee of Vance County Public Schools?

If you are a current employee of Vance County Schools this study is not a requirement of your employment, and your participation or lack thereof, will not affect your job.

Benefits

Aside from adding to the history of Henderson Institute and to the history of Black public education in North Carolina there are no known benefits for participating in this study.

Confidentiality

The information gathered in the study records will be kept confidential to the full extent allowed by law. The digital audio recordings will be stored securely on a computer and in a file cabinet at the home of the researcher and to which only the researcher has access. These digital files will be kept until my dissertation is completed and approved by my committee. Once my dissertation is published all digital files will be erased.

Compensation

You will not receive any type of compensation for participating in this study.

What if you have questions about this study?

If you have questions at any time about this study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher, Donna Welch Blakebrough, at 101Dry Creek Lane, Oxford, North Carolina 27565; 919-880-5406; dwblakebrough@gmail.com.

What if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?

If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Deb Paxton, Regulatory Compliance Administrator, Box 7514, NCSU Campus, (919/515-4514).

Consent to Participate

"I have read and understand the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study with the understanding that I may choose not to participate or to stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled."

Subject's signature_____
Date_____

Investigator's signature_____
Date_____

Appendix F: Interview Data Analysis

Name	School Culture	Teacher Attributes	Classroom Activities	Teacher Student Relationships	Parent Teacher Relationships
Mrs. Williams	HI made you proud of yourself, knew education important, HI part of community, many activities, many teachers lived in teacherage, You were expected to always do your best, Hi prepared you for life,	Fun &strict, made sure students learned, extra effort beyond classroom, cared about students, expected you to learn	Knew what to expect, kept on task, always had homework, taught from books and with board, Biology class with Mr. Collette funny but strict, dissect frog,	Teachers in charge, strong veteran teachers, respected teachers, expected you to do your best	Parents support teachers, Whole neighborhood walked to PTA meetings
Mr. Jones	Taught to be self-sufficient, independent knowing I was prepared, Sports were important, Teachers lived right next door.	Dedicated, stayed after school to help you, extra effort for students, expected you excel, gave extra time to make sure you got your work,	Worked from blackboard, patrol room to see everyone was working and doing it correctly, homework every day, recite in front of class, projects in T&I and History,	Students respected teachers, Mr. Knight like a second parent who related to all kids.	If I was disobedient, I would have to deal with Mom and Dad
Mr. Green	I did not like school.	Mr. Randolph was fair, Boss would listen to us, he understood us,	Math class was important to my future. If you tried your best in Mr. Randolph's class you did not fail, Memorized speeches	Teachers expected us to learn and to know what you need later on in life. No need to waste these years coming to school	No comments
Mr. Blair	More like a family than a school, Henderson Institute was like a family all the adults watched out.	Mrs. Engram raised money to get lights on football field, our teachers were like parents, If you had a problem you went to Boss. They had a way of letting us know that they wanted us to be the best we could be.	I wanted to go to Mr. Collette's class, he would cut up. But when he was teaching he was serious.	Boss Knight opens the gym on weekends, Boss would come get us out of the pool hall, Boss was our favorite, Mrs. Hicks was strict, we respected our teachers, They would joke with you but they were strict.	Our parents believed the teachers,

Mrs. Edwards	It was like a family. It was a joy to come to school. Many activities At Henderson Institute they taught us pride, to carry ourselves with dignity, and right from wrong. We did not want to miss school. We wanted to be there and be a part of it.	Teachers were caring. They took the time to show students love and compassion and to make sure that the students learned. Teachers would pat you on the back and encourage you.	Biology and Economics with Mr. Collette. He made class fun but he was very strict. We had to dissect a frog and a rooster. Mr. Collette held night class for students to get extra credit. Miss Keck made me love the numbers, and bookkeeping and accounting. They taught us a lot of life skills	Teachers showed students love and compassion. Students had a lot of respect for their teachers and the teachers respected the students. Our teachers expected us to do great things.	Our parents sent us here to learn...in order to get ahead. If we didn't learn the teachers would contact our parents. We knew what that was about. My parents knew my teachers
Mr. Barnett	Henderson Institute was a rich experience. Henderson Institute was just so much a part of the community, and you had that feeling of community, and the teachers were all there to raise you and that is what you felt	The teachers were strict but still very nice. The teachers were part of the life of the Black community in Henderson	Mrs. Engram was my homeroom teacher. We knew the rules she was a good person and she was nice to us. Mr. Jones stands out. He was always very enthusiastic about science. He got our attention and held our attention. Mrs. Alston she was very energetic, pretty lady, got her points over well, she was a good teacher. She cared about us and the subject matter. She expected us to learn what she was teaching us.	The teachers were just like parents away from home. We did not disrespect our teachers. You did not disrespect any adult especially not any teacher.	We never openly showed disrespect because it might reach our parents and then you would get a whipping.

Mr. Palmer	Henderson Institute was a total well rounded education. Henderson Institute was not only a center of learning it was the center of social life and social learning that took place in the cafeteria and the hallways. Henderson Institute … taught … whatever you do; you have to be twice as good as everyone else. You cannot be average. 85% of our graduating class went to college. They taught that the key to success was education and the key to upward mobility was a college or technical degree. We had a nurturing environment. We all lived in the same area. What HI taught me was to think and to identify the best path to success. ...find what is best for you. We became educated, we could think.	Teachers were just as involved in raising you as your parents. Back then if any teacher saw you doing something wrong they would correct you. They were teachers all the time. They taught all the time. If you saw them downtown you wouldn't do anything wrong. Boss Knight set an example of excellence and high standards. He taught by example	Mr. Collette taught Biology. He was so animated in teaching. He was like a college professor teaching in high school. He taught us methods and did it with enthusiasm. When I got to A&T I found he was teaching the same curriculum as Biology at A&T. Kids loved his Biology class. His approach was different. He would demonstrate how to dissect a frog, identify all its muscles...Then we had to do it. What got me was the animation of the teacher, the hands on in the lab and his dress. In English class we learned poetry and literature not only to learn what they were about but to feel the work. In the cafeteria the teachers taught table manners.	Boss Knight was a father figure. He would correct you when you were wrong without being mean. You just had so much respect for the man. He would do anything for you that he could.	There was a strong relationship between your teachers and your parents.

Mrs. Smith	At Henderson Institute you had to learn how to get along with people that you did not know. It gave me an insight in how to deal with people and to continue my education thought out life. I think Henderson Institute got me ready for my work. They provided everybody that wanted a foundation to go out in the world and survive. They did for me. I was prepared for life and work.	The teachers were strict but still very nice. The teachers were just like parents away from home. They cared about you. I helped prepare for lunch. It was a privilege to get to do this …The cafeteria workers set very good examples, very good examples. To me the teachers were all professional. They had the students' futures in their mind. They taught us to be prepared for the future. They taught us what to do and what not to do and they taught us the subject matter. They were always concerned and always encouraging	My business classes were well taught. They were always interesting. The teachers kept all the students attention. My English teacher was Mrs. Hicks she was very strict. Mrs. Hicks was a lady who well you know how you have people that children look up to but you do not want to cross. We knew that the way she did things, it was to help us not to hinder us at all. In the classroom the teacher would be up front and all the students would be paying attention to the teacher. We knew that we were there to learn so we paid attention.	Mr. Collette had an organization called Future Scientists of America. We would get together and he would explain things about science that you would not get in class. I was a member of Future Business Leaders of America. The club really helped me to excel, when I left school I learned a lot there. We would get together to discuss techniques of how to do things and how not to do things. What to do and what not to do. What to expect in the work place. Like not chewing gum in a business environment. They gave us hints and insights. The teachers expected us to excel, always excel. Always try to do better. All the teachers played a big part in my success. My teachers expected me to go to college.	No comments

Mrs. Brown	It was wonderful, there was camaraderie, the teachers cared and the Principal knew everyone. It was like one big family. There was a teacherage where a lot of the teachers lived. Everyone wanted to excel we had a positive push from all the teachers. Henderson Institute was a positive setting. Everyone wanted to achieve and those that didn't got pulled in by the positive achievement level of the school. There was a feeling of being at home, a comfortable atmosphere. We were well prepared where ever we went. Henderson Institute prepared you for agriculture, or to go out and work in a trade or to go to college. It was a lovely place to be. You felt like you were somebody. If you haven't had the HI experience you have missed a lot. Henderson Institute was a home away from home.	We had dynamite teachers. I did not realize it at the time that most school across NC did not have great teachers until I went to college. The teachers wanted you to excel. They gave us a purpose that was to work on our education. If the teachers saw someone troubled they would gather together and help them. We had teachers who cared. If you said "I can't", they would say "You can". We had excellent teachers I don't know where they came from. They got here and they stayed.	In French class you walked in the class to an assigned seat, and after the first two weeks you could not speak any English. Mr. Brown was the best math teacher. He could relay his knowledge to us in a hands-on way. When we were at the board doing math he would be walking around checking on the others while he watched us. Mr. Knight taught our class in History. We had group reports and projects. He did not lecture, our class was interactive. He had an inviting voice. He made history fantastic. I didn't like history. Chemistry with Mr. Jones was all hands on. Some of it we did at our lab tables and some we would go to the front and do the experiments with him over seeing the chemicals. Mr. Collett taught us Economics about banking and about writing budgets. He gave us different occupations, an income & expenses. I realized that I needed an education to have any money	The boys called him Boss and had the utmost respect for him. If you missed a couple of day out of school Mr. Spencer, the Principal, would go to your house to find out what was wrong. We had rules. Some kids didn't know where they were going but we found our path at HI because of the dynamic teachers. The teachers expected you to do something with your education. The Principal would take time to listen to us. There wasn't one single teacher that was the best. I loved them all.	The parent volunteers and the PTA were very active. Oh, let a teacher call home that was double trouble. The teachers had all the support of the families. If a student did go to the office the parents came in and the adults would solve the problem. What the teacher said was believed and there was no disagreement. Parental involvement was excellent, simply excellent. People came from miles around to see our band. Fans followed our sports teams out of town.

Mrs. Ladd	It was a family setting	The teachers had a loving and caring attitude toward their students. They were caring and they wanted to make sure that each student was successful regardless of what path they chose in life. If you want to be a farmer that is fine, if you want to go to college that is fine. They were going to make sure that you succeeded at your goal. I want everyone to know about the love and care the teachers had for all their students. If a student couldn't learn the teacher would continue to work with the student on their own time.	My experiences in the classroom were all about academics and respect for our teachers. Mr. Lewis was our Bible teacher. It was part of our curriculum everyday and class started with prayer. They taught us Biblical things so we knew the moral and correct way to act and it carries over into the way I am today. They taught whole group teaching not a lot of small groups. It worked because everyone's whole attention was on what the teacher was saying.	They focused on academics, your behavior and respect. You paid attention because you would get disciplined by the teacher, and or Boss Knight in addition to discipline at home.	Many of them lived in your neighborhood; your teacher might live next door to you. They knew your parents, you were not a number. They personally knew your parents.