

A CASE STUDY OF BLACK STUDENTS' EDUCATION AND
SOCIALIZATION SINCE PUBLIC SCHOOL CLOSURE IN
PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY VIRGINIA

by

Jeffrey Carlton Scales

Liberty University

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this case study was to explore the concerns about lower academic and social achievement of current Black students in Prince Edward County Public Schools where many local citizens believe were the results of public schools closing for five years from 1959-1964 and forced court ordered reopening. This single instrument qualitative study was conducted to gather greater knowledge from participants who had firsthand knowledge of the extended closure of public schools or reopening of schools over 50 years ago from former students, and community leaders. This researcher utilized face-to-face interviews, focus groups and extensive historical documentation to explore the residual effects from the five-year public school closure as to its impact on the accomplishments of Black children in Prince Edward County today. The information acquired from those sources were analyzed and categorized thematically as the data was collected and common themes were established. The social cognitive theory and critical race theory were the central focus of this study. There was no correlation discovered as to the achievement of current Black students due to the closure of public schools in that county. Further research study will be needed from Black and White participants for greater correlation of data from this historical event.

Keywords: Blacks, Critical Race Theory, Critical Theory, Desegregation, Integration, Massive Resistance, Social Cognitive Theory, Whites

Dedication

This page is dedicated to those who have stood by me throughout my journey in completing this case study and dissertation. I first want to thank my wife, Olinga, for being the initial spark of encouragement to continue my educational journey beyond the completion of my Educational Specialist (Ed. S.) degree. You have stood by me and never allowed me to not finish this dissertation. Also my daughters, who have endured through my long nights working on my document. Thank you so much!

I am also appreciative to my mother who passed away during this process in May 2015. She was extremely supportive and really wanted to see me graduate. I know that she is over me in heaven, as is my father, who never wanted to earn his doctorate. God Bless You, I have done it!

To my brother and sisters who have also been very supportive and understanding that I have been working hard to complete this study. I really appreciate your words of uplift for me to keep going.

I would also like to thank Dr. Benders for his patience and perseverance as I gradually completed this case study. You have been a wonderful committee chair and I am so thankful for you accepting me to work with. To my committee members, Dr. Bigham and Dr. Roberts, to have both of you on my committee made my dissertation experience very fulfilling.

In closing, there are many others, too many to name individually, but thank you for your constant support over the years. Whether you were in Fluvanna, Cumberland and beyond, you all were integral in helping me cross this significant threshold in my life!

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Overview

In developing this chapter of the case study, it is necessary to provide primary points for a better understanding of the significance the five year closure of public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia. This is done by providing background information of the study, as well as how this case is of significant importance to the researcher. Further in the chapter are the problem and purpose statements to give an overview of the case study as this historical event poses significant concerns locally. The chapter also includes the significance of the study and its relevance to the fields of education and social science, which are followed by the research questions that are the focus of the research. The key definitions of the case study are found at the end of this chapter.

Background

The plight of Black youth in America has been a concern for educational and community leaders for over 50 years but came to prominence in recent years with the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation in 2001. In Prince Edward County, Virginia, where public schools were closed from 1959-1964 to prevent Blacks and Whites from attending schools together, the public schools there in recent years had difficulty attaining NCLB federal mandates and Virginia accreditation standards for academic and social success for Black students (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). As the only public school system in the United States to close its doors for an extended period of time after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, in Prince Edward County the educational recovery of many Black

youths are still impacted from the closure which occurred over 50 years earlier. The educational situation in Prince Edward County was so dire at the time that then United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy made the following statement, “We may observe with much sadness and irony that, outside of Africa, south of the Sahara, where education is still a difficult challenge, the only places known not to provide free, public education are Communist China, North Vietnam, Sarawak, Singapore, British Honduras, and Prince Edward County, Virginia” (Smith, 2011, p. 63). In 1963, President John F. Kennedy said, “There are only four places in the world a child does not have access to free public education: Cambodia, Viet Nam, North Korea and Prince Edward County, Virginia” (Sullivan, LaSalle, Yellin, 2009, p. xxix).

Social Contexts

After deciding to close its public schools, the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors issued this statement in 1959 to its Black citizens, “It is with the most profound regret that we have been compelled to take this action (closing public schools). We do not act in defiance of any law or any court. Above all, we do not act with hostility toward the Negroes of Prince Edward County” (Ferguson, 2012, p. 7). Black community leaders in the state of Virginia and across the nation, worked diligently to gain equality in American society, especially in the area of public education. During that period in our nation’s history, public education was offered by separating races in unequal facilities and substandard instructional materials yet in Prince Edward County, Virginia there was refusal to even provide unequal schooling (Bonastia, 2009). The legacy of White Supremacy, where White citizens had access to all aspects in society from schools, restaurants, hotels, and even water fountains, was a component in American life that

Black citizens desired to share equally (Davis, 2012). In the south, especially in Southside Virginia, opportunities for racial equality and equity for Blacks were met with significant struggles, protests, and staunch opposition by many Whites who attacked such changes to attempt to preserve the “southern way of life” (Williams, 2004) .

In the state of Virginia, there were four communities that refused to comply with the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board Education* to integrate public schools. The cities of Norfolk and Charlottesville and rural Warren County protested the mandate of integrating public schools by closing them for one year, which impacted Black and White students. Prince Edward County was the one community which went to extreme measures to keep Black children from attending public schools with White students for five years (Bonastia, 2009).

After the Brown decision by the Supreme Court, there was a group of White Southern Democrats and separatists who fought against school and societal integration. Those individuals started a protest movement called ‘Massive Resistance’. Massive Resistance was executed by many White citizens who were hesitant to the idea of having their children sharing educational facilities, teachers or materials with Black students and desired to halt the implementation of the Supreme Court’s decision to integrate public schools (Williams, 2004). It became common for White legislators and school board members in Virginia and throughout the South to establish laws and policies that openly defy the federal mandate to integrate public schools (Stokes, Viola & Wolfe, 2008).

The White leaders of Prince Edward County, which is a rural area in central Virginia, decided that closing the public schools in the county would be the direction to take to avoid racial integration based on the *Brown* decision (Sullivan, LaSalle & Yellin,

2009). “In prioritizing the maintenance of white supremacy over educating young people to engage with the world, white residents destroyed the institution that has been termed the ‘cornerstone of American democracy’-the public school” (Titus, 2011, p. 10). In 1959, the forced closure of public schools in that county led to a significant loss of education for Black youth during their most formative years (Hale-Smith, 1992). This loss time from their education at that time still has an impact on the public schools in the county today. The lack of education for those youth who are now parents and grandparents of children in the county has lead to educational apathy and lack the sense of value that a solid education provides. Public schools in the county finally reopened in 1964 after congressional enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which was passed to prevent discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in opportunities of education and other aspects of American society (Dorsey, 2008). Because of the dramatic decision to close schools and the lack of literature and research on the impact of this action, it is necessary to conduct research as to how the closure of public schools in Prince Edward from 1959-1964 has a continued effect on Black students and young adults.

Historical Context

Desegregation of public school education was the central focus of Black leaders in Central Virginia and throughout America in early stages of the Civil Rights movement. One leader in Central Virginia who worked diligently for such societal change was L. Francis Griffin, a Black minister in Prince Edward County, who went as far as the Supreme Court in the case *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* in 1964. He along with local public officials fought to reopen public schools in the county

not just for Black students, but for all students of all races (Stokes, Viola & Wolfe, 2008; Stiff-Williams & Sturtz, 2012; Bonastia, 2012; Titus, 2011). Other Black leaders in Virginia assisting Griffin were prominent Black lawyers from Richmond, Virginia, Oliver W. Hill and Spotswood Robinson, as well as the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Virginia as well as a civil right activist, Lester Banks, went to battle to combat the closure of the schools in Prince Edward County (Stokes, Viola & Wolfe, 2008).

The fight for equal facilities and resources by Black leaders and educators for Black students in the state of Virginia was a major struggle (Bonastia, 2012). In April 1951, eight years prior to closure of public schools, a student led strike took place at Robert R. Moton High School in Farmville, Virginia, which was the county seat of Prince Edward County. The 456 students of the all Black school protested for two weeks about separate and very unequal educational opportunities in the county. The students sought to end the over-crowded conditions of the main building of Robert R. Moton High School which was built to accommodate 180 students and the three temporary tar paper buildings which were unheated when first constructed and had no toilet facilities in them (Bonastia, 2011; Stokes, Viola & Wolfe, 2008). The students wanted comparable facilities and materials as were provided to the county's White students, expanded curriculum, and the need for increased Prince Edward County School Board commitment to the education of Black students (Bonastia, 2012; Moton Museum, 2013; Titus, 2011). The strike came to the attention of attorneys Oliver Hill and Spotswood Robinson who decided to pursue a desegregation lawsuit in order to resolve the concerns posed by the protesting students. The lawyers gained the support of the students and with the assistance of the local

NAACP with the legal representation, the legal battle for societal change began (Titus, 2011). This lawsuit was incorporated in the culminating decision for national school change being *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 (Bonastia, 2009; Heaton, 2008; Sullivan, 2009; Titus, 2011).

The student strike at the high school did open the eyes of White leaders of the county about the true conditions of the Black high school and in 1952 found funding to begin the construction of a new Robert R. Moton High School. The new school was completed in 1953 as a modern facility with a cafeteria, gymnasium and auditorium and was state-of-the-art for the time but lacked textbooks, audiovisual equipment, maps, charts, etc. to improve instruction (Titus, 2011; Farmville Herald, 1953). With the approval and construction of a new all Black high school, White leaders anticipated Black leaders to be grateful for the facility and therefore would drop the desegregation lawsuits. With the lawsuits for desegregation continuing through the judicial system, White leaders became more angered because Black citizens were not satisfied with having a separate and equal facility that was their own. The newly constructed school was better than that of White students. White citizens were angered by the lack of gratitude of Black citizens for their unwillingness to accept the new high school as being the best for everyone in Prince Edward County. The normal practice of many schools in Virginia was to have a complete set of schools for Black students and another set for White students and Prince Edward County leaders felt they had more than met standards (Bonastia, 2011; Titus, 2011).

The White leadership of the Board of Supervisors and School Board refused to comply with the federal court order in 1954 until a direct district court order was required

to be adhered. In September 1959, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals passed the order for localities to desegregate public schools. The Board of Supervisors in a called meeting decided to end funding for public schools which meant that they chose to close public schools in Prince Edward County (Farmville Herald, 1959; Titus, 2011). This closure denied education to three-quarters of Black children in the county. According to a study in 1964 by Robert L. Green of Michigan State University, of the 1,700 Black school age children living in Prince Edward County, nearly 1,100 had little to no education during the closure of the county's public schools. He also noted that the impact on those children would possibly have "irreversible effects" (Smith, R., 1997). Of those who did receive educational services, one-quarter of the students ended up attending schools in neighboring counties by living with relatives or moving out of state as far away as North Carolina, Massachusetts, Iowa, and Michigan (Bonastia, 2009; Smith, R., 2012).

Racial desegregation of public schools in Central Virginia was a very slow developing process. In Prince Edward, desegregation officially occurred fourteen years after the United States Supreme Court's decision in the *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* (1954) to stop the operation of 'separate-but-equal' public schools (Garletts, Isaacs, & Koehler, 2004; Holland, 2012). As Blacks in Prince Edward County toiled for equity, in neighboring Cumberland County, the process for integrating public schools was similar to that of Prince Edward County except the public schools were not closed. Both Prince Edward and Cumberland County public schools shared the superintendent, Thomas J. McIlwaine until June 30, 1961 when the Cumberland School Board voted to become a single school division on January 4, 1961 (Cumberland School Board Minutes, July 1960-June 1966). This motion was done after a group of citizens wanted

Cumberland's school decisions to not be connected to those of Prince Edward County due to having a shared superintendent.

From 1952-1961, Cumberland's School Board and Board of Supervisors did not follow the actions of Prince Edward County's leadership of closing public schools to its Black students and citizens. Cumberland's leaders went to great lengths to continue to operate sets of separate and equal Black and White schools. For Blacks, this consisted of 13-one and two room school buildings scattered throughout the county, which taught students from first through seventh grades. For grades eight through twelve, Blacks had to travel to the centrally located Cumberland Training School, which were two-five room facilities if their families could afford to pay for the bus transportation. In 1952, the School Board changed the name of the training school to Luther P. Jackson High School. Cumberland leaders built a new high school building for its Black students that was better than the existing White schools of the time. In 1961, Cumberland school leaders decided to consolidate all Black students in the county at Luther P. Jackson High School for grades 1-12 and in 1964 closed all of the 13 feeder schools (Cumberland School Board Minutes, July 1954-June 1960; Cumberland School Board Minutes, July 1960-June 1966; Farmville Herald, September 9, 1952).

As for the separate schools for White students, there were three high schools for each geographical section of the county, which taught students from first through twelfth grades. In November 1961, the Cumberland School Board decided to close the high schools in the northern and southern ends of the county in order to have one consolidated White high school to begin in 1964. To make the consolidation of the other White high schools work, there was construction of new facilities for the new Cumberland High

School which was in county seat of Cumberland Court House (Cumberland School Board Minutes, July 1960-June 1961; Cumberland School Board Minutes, July 1960-June 1966).

The decisions of the Cumberland School Board in 1964 followed separate and equal schooling practices for its Black and White students. That year, the Black and White high schools were separated geographically by two miles on the main highway of the county. Many of the students at each school went past the other's school while being bussed to their respective campuses. In order to maintain the separated but equal basis in the county's schools, the School Board completed the new facilities on the Luther P. Jackson and Cumberland High School campuses based on an equally divided plan which included five campus style buildings, new cafeteria, and a new gymnasium for both schools. The plan was so equivalent that the Black and White high schools two gyms were built with one set of bleachers. This was unusual as gymnasiums at that time were built with two sets of bleachers and not one set as were constructed (Cumberland County School Board Minutes, July 1960-June 1966).

In August 1964, the Cumberland County School Board and E. Armstrong Smith, the school superintendent of Cumberland County, were approached by the local NAACP and a contingency of all-Black Luther P. Jackson PTA members to request an immediate transition to integrated schools. The NAACP and others were inquiring after the federal government's House of Education and Welfare (HEW) recommended that the county integrate schools immediately to institute the provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. At that time, Cumberland Schools were operating under the Freedom of Choice Desegregation plan which allowed parents to choose the school that their children would

attend which complied slightly with the law by practicing token desegregation (Bolton, 2009). In the 1965-1966 school year, ten Black students desired to transfer to the all-White Cumberland High School. In a letter to HEW, the School Board presented concerns that integration would significantly impact schools as the school division's Black population was 58%. The board feared that there would be an exodus of White students out of the county, which would make the schools more desegregated. There was also fear that such departure of White students would decimate the finances of the division as there would be a loss of State funds due to White students and families' departures. The ten Black students were allowed to attend the all-White high school in a test year (Cumberland County School Board Minutes July 1966-June 1971).

Smith proposed to the NAACP leaders to go to the Black community to ask for more volunteers for a larger two year test of Black students who would attend the all-White high school. In September 1967, Cumberland County Public Schools authorized a second test group of Black students of racial integration in its segregated public schools. There were 50 Black students chosen to attend the previously all-White high school during the 1967-1968 school year, while the all-Black high school was still in operation (Cumberland County Historical Society, 2009). The 50 Black students of this test group ranged from first grade to the twelfth grade and faced some racial obstacles from the 300 White students but there was no physical violence directed toward them other than an occasional racial slur. Overall, the years had a positive transition which led to fully integrated public schools in Cumberland County for the 1969-1970 school year which ended the practice of separate educational facilities for Blacks and Whites (Cumberland

County Historical Society, 2009; Cumberland County Public Schools Board Minutes, July 1966-June 1971).

Theoretical Context

It was not known as to how the closure of the public schools in Prince Edward County had a lasting effect on the education of Black students there currently. There was no literature currently available that delved into the possibility that the school system in that county did cause a reduction of academic achievement of Black students today in Prince Edward that was not as significant in neighboring counties. The circumstances for public school racial transitions in neighboring Cumberland County were far different than in Prince Edward County. The decision by White leaders to close public schools in Prince Edward County initially impacted Black and White students as all schools were closed. The Board of Supervisors there theoretically put an immediate halt to education for all children but did establish private schools locally while Black students had no educational means. The process of integrating public schools in Prince Edward County during the 1964-1965 school year was much more troublesome as far back as 1951. The primary problem with the desegregation process in Prince Edward County was that their Black students were extremely behind educationally due to the closing of public schools from 1959 - 1964. "The county put itself in a unique position by becoming the only school district in the U.S. to close its public schools for an extended period of time...rather than accept any desegregation" (Bonastia, 2009, p. 310). What if the leadership in Prince Edward County had decided to operate separate-but-equal schools in 1959, would there have been the dramatic loss in the education of Black students at that time as noted by Green? In doing so, instead of operating separate-but-equal schools in the county as was

done in neighboring Cumberland, Prince Edward County School Board and Board of Supervisors assisted the opening of an all White private school, Prince Edward Academy, using public school appropriated money to fund its construction and operation in the town of Farmville costs Black students severely (Heaton, 2008; Sullivan, LaSalle, & Yellin, 2009). This decision was done with the assistance and approval of state representatives and the governor, Thomas B. Stanley (Garletts, Isaacs, & Koehler, 2004). Governor Stanley and the state Attorney General J. Lindsey Almond, Jr. developed the following resolution in support of the Board of Supervisors in Prince Edward to close public schools: "...the provisions of the Constitution of Virginia, of the statutes of Virginia prohibiting the teaching of White and Colored children in the same school are in every respect valid and violate no provisions of the Constitution of the United States or of any valid enactment of Congress" (Farmville Herald, August 10, 1951, p. 1).

For several years, members of the Board of Supervisors were in strong defiance of any federal mandate to desegregate public schools. The position that was taken by those leaders was that desegregation would lead to the detriment of public education, not just in Prince Edward, but for the entire country. By 1954, the Board of Supervisors' felt that the Supreme Court was invading the rights of the citizens of the Commonwealth (Farmville Herald, May 21, 1954). The closing of public schools for Black students, though not considered hostile by those leaders, did continue for a total of five years and there were little to no educational opportunities available for those children (Sullivan, LaSalle, & Yellin, 2009).

Local Black community organizations and civil rights leaders were able to create training centers around Prince Edward County from 1961-1963 to offer remedial

programs using temporary teachers to assist a segment of the children (Heaton, 2008). 'Free Schools' were created by the Kennedy Administration and funded by private donations as an experimental school system for the Black students of Prince Edward (Bonastia, 2012). This federal intervention led to a response by then Attorney General Robert Kennedy about the implications of the actions of Prince Edward County leaders stating, "We may observe with much sadness and irony that, outside of Africa, south of the Sahara, where education is still a difficult challenge, the only places known not to provide free, public education are Communist China, North Vietnam, Sarawak, Singapore, British Honduras, and Prince Edward County, Virginia" (Smith, 2011, p. 63).

Other localities like Cumberland County did allow for some Prince Edward County students to attend their segregated schools if they could obtain rides to catch buses within their geographic boundaries. A small number of families had their children attend schools in North Carolina and New York to live with host families during this period (Heaton, 2008). Many of the poorer families without transportation were unable to have their children get any education during the closure of public schools in Prince Edward (Sullivan, LaSalle, & Yellin, 2009). Those children in particular lost their opportunity to be educated and were relegated to farm work in tobacco fields, the pulp wood industry, dairy farming or domestic duties instead of earning an education. The ramifications were still felt in Prince Edward Public Schools and the community today with high numbers of adults who have not graduated from the county's high school (Heaton, 2008).

To gain a better understanding of Prince Edward County, it is essential to explain its demographic make-up from the time of initial racial resistance through today. In the

1960 census, the county had a population of 14,121 with 39.9% of the citizens being Black. The percentage of Blacks had declined in the county by 8.3% from the previous decade which was mostly attributed to the closure of schools in 1959 and the overlying overtone of racism that existed in the county. More than 150 Black children went out of state to New York and North Carolina to continue their education. Another 200 more went to neighboring counties to attend schools. Very few of those students were impacted by public school closure since many left the area to receive their education and never returned to Prince Edward to live (Bonastia, 2012; Heaton, 2008). What if those students that left Prince Edward County had remained in the county or returned after gaining their education, would there be educational improvements in the county's schools today for Black students?

Another factor for the decline of Black population at the time of the 1960 census was the increase of White citizens entering the county due to new manufacturing jobs that were started by the opening of two plants which hired line employees (Heaton, 2008). Included in this departure of Black citizens were 72 school teachers out of 75. Beyond jobs at the local school division in the county, the predominant occupations for Blacks once schools reopened were centered on agriculture. Those jobs were the farming of tobacco, cattle, pigs, and chickens on family farms or sharecropping. Another employment option in Prince Edward County for Blacks was the cutting of pulpwood for the timber and paper industries. Farming and logging occupations in the county did not require a formal education for employment and earning a low wage income. At that time 79% of Black citizen made less than \$3,000 a year compared to 32% of Whites (Ogline, 2007). Those families who survived by doing those low paying professions because of

their lost educations did not value the need for their children to obtain their educations once public schools in Prince Edward re-opened. (Sullivan, LaSalle, & Yellin, 2009). The carryover of negative feelings by those denied their education to trust schools and county leaders would be understood as not stressing the importance of attaining an education to their children.

Situation to Self

As a member of the fourth group of students to integrate the White high school in Cumberland County in 1968, along with my older brother and sister who were members of the second group of Black students, I did not recognize that my education was historical but was just the start of my educational journey as a first grader in school. Little did my siblings or I realize how we were changing the landscape of Central Virginia public education. The experiences for each of us allowed for an opportunity to learn academically and socially with White students who remain friends and peers today. But in the overall big picture, we taught our community that Black and White children were alike and could learn together in the same environment (Holland, 2012). As youth, our family did not see integration as a major barrier and our educational objectives at the time were similar to that of Moses when he finally agreed to fulfill his divine assignment when he returned to Egypt to go before the Pharaoh (Maxwell, 2007). The 50 of us went before those who doubted our ability to succeed, and proved wrong those citizens who opposed integrated school facilities.

Having experienced integrated public education from elementary to high school, my experience was mostly positive. The environment of integrated schools in Cumberland County had very few episodes of racial tension or division between Blacks

and Whites. Once our schools integrated, the racial composition in the public schools was split proportionally around 50% for Blacks and Whites (Cumberland Historical Society, 2009). In neighboring Prince Edward County, their transition with integrated public schools was very different where there were noted racial altercations. The racial make-up of their schools was predominantly Black at over 70% to just under 30% White. A significant number of White students continued to attend Prince Edward Academy as their parents continued to resist allowing their children to go to school with Blacks.

The differences in experiences in the two localities were often a discussion topic among my friends and educators who were from or worked in Prince Edward County. The unstable culture of their schools took years to eventually stabilize, but there were and still are a number of Black students there whose families were transformed not to believe that getting an education was important. The core premise for the apathetic attitude for education came from families in areas of the county where families lost schooling for five years by parents and grandparents who survived menial lives. From some accounts, were it not for compulsory attendance policies dictated by the state of Virginia, many of the Black students from these families would not attend school.

I had looked for research and literature about this dilemma; no data existed nor was any research available that studied the viewpoint of those families from the perspective of educators and community leaders as to what was known about the present social and economic conditions. To date, no research had been conducted. There was ample research and literature about the closure of schools in Prince Edward, yet there was a need to analyze why the lack of value in education continues to exist among some Black families there.

The social constructivism paradigm was the focus of the study. This worldview offered a logical and empirical method for collecting the data as it was structured to create logical conclusions (Creswell, 2007).

As a human instrument who experienced the integration of public schools himself with positive results, the research provided new insight into current trends that Black students in Prince Edward County have been experiencing that have implications on local society. The goal of this research was to get the perspectives of those denied education, educators who worked in the schools at that time or are current educators who attended schools in Prince Edward after public schools re-opened. There was also the need to gather information from community leaders familiar with the event and were knowledgeable of the impact that the under-educated youth in the county had on employment, crime, and local society overall. The philosophical assumptions for the research were based on ontological and epistemological viewpoints. The need to gather themes from participants of the era and spending time in the field with those individuals was of utmost importance to the validity of the study (Creswell, 2007).

Problem Statement

The problem is that it is not known how public school closure over 50 years ago had residual impact on Black students' education and achievement today. The mission of public education is to provide a quality, uninterrupted program to all populations regardless of age, ethnicity, gender, or location. The Black students of Prince Edward County were denied an education because of the closing of schools resulting in social, educational, and economic detriments. In order to better understand the consequences of

a lapse in education, this qualitative case study will examine the ill effects of such action. Adults affected by the closing of schools will be interviewed and data analyzed.

Local educational and community leaders attribute the problems of current educational and social woes of Black youth in Prince Edward County that have occurred in recent decades due to overcoming the closure of public schools as a result of massive resistance. The focus of the problem was that the Black community still believes that the closure of public schools for Black students continues to negatively impact current Black students and they desire answers for clarification. There were still strong feelings among those that lost their education and in surrounding communities that the closure does still have negative connotations on current Black students. Those beliefs were that the Black youth in Prince Edward were not graduating and dropping out of school. The general local feeling was that those youth were destined to get involved in criminal activities or start in illegal drug trafficking. The reputation of the high school in Prince Edward locally was that there were a lot of disorderly behaviors by some of the Black youth, as many citizens feel that the school is unsafe. The prevailing belief in the community and surrounding area was that the Black youth in the county were different behaviorally and socially which reflects negatively on Black citizens.

In the research for pertinent literature of that concern, there was no direct data relating to this rural geographic area and there was no school division in the nation that had such a prolonged closure of public schools as in Prince Edward County. Most of the research that was available had its focus on negative consequences of Black families, educational outcomes and community blight in urban settings (Horsford, 2010).

According to Hale-Smith, who studied Prince Edward County adults impacted by the closing of public schools,

If there is substantial community membership which distrusts “public officials” because of their unique school experience, then that group may be less likely to be actively involved in community decisions, would probably be less likely to encourage their children to plan for futures in the community, and may, in general, feel disenfranchised (Hale-Smith, 1992, p. 4).

There was a need for a greater understanding of overlying outcomes of the closing of public schools in this rural county and the implications that five irretrievable years of education had produced for this community (Bonastia, 2009; Green, 2015). The closure of public schools had significant impacts on the educational and social needs of Prince Edward County and had local Black leaders dealing with complicated racial and social issues that differed from other areas of the United States. The ingredient that was different compared to other areas in Virginia and across America was the length of time that schools were closed in Prince Edward County which made education for Black students dysfunctional for an extended period of time (Bonastia, 2009; Davis, 2012). According to Fergeson, “...the struggle to achieve educational quality in Prince Edward- as in the rest of America-continued long after 1964”, which was the year public schools were reopened there (2012).

The historical impacts on Black students by the five year closure of public schools were noted in the areas of educational attainment and economic progress within the county. In 1950, the adult citizens of Prince Edward County completed an average of seven years of education which was a year less than the state of Virginia average. By

1970, Prince Edward residents had fallen behind educationally by two years of the state average (Kronholz, 2004). The educational deficit for its citizens led to median household income for families in the county being two-thirds lower than the state average. In 2000, the county's poverty rate of 18.9% was double the state of Virginia's rate (Kronholz, 2004). By 2009, the poverty rate in Prince Edward County had declined to 16.3% with 22% of the Black citizens living in poverty. The poverty level at that time was the highest percentage in central Virginia and which was still double the state average (City-Data.com, 2012).

There had been very little economic growth for Prince Edward since 1960 for Black citizens. At that time, the county's citizens' average wage was 55% of neighboring Cumberland County, and by 2003 the wage differential was almost the same. The impact of the public school closure has led to an under-prepared workforce that has lacked the education and skills needed to bring technology-based industries to Prince Edward County as had occurred in most of the state of Virginia, which had an economic boom at the start of this millennium (Kronholz, 2004).

Educational attainment for all students was the concern as graduation rates were used as the measure of educational success since the 1980s. The percentage of high school graduates in Prince Edward County were 60.5% in 1990 and increased to 69.9% in 2000, which was 18.7% less than the rest of the state of Virginia (Prince Edward Comprehensive Plan, 2005). Since the implementation of No Child Left Behind regulations in 2001 for American schools to meet federal Adequate Yearly Progress, Prince Edward County High School lagged behind in student success in more recent years. Graduation rates for students peaked in 2005 at 88 % with declines starting in

2006 at 85%, and was significantly lower than the graduation rates for the state of Virginia from 2008-2012 with 76%, 71%, 67%, 66%, and 69% during those years respectively (Virginia Department of Education, 2012). At the end of the 2012 school year, Prince Edward County Public Schools were provisionally accredited for not meeting the state of Virginia's Graduation Completion index (Prince Edward County Public Schools Executive Summary, 2013). The school division's largest concern was with low graduation successes and having racial demographics 63% Black and 34% White, Black students were impacted the most by not completing their high school education (City-Data.com, 2010; Virginia Department of Education, 2010).

For Prince Edward County, there has been noted success overall in the public schools compared to four other *Brown* sites from the original Supreme Court decision. "Prince Edward is the success story of the five. The same community that treated its Black children like someone's trash, is now a model for the nation" (Green, 2015; Smith, 2011). That being true, there exists a strong level of underachievement and low motivation by Black students for educational success. Many of the counties' Black students were raised in homes where their families in certain areas of the county had parents and grandparents who lost their chance to gain an education due to the closure of public schools. This loss in educational development and social interaction had those students educationally handicapped compared to others in Virginia and across America who had the opportunity to get their education with little to no interruptions and its impact was the concern for the current generation to not value education (Bonastia, 2012).

The children who received little to no education by public school closure are currently parents, guardians, grandparents, and great-grandparents of students in Prince Edward County today. For toddlers through teenagers during their formative years, their parents, grandparents, and even great-grandparents often served as role models socially and set the example by teaching children what they know. Research by Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, and Pastorelli on family influence and their impact on the academic efficacy and aspirations of children contributed directly to their overall academic success. It was noted that parental feelings toward education were influenced by their relationship within schools and the school system itself growing up (1996). For those adults in Prince Edward County, their negative educational experiences were based on the closing of public schools, thus impacting the academic success of impressionable children. Those individuals held on to negative feelings about schools as many Black Prince Edward citizens feel since their county leaders essentially “expelled all students from public schools for five years” (Bonastia, 2012, p. 254).

Prince Edward County’s schools today have a very difficult barrier to overcome to get many of their Black students to have the motivation to learn and perform as well in schools as their White peers. According to Green (2015):

Prince Edward High School scored in the bottom 5 percent of schools in the state when the Obama administration announced in 2009 that the US Department of Education would distribute eight billion dollars to improve student achievement in the country’s lowest performing schools. The Virginia Department of Education wanted to enroll Prince Edward High School in the federally funded turnaround program to boost student performance. The school district would get

\$500,000 per year for three years to raise test scores, close achievement gaps and boost the graduation rate. (p. 231)

Currently, Prince Edward County Schools have struggled to meet Virginia's educational achievement guidelines by failing to raise the achievement of Black students on state Standards of Learning (SOL) assessments, graduation rates, and reduce the percentage of drop outs (Virginia Department of Education, 2010; Virginia Department of Education, 2012). There has been a problem in their community with crime and drug activity that have been perpetrated by many of those under-educated youth who have resorted to illegal activities due to their inability to gain valid employment by not possessing a high school diploma or equivalent (City-Data.com. 2010; Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, 2010).

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this single instrumental case study was to gain a better understanding of how the five year closure of public schools for Blacks in Prince Edward County continues to impact present and post-secondary school successes and social advancement for those students and their descendants. This research looked at the start of integrated public schools there from the perspectives of impacted families who lost their education, as well as former and current teachers, and community leaders who experienced the transition for racial integration in the public schools. The level of underachievement for education in this community now has had unfortunate carryover that was enhanced by the negative experiences of the parents, grandparents, and guardians who had lost their trust in society. The current school division's difficulty to close the achievement gap of Black students to that of their White counterparts was

investigated (Bonastia, 2009; Sullivan, LaSalle, & Yellin, 2009). The study was guided by Critical Theory (Fay, 1987), Critical Race Theory (Parker, & Lynn, 2002), and Social Construct Theory (Bandura, 2005).

Significance of the Study

This qualitative single instrumental case study offers the fields of education and social sciences information which could impact the social and academic progress of Black students in public schools based on the findings of Prince Edward County after the five year closing of schools for Black children. This research on this isolated event over fifty years ago was believed to affect present Black students in this rural county in central Virginia who were not achieving academically due to family influences (Garletts, Isaacs, & Koehler, 2004; Heaton, 2008; Sullivan, LaSalle, & Yellin, 2009). The closure of schools in Prince Edward caused a generation of children to lose their chance to gain an education. The educational handicap to Black students at the time of public school closure created educational deprivation which did not end for those directly impacted. The effects that existed had been handed down to the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of those impacted (Titus, 2012). The theoretical importance of this case study was to research whether Blacks in Prince Edward County were able to overcome the longest interruption of educational operations in American history without having any lingering deficit on students presently go to school there.

This research from this case study will look at aspects of Black student motivation and desire to underachieve as factors that have been passed down to youth and young adults from parents or adults who were denied their education because of public school closure. Through this study, educational academic concerns by county school leaders and

community member who were distressed because of elevated crime and unemployment figures, which are three times higher than that of neighboring Cumberland County, and a current dropout rate of 8% for Black students (Virginia Department of Education, 2012; Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, 2010).

Educational implications

The research that was conducted across America had focused primarily on studying urban environments on matters of African American underachievement, dropout percentages, and crime. The educational importance of this study was that there was no school division in the United States that had experienced school closure for the amount of time that was done in Prince Edward County. The findings of this case study will offer local information of answers that address the concerns of the Black community in the county of how impactful the loss of education for nearly 1,100 Black children from 1959-1964 have an impact on education today (Green, 1964). The result of the research offered a better understanding of rural youth in poor socio-economic areas that contend with similar problems as those children living in urban areas. The biggest difference was that the population density would be much less, and that Prince Edward County was unique because the length of time public schools were closed impacted current parents' or guardians' education (McLeod & Tanner, 2007). The findings from the study provided a customized analysis of local concerns that could be offered to educational leaders in Central Virginia and other rural areas with a large percentage of Black families whose parents did not complete their education. The information gathered from the research can provide data about how children from uneducated or undereducated homes have significant impact on educational outcomes of Black students compared to their White

peers. The data can also be used to assist with the growing number of Hispanic youth that too have difficulty achieving in American public schools.

Contribution to the literature

Current research suggested that the primary area of America with low academic achievement and social dysfunction among young Blacks was found in many metropolitan areas (Horsford, 2012; McLeod & Tanner, 2007; Orfield, Frankenberg & Garces, 2008; Woodward, 2011). Most research did not present concerns of a similar nature to rural environments, especially in Central Virginia. Prince Edward County lies in a rural area of the South known as the “Black Belt” which extends from the Chesapeake Bay to as far as eastern Texas where counties have a Black population of at least one-third (Bonastia, 2009). There was very little research directed to the concerns of the long-term effect and impact of the five-year closure of schools as in Prince Edward County. This case study adds significant information to educators in rural areas with significant Black population as there is a need for more research on rural underachievement and low motivation of Black students that needed to be documented.

The feedback offered in Chapter Four from Black adult participants who experienced the difficult times of the five year closure of public school in Prince Edward County provided a pure insight in the existing belief that there were lingering effects on the Black students going to public schools there. It was necessary to conduct this research to attain answers for the local school leaders there and assist with suggested changes that were needed to transform the perceptions of the local communities for more positive educational and community outcomes and improve Black students’ success in the county (Heaton, 2008). This unique case study posed findings that could aid not just

Prince Edward County in their concerns about their Black students but this research could also be applied to other rural communities with a large demographic of Black residents who lack their education. Such evidence could be used to aid in the education of the growing population of Hispanic students that attend public schools in America. The results from this study filled a gap in the literature from the perspective of former students, educators and community leaders as to how lost public school education for five years impacted current Black students' achievement. The data for educators and community leaders, aid current and future generations in Prince Edward County and other rural communities with significant minority populations, to close the achievement gap that is a major problem in public school across the country.

Research Questions

Prince Edward County was the lone school division in Central Virginia and in the nation that penalized Black students with long-term closure of public schools. The five-year closure had noted impacts on local older Black residents and this had pervaded too many of the current students within Prince Edward County Schools. The lack of academic successes and high dropout percentages of African American students has led to community concerns for answers (Heaton, 2008; Virginia Department of Education, 2012). Through this case study with perspectives from retired educators and local community leaders, and those of families who lost education due to the schools' closure, potential solutions for improving Black students' educational and social improvements could be attained based on the research questions below. The following research questions which guided the study were:

1. After public schools in Prince Edward County were re-opened in 1964 due to massive resistance, what were the effects on the educational and social gains of Blacks living in the county at that time?

This question was very important for this case study as there was lingering resistance by White Board of Supervisor leaders who did not want to have White children educated with Black children, even after being forced to integrate schools by federal court mandate (Allen, 2012; Bonastia, 2012; Green, K., 2015; Titus, 2011). It was imperative to address the participants with this guiding question to find out if there were positive or negative gains by the re-opened public schools in Prince Edward County.

2. Although this event occurred almost 60 years ago, are there residual effects from the five-year public school closure still impacting the accomplishments of Black children in Prince Edward County today?

This question was needed to see if the current educational achievement gap for Black students in Prince Edward County and general community concerns were the result of the lost or delayed education of older Black citizens in the county (Green, K. 2015; Green, R. L., 1964; Hale-Smith, 1992; Holland, 2012; Titus, 2011). The general feeling by those in the county and surrounding counties was that public school closure did in fact continue to have a strong impact on Black students today.

3. In past decade, Prince Edward County public education has struggled to have Black students close the achievement gap of their White peers and meet federal and state educational mandates. Can this problem be specifically attributed to students' family members (parents, grandparents, guardians, etc.) who lost their education from 1959-1964?

The insight from the participants who had been impacted or lived through this period in the county's history, there was a need to address this question as to whether there was a generational effect from the closure of schools on those family members who went through the five year closure. The relevance of this questions helped to substantiate the prevailing viewpoint by many who felt that generational loss of education was a perspective that was passed down by the parents, grandparents, and guardians of Black students today (Bandura, Barbaraneli, Caprara & Pastorelli, 1996; Green, 2015; Titus, 2011).

This study focused on a single instrumental case study approach (Creswell, 2007) to illustrate the educational and societal concern, which was a unique episode in American educational history. The research that was conducted sought to gain a better understanding as to the residual impact of the five-year public school closure in Prince Edward County. The use of the case study developed and investigated in-depth descriptions and addressed any negative influence school closure had on Black students' educational achievement in the last two decades (Creswell, 2007). There were two primary sources of evidence used to conduct the research for this case study. The first being the use of local and state archival documents and records which offered stable, unobtrusive information that could reviewed repeatedly and contained precise dates, names, and events related to the case study topic (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2009). The second source of evidence was interviews that were conducted individually and in small group interview sessions. The interview process for this case study gave targeted focus about the studies' topic and offered a level of insightful information from

participants with inferences and explanations which could assist the creation of related patterns in the data (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2009).

Those sources of evidence were used to determine how current Black students' motivations and educational successes in that school division had any correlation to the closure of public schools for Blacks over 50 years earlier, which has been the perception of many local educators and leaders. This single instrument case study was conducted to focus on real life themes and with in-depth perspectives from the lives of impacted families who lost their education, as well as former teachers and community leaders who experienced the transition for racial integration in the public schools in Prince Edward County. The sample size was ten participants who were selected based on their experience with either the closure or integration of schools in Prince Edward County. There was a desire for 12 participants, but many persons who were asked to assist were not willing to participate or were deceased. This study was completed by conducting face-to-face interviews, and focus group sessions which were recorded for information accuracy (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 2006; Yin, 2009).

This single instrumental case study was confined to the unique circumstances of educators and community leaders, and for those individuals and families who were familiar with the transformation of public schools in Prince Edward County. Participants were limited to those listed above who had insight into the closure of schools there. The boundary that defined the premise of this study was to not receive information from retired or current educators who did not work in or attend schools in Prince Edward County at the time of school closure. There were fewer than ten educators who met the criteria who worked or attended public schools in neighboring Cumberland and

Buckingham Counties at the time of integration in the late 1960s. Those educators had great understanding of the situation in Prince Edward County but did not work directly in that school division. Therefore, their perspectives did not offer the accuracy of the experiences and perceptions that their counterparts in Prince Edward had to contend with while teaching.

A major limitation for this case study was the factors needed to establish validity from a sample of participants less than 100. An additional limiting factor was the physical and mental state of some of the older family members, retired educators, and community leaders. If their mental capacity or physical state was impaired or diminished significantly, it would have been detrimental to this research study to use their perspectives as part of the data (Creswell, 2007).

Another limitation was the lack of trust of the researcher being from a neighboring community and therefore unwilling to assist the study. This was detrimental as their assistance would have been of significant relevance to the research.

Definitions

In order to give the reader a clearer understanding of this case study, it was necessary to offer key definitions that were used throughout. The terms below have significant meaning to this study, especially in chapters two and three.

1. *Desegregation* – The process in American society of not dividing races of people which was instituted by federal mandates, especially in the areas of education, business, and employment (Bonastia, 2012; Ferguson, 2012; Green, K., 2015; Heaton, 2008; Holland, 2012; Titus, 2011).

2. *Integration* – The process in American society of including others who are different to include race, gender, and sexual orientation. For this study the term is being referred to racial inclusion (Allen, 2012; Bonastia, 2012; Green, K., 2015, Titus, 2011).
3. *Massive resistance* – The strategy used in southern states, especially in the state of Virginia, by White leaders who refused to allow shared access of Blacks citizens. This was primarily in the area of education and was prevalent from the 1950s through 1970s (Bonastia, 2012; Green, K., 2015; Heaton, 2008; Titus, 2011).

Summary

The purpose of this single instrumental case study was to gain a better understanding of how the closure of public schools in Prince Edward County for Blacks county continues to impact present and post-secondary school successes and social advancement for Black students since the start of integrated public schools from the perspectives of impacted families who lost their education, as well as former teachers, administrators and community leaders who experienced the transition for racial integration (Bonastia, 2009; Heaton, 2008; Holland, 2012; Sanchez, 2012; Sullivan, LaSalle, & Yellin, 2009). The historical implications of this event required in-depth background information of its impact today, even though school closure occurred over 50 years ago. Having experienced school integration and knowing many citizens in Prince Edward County, this study is very important in bringing answers to long perceived ideas about the schools in that county, especially at its high school. The need to have research conducted is of utmost importance.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

The purpose of this single instrumental case study is to understand the influence the public school closure has on the educational motivation and social advancement of the children and grandchildren of Blacks who are impacted by the closure in Prince Edward County from 1959 to 1964. This chapter reviews the relevant literature in four areas: theoretical framework with subsections on race based policies and practices, Black student achievement and motivation, and school learning environments. The final section of the chapter provides insight for the need for this research as there is very little literature based on the aspects of public school closure on the motivation and outcomes of Black students in Prince Edward County today.

Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this research, there was a need to establish the foundation of theories that related to the problem of the motivation and socialization factors that impacted Blacks by the closure of public schools. The tough circumstances of having White leaders openly choose to not integrate public schools because of one's race were considered unbelievable even during the period of massive resistance. For the Black students and families, there was lost trust in the government that should have protected their educational and social interests as human beings (Heaton, 2008; Titus, 2011). When *Brown v. Board of Education* was decided, "the hope was that desegregated schools would lead to increased educational achievement for African American students as well as improved race relations for the country" (Holland, 2012, p. 101). With the noncompliance of the federal mandate through massive resistance, the movement greatly

altered many Black families' motivation in Prince Edward County to seek an education as they felt that they were written off by White society as not being worth the time to care. Through the research, such feelings of despair of those citizens were determined in the belief that this had been carried over to those impacted to their children and grandchildren that live in Prince Edward (Bonastia, 21012; Green, K., 2015; Green, R. L., 1964; Hale-Smith, 1992; Titus, 2011).

According to Hale-Smith, there was research specific to the public school closure in Prince Edward County conducted by Green (1964) as to the significance of the impact of not receiving educational services for Black children there (1992). Since only 25 Black children out of 1,700 school aged children at the time of public school closure attended school all years, the effect on the education of children then and now has been impacted by the loss of opportunity to learn and achieve (Green, R. L., 1964; Hale-Smith, 1992; Smith R.C., 1997).

Social Cognitive Theory

Social cognitive theory looked extensively at academic motivation, learning, and achievement with the primary focus being on children (Denler, Wolters & Benzon, 2009; Parjares, 1996; Schunk & Zimmerman, 1994; 1998). The theory provided an assumption that people had the ability to influence their own behavior as well as their environment in a goal-directed fashion. It continued to propose that people could control their lives through forethought and self-reflections to withstand life obstacles and personal direction (Bandura, 2001; Denler, Wolters & Benzon, 2009). Under normal circumstances in society during the time of desegregation, there was some progress and acceptance when races were educated separately. But equal educational practices were not used to justify

similar needs and motivation to educate Black children in the South. Although not perfect, Black leaders and families looked ahead at the possibilities of an opportunity, even with unequal venues for education, to have direction in their lives and for their children. For the Black children and families in Prince Edward County, Social Critical Theory had credence for those who were able to receive educational services but would have been an afterthought for those denied schooling. The ability to look ahead to control one's future in the face of extreme odds and obstacles offered little optimism to move ahead to receive an education. Being that it was a matter of survival, many families did survive by farming and agricultural jobs with the assistance of their children after having their right to an education stripped away (Heaton, 2008).

There was an element of observational learning or modeling that came from the social cognitive theory and did offer a perspective of the children and offspring of families who were denied education (Denler, Wolters & Benzon, 2009). Children from the households of those who lost their educational chances were assumed to not offer the best role models if there was no sense of value in education. Therefore, if education was not valued within their homes, the children and grandchildren of denied families would continue to not find relevance in the learning and achieving in school. The children would imitate and follow the example of a learned perception that learning at school was not as important as to get out of school with a diploma and make it on their own successfully. This particular construct was of primary importance in the research, as this study has offered an answer about the apathy of Black youth in Prince Edward today.

Self Determination Theory

Another component for the theoretical framework of this research was self-determination theory which addressed three types of motivation: (a) amotivation, (b) intrinsic motivation, and (c) extrinsic motivation. Each of those components was important for societal and academic success in people. For this study, amotivation had the greatest validity in addressing apathy and social under advancement of Black youth in Prince Edward County. According to Ryan and Deci (2000), amotivation was defined as people either did not act at all or acted without intent by just going through the motions. By not valuing an activity, such as attending school to learn, or having no expectations to reach a desired outcome, as with standardized assessment achievement and even seeking employment, amotivation had strong connections to those who had no cause to seek success as was the norm of society (Ryan, 1995; Seligman, 1975).

Intrinsic motivation, which was the opposite of amotivation, was more of a natural state of well-being that guided individuals' lives. For intrinsic motivation, it was an inward sought desire for humans which was less regulated from external forces and more self-determined (Ryan & Deci, 2000; 2004). In education, intrinsic motivation was the expected characteristic for student achievement, and positive social interaction in healthy school environments. Schools with strong cultures and established expectations for academic success for its students actually met the internal desire for students to reach their maximum potential which led to positive staff interactions and community satisfactions for improved outcomes. Educators work tirelessly to have students that gain self satisfaction for completing tasks without being prompted to do so or a sense of autonomy (deCharms, 1968).

According to Szymanski (2011), individuals differ in the levels of motivation and that researchers have offered mixed findings for Blacks in educational environments. There were findings which reported that Black students were more likely to be more extrinsically motivated in comparison to their White peers (Cokley, 2002; 2003; Graham, 1994). In contrast, another pair of researchers came to the conclusion that Black students were more intrinsically motivated than Whites when being a low achiever (Shernoff & Schmidt, 2008). This contradiction of positions for this study will be presented more vividly within the process of data collections from participants as they address the effect of school closure and its current carryover effect for Black youth.

Further information on Social Determination Theory noted that “people’s inherent growth tendencies and innate psychological needs that were the basis for their self-motivation and personality integration, as well as for the conditions that foster those positive processes” (Szymanski, 2011, p. 68). Whether people stand behind a behavior out of their interest and values was of importance in all cultures (Johnson, 1993). More than 50 years after the closure of public schools in Prince Edward, the premises of social cognitive theory and self-determination theory were very pertinent in the overall educational and social structure for this case study.

Critical Theory

The construct of critical theory for the purpose of establishing a sound foundation was important since there was research using this framework to address multicultural ideologies, cultural struggles, and social justice in educational settings (Pruyn & Garcia, 2001). Other perspectives of the theory for the study were to take a look at Critical Theory as it reflected on community. In the face of the position that could be taken by

those who were representatives of all sides and the voice which was the message, though contrasting, could be directed in a common direction through diplomatic or legislative mandates (Lynch, 2012). Lynch saw community in critical theory practice as “a powerful metaphor” (p. 81). In education, educators seek to determine how communities both include and exclude in the learning process and how such differences operate within the overall processes of inclusion and exclusion for students by teachers. For students and educators within their school communities, there must be community-building which allows their voices to be heard in an engaging and cultivating way (Lynch, 2012).

A central figure of critical theory practice was an educator named Paulo Freire who for almost 40 years was driven to empower the poor who were illiterate on the continents of Africa, Asia, and South America through education. His mission was to challenge authorities in government who had established barriers to stop his movement of improving the lives of the poor who had no access to education. His philosophy sought to expose unequal, oppressive, and restrictive policies that were provided to keep the disenfranchised from making advancement within society (Pruyn & Garcia, 2001). According to McLaren (1989), Freire’s movement to provide literacy in Third World countries was his way of transforming unjust social, economic, and cultural order into a crusade to save humanity from critical bigotry.

The massive resistance movement which closed schools in Prince Edward County had very similar circumstances to the plight of the individuals that Freire worked diligently to educate. When reviewing the similarities that occurred in Third World areas of the world, it was hard to picture that such atrocities actually happened in our country as a practice to suppress Black people and their children from getting an education.

Critical Race Theory

The events in Prince Edward County and the closure of public schools there occurred many years prior to the development of Critical Race Theory, but this concept had deep ties that fit this unfortunate episode in our country. This study of racial changes and the impact of social policies held relevance to this study at the time of public school closure to the current plight of Black student underachievement (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew, & Freeman, 2010). Critical Race Theory researchers studied the impact of color, ethnicity and race as to how those would impact inequality and socioeconomic mobility of families of color. Their focus was not just the impact on Blacks, but for non-white Hispanics, and Asians by looking at how their experiences in American society were compared to their White counterparts (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew & Freeman, 2010).

Inequality and socioeconomic mobility for Blacks and other minorities was viewed very differently than that of Whites since the competition for success and rewards to advance in society was based on middle class cultural norms. Middle class norms were based on an individual's success due to their ability to be enterprising and hardworking which would lead to upward economic mobility and not accounting for ones' race to interfere with that attainment (Corcoran, 2001). This premise was misguided though, and Critical Race Theorists had found through studies that there were significant differences in the incomes of families of color, mainly Black, over their lifetimes to that of White families. Blacks who were born into poverty were much more inclined to remain in poverty than Whites (Issacs, 2007).

Blacks raised in poverty were brought up in very racially isolated areas in urban and rural areas of our country. The lack of positive outside influences who had elevated and achieved economic success beyond family and neighborhood had a negative impact on overall family income, and educational attainment for children and young adults. Neighborhood segregation due to social demographics and geography limited those in that type of living arrangement which reduced access to good paying jobs, and high quality schools where an opportunity to advance to the middle class, if given the chance, was often not present. That was hardest on Black families as White mobility unhinged the progress of desegregation of housing and schools and led to the return of little to no racial mixing in some parts of America where Civil Rights advancements had taken place (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew & Freeman, 2010). From the time of the Civil Rights Era to the 21st Century, racial isolation that had led to increasingly bleak and rampant symbols of racial inequality in America (Lin & Harris, 2008; Massey, 2007). There have been studies that conclude that Black families had far fewer resources to gain upward economic mobility when raised in poverty. The inability for many Blacks to have inherited resources like stocks, bonds, trusts, homes, and real estate was not readily available to be passed down to raise family resource options (Keister, 2006). For Black families in poor rural and urban areas there left no positive outlook and very little understanding of economic properties that existed beyond what they currently had in their daily existence. This outcome unfortunately impacted the drive to pursue greater educational progress since there was little to no examples to emulate to achieve a higher place in American society.

Critical Race Theory and its connections to racial desegregation, though created in the 1980s, established literature on social construction of race, ethnicity, and racialization in America. For Blacks, such constructs could be felt with negative perceptions of their existence in American society as equals to those of White citizens (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Buckelew & Freeman, 2010). The detriment of not being on equal social terms in society made for perceptions by Black families to give up trying to be relevant and with the denial of education, cut the source of advancement that many desired.

As Black leaders in the late 1950s and early 1960s worked diligently to overcome the negative aspects of the decisions of White leaders in Prince Edward County, it was a clear portrait of racial injustice in the United States which was fast moving and very regressive (Mutua, 2006). Such actions had impacts on Black families who did not have the financial means to overcome the inability to have their children gain an education. For those families, education lost value and its importance to advance in America led to providing for their families by the means that their education level would bring them. Though families survived, it was by way of farming, the forest industry, and low wage employment with little need for education completion. Through the Critical Race Theory perspective, public school closure incorporated

the following principles of society at that time: (a) race is a central component of social organizations and systems, including families; (b) racism is institutionalized-it is an ingrained feature of racialized social systems; (c) everyone within racialized social systems may contribute to the reproduction of

these systems through social practices; and (d) racial and ethnic identities (Delgado & Stefanicic, 2000, p. xvii).

The impact racism had on families affected their structures for full societal assimilation.

In an ethnographic study by Van Ausdale and Feagin (2002), racial socialization was ingrained into the minds of children through their upbringing. In a study of 4- to 6-year olds in a racially integrated elementary school, the research noted that children at that age had developed racial understandings and socialized with others based on ones' skin color, accent, and other racial markers. There were no adults to assist with this study beyond the observations that took place. This racial development among young children showed that racial identification was taught very early and was developed through family teachings of how they should assimilate with others in social settings beyond home (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2002).

The element of race and its influence on ones' social class was another factor of Critical Race Theory which placed great pressure to resist change by White citizens in the south during the time period of school desegregation. Vestiges of class still exist in current American society but not to the extent that was clearly apparent at the time of public school closure in Prince Edward County. As a result of school closure, Critical Race Theory could be identified with the principles of inequality and socioeconomic mobility of families of color (Black) which were the most extreme forms of racial inequality (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Buckelew & Freeman, 2010).

Kozal's (1991) urban example of class and racial disparity was demonstrated in Boston, Massachusetts public schools when he was a young educator who had started teaching in a poor all-Black elementary school in 1964. He was later recruited to one of

the wealthiest schools that were overwhelmingly White which correlated to Critical Race Theory principles. The facilities, culture, neighborhoods, and students' preparation for learning were nothing similar though only miles away from each other. Yet, the education for the children in those schools was conversely different and was not on equal settings. Black children were denied access to adequate materials due to the widespread impoverishment that ran prevalent in their neighborhoods (Dingus, 2006). With such huge disparities in educational opportunities which were publicly known by those in leadership, there were no expectations to change the dynamics to establish equity for children. There was no urgency to end alarming class based education with no forethought to improve opportunities for the poor and open avenues of cooperation and cohesion with other races (Kozol, 1991). To further emphasize how racial class in society was interpreted, below is a statement of how Blacks felt about the practice:

The greatest sense of anger in a number of Black parents that I know is that the obstacles black children face, to the extent that "obstacles" are still conceded, are attributable, at most, to "past injustice"-something dating maybe back to slavery or maybe to the era of official segregation that came to its close during the years from 1954 to 1968-but not, in any case, to something recent or contemporary or on-going. The nostrum of a "past injustice"-an expression often spoken with sarcasm-is particularly cherished by conservatives because it serves to undercut the claim that young Black people living now may have some right to preferential opportunities. (Kozol, 1991, pp. 989-991)

The viewpoint below came from a Black middle-class teacher who was also a parent who had very similar overtures to the general thoughts of other Black families:

I hate to say it, but Black parents just couldn't understand [integration]. They had low-self esteem because they knew how it had always been with the White folks. They tried to lift themselves up. And, it was rough because some of the same [racism] was still happening among some of us. (Dingus, 2006, p. 225)

That statement captured the mental framework that existed in Black families when trying to pursue advancement in education, society, and employment that could be very tough to meet. There was truly a need to conduct research as to why such mentalities existed in central Virginia, as most of the literature that had been written had suburban and urban dynamics which would differ from that of a rural community.

Related Literature

Race Based Policies and Practices

As America transformed and transitioned to being the nation that it is today, there were many norms that were inherently wrong for non-White citizens due to the early structure of society. Due to the need for free labor by using African slaves, there was a necessity to maintain an order of superiority by White citizens and for Blacks to not be considered as equals. What was invoked by “Whites were said to be the repository of all that was corporeally beautiful, Blacks, of everything offensive to aesthetic taste; Whites were revealed as archetypes of moral behavior, blacks as the epitome of debasement...” (Allen, 2012, p. 3). Such a mentality for different races was carried on through the nation's history not just for Blacks but for Native Americans and Hispanics, as well as immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe (Allen, 2012). As for education, the policies of discrimination were primarily addressed to Blacks since they were the primary minority of society and had the most social interaction with White populations.

After slavery, Blacks gained gradual access to educational avenues that were not of equal quality as for Whites. Through the history of American education, schooling the children of our nation was a way to preserve and promote public aims by strengthening our country, and expanding the economic growth although unjust along racial venues (Labaree, 2011). According to Labaree, there was “ongoing tension between schooling as the pursuit of gradually evolving cultural ideals and school as the pursuit of increasingly compelling economic practicalities...has propelled individuals to demand educational opportunity and to avail themselves of it when it is made available” (p. 383). Through the persistence of Black leaders of the civil rights movement, they fought hard to make those ideas possible. The Supreme Court’s support of removing separate schools was based on the position that Blacks had suffered from segregation long enough and would benefit from the desegregation of American schools, for a quality education was an important entity that had been denied for so long and the best solution was to give Blacks access to equal education, according to Chief Justice Warren (Labaree, 2011).

After the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, it triggered a strong backlash by White leaders and citizens who clearly wanted no part of integrated schools. White politicians used their legislative power to deny changes in public education. In Virginia, the Gray Plan was created in 1955 to override the high court’s decision which “called for tuition grants from public funds to aid white students attending private schools to avoid integration,...and an amendment to the compulsory attendance law so that no child would be required to attend an integrated school” (Doyle, 2005, p. 65).

Public schools in Norfolk, Virginia decided to close public schools for White students for one year in 1959 as an act of defiance against integration mandates. The

closure of Norfolk City schools impacted nearly 10,000 White students. Most Whites in Norfolk were surprised that the public schools would be closed and quickly sought alternative means for education by enrolling their children in area private schools while some who could not afford the tuition were given tutoring or went without an education for the year (Doyle, 2005; Manfra, 2009). When schools there did reopen through a federal court injunction, 17 Black students were allowed to enroll at White schools. Those Black students became known as the Norfolk 17 whose ages ranged from 12-17. They endured emotional and physical abuse, name calling, and intimidation from their White peers as well as maltreatment from their teachers at middle and high schools (Manfra, 2009). The reopening of schools in Norfolk by White proponents felt that this was done not in support of integration and equal rights for Black students but by their interest in public education and a negative influence on White students without schooling because of the closure (Manfra, 2009).

According to Foster and Foster (1993), the negative devices in education for Black students were true signs of the failure of integrated public schools especially in Prince Edward County. They noted:

The evidence is compelling enough to lead one to this conclusion not only in Prince Edward but in the majority of cities and towns in this nation where courts have ordered Black and White students to forcibly integrate. Ironically these same courts who in the 1960s were adamant in demanding integration are now in the 1990s reversing or reinterpreting their decisions. (Foster & Foster, 1993, p. 88)

In Tennessee, schools and local governments developed plans that contributed to segregated schools and neighborhoods into the 1970s. Nashville purported school

construction policies to assist suburban real estate ventures for the Whites and middle class citizens and forced poor black families to remain in the city thus resegregating the schools there (Erickson, 2011). For the Black citizens in Nashville, the problem was the pace of desegregation which was not executed immediately and completely. Also, the burden of the desegregation plan was placed upon Black students who would walk past White neighborhood schools (Woodward, 2011). Many White families moved to suburban school districts to avoid the integration policy changes that left the schools in the city of Nashville being mostly Black again; therefore, desegregation failed. The option of choice by White parents undermined the desegregation processes through their transfer to localities which were less diverse or less likely to desegregate schools or decided to have their children to enroll in private schools (Erickson, 2011). The devastating consequences of school changes in Nashville had such strong racial overtones at that time. There were similar reactions by White citizens to avoid integrated public schools which led social scientists to further understand that such actions had an effect on Blacks and Whites in many communities dealing with desegregation.

In the 1980s, southern Black students were 57 percent of public school attendees but attended schools that had predominately Black or minority enrollments. These figures were noted similarly in northern schools as well (Erickson, 2011). The on-going debate of school districts across the country focused upon making attempts to restructure schools so that student populations were more diversified.

But the issues of desegregation and the battles that became evident were centered on race and class when school restructuring was proposed. Even after school integration took effect, Whites in many areas of America would move away to areas with

predominantly White populations to peacefully avoid the matter of having more Blacks in the schools of their communities, therefore creating inequalities of segregated school environments (Allen, 2012; Hill, 2012). According to Smith, Kedrowski, Ellis and Longshaw (2008), the school board in Rock Hill, South Carolina, decided to study realigning the racial demographics of their public schools beginning in 2000. The school district was desegregated in 1971 by busing but through a population shift of White citizens away from the jurisdiction led to an unforeseen resegregation of local schools. The decision to address the issue was completely voluntary and not enforced by legislative or court mandate (Smith, Kedrowski, Ellis and Longshaw, 2008). Those factors of social class were the dividing forces that separated races in the discussion of school diversity.

Mandatory student assignments, better known as forced busing, became the norm in the South when racial entanglement became an issue when attempting to comply with federal mandates for desegregation of public schools (McPherson, 2011; Woodward, 2011). Forced busing policies was a delaying tactic of desegregating schools and prevented the actual enrollment of Black students through mandatory assignment of school aged children (Buncher, Monaghan, Schulte, Fickes, & Orfsky, 1975). One such conflict among Blacks and Whites was noted in Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee, where establishing policies for busing reached an impasse in local politics, while attempting to shift citizens' opinions to support transferring students to new schools to make them racially diverse (Doyle, 1985; Pride & Woodward, 1985). Though schools were not closed, the school board decided to desegregate one year at a time beginning with the first grade and adding an additional grade each year for twelve

consecutive years which was in compliance with *Brown v. Board of Education* (Woodward, 2011). The policies establishment was in response to White citizen resistance to mandated integration as in Prince Edward County.

The creation of Freedom of Choice policies by localities in the South during the 1960s offered opportunities to families for a chance to voluntarily send their children to schools of their choosing. This policy was open to Black and White parents to decide where their children would attend school in their attendance areas (McPherson, 2011). Freedom of Choice policies varied from state to state and locality to locality after the 1955 *Brown II* decision, which was to expedite public school desegregation (Gordon, 1994). This option was utilized mostly by a small number of Black families who made the choice to allow their children to go to all-White schools in an effort to end the racial barriers and attempted to end separate but equal schools. The policy was not effective at reducing segregated schools, which led to legal action to meet mandates of the *Brown II* decision.

In New Kent County, Virginia, the Freedom of Choice policy allowed parents, excluding first grade and eighth grade parents, to transfer to new schools. A lawsuit in 1968, *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, was brought after 3 years of having school choice and 118 Black students attended White schools while this was not reciprocated by Whites to Black schools as 85% of Black students continued to attend school with mostly Black peers (McPherson, 2011). In Cumberland County, Virginia, which is an adjoining county of Prince Edward, had followed separated but equal school facilities instead of closing schools. In 1965 the School Board there allowed a Freedom of Choice policy and six Black families decided to send their children to the all-White

high school (Cumberland School Board Minutes, 1960-1966). As in many circumstances from Virginia to Mississippi for Black children being the first to integrate White schools, there was racial tension, discrimination by White students and staff, and failure to receive an equal education.

As education has evolved since the desegregation of schools, the start of the new millennium saw the enactment of the “No Child Left Behind Act” which brought together elements of equal opportunity from the civil rights era. In 2002, as this federal legislation was passed, its purpose was to ensure that all children were given the chance to a fair, equal, and open access to high quality education, especially those of low-achieving children in high poverty schools (Labaree, 2011). The impact on public schools nationally led to greater concern for the achievement of minority students, especially Blacks and Hispanics whose record of success on standardized assessments was much lower than that of White students. As a policy for change in American public education, the act did not look to provide additional funding to assist school divisions, especially rural and urban areas, which were not funded equally as suburban school divisions (Hill, 2009; Holland, 2012). Suburban schools’ demographics had richer and better-educated families from where their students lived. Since the desegregation movement over 50 years ago, many rural and urban school divisions had returned to being racially segregated and had lower socioeconomic demographics which led back to separate and unequal schools that existed by choice and not by law (Horsford, 2009).

Black Student Academic Achievement

The underlying premise of this research case study was to analyze how the closure of the public school in Prince Edward County had and has impacted the academic

and social achievement of Black students there. In doing so, the researcher looked at other elements beyond the closure of those schools over 50 years later as to how there was still underachievement of Black students in Prince Edward and across the nation. According to Armor (2006), the *Brown* decision “had little to do with the Black-White achievement gap...There has been considerable debate over this issue as well, mainly because *Brown* said that segregation harmed Black children’s self-esteem and offered the famous Footnote 11 which summarized social science evidence about psychological harm of segregation” (pp. 40-41).

The desegregation of public schools did improve the achievement of Black students slightly over the years but there were factors beyond schools that often had a significant impact on impeding the closure of the Black-White achievement gap. In the 1970s and early 1980s, there was a fairly large reduction in the achievement gap nationally by Black students after desegregation implementation (Armor, 2001). One primary cause of the achievement gap from Armor’s (2006) research analyzed the family and overall family resources. Children’s academic and social beginnings were developed early in their lives since the majority of their early years were spent learning from their household members and neighborhood relationships (Armor, 2006). In Figure 1, it showed the results of a study conducted by Armor which was based on family risk factors for early cognitive skills of Black and White children. Those factors had significant correlation with a child’s IQ by the age of 5 (Armor, 2006). They were:

1. Parents’ IQ
2. Cognitive stimulation/instruction (usually by parents but could be others)
3. Emotional support/nurturance
4. Parents’ educational attainment
5. Family income and poverty status
6. Family structure: marital status, number of parents

7. Mother's age when child born
8. Number of siblings
9. Child's nutrition (including breast feeding)
10. Child's birth weight

Figure 1. Racial Differences in Family Risk

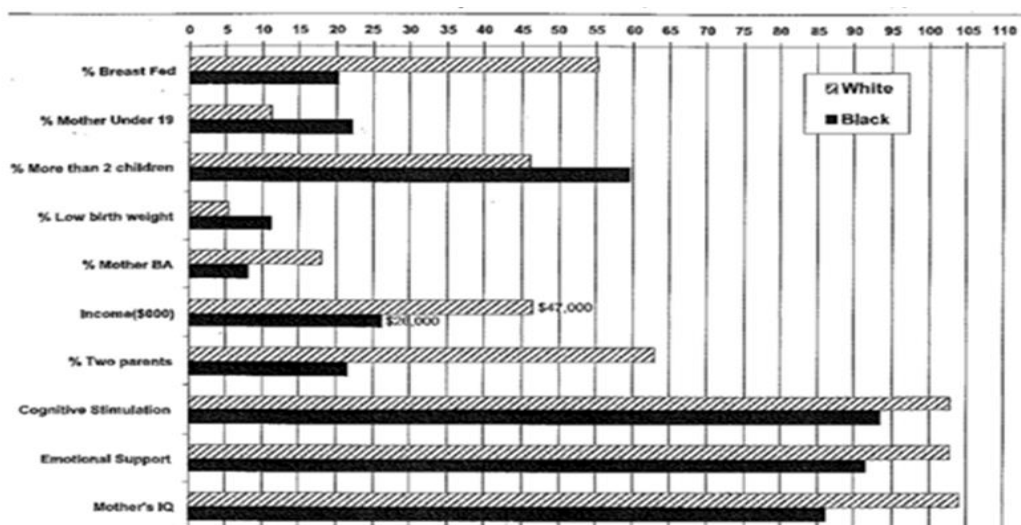


Figure 1. Generic bar graph to assess the extent ten family risk factors impacted early cognitive skills in Black and White children (on the basis Children of the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (CNLSY), 1996). Adapted from “*Brown and Black-White Achievement*,” by D. J. Armor, 2006, *Academic Questions*, p. 43.

From the research, Blacks were behind Whites in all areas except in three areas: a. the percentage of mothers under 19; b. the percentage of families with more than two children; c. the percentage of children born with low birth weight.

In Figure 2 below, the chart shows how family influences and a child's IQ at age 5 along Black and White demographics and the removal of the family risk factors essentially eliminates the achievement gap among 11 year olds.

Figure 2. Explaining the Black-White Test Score Gap for 11-Year Olds (Source: CNLSY)

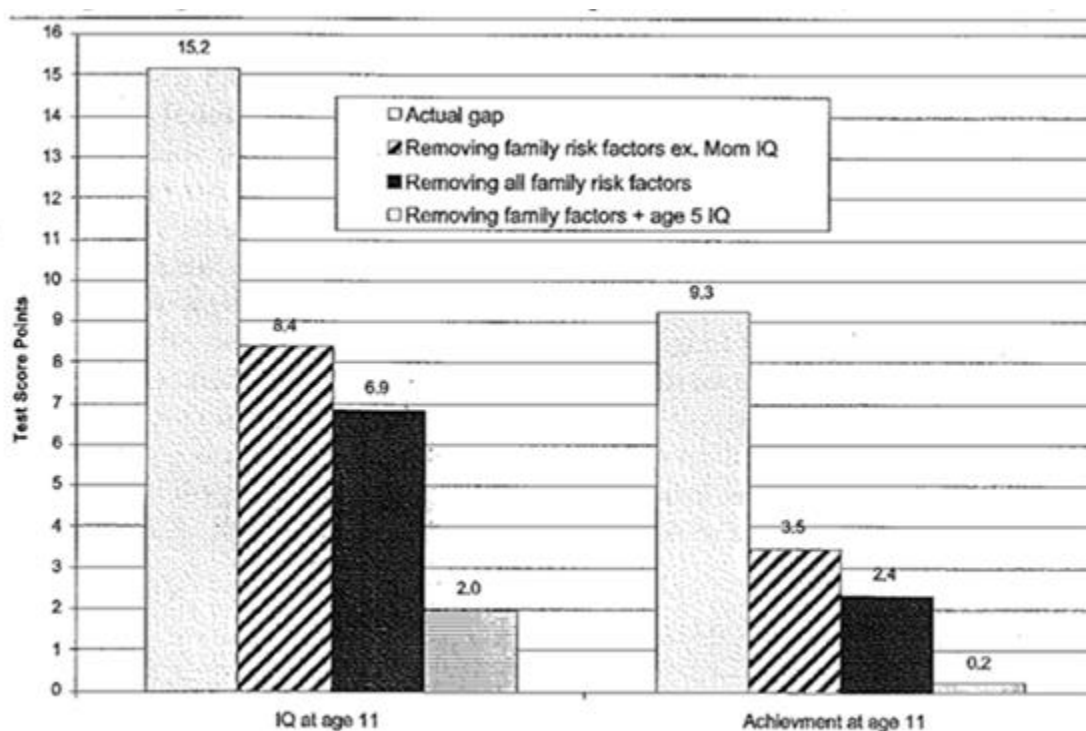


Figure 2. Generic bar chart showed the Black-White testing achievement gap of children at age 11 (on the basis Children of the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (CNLSY), 1996). Adapted from “Brown and Black-White Achievement,” by D. J. Armor, 2006, *Academic Questions*, p.44.

As the statistics from the two charts above present, parental support and influence played a vital role in the academic success and achievement for children of both races. This support for students could be found at schools through visits, parental contacts or family interactions, and educational involvement while at home. Further research showed that Black parents were involved with their children at home by having significantly less engagement and interaction with the schools that their children attended (Taliaferro & DeCuir-Gunby, 2008). This general fact did have an impact on Black

students and their success in schools. The importance of parental social support at schools influenced the motivation and academic achievement overall for students (Wentzel, 1998). Reduced parental involvement by Black parents in schools led to lower attempts to succeed in school for many Black students, even with the efforts by school leaders and teachers to have all students achieve at higher levels in the face of No Child Left Behind legislative mandates. Lower Black family interactions in schools placed a real burden on schools to address educational needs that led to academic success. Therefore the achievement gap will continue to be a problem until improvements are made in Black families' involvement with their children's education (Armor, 2006).

In Figure 1, income levels for Black families compared to White families were \$21,000 different. Economic disparities have been shown in other related research to greatly impact school readiness in children entering schools (Miller, Votruba-Drzal, & Setodji, 2013). Students who started school from economically disadvantaged homes had lower basic literacy and numeracy skills that were vital for early academic success (Magnuson, Meyers, Ruhm, & Waldfogel, 2004). The rates of children in poor households in rural and urban areas were just over 20% nationally (Miller, Votruba-Drzal, & Setodji, 2013). Family income levels dictated the amount of time and money that parents could spend on their children, impacted investing in learning materials, and allowed for very few, if any, experiences beyond the local community or neighborhood and provided reduced services to their child to expand their social horizons (Becker, 1991). Children from low-income households tended to be well behind their more advantaged classmates since their parents had less money to spend and time to interact with them beyond basic living expenses and social needs (Duncan & Brooks, 2000).

Poor families faced extreme pressures for survival needs within their households and their financial stress was linked to social detachment and less nurturing and stimulating of their children which decreased educational development (Conger, et. al., 2002: McLoyd, 1990). Those families often lived in areas with substandard housing, with few role models in the area to set positive examples of success. The detriment of being raised poor, especially in rural and urban environments, played a very important part as to how the achievement gap was not closed for Black students in recent years (Miller, Votruba-Drzal, & Setodji, 2013).

More recent statistical data on the Black-White achievement gap was conducted by the U. S. Department of Education's National Center for Educational Statistics in 2009 through a national sample of over 37,700 high school graduates from private and public schools (2011). This comparative study of student achievement data from the years 1990, 1994, 1998, 2000, 2005, and 2009 were surveyed as to the differences between races and ethnicities, gender, and parental educational backgrounds of students from across the nation. A positive statistic from the data was since 1990, more graduates from all racial and ethnic groups had completed more rigorous school curriculum, earning higher grade point averages and had earned more credits, but in almost every category Black students had the lowest percentages overall. From the survey results, it was discovered that 34% of high school graduates whose parents did not finish high school completed a below standard curriculum compared to 20% of graduates with parents with college degrees (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2011).

Dropout statistics for Blacks and Whites nationally dropped overall from 1990 to 2012. In Figure 3 below, the Black youth dropout percentages ranged from 13% in 1990

to about 8% in 2013, but the overall separation between that of White youth remained consistently apart over the 23 years of the study.

Figure 3. Status dropout rates of 16- through 24-year-olds, by race/ethnicity: 1990-2013 (Source NCES)

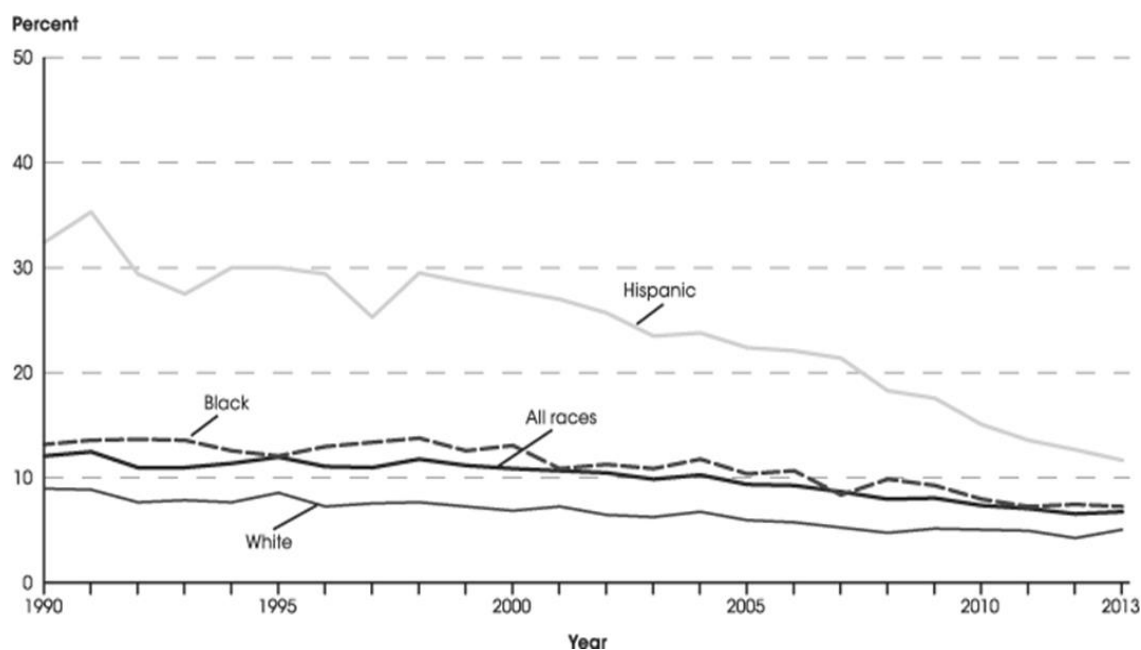


Figure 3. The "status dropout rate" represented the percentage of 16- through 24-year-olds who were not enrolled in school and had not earned a high school credential (either a diploma or an equivalency credential such as a General Educational Development [GED] certificate). Data was based on sample surveys of the civilian noninstitutionalized population, which excluded persons in prisons, persons in the military, and other persons. Adapted from "The Condition of Education 2015," by the U.S. Department of Education, *National Center for Education Statistics, 2015144*, 2015, retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=16>.

The information in Figure 3 above demonstrated the general trend had been addressed nationally and in Southside Virginia to close the gap of Black drop outs compared to their White peers. There was no simple solution to ending this educational

concern, but governmental and educational leaders must continue to seek for answers to close the achievement before it is too late.

The racial socialization of children in our country led many Black children to realize that there were differences for those in poverty compared to those raised in middle class households. According to Lareau (2003), different socialization practices of middle class and lower class parents were transmitted in the thoughts of their children and would allow them to go through life more or less effectively in social institutions such as schools. It was also noted that race was not as important as was ones' class when Black families practiced socialization skills with their children (Lareau, 2003).

As a result of the class and racial socialization practiced by Black families, there had been a negative culture among Black youth to put down those within the race who strived to achieve academically. The term 'acting White', was often used by Black youth toward other Black youth who aspired to perform well in schools and society. 'Acting White' referred to those who "used language or ways of speaking; displayed attitudes, behaviors or preferences; or engaged in activities considered to be White cultural norms. The term also has come to be used to respect indicators of academic performance and success" (Tyson, Darity, & Castellino, 2005, p. 583). This term had a long history that was established as far back as during the times of slavery of Africans beginning in the 15th and 16th centuries. For a Black slave that was perceived to be acting White by slave owners and traffickers, it was perceived that they were trying to become more like themselves, White Europeans. This racist belief toward slaves was to elevate the European captors that Black Africans were not fully human (Asiwaju, 1984). As Europeans colonized, explored and exploited the continent of Africa, they established

positions about race to dehumanize slaves to allow for justification of superiority and mistreatment of slaves. This psychological ploy was used to degrade slaves and lowered their attempts to display intelligence of African people who were before enslavement well versed from strong cultures in most instances (Nsamenang, 2013).

The continuation of the term being used beyond slavery for Black people had preconceived ideas of characteristics and abilities of expected outcomes that would include academic achievement, IQ, and diminished values in overall scholarship (Nsamenang, 2013). For Blacks to take a derogatory term and continue to bring down those who attempted to succeed in European-Western norms of modern society really displays that they have not understood the original context of the term acting White.

This oppositional attitude of some Black youth was a mindset that had been passed down in reaction to past historical negative events from disenfranchisement and discrimination that had created a negative culture within modern schools and cultures by having Blacks underperform academically. A converse term to describe reduced academic expectations and performance by Black students was called acting Black (Ford, Grantham, & Whiting, 2008; Peterson-Lewis & Bratton, 2004). The acting Black culture was particularly strong among some Black males who resisted to the social norms of performing well in school and degraded those that did achieve and succeed in school (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Buckelew & Freeman, 2010). Black students with this mentality saw underachievement, did not attend classes, and believed having street knowledge was more valuable for society that was pursuing greater aspirations. The element of those Black youth that did have a distinct interest in a segment of their schooling pertained to a

component of sports; otherwise, they were disengaged with any academic endeavors (Ford, Grantham, & Whiting, 2008; Peterson-Lewis & Bratton, 2004).

This was not a new phenomenon for Blacks, as this mentality was passed down through some parents who still resist and refuse to assimilate to White norms within society. This term had been used prior to desegregation and continues today and is a difficult element to change for Black students who give in and make the decision to underachieve academically so that they will be not ridiculed for demonstrating their intelligence or for speaking well. The unfortunate component for those students who did give in and did not achieve their best was that they end up failing classes and not succeeding on standardized assessments that were used to demonstrate student performance where Black students were well below their White peers nationally and locally. Prior to desegregation Black students did not display a fear of learning, but now there has been an underlying fear by many Black students to not excel academically (Foster & Foster, 1993).

Black Churches and Black Student Achievement

Armor's study (2006) offered greater insight into key aspects that bode true in the 21st century of Black children and their families when educators sought ways of overcoming the Black-White achievement gap in this era of educational accountability. Closing this divide between the races must take greater stands by local governments, school boards, and especially the Black community to offset and reverse these common threads of poor achievement and social dysfunction for young Blacks as in Prince Edward County.

A factor in local communities that was the pinnacle for Blacks came from the influence of the Black Church and its influence on community issues. During the Civil Rights Movement, the leaders at the forefront of national change were Black ministers from the South. Those national figure heads such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and Vernon Johns (the uncle of R. R. Moton student strike leader in 1951, Barbara Johns) were household names in the 1950s and 1960s. Those religious leaders were known throughout America by Blacks and Whites as they worked to unite Blacks and Whites to seek a color blind society with equal opportunity for all citizens (Gaines, 2010; Titus, 2011). Those religious leaders and their followers dealt with violence and intimidation tactics that were done by some Whites to deter them from making societal and educational changes. The leadership of Black ministers and their approach toward those attempts to end their work by using those aggressive actions was used as motivation for civic engagement and non-violent protest (Gaines, 2010).

During the initial struggle during Massive Resistance in Prince Edward County, many older Black church leaders had lost their credibility within the Black community. White leaders had realized that weakness in the Black leadership but underestimated the abilities of one Black church leader who led the movement to improve schools for Black children and end segregated facilities (Smith, 2011). He was L. Francis Griffin, the pastor of First Baptist Church in the town of Farmville, the county seat of Prince Edward County (Bonastia, 2012; Ferguson, 2012; Green, K., 2015; Titus, 2011). Griffin was instrumental in the area by leading two lawsuits in 1964, one against the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County and another against the State of Virginia contesting the use of state funds to support tuition grants for White students to attend private all-

White schools to avoid integration (Titus, 2011). While those cases were in the court systems, Griffin established an interracial group of Prince Edward citizens called the Citizens for Public Education to demand the reopening of schools for Black students and for the integration of schools within the county. Those lawsuits eventually led to the accelerated reopening of the local public school but did not lead to the end of segregated schooling as state tuition funds were still available for Whites to attend Prince Edward Academy, the all-White private school (Bonastia, 2009; Bonastia, 2012; Titus, 2011).

The Black church had long been in the forefront of community leadership and unification of those citizens who had little to no voice in American society. During the Civil Rights Movement, the Black church galvanized Black citizens by organizing, mobilizing and educating church members and the local community (Gaines, 2010). The current concern was that the Black church was not seizing the opportunity to improve the plight of Black student achievement as it once had. As current statistics demonstrated, Black students continued to fall short academically in comparison to non-White students other than that of Hispanic students. There was a higher percentage of Black dropouts between 16-24 years of age who were not enrolled in school and had not attained a high school equivalency credential nationally (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2014). Those facts were related to substandard schools, poor socio-economic family status, broken homes, as well as social and political disenfranchisement (Gaines, 2010). The need for more Black church leaders to become more involved must be continued to make changes such as educational and social concerns.

Whether a mega-church or smaller congregation, the modern Black church needed to reestablish itself as the cornerstone of the Black community as it once did in

the 1960s (Gaines, 2010). According to Middleton (2001), the power of the Black church in recent years had not worked to unify and demand better schools and student academic performance for urban students. If the Black church was to become beacons in the local community, they needed to actively train and educate its members for political action and seek an inter-denominational approach in order to seek elevated Black student achievement (Middleton, 2001; Gaines, 2010). This lack of unified strength by the Black church was noted by Harris (1993) where he stated:

The Black community. . . has become more diverse in self-interests and more socially stratified, the cultivation of communal power will be essential for the Black church if it is to maintain relevant contact with the liberation needs of Black people (p. 109).

In order to elevate Black student achievement, Franklin (1997) offered a five part framework for Black churches to establish agendas to improve educational advancements in their communities. They were: (a) basic charity; (b) sustained support; (c) social service delivery; (d) political advocacy; and (e) comprehensive community development (Gaines, 2010). The utilization of those five parts of the framework along unified interdenominational lines in a concentrated effort could make the issue of low Black student achievement a major concern that could be rectified for all communities.

In Prince Edward County and Southside Virginia, Black churches were not the strong beacons with dynamic vocal leaders for the community that they once were. There were no mega-churches in this area but there were several local churches that had large congregations made up of families from mostly well-educated and financially stable households. Of the smaller churches with not as affluent memberships, they were

somewhat different from the larger churches. With the concerns that existed about present poor achievement of Black students in Prince Edward County, which currently has one fully accredited school, there was no community uproar to seek change in the public schools.

Summary

The review of the primary literature had many related materials to the subject of the study but there was a lack of information on rural settings and areas where schools were actually closed for Black children for an extended period of time in history beyond one year. The need for further study to analyze the true generational impact of lost education was too valuable to not probe further as to how the public school closure in Prince Edward County had carried over to current generations. At the time of the reopening of Prince Edward County schools, of the 1,700 school aged Black children in the county in 1964, only 600 of them were able to move forward with their education during the five year closure. It was necessary to understand and study how the closure of public schools had continued to impact current students in the modern setting of education and social constructs. This study was needed to assist Prince Edward County as they sought state accreditation for their elementary and middle schools which are currently accredited with warning, while the high school has made it the last two years successfully but are not performing as well as neighboring schools according to the Virginia Department of Education (Virginia Department of Education, 2014).

Through the research of this case study, Southside Virginia and other rural areas of Virginia as well throughout the United States could potentially gain a new perspective on the lack of Black student academic performance based on the findings with

undereducated parents over generations that have significant negative influence on the academic and social achievement of Black children.

As for the research from this case study, the results could aid educators and civic leaders who contend with young Black youth and adults who had not or did not desire to maximize their educational opportunities. Those youth and adults become burdens on governmental assistance programs, as well as bring elevated crime rates, and overcrowded prisons and juvenile detention facilities of young Blacks who have failed to complete their education.

The findings from this case study offered considerable information to address those concerns. It was the expectation that the results could answer questions that can greatly reduce the Black-White Achievement gap and could be utilized to assist with other minority groups who were under-achieving in American public schools.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

Overview

This is a qualitative research study which uses a single instrumental case study design. The layout of this chapter is as follows: design, research questions, setting, participants, procedures, the researcher's role, data collection, data analysis, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations. At the conclusion of this chapter there is a summary of the processes of the methodology of the case study.

In the previous chapter, the review of the literature focused on the effect of school closure on the educational accomplishments and social outcomes of Black students currently or formerly enrolled in Prince Edward County Public Schools and throughout their public school education. There is no literature addressing the perspective of student apathy that had been passed on from generation to generation since the closing of public schools in Prince Edward since they have reopened over 50 years later. The methodology for the research ensures the perspectives of families or former students who were denied their education, as well as from the perspectives of retired educators, former students who had their educations hindered by school closure, and local community leaders who provide the primary focus of this case study and give credence to the significance found in the research.

Design

This qualitative study utilized the single instrumental case study within a bounded system that will give the opportunity to conduct a holistic approach to gather thick descriptions for the research (Creswell, 2007). The use of the case study developed and investigated in-depth descriptions and addressed any negative influences school closure

had on Black students' educational achievement the last two decades (Creswell, 2007). Through the development of this identifiable case, there was a valuable opportunity to capture the voices of the research participants who had relevant details and information that enhanced the strategic importance of this study through personal interviews and the examination of archival records (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). By using the qualitative research design in a logical sequence to connect with the empirical data, it best served to capture the context of the research through the research questions and conclusions of this moment in history (Yazan, 2015; Yin 2009). The use of the case study design offered a holistic and biographical research method which provided the optimum way with which to explicate the interpretive orientation of the event (Stake, 1995; Yazan, 2015). This case study design was the blueprint for the research as the method which allowed for a more intense understanding and analysis of the interview conversations and interactions with the people most impacted and affected by the closure of public schools (Yin, 2009; Yin, 2011). The statistical generalization about the research population and their feedback became a prevalent matter to contend with when No Child Left Behind federal educational legislation started in 2001. With current difficulties of the public schools in Prince Edward County becoming accredited, their schools and closing the achievement gap for Black and White students had been a difficult road (U. S. Department of Education, 2010; Virginia Department of Education, 2012; Yin, 2009). The qualitative design gave a systematic analysis of past and present events that were developed in great depth through the research process (Berg, 1999; Yin, 2011).

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following three research questions:

1. After public schools in Prince Edward County were re-opened in 1964 due to massive resistance, what were the effects on the educational and social gains of Blacks living in the county at that time?
2. Although this event occurred almost 60 years ago, are there residual effects from the five-year public school closure still impacting the accomplishments of Black children in Prince Edward County today?
3. In past decade, Prince Edward County public education has struggled to have Black students close the achievement gap of their White peers and meet federal and state educational mandates. Can this problem be specifically attributed to students' family members (parents, grandparents, guardians, etc.) who lost their education from 1959-1964?

Setting

The site for my study was in Prince Edward County, Virginia, a small rural county of 357 square miles located approximately 50 miles west of the city of Richmond, the state capital. The county has a population over 23,000 citizens and has a racial composition of 64% White, 33% Black, and 3% other, based on the 2010 census. As of 2012, 19% of the county's citizens lived below poverty level, which had increased by 9% since 2007 (U. S. Census Bureau, 2012). There were two colleges and one community college that served the area for post-secondary education which authorized their use in this case study after member checks were conducted with those institutions. Longwood University, a public co-educational state supported institution with over 5,000 students while Hampden Sydney College being an all-male private college that has a population of about 1,000 students. Both institutions provided significant employment opportunities

for local residents in the surrounding area and also offered cultural opportunities that were often found in larger metropolitan areas. Southside Virginia Community College (SVCC) was a regional state operated facility with two campuses. The closest campus which served residents of Prince Edward County was located in Keysville, 20 miles south of Farmville. The community college accepted students from ten counties in central Virginia and offered courses from adult literacy programs such as the General Educational Development (GED), certificate programs for vocational jobs through associate degrees with guaranteed acceptances to other state supported colleges and universities, and a very strong dual enrollment program with local high schools. SVCC had a direct connection to Old Dominion University, which is a four-year institution in eastern Virginia (City-Data.com, 2012).

For secondary education within the county, the largest school system was Prince Edward County Public Schools, which consisted of one elementary, middle, and high school with approximately 2,500 students. The three campuses of those schools were centrally located just outside of the town limits of Farmville, the county seat. The current high school was originally built in 1953 just before the closure of county schools due to massive resistance (Stokes, Wolfe & Viola, 2008; Titus. 2011). The racial dynamics for the schools were: 63% Black, 34% White, and 3% other. Of those student populations, 64% of the students came from families who qualified for free and reduced lunches (Virginia Department of Education, 2012). It was noted that the school division's racial make-up was opposite that of the overall county's general population which can be explained by the number of White citizens having their children attend private school options within the county or in neighboring communities. There are two private schools

within Prince Edward County. The largest private school is Fuqua School, which was called Prince Edward Academy until 1986. Fuqua, as it is known locally, has about 400 students from grades kindergarten through 12. Prior to the name change, this was an all-White private school, which got its start in 1959 during public school closure. Fuqua School has transitioned to a school which educates all races of students and required student families to pay tuition as high as \$7,800 per year to attend (Bonastia, 2012; Green, K., 2015). The other private school in the county is Prospect Christian Academy, a small Baptist based school for grades kindergarten through 12 with about 200 students (City-Data.com, 2012).

Participants

In conducting a single instrumental case study, it was imperative that the sample size remained relatively small in an effort to document rich, lived experiences by the participants in the research. The plan for this case study was to use an initial sample size of 12 participants through purposeful sampling. The actual number of participants in this study were ten, as there were several objections to assisting this study or the person was deceased or in poor health. The reason for the choice of using this method of sampling was due to intentionally choosing the participant group who provided the best information for the research problem based on their knowledge of the event (Creswell, 2007). For this case study event, it was essential to use purposeful sampling which was beneficial as all participants had to have experienced the historical events of school closure or school integration or were raised in families by adults who were not able to receive an education in Prince Edward County (Creswell, 2007).

There were eight participants from the first category and one from the second and one from the third category below who were participants of the research study. There were a total of ten participants for the research in the identified categories:

- The parents of or former students who were denied an education or had significant knowledge of the closure or reopening of schools in Prince Edward County.
- Former student who graduated segregated Prince Edward County Schools and had significant knowledge of the closure or reopening of schools.
- Community leader with extensive knowledge of the closure of Prince Edward Public Schools or the integration process at the time of the schools reopening. Their race and gender were not considered for qualification.

Participants for the study met the above requirements and were selected after careful analysis of local archives. The documents used included the Prince Edward County Public Schools' School Board minutes from 1950-1970, a local newspaper, The Farmville Herald, which covered the events of the five-year closures extensively, the personnel and student records of Prince Edward County Public Schools and the minutes of the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors from 1950-1970. The prominent names found in those documents were checked to be sure that the individuals were still living to assist with the research.

Procedures

Data collection was not conducted until authorization was been given from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Liberty University. Once approval was confirmed, the next step was to follow criterion sampling for those who met the study's criteria.

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A specific telephone format was created to ensure consistency and allowed for the development of replicated understanding. If telephone communication was not possible, a face-to-face interaction took place at the homes or facility of those individuals living in the area, which was a 30-mile radius of Prince Edward County. Those beyond the radius had contact made by family members who explained my efforts. All persons contacted had a letter mailed to them to provide details of the case study and the value of having them assist the research. The letter had a signature page enclosed to have informed consent of their participation in the study as well as gave the potential participants an opportunity to provide electronic communication means such as getting an email address. A confidentiality statement was developed in the initial letter to protect the privacy of participants of their personal information and study responses.

For the retired educators, contact was made initially to the school division's central office regarding my research and the need for their assistance by identifying those teachers and administrators who met the participation criteria for the study. The study

did not find a participant that was teaching currently in Prince Edward County Public Schools who met the criteria for participation. A retired teacher was found who was willing to assist with this case study and had her education delayed by the school closure.

Local community leaders and families directly impacted by the closure of public schools were contacted by telephone to arrange a time to have a face-to-face meeting to review the study and its details. Those who agreed to participate were given or mailed the letter and signature page that all other participants received. Once all of the participants had been officially verified their willingness to participate, the collection of data began.

Archival documentation was another source of data for this case study. This information was found through public documents that were located at the Prince Edward County Clerk's Office, Prince Edward County Public Schools archives, R. R. Moton Museum, Longwood University Library and the State Library of Virginia in Richmond. At each location, there was significant information that thoroughly documented the events of the closure of public schools in Prince Edward County. Specific coverage of school closure was found in the Board of Supervisors Minutes stored at the Prince Edward County Clerk's Office which was located in the county's administration building. As for information from the position of the public schools and the School Board in the county were found in the archives of the Prince Edward County Public School's Central Office. All of the research of documents was conducted at those facilities as those documents were not to be removed from the premises due their historical importance. The information from the R. R. Moton Museum came from books and documentaries written about the five year closure of public schools. Those items were based on the

first-hand accounts of local Black civil rights leaders at the time of the school closure or from the perspective of former students who were willing to discuss how the closure impacted their lives. At Longwood University, the library contained an extensive collection of books and local newspaper coverage that were located in a designated private room for review. The State Library of Virginia offered a variety of record books containing national and state demographics, employment statistics and economic data that offered relevant information of the time period of public school closure to more recent facts to support the case study research.

The Researcher's Role

For this study, I was the sole researcher and served as a human instrument for conducting the research. Being the sole human instrument for the study was important in developing the data from participants and doing detailed analysis of archival documentation from local and state resources. Currently, I serve as a secondary school principal and experienced the integrating of public schools as an elementary and high school student in Central Virginia. As a Black administrator in an adjoining county, I am very familiar with the problems of the past and present in Prince Edward County. My interactions with retired and current educators as well as local community leaders in Cumberland and Prince Edward counties who experienced the historical episode of desegregation had often led to conversations of the concerns in Prince Edward County Schools. Most of the conversations with those individuals sought answers to make improvements for Black students in Prince Edward County. My research offered real perspectives of those former students, educators, and community leaders in an unbiased fashion to facilitate needed changes, not just for Prince Edward County, but for other

Central Virginia schools with similar demographics and rural schools throughout America. Using the assistance of local community leaders that were familiar with the transition of public schools and had the concern for the current plight of Black youth and young adults gave invaluable value data in helping educators make improvements to the county's schools. The overall success of my research depended on the validity of the analysis of the oral and written information as well as archival materials which helped create a stronger basis for understanding and to proposed real answers.

Data Collection

In this single instrumental case study for qualitative research, there was a need to develop a strong background of solid concrete data for the thick rich information of this bounded system (Creswell, 2007). Data collection for this case study was conducted through triangulation of event facts by compiling documents, artifacts, and archival records, along with open-ended interviews and focus group interviews that related to the topic event. The items and information collected provided verbal, numeric, and pictorial data (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2009; 2011). It was critical to use multiple sources of evidence which offered stronger evidence for this case study research. Data triangulation of the event and facts assisted in strengthening the case study's results and increased construct validity (Yin, 2009).

Interviews

A significant amount of research data was collected from the participants by face-to-face interviews, which were structured sessions based on a uniform set of questions that were asked. The structured format was chosen to give the research of this single instrument case study with accurate descriptions and interpretations of participants.

Another reason for choosing the structured method was to have consistent answers from participants in the interviews. I sought to reconstruct the accounts of participants and not get the exact words that were spoken during the interview (Stake, 1995). The interviews offered participants to provide personal journals and photographs which could complement the information gained from the case study's other sources (Yin, 2011). Individual one-on-one interviews were conducted first with the chosen participants. Each interview was recorded using one digital and one analog recording device for verification of participants' statements. One device served as the primary recorder and the other one served as a backup recorder. A notebook was used as a third method of tracking interview feedback and was designated for the specific use of taking notes during interviews. The anticipated length of time for interviews was a minimum of 20 minutes and the maximum time 45 minutes (Yin, 2009).

The setting for the interviews were in some of the homes of participants and some participants chose to meet in a designated meeting room at the historic First Baptist Church or the R. R. Moton Museum meeting room in the town of Farmville. For participants not living in the immediate area, a telephone interview was conducted at a pre-determined time. Telephone interviews were recorded by one digital and one analog recording device and notes were taken during each interview session to maintain the information discussed from the interview.

The one-on-one interviews consisted of 11 open-ended questions that focused on the perspectives of the former students at the time of school closure, educators and community leaders of Prince Edward County who lived during that time period. Those open ended and broad questions allowed for the rich descriptions of the voices and

experiences of participants (Moustakas, 1994). The perspectives addressed by participants lead to strong possibilities for multiple interpretations of the events that occurred due to the closure of public schools (Yin, 20110). Questions #1-5 focused on the childhood and post-secondary educational experiences of the former students, educators, and community leaders. Questions # 6-11 focused on the educators' and community leaders' involvement in the integration process of Prince Edward County Schools. Each participant of the sample was asked all 11 questions. Follow-up questions were asked as themes emerged. Refer to the numbered list below of the open-ended questions for the former students, educators and community leaders in the study:

Standardized Open-Ended Interview Questions

1. Please tell me about your educational background.
2. Please tell me about your early educational experiences from first grade through high school while growing up.
3. Please tell me if you experienced the closure of schools in Prince Edward County.
4. Please tell me if you experienced the integration of Prince Edward County School.
5. Please tell me about your experiences after high school which includes employment, undergraduate, and post-graduate study.
6. What was the impact on those Black citizens who had little to no education in Prince Edward as a result of school closure?
7. Please tell me about your feelings when schools integrated in Prince Edward.
8. Please tell me about the impact of desegregation had on Black students in the late 1960s to early 1970s.

9. Please tell me about your knowledge of the academic achievement, employment, and crime statistics of young Blacks in Prince Edward.
10. Which event had the greatest impact on the achievement and advancement of Blacks in Prince Edward, public school closure or school desegregation?
11. Is there anything else that you would like to mention at this time?

Document Analysis

There was in-depth dissection of historical documents and archival records, along with patterns being determined from interview and focus group responses. There was a saturation of the data to validate the results of this case study (Creswell, 2007). The use of archival records for this case study was extremely valuable due to the amount of local, state, and national significance that surrounded the closure of public schools provided. There were two types of archival records available that were used for this study. Public service records which were made available by local and state governments and school boards, as well as organizational records from the archives of the local college and museum (Yin, 2009). Extensive review of artifacts at the R. R. Moton Museum, which was the former Black public high school building that was closed and had become a museum in 199, had an extensive library of personal documents from the teachers, students, and community leaders as well as books and videos of the time of school closure in Prince Edward. Their first hand reflections and input was invaluable to in the development of research data. Another important source of archival information came from the library of Longwood University. Many personal documents of Black and White leaders at the time of public school closure have been secured and have limited access to anyone unless an appointment was arranged to view the materials.

Another local venue to access important documentation came from the Prince Edward County Courthouse where extensive records were found in the Clerk's Office. The availability of the Board of Supervisors minutes and other documentation of the decision-making processes and policies that were the basis of justification for closing their public schools had been maintained for historical review.

The Library of Virginia in Richmond was beneficial from the aspect of the state government's role in the acceptance of closing public schools in Prince Edward County and for the approval of using public funds to finance the establishment of the private all-White school, Prince Edward Academy. It was anticipated that the archival records would address the three research questions from chapter one. The specific sequence for conducting the data collection was to conduct face-to-face interviews followed by a timely focus group session to validate the research for the case study. This was done to allow for analysis of consistent themes from the information received. Once this data was analyzed, there was a thorough review of archival records and historical documentation from the event at the time of public school closure. This information allowed for any added themes that were overlooked from the direct interaction with the case study's participants.

Focus Group

At the conclusion of the individual interviews, a focus group with five participants was coordinated which allowed those who were able to attend to have direct interaction with each other to discuss their perceptions in an open forum. Focus groups for this case study offered an advantage where there was direct interaction of participants which, in a small group setting, offered strong feedback with other individuals who had

experienced the similar event the case was based on (Creswell, 2007). The importance of the focus group interview was to corroborate certain facts and themes that had been established from the individual interviews (Yin, 2009). It was anticipated that the focus group interviews would address research question number one from chapter one on page 35 which stated, “After public schools in Prince Edward County were re-opened in 1964 due to massive resistance, what were the effects on the educational and social gains of Blacks living in the county at that time?”

The setting for the focus group session was held in a meeting room in the R. R. Moton Museum, the same location as two of the one-on-one interviews. This location offered a familiar place to offer a level of comfort for participants of the focus group. I served as the moderator of the session to attempt to encourage participants to freely express their opinions on the topic questions without guidance (Yin, 2011). The focus group questions were different from the one-on-one interview questions and they were revised based on the alignment among the common themes developed from the individual sessions. The anticipated time for the focus group session was not to exceed one hour. This session was conducted within three weeks at the conclusion of all individual interviews.

The focus group session was recorded using one digital and one analog recording device. Those devices were for the verification of participants’ statements, who were former students, retired educators and community leaders, with one device serving as the primary recorder and the other one served as a backup. A notebook was used as a third method of tracking focus group interview feedback and was designated for the specific

use of taking notes during focus group interview. Refer to the numbered list below of the five focus group topics:

Former Students, Educators, and Community Leaders Focus Group Questions

1. Please discuss the eras of White resistance and integration in Prince Edward.
2. Please discuss how the loss of educational opportunity impacted the Black community in Prince Edward.
3. Please discuss the successes and obstacles posed before young Blacks who came from undereducated households in Prince Edward at the time of public school closure in comparison to youth today.
4. Please discuss the impact of local Black Churches and their leadership at the time of public school closure and in comparison to today.
5. Is there anything else that you would like to mention at this time?

Data Analysis

The primary purpose of this single instrumental case study was to understand the impact of public school closure for Blacks in Prince Edward County and its impact on the attitudes and aspirations of current youth. The best technique to analyze the data for this case study was pattern matching logic which “compare an empirically based pattern with a predicted one (or with several alternative predictions)” (Yin, 2009, p. 136). The patterns developed assisted in strengthening the internal validity of the study (Yin, 2009). The examination of the data sought to identify two or more patterns which could be displayed in a table for the established pattern based on information analysis (Stake, 1995).

The first step for the data analysis was to bracket myself as to any preconceived feelings or ideas about the events of this case study in order to truly understand the experiences of participants and information sources (Creswell, 2007). By using the bracketing method in synthesizing the data, it allowed for unbiased views by the researcher which could have altered the findings provided from the interviews, focus group, and archival records. It was through this lens that data was analyzed so that the results discovered for this case study results did not change.

It was necessary to become familiar with the transcribed interviews and recordings of the one-on-one interviews by listening to the audio repeatedly and established common themes that developed and for the accuracy of the transcription following thematic analysis. There were research protocols established in an effort to effectively document the simple repetitions that became evident from the interviews for solid data gathering based on each research question. The discovery of the identified themes from the interview recordings were written out in a designated notebook for accuracy and validity and tallied on the transcription copies. The identified themes were separated in the notebook which allowed me to better understand the direction the research questions were heading by the participants. This procedure was repeated for each interview recording and the information culminated together as shared theme overviews. The specific identified points that were identified were labeled and color coded by the pseudonym for the individual participant. As the theme analysis data was accumulated, notations were color coded to track the added responses until all of the interview recordings were completed. This time staking process was done by open

coding to reduce the volume of overall data (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1991; Stake, 1995).

The same protocols in the previous paragraph were done for the focus group session responses. Along with open coding, memoing was used for the ideas that came from my notations of the face-to-face and focus group interview sessions and their feedback (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 1995).

The primary research documentation sources for this case study were public historical documentation found at the Prince Edward County Clerk's Office and the Prince Edward County School Board Office. Those documentation sources for this study were located from their organization archives and copied by organizational staff once permission was given by the County Administrator and the school division's Assistant Superintendent. The documentation copies were thoroughly analyzed for direct relevance to the events which led to the closure of public school and to the eventual forced reopening of public schools. The analysis of the historical documentation of the events were based on the core research questions for the case study. Thematic analysis of the documents were conducted and the identification of connected common themes from the interviews and focus group participants were color coded when related commonalities were identified. The common themes were again color coded in the research notebook and tabulated if the theme relationship were matching the data from both the interviews and focus groups or if there was only a common connect to the interviews only or the focus group only. For this case study and the thematic analysis identified the common theme matches from the historical documentation that were found in both the interviews and focus group discussions of the participants. The result of the thematic analysis were

noted in the information found in Chapter 4 of this document (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 1995).

The triangulation process was done through the connecting of the information from the interviews, focus group session and historical documentation which allowed for greater combined validation which was based on the research questions and the findings of the identified themes. The cross connections of the data provided the research to have data critical to all assertions of themes and led to uncontested data description (Stake, 1995).

All interviews were professionally transcribed in order to aid my ability to memo, bracket, and code the events of this single instrument case study for theme analysis of the identified data. The written format of the spoken conversations of participant assisted me as a visual learner to further increase the validity of the recording as some points could have been overlooked without this second check. The transcriptions made it easier for me to develop common themes from the verbal dialogue. The transcript documents were read no less than two times to allow for a thorough analysis of the questions and participant responses and was analyzed for its connection to the historical documentation used. (Yin, 2009; Yin, 2011).

An external auditor was requested for greater accuracy of the research data. The external auditor was contacted directly by email and telephone to get an insight into the materials compiled and provided a varied perspective of the data analyzed once they received it. The auditor did not have any connections to the case study event, therefore their outlook on my research by them was unbiased. The use of an unbiased data reviewer offered a fresh perspective of the retrieved data. The auditor did not have a

predisposed view of the event and assisted with better analysis of the transcribed information (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 1995).

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness was essential for the accuracy of this case study. The importance for sound research was so that the data could be used by others to review and understand its outcomes (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2011). The level of trust was established through four techniques: creditability, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Discussion of the techniques with their specific details which provided trustworthiness of the data results are in the following four sections.

Credibility

Believing in the results of the case study, I had a level of confidence that my data findings were truthful. This was achieved by having my data sources triangulated. By having the historical documents, individual one-on-one interviews, and focus group data validated, it led to increased internal validity. Another aspect to assure creditable research was by member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Dependability and Confirmability

Through the research findings, the data demonstrated consistency and was repeatable by other researchers. I sought an external audit of my findings for accuracy and consistency to aid the findings dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

There was a level of neutrality and relinquishing of my direct connections to the case study during the research as to not shape the responses of participants. I used reflexivity and conducted an audit trail to note any biases and values that could

compromise the correct interpretations of the information acquired in the research for this case study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 2011).

Transferability

This was the process where the results of the research were relatable not just in the field of education, but in other fields of social science. While acquiring the thick descriptive data from the interviews and historical documentation, it was necessary to have the data themes aligned for solid transferability. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 2011).

Ethical Considerations

When conducting the research, it was imperative that the study was conducted ethically and with the utmost integrity. This was crucial for the protection and well-being of the researcher and all participants involved. All participants were contacted by telephone and gave written or verbal acceptance to participate. They were mailed a letter of consent along with an enclosed envelope so that they could mail their letters back to me. The letter of consent was very detailed as to the intent of the case study and had a statement to inform them that their participation in the case study was completely voluntary. The letters of consent had a time line for return so that I could coordinate all interviews.

Upon receiving the letters of consent, I made certain to protect the identities, interview data, and any documentation by any means necessary. Any written data or recording equipment was locked in an isolated location away from any intrusion. All participants had their names protected by being identified on a password-protected computer and pseudonyms were used to keep them safe from compromise by anyone not

affiliated with the research study. There was no part of the research that endangered any participant at any time. I did not seek undue influence upon the participants of the study to coerce them to participate or gain any form of compensation. Due to the sensitive nature of the study because of the topic being based on race and racial issues, it was essential not to trigger negative feelings or reactions of participants. The research was conducted with the utmost integrity.

Summary

The importance of the development of Chapter Three was to provide the solid foundation of the processes that were integral for the analysis of data for this case study. Including in-depth details for readers was needed as an overview of the perspectives of such a tragic event in American educational history. The background of this historical event and the steps that were planned to execute the study were discussed in this chapter to offer clarity of the results that are found in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Overview

The purpose of this single instrumental case study was to gain a better understanding of how the five year closure of public schools for Blacks in Prince Edward County continues to impact present and post-secondary school successes and social advancement for those students and their descendants. This chapter consists of an overview of the case study participants, their individual and focus group interviews, and the results of the information they provided. The chapter continues with the development of the theme, dealing with specific events surrounding the closure of public schools, with detailed evaluation of historical documentation of educational monetary losses, Black social restrictions locally, and the ramifications of the educations lost due to the closing of public schools in Prince Edward County. The perception of underachievement in education in this community today has had unfortunate carryover that was enhanced by negative experiences of the parents, grandparents, and guardians who lost their trust in society and local government. The current school division's difficulty to close the achievement gap of Black students to that of their White counterparts is expressed in this chapter (Bonastia, 2009; Sullivan, LaSalle, & Yellin, 2009).

Participants

The historical research evidence for this case study was conducted through individual interviews from ten adult participants. Of the participants for the research there were eight former students who had lost some of their education during the five year closure of public schools, one was a former student who graduated segregated Prince Edward County Schools and had significant knowledge of the closure and reopening of

schools. The final participant was a community leader at the time of school closure who was involved as a civic leader in the fight to reestablish education in Prince Edward County. All of the participants for this case study were Black. Seven of the participants lived near Farmville. One participant resided in the southern end of Cumberland County near the Farmville town limits. One participant lived about 60 miles west of the town of Farmville. The final participant resided in a city about 65 miles east of the town of Farmville. There were eight men and two women who agreed to participate in the study ranging in age from 63 to 82 years of age.

The individual interviews had two conducted at the Moton Museum, which was the former site of the R. R. Moton High School in Farmville. There were two interviews done at Farmville Baptist Church, which is a Black church in the heart of downtown Farmville. Four interviews were held in the homes of the individual participants or a family member. One of the home interviews was a result of their health condition and the others were more comfortable in their homes to speak about the topic of public school closure. Two interviews were conducted by telephone due to scheduling difficulties to conduct a face-to-face interview in Farmville as one of the participants did not live locally. One interview was conducted in a conference room at a local school where the participant worked as a substitute teacher. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Each participant had the opportunity to review their interview responses once they were transcribed to ensure the accuracy of their responses.

Below are the individual overviews of each participant. Each participant was identified by a pseudonym to protect their identity for this case study. The paragraphs on each individual covered the initial interview question responses. The first question was

for them to discuss their educational backgrounds and post high school endeavors. All of the participants in their initial opening overviews covered the third interview question which addressed their experiences during the period of public school closure.

Wilson

Wilson was the oldest of the participants and was the only community leader for this case study. At the time of public school closure in Prince Edward County, he had returned home as a community leader and assisted in the battle to reopen the public schools in the county. He was a strong activist for racial equality in the public schools in the county. The reopening of public schools in 1964 impacted two of his children. He was educated in segregated all-Black Prince Edward County Schools. After high school, he attended college and received his bachelor's degree outside the state of Virginia. He later entered a state seminary to study theology to become a minister. He returned to the area to serve his community for civil rights and has been a minister there ever since.

Brenda

Brenda was going to enter the eighth grade at R. R. Moton High School at the time public schools were closed. Due to the closure, she was forced to attend school in neighboring Nottoway County where she had to live with her grandparents for three years. She would return home on weekends to stay with her parents in Farmville. Her older brother and sister were forced to attend school in Pennsylvania with foster families. She later returned to Farmville when the local Black churches opened Free Schools in 1963, where she graduated in 1964. After high school, she attended a historically Black college in the state of Virginia where she received her bachelor's degree in Elementary

Education. She returned to the Farmville area as a teacher for over 35 years. She was a retired educator.

Donald

Donald was impacted by the school closure as he was supposed to have entered the ninth grade. At that time, he lived in the town of Farmville and was in segregated schools in Prince Edward County from first grade through eighth grade. As a result of the closure, he did not graduate from high school and moved to New Jersey to work for several years. He returned to the Farmville area and remains there. He went to the local community college and later the local university where he earned his bachelor's degree. He worked in construction followed by becoming a corrections officer with the Virginia Department of Corrections. He remained in corrections for over two decades and worked his way up to the highest position possible at a correctional facility. He eventually retired after serving that position successfully.

Weldon

Weldon was impacted greatly by the school closure as he was supposed to have entered first grade in 1959. He did not get any education until 1963 when the Free Schools in the town of Farmville were opened. When schools in Prince Edward reopened, he was placed in the fifth grade although he had no official schooling at the time. Weldon remained in Prince Edward County Schools until he graduated. He remained in the Farmville and Prince Edward area for his entire life. He worked in several labor intensive jobs as a young adult, and eventually became a power company lineman for 10 years. He worked as a police officer locally and later became the School Resource Officer for Prince Edward County Schools. He retired after that position.

Adam

Adam was supposed to have entered the third grade when public schools were closed. He remained in Farmville during the closure and did attend the Free Schools when they opened. When schools reopened he was placed in the eighth grade. He graduated from Prince Edward County High School and joined the military. After several years in the military, he returned to Farmville and has never left. He worked several jobs in corrections and later became a counselor for a community service organization locally. After several years there he became a supervisor over the recreation department at the local university. He eventually became employed in a federal government position where he is still employed. He has served as a town leader for over 20 years.

Edgar

Edgar was going into the sixth grade when public schools were closed. He did continue school in neighboring Appomattox County for two years before he returned to Prince Edward County where he attended the Free School site in Prospect from 1963-1964. When schools reopened in Prince Edward, he was placed in the eleventh grade at R. R. Moton High School where he graduated. After graduation, he went into the military. He later had employment with a large corporation in a nearby city where he retired. He went to college and earned a bachelor's degree and eventually went to seminary to become a minister. He was still a minister in that city.

Blake

Blake had attended schools in Prince Edward County from first grade through fourth grade. At the time of public school closure, he was supposed to be entering the

fifth grade. For the first three years of closure, he received no formal education until he moved in 1963 to live with a sister out of the state of Virginia. When schools reopened in September 1964, he was placed in the eighth grade and remained in Prince Edward schools until he graduated. After graduation, he entered the volunteer federal government program called VISTA for several years. It was then that he left the Farmville area. He later became a counselor for an urban school division in the state of Virginia. He recently retired from that position.

Florida

Florida was a graduate of R. R. Moton High School in 1959 which was the last class to graduate before public schools closed. She went to an in state historically Black college where she majored in Business Education. Her involvement in the closure occurred when she would return home during her summers from college and assisted in her church to teach the youth there who were not able to go to school because of the closure. After college she moved to the northeast for two decades before returning to her home county. She retired from a state agency and works part time to stay active.

Washington

Washington was going into the seventh grade when schools were closed. Once schools closed he never returned to public schools as he felt that he was too old to be in the seventh grade and did not feel that he was ready academically to be successful. When schools were closed he worked on the family farm and helped his father with rural jobs and tasks in the eastern part of Prince Edward County. He and his father would cut pulpwood and clean wells and septic tanks for neighbors until 1964. He remained in that area of the county all of his life and was always employed by working mostly menial

jobs. He eventually landed a job at a large corporation in a city east of Farmville and drove 110 miles each day for 27 years until he retired. He is currently employed at a local college as a part time housekeeper.

Tim

Tim was supposed to have entered the first grade when public schools closed in Prince Edward County. When schools reopened, he was placed in the fifth grade even though he had no formal education for the entire time schools were closed. During the closure he played on the family farm or helped his older brothers and father. Tim dropped out of school in the eleventh grade as he was a struggling student in school because he was so far behind. Although he did not finish school, Tim was always employed. He held jobs as a truck driver, pulpwood logger, and eventually was hired as a maintenance mechanic at a major company in a city east of Farmville where he retired in 1997, after 29 years.

Results

Theme Development

The development of this section was based on research question one which was originally stated in Chapter One. The research question asked: “After public schools in Prince Edward County were re-opened in 1964 due to massive resistance, what were the effects on the educational and social gains of Blacks living in the county at that time?” For the development of the depth of the impact of public school closure had on Prince Edward County’s Black students in this case study, it was essential to focus on primary archival information from the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors minutes from 1959-1970 and the Prince Edward County School Board minutes from 1950-1969 as

primary sources. Using those sources to address the concerns for the case study's research questions was of utmost importance. The data extracted from those sources had to be dissected to events prior to and after the closure of public schools. The Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County had decided to close public schools as an act of massive resistance to a federal court decree forcing the integration of public schools in 1959. The Board had their own separate agenda for service to the White citizens of the county, which was discovered from the archival information.

In May 1959, the School Board had a motion in response to the ruling of a federal court decision earlier that year on school desegregation to implement the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The Board's motion stated:

On motion duly made and unanimously adopted this Board does hereby direct its counsel to take all legal action available to them to contest to conclusion the recent decision of the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals directing desegregation of the public high schools of Prince Edward County beginning in September, 1959; and to bring about reinstatement of the decision of Judge Sterling Hutcheson of the United States District Court in which he directed desegregation of such schools not later than the year 1965 unless otherwise directed by him". (School Board Minutes-Book V, p. 113)

In effect, the School Board membership was willing to enforce the decision of the lower federal district court where the School Board had decided for a six year extension of segregated public schools to take effect.

Of those sources, the Board of Supervisors minutes offered strong documentation as to the level of which White leaders of Prince Edward County would go to completely

deny education for all of the children of their county. At the time of the official notification by the Prince Edward Board of Supervisors on June 2, 1959, it was in its declaration to the proposed 1959-1960 School Board Budget by the Superintendent T. J. McIlwaine which was presented and intended for use during the coming school year (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964). According to the official minutes, the Board of Supervisors in Prince Edward proposed the following:

The Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County has refused to approve the Annual Budget for the operation of Public Schools and has refused to approve the Alternative Budget Estimate for Educational Purposes submitted to it by the Superintendent of Public Schools of said County and THE PUBLIC IS HEREBY INFORMED THAT THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY DOES NOT INTEND TO MAKE ANY LEVY OF TAXES OR TO APPROPRIATE ANY MONEY FOR THE OPERATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES FOR THE YEAR OF 1959-1960...(Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964, p.64; School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965, p. 119)

The above Board of Supervisors proposition was read verbatim by the superintendent to the members of the School Board at a meeting the day after. Without funding, the School Board had to cease the operations of public schools immediately and had to develop a press release for the local newspaper and radio. The minutes from the June 1959 meeting stated, "The declination of the Board of Supervisors to make any levy for the operation of public schools or for educational purposes means this Board cannot

for lack of funds continue the education of the children of this County as it has heretofore done” (School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965, p. 119).

The Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors demonstrated in 1959 the local government’s actions which set into motion the removal of education for all of the more than 3,900 children of Prince Edward County, Black and White, without warning (Bonastia, 2012; Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964; School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1959). Over 1,700 Black children and 2,200 White children could not attend public schools as normal in September of 1959. The impact of this decision was connected to Wilson’s response from the individual face-to-face interviews. He discussed how the decision to close schools by the Board of Supervisors was extremely negative for Black students and not as much for Whites. He stated:

School closing did a job on Black students. Didn’t affect many white students, but it did a job on black students... but I can’t think of anything else, other than a devastating effect on the students, they were driven from their homeland, went to some places where they excelled and did well. Went to some places where they weren’t received real well. Moved in with their relatives, so that thing did a job on black students in this county. They’re (Blacks) limited to begin with. It was a negative impact. (Wilson, personal communication, September 3, 2016)

At the time of the decision to close schools, there was an immediate impact that was thought to only be a temporary action which would be resolved in a matter of months, but the archival information demonstrated that similar actions by the Board of Supervisors would continue.

In the fall of that year, White leaders opened 15 buildings in the town of Farmville and several areas in Prince Edward, including churches, which were elements of the beginning of Prince Edward Academy as an all-White private school institution which had not existed prior to the Board of Supervisors decision. The academy was accessible to 1,400 of the 2,200 White students of Prince Edward County (Ferguson, 2012).

At the time of the decision to close public schools, White Board of Supervisor leaders were quite decisive in their stand for not operating schools. The statement made by board chairman, Edward Carter, on June 23, 1959 stated,

The action taken today by the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County has been determined upon only after the most careful and deliberate study over the long period of years since the schools of this county were first brought under the force of Federal Court decree...We do not act in defiance of any law or of any court. Above all we do not act with hostility toward the Negro people of Prince Edward County...this county is confronted with a court decree which requires the admission of Whites and Colored children to all the schools of the county without regard to race or color...Our action is in accord with the will of the people of the county repeatedly expressed during the past five years and is in promotion of the peace and good order and the general welfare of all the people of Prince Edward County. (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964)

As for the Black students in 1959, there were no options in the county for public schooling although the superintendent tried to continue the operation of public schools for several years. After June 1959, the superintendent attempted to present budget

proposals for the county's public schools but McIlwaine was denied in each attempt by the White leaders of the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964; School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965).

Nine years before the Board of Supervisors decision to close all public schools and three years before *Brown v. Board of Education*, there were several events that were found in the Prince Edward County School Board minutes which were instrumental to this case study as there were attempts to offer separate but equal public schools for Black students. As noted in the February 6, 1951 minutes, "The chairman (School Board) stated that he and the superintendent met with the Board of Supervisors on February 1, and asked permission to purchase a tract of land, on which to erect a new R. R. Moton High School.... The Board of Supervisors approved the proposed site..." (School Board Minutes-Book IV, 1950-1956, p. 25). At the time R. R. Moton High School was very overcrowded with 477 Black students attending school in buildings built for 180 and was poorly equipped (Bonastia, 2012; Green, 2015, Titus, 2011). The poor conditions led to the student strike on April 23, 1951, which led to a discussion by the superintendent's report to the School Board in May.

The superintendent reported that on April 23, the students at the R. R. Moton High School went on strike, allegedly because of unsatisfactory buildings and equipment, that the pupils had returned to school on Monday, May 7...For the information of the board, he discussed all aspects of the incident, and submitted to the board, a petition from Hill, Martin, and Robinson, on behalf of certain students and their parents, demanding that segregation of race be abolished in the

secondary schools, and that Negro children be admitted to the white schools...

(School Board Minutes-Book IV, 1950-1956, p. 40)

Another strike by students occurred in 1970 at Prince Edward County High School that was different yet similar to the one conducted in 1951. The students in 1970 did not protest against decrepit facilities but demonstrated support of a White teacher who was fired who had assisted Black students there. Blake, one of the research participants, was one of the leaders of the strike. He stated:

He (the teacher) really took interest in us (Blacks)...He took us places and showed us things. He really worked with the Black kids a hell of a lot. What happened was they found out what he was doing that and they said that he was incompetent. He graduated from Hampden Sydney College and he started working with us. The next thing we know that he was fired as an incompetent teacher. So a group of us (students) got together and decided we were going to do something about it. The principal just talked about it...So the first day we sat in the auditorium and we had a bunch of students show up and we were in the auditorium and the next day we came back and decided at this time we was going to walk downtown to the city hall. (Blake, personal communication, September 23, 2016)

Blake and the other students felt that it was the best way to take a stand against school leaders using Barbara Johns as their example to seek action against an injustice that was executed by a good and caring teacher.

In 1951, the changing educational feelings of the Black students of R. R. Moton led to more support by local Black leaders. L. Francis Griffin took a group of parents

called the R. R. Moton P.T.A. to a school board meeting “to ask what progress had been made, looking toward the purchase of the land for the high school (new R. R. Moton building)” (School Board Minutes-Book IV, 1950-1956, p. 25). In the documentation it was evident that Blacks in Prince Edward were no longer willing to wait much longer for better schools for their children. By July 1951, the School Board and Superintendent were taking action to make changes. The School Board “after discussion of ways and means of financing the construction of a new Negro high school, on motion made and carried unanimously, the superintendent was directed to prepare an application for a loan of \$600,000 from the Literary Fund of Virginia, and, with the approval of the Board of Supervisors, submit it to the State Board of Education” (School Board Minutes-Book IV, 1950-1956, p. 50). By December 1951, there was final approval by the State Board of Education for the new R. R. Moton High School with an estimated final cost of \$750,000 (School Board Minutes-Book IV, 1950-1956). The approved action by the School Board was a continuation of separate but equal schools in the county for Black and White students.

Although there was a new Black high school building in motion for Prince Edward Black students, there was no indication that there would be an end of segregated schools. There were actions by the School Board that was evident that no extra help was to be offered for the operation of the current R. R. Moton High School as was noted in a denied request to put hot water in the bathrooms of the building in October 1951 (School Board Minutes-Book IV, 1950-1956). With the new Black high school money appropriated, the leaders of the School Board did not allow added resources of comfort and necessity at the existing R. R. Moton. In 1953, the faculty of R. R. Moton had asked

for cafeteria equipment for hot meals and were informed “that the matter has been thoroughly discussed by the board (School Board) and that the following is all that can be done: Basic equipment will be put in to prepare meals in a decent and acceptable manner” (School Board Minutes-Book IV, 1950-1956. P. 117). Therefore, nothing changed for students and faculty to have hot meals at the school since the new school would be finished in the coming year.

Despite the feelings of the White citizens and the Board of Supervisors, the School Board and Superintendent did work to provide a well-equipped new Black high school though. In 1953, they had decided to use \$50,000 for vocational equipment. In January 1954 after a delayed opening, the new Black high school was accepted by the School Board (School Board Minutes-Book IV, 1950-1956). At that time Black students had a better high school facility than that of their White peers who attended Farmville High School. There was no indication by White leaders of the School Board and Board of Supervisors to integrate public schools for the county’s children.

Educational Monetary Losses

For further understanding of the resistance of school desegregation, this section continues to demonstrate the impact of public school closure through research question one. The research question asked: “After public schools in Prince Edward County were re-opened in 1964 due to massive resistance, what were the effects on the educational and social gains of Blacks living in the county at that time?” The decision to close schools for all students did have significant monetary impact on the lives and outcomes of Blacks, especially Black students. The effects of the five year closure and the re-opening of public school on former Black students impacted was a common theme that was noted

from the research participants for this case study. Their opinions made it clear that the closing of schools in Prince Edward cost them opportunities for better jobs, especially when they were young adults. For example, Tim, who never returned to school after schools closed prior to his seventh grade year, had the chance for a clerical job in the early 1970s but was unable to get the job because he had not finished high school. He stated:

Well it (not going to school) was bad, because I took two guys down to Bellwood when they came out of the Army...I took them down to interview for a job. The lady came to me, I was sitting in the back and she asked me could I type? She said if you could type I will give you a job right now. The other guys were looking for a job, but if I could have typed, she would have given me a job right there. It hurt because of the loss of education. (Tim, personal communication, January 12, 2017)

Participant Donald lost a chance for a pay raise because he did not have his education and was a weak reader. He was serving as cook in a local restaurant and was receiving the pay of a dishwasher, which was much lower. He said:

Started off washing dishes and stuff and then the guy (chef) put me in the kitchen helping with cooking. I did that a year or two and then I asked the guy if I'm cooking, why can't I get cooks pay? You're still paying me dishwashing pay and the guy told me you need to take a test. If you pass this test then you can get cooks pay. Well reading was a problem with me, and then he didn't give me no kind of sketch to go over to see what I had to study for. It came out that I didn't pass the test (Donald, personal communication, September 5, 2016).

Incidents like the two examples above were commonplace for Black citizens of Prince Edward County. The denial or delay of education for most Blacks led to those citizens having to work menial jobs with lower pay and made for tough conditions to raise families. The lost educational opportunities cost many Black citizens after the closing of the schools.

By the time the budgets for the public schools in Prince Edward County from 1950 through 1964 were proposed, the operation of the separate Black and White schools were the largest percentage of county expenditures. In Table 1 below, it displays the annual budgets that were proposed from March 1954, which is five years prior to the decision by the Board of Supervisors to close public schools, to March 1963, which was in preparation for the 1963-1964 school year which was the last school year of public school closure.

Table 1

Annual School Board Budget Requests From 1954-1955 to 1963-1964

School Year	Present Receipts	Pending Receipts	Approval
*1954-1955	\$592,974.72	\$632,420.00	SB / BoS
#1959-1960	\$765,364.00	\$780,600.00	SB Only
1960-1961	N/A	\$803,700.00	SB Only
1963-1964	N/A	\$824,700.00	SB Only

Note. SB = School Board; BoS = Board of Supervisors; * = First budget with the new R. R. Moton High School approved by the school board and board of supervisors; # = last budget approved by both boards originally until rejected by BoS in June 1959; N/A = no funds were present due to public school closure by BoS. Data was retrieved from Supervisors Record #8, 1954-1958, Record #9, 1959-1964 and School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965.

From the data in Table 1, the historical documentation showed the increased funding of the budget of the public schools in Prince Edward County from the 1954-1955 school year to the 1959-1960 school year. The significant increase in the school division's budget for the 1959-1960 school year was attributed to the costs including the new R. R. Moton High School which was in its fourth year of use and for improvements to White and Black school buildings throughout the county that were greatly needed, according to the historical documents. The ironic fact in the data was that the money budgeted in 1959 was never received by the School Board as a result of the decision to close the public schools instead of integrating them.

The 1960-1961 school budget was not funded for a second consecutive year as noted in Table 1. The Board of Supervisors in their April 1960 board minutes "refused to approve the Annual Budget for the operation of Public Schools" (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964, p. 120). The following statement was the board's position on continued closure of the county's public schools: "THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY DOES NOT INTEND TO MAKE ANY LEVY OF TAXES OR APPROPRIATE ANY MONEY FOR THE OPERATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS..." (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964, p. 120). The denial of funding continued each year through the 1963-1964 school year.

From the same business minutes in April 1960, it was documented for the first time the Board of Supervisors provided county tax payer monies to be offered to private schools in Prince Edward County, also known as the new all-White Prince Edward Academy. The county's budget by the Board of Supervisors designated over \$270,000 which was written in the budget as "education purposes in furtherance of the elementary

and secondary education of children residing in Prince Edward County in private nonsectarian schools” (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964. p. 120). Therefore, this was the funding source for Prince Edward Academy which was the only private school in the county which was established through the local government.

In June 1960, the continued practice of diverting local monies for White children was noted in an ordinance that any person who made contributions to a private school from donations to enrollment costs would be eligible for tax credits on real estate and personal property taxes (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964). Therefore White families were given tax breaks if their children attended the new private school, Prince Edward Academy. The ordinance for family payments was completed on July 18, 1960 with the detailed specifications for qualifications of White school children and their parents of private school payments. The records stated:

...that grants be paid to parents, guardians, or persons in loco parentis for educational purposes of children residing in Prince Edward County between the age of six (6) and twenty (20)...the payment of the same is hereby approved and the Treasurer of the County of Prince Edward is authorized and directed to pay to the persons hereinafter listed... (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964, p. 170).

What was documented in the archival information was money for the White parents who submitted their qualification documentation which was for more than 1,100 children and over 500 families who received the benefit of \$100 per child per year and \$35 for transportation for their education being covered by the local government in Prince Edward County (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964).

Table 2

Actual Post School Closure Funding of Prince Edward County Schools From 1960-1961 to 1963-1964

School Year	Expected State \$	State \$ Received	School Board Usage
1960-1961	\$44,961.00	\$16,344.00	School Purposes
1961-1962	\$39,358.00	\$3,578.00	School Purposes
1962-1963	\$39,360.00	\$7,690.15	School Purposes
1963-1964	\$39,360.00	\$39,360.00	**School Purposes

Note. School Purposes = payment of administrative salaries, school building upkeep including the new R. R. Moton High School, buses, etc.; **\$10,359.23 of the money received went to counsel fees from a federal lawsuit to reopen and integrate the county's public schools. Data from Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964 and School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965.

In Table 2 from the historical documentation, it displays how little funding was provided to the school division by the Board of Supervisors in Prince Edward County with much of the money being denied to the School Board. Considering the budgets in Table 1 were in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, Superintendent McIlwaine was given only given a portion of the already reduced funds that were projected from the state of Virginia. After the closure of the public schools and the stripping of funds, in 1960-1961, the Board of Supervisors only authorized the School Board 2% of the pending receipts, which was \$803,700, and were given \$16,344 to maintain school facilities, buses, insurance, and salaries for the school division which included the closed Black schools. The final budget where funding was denied by the Board of Supervisors was for the 1963-1964 school year. The pending receipts of \$824,700 for the school board budget and the authorized monies received that year of \$39,360 would have been 4% of a

fully funded school budget (School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965). As noted in Table 2, \$10,359.23 of the \$39,360 given to the school division had to cover the legal fees for their attorneys who were involved in preventing school desegregation cases that were in the federal court system as the Virginia NAACP and L. Francis Griffin had filed lawsuits to end separate but equal schools not just in Prince Edward but for the nation (Bonastia, 2012; School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965).

In Table 3 below, the Prince Edward County School Board and superintendent provided two proposals of the money needed in order operate the school system at an acceptable level depending on two approximate enrollment figures. In Table 4, the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors significantly reduced the proposed School Board options where Black children were still impacted by the denial of monies to operate schools. For the 1964-1965 school year when the public schools in Prince Edward County were required to open, differences displayed in the tables has the numerical representation of the budgets as there was a great monetary disparity between the budgets. Budget No. 1 was based on student enrollment of 3,593 children which were the number of all of the Black and White students living in the county between the ages of six to 20 years of age. Budget No. 2 was based on 1,600 students which was the number of Black students in the county at the time. In Table 4 was the budget approved by the county's Board of Supervisors which was significantly less than the School Board.

Table 3

Prince Edward County School Board Budget Proposals for the 1964-1965 School Year

Budget #	# of Students	Proposed Budget	\$ Per Student	County Costs
No. 1	3,000	\$897,000.00	\$102.87	\$339,300.00
No. 2	1,600	\$590,000.00	\$212.06	\$164,584.00

Note. Data from Supervisors Record #10, 1964-1970.

Table 4

Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors Budget for Public Schools 1964-1965 School Year

# of Students	Proposed Budget	\$ Per Student	Type Students
1,600	\$240,000.00	\$150.00	Public Schools
3,000	\$450,000.00	\$150.00	Private- Non Sectarian

Note. Data from Supervisors Record #10, 1964-1965.

Black Social Restrictions

Based on research question one, the strong social resistance of Black leaders and citizens on the position of school closure was demonstrated in historical excerpts from local White citizens as well as by the White leaders. White citizens articulated their dislike for federal school integration efforts publically as early as 1956. In May 1956, one citizen, named T. W. Brooks, Jr., spoke at the Board of Supervisors meeting where he presented a declaration signed by 4,184 White citizens in support of the opposition of the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors. Mr. Brooks stated:

We the undersigned citizens of Prince Edward County, Virginia, hereby, confirm our conviction that the separation of the races in public schools of the County is absolutely necessary and do affirm that we prefer to abandon public schools and to educate our children in some other way if that be necessary to preserve the separation of the races in the schools in this county...The power of the Federal Courts being once again invoked against the administrative officers of our public schools for the purpose of causing children of the White and Negro races to be taught together therein, we the people of Prince Edward County, Virginia deem it appropriate that we should make known to all men our convictions and purposes...We believe that the best educational, social and cultural welfare and growth of both White and Negro races is best served by separation of the races in the public schools. (Supervisors Record #8, pp. 317-318)

One of the interview participants, Blake, concurred with the feelings that the White citizens had presented to the Board of Supervisors in the paragraph above. He held the position that schools in the county should have remained separated racially when it came to the education of students in the county. He stated:

The schools should have stayed the way it was to me (segregated), to be honest with you. The schools should have never been integrated. Integration was going to come anyway. When you try to force something on people that really messed Prince Edward up, because they were trying to force integration. (Blake, personal communication, September 23, 2016)

In May 1959, the position of massive resistance to school desegregation was noted in a motion that was unanimously approved by the Prince Edward County School

Board based on the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals decision to override an earlier district court order to delay integration. In the School Board minutes, they proposed the following to the school division's attorneys:

On motion duly made and unanimously adopted this Board does hereby direct its counsel to take all legal action available to them to contest the conclusion the recent decision of the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals directing desegregation of the public high school of Prince Edward County beginning in September, 1959; and to bring about the reinstatement of the decision of Judge Sterling Hutcheson of the United States District Court in which he directed desegregation of such schools not later than the year 1965 unless otherwise directed by him. (School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965)

The statement above was not the best of actions for Black leaders and citizens who wanted desegregated schools in the county. Now the opposition of the county School Board, their proposal led to the decision by the Board of Supervisors to completely close public schools a month later.

On April 26, 1960, the School Board developed a 14-page report in response to criticism of their lack of action since public schools were closed ten months earlier. Key excerpts from the report noted that "the School Board for nearly ten years has used every legal means to avoid integration of our schools...we believe that education can best be provided in this County for the children of both races in segregated schools" (Prince Edward County School Board's Report, 1960, p. 2). The report continued with the position that no Black students in the county had applied to attend the White schools of the county prior to the decision of having schools closed and that there was "a 100%

return of Negro registration applications for assignment to R. R. Moton High School in 1959-1960” (Prince Edward County School Board’s Report, 1960, p. 3). With this report the School Board members felt that they had done all that they could for public education in Prince Edward County.

In December 1960, 20 months after the decision was made for the closing of public schools, 25 Black Prince Edward citizens led by L. Francis Griffin of the Prince Edward Christian Association had a petition that was signed by 275 Black citizens of the county and presented it to the Board of Supervisors. The petition read, “The undersigned, citizens of Prince Edward County, petition the Board of Supervisors to make appropriations to the County School Board to the end that the public schools be opened and operated for the benefit of the children of the County with further delay” (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1960, p. 218). The immediate response by the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors to the petition was very clear and stated:

The petition presented is received and directed to be filed with records of this Board. The county Budget for the fiscal year 1960-1961, as you probably know, was adopted at the beginning of the fiscal year. This Budget does not provide funds for appropriation to the School Board, and, therefore, it is apparent that such an appropriation cannot be made at this time...The public will be given full opportunity to express its view in respect to these matters before the levy is fixed and the Budget adopted for the fiscal year 1961-1962. (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964, p. 218)

The White leaders made it clear to the local Black leaders that there was nothing that they could do to reverse their decision to close public schools. The sudden response

by the Chairman was a direct demonstration of himself and the Board of their power to not be influenced by Black leaders and citizens.

The unwillingness to open public schools for Blacks in the county gave Black leaders a stronger position to continue to fight for integrated schools and they wanted that to occur as soon as possible. A connecting common theme from Wilson, a local community leader, where he provided a significant statement as to how much impact the closing of public schools had. He said:

Yes, that (closing public schools) had a lot to do with it (hurting Blacks). It was a damaging affect to students you know. Now, I'm not trying to heal us from that, but I can understand when you, this whole thing segregation and discrimination thing is a system that didn't work. It's not no one or two. This is a system that didn't work and you get people and get a race of people and deny them certain things, like we were denied here at Moton. Denied to certain facilities, but just put them in employment positions where they can barely put daily bread on the table.

(Wilson, personal communication, September 3, 2016)

Another perspective about school closure and its effect on Black citizens came from Edgar who did not lose his education as a result of the closure as his family moved to a neighboring county. He did question why there was societal separation in some facets of the local community and not so in others. He stated:

When I look back on it personally, if the schools had not closed versus the schools opened again, personally integration would not have had that much effect on me personally, because it was almost as though why weren't we going to school together anyway? It was not something that really upset me at all. It wasn't in

Prince Edward County. We worked together the White and Black. We just didn't eat together, we didn't go in the same doors or same room, but different doors. Personally it never really did get to me to the point why or if we did that? So the effects of it me personally, I was looking at it more as an educational point of view rather than Black or White. (Edgar, personal communication, October 1, 2016)

In May 1961, the Virginia National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) along with Griffin submitted a request to the Board of Supervisors for a march and requested the use of the county Court House one month before an event which was in observance of the seventh anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The Board did approve the use of the Court House steps and grounds in a letter of approval which read:

...We are happy to grant the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the use of the Court House steps and the grounds adjacent there to over which we have control, for the purpose of a public meeting to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in which it was decided that public schools, which excluded applicants on account of race could not be operated in Prince Edward.
(Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1960, p. 249)

The Board continued in the letter of approval that they had no control of the public streets in the town of Farmville, so the participants would be unprotected if they conducted a peaceful march (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964). The NAACP's

observance was not enough to have the White leaders of the county release the grip of school closure.

The act of conducting marches by Black leaders was a common element that was repeated through the years prior (1951), during (as stated above), and after (1970) school closure and re-opening. The marches were acts of strength and were conducted peacefully. Edgar and Blake were two participants who were actively engaged in those events. Edgar stated, “During the time of 1963, summer of 1963, we did a lot of protesting; civil rights protesting here in the town of Farmville. Protesting for jobs and education etc...That lasted through the summer months until schools re-opened” (Personal communication, October 1, 2016). As for Blake, he was involved in a protest by students over the firing of a White teacher from Prince Edward High School in 1970. He said:

Back in the day when we had our walk out...I was one of the leaders of that. This English teacher XXXXXXXX was the English teacher then...He really took interest in us (Blacks) and all that. He took us places and showed us things. He really worked with the Black kids a hell of a lot. What happened was they found out what he was doing that and they said that he was incompetent. He started working with us. The next thing we know that he was fired and as an incompetent teacher. So a group of us got together and decide we were going to do something about it. (Blake, personal communication, September 23, 2016)

The peaceful demonstrations by Blacks in the county in each case did little to change the societal racial structure. But Black leaders young and old continued their fight to be heard against what they felt were unfair educational practices in the county.

In February 1962, the Prince Edward Board of Supervisors' actions against Black students were evident based on a meeting decision. Four former Prince Edward County Black students had relocated beyond the county for their educations to the city of Springfield, Massachusetts. Springfield had presented the Prince Edward Board of Supervisors with an invoice for reimbursement for educating the Black students who were there as a result of the public school closure. The amount of the invoice was for \$1,636.26. The Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors unanimously voted to not allow or accept the invoice from the city of Springfield and their tuition claim for the Black students schooling. The decision made it clear that Black children from the county did not matter and were not to be educated in Prince Edward or in any other jurisdiction (Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1954). This decision established a social precedent against the reversal of public school closure.

The unfortunate demise of Black families who had to relocate to other states was a theme discussed at length with research participants. The loss of family connections had deep wounds for those who remained in Prince Edward. The case study participants had families move to North Carolina, Iowa, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland in order to attain their education. In most cases those Black students never returned to Prince Edward County to live. Edgar had the following opinion about dislocated family members:

I think the closure of the schools had the greatest impact, because it separated families and personally my family, my first cousins, second cousins, when schools closed, we separated and went all over and it we never did come back and pull that relationship back. (Personal communication, October 1, 2016)

For expansion of the archival documentation at the time of the forced desegregation, a focus was placed on research question two. Research question two stated: Since forced desegregation, how have the objectives of early civil rights legislation and judicial decisions met Black students' needs today in Prince Edward County public schools? To better understand the local legislative actions which resulted from the court ordered opening of public schools in 1964, Board of Supervisors actions were further demonstrated. After the federal court's final decision that required Prince Edward County to open integrated public schools for the 1964-1965 school year, Hugh Jenkins, a member of the Board of Supervisors in June 1964, read a 5,000 word personal statement. Jenkins' statement offered the justifications of White leaders for closing public schools five years earlier and his displeasure with being forced to integrate public schools. Key excerpts from his statement questioned how successful integrated public schools would be educationally and socially for Black and White students in the future. He stated:

Gentlemen, we are faced with Judge Lewis' decision to appropriate money for public schools...I shall never forget the many thoughts that went through my mind the day that we voted not to include public schools into our County budget... I looked at the school that I had attended as a child and the one in which my children were enrolled at that time and the thoughts that came to my mind were—what shall be the outcome of all the schools in this county? Where will my own children attend school and where will the Negro children of this county attend school?...It has been said by many newspapers and by many judges that we closed these schools to avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling of 1954,

involving the mixing of the two races. To me, this has been the most absurd thing that a newspaper or a judge could possibly have said and I thank my God that these same judges on the final day of judgement will not have to judge the things that I have done, but that they, too, must stand before the Almighty Judge and answer for their own injustices. (Supervisors Record #10, 1964-1970, p. 7)

Positions as in the above statement with the justification of God in the decision to not educate children was the mindset that Black leaders and citizens had to contend with before, during, and after the opening of the public schools. Jenkins continued with further scathing statements that appear to disagree with the U. S. Supreme Court's final decision to force the opening of public schools in the county. He read:

...I do not recall the exact words of the Supreme Court's ruling in 1954, however, to the best of my memory the Supreme Court did not say that we had to operate public schools, merely that there could be no discrimination according to race in public schools...In effect, the Supreme Court of the United States has now said that we must operate public schools. I realize that this ruling has been based upon the Fourteenth Amendment, but I cannot find in the Fourteenth Amendment where it is said that public schools must be operated...If a court can tell a person of a legislative body how he must vote when he has been given a choice, then it can also tell a citizen of the United States how he must vote when he has been given a clear choice. (Supervisors Record #10, 1964-1970, pp. 7-8)

The restrictions of Black students' education continued even after public schools were reopened. Although the reopening of the public schools of Prince Edward County occurred in September 1964 without incident as noted in the School Board minutes, the

School Board rejected a move of assistance by a group of four Longwood College students for the returning public school students. In December 1964, the Longwood students went before the School Board to offer tutoring for “backward students” or those students who today are known as students with learning disabilities. The School Board delayed acting on the proposal of assistance until the next month’s meeting. At the January 1965 School Board meeting, the Board informed the four Longwood students that “after due consideration would not enter this proposed tutoring program since the R. R. Moton High School has strong well-trained English teachers with small classes and specialist working in the field” (School Board Minutes-Book V, 1956-1965).

After several years without significant difficulties, in 1969, students at R. R. Moton High School had planned to have a student sit-in in April. The School Board held a special meeting on Wednesday, April 23, to set up a formal interview meeting with students who wished to ask questions about the public schools. The Board established strict parameters of students who planned to leave school without permission and if they did not cooperate, that schools were to be closed for the remainder of the week if the demonstrations were to continue. The next morning in the high school principal’s office, the Board decided to meet with the students and the students’ concerns were addressed by the Board members in attendance (School Board Minutes-Book VII, 1969-1972).

In a last act of racial change after the reopening of integrated schools in Prince Edward County, the School Board in November 1969 proposed the name change of the high school from R. R. Moton High School to Prince Edward County High School which is still used today. This proposal was fully discussed and was passed to move away from its Black historical past, and the act joined the efforts that were being done across the

state of Virginia to have the integrated schools be for all of the county's students without a racial connection (School Board Minutes-Book VII, 1969-1972).

Although the name change of the high school was done by the county School Board to have a lowered perception of racial connection for the county high school, some Blacks were not in favor of the action. Florida, a participant in the study, said, "They changed the name (of the high school) so they sort of got rid of us (Blacks)" (Personal communication, January 11, 2017).

Though the name, Prince Edward County High School, is still in existence and integrated, there were lingering racial differences of academic performance that has remained in the county for Black and White students. The most notable being the disproportionate number of advanced academic programs predominantly taken by White students. With the demographics of Black students being 63%, 80% of the students in dual enrollment and Advanced Placement courses were White students (U. S. News & World Report, 2016). Of the latest data from the Virginia Department of Education, it was shown that there has been advancement of the high school overall but Black students are well behind their White peers. In the 2014-2015 Virginia State Report Card for Prince Edward High School, the results of End-of-Course assessments showed deficits for Black students, ranging from 13% in History, to 24% in Science. In the most significant subjects, according by the state of Virginia, Black students fell behind their White counterparts by 20% in both English Reading and Writing, and 22% in the area of Math (Virginia Department of Education, 2015).

Ramifications of Lost Educational Opportunity

For the continued understanding of this case study, research question two stated: “Since forced desegregation, how have the objectives of early civil rights legislation and judicial decisions met Black students’ needs today in Prince Edward County Public Schools?” For this section to further understand the historical information, there was the need to refer to research question three, which stated: “Since the integration of public school in Prince Edward County, what is the overall perception of societal success for current Black students?” The decision of Prince Edward Board of Supervisors in 1959 had long lasting implications for the county in many facets. Prince Edward County Schools have had challenges getting their schools fully accredited for nearly 20 years. The following data tables are comparative statistics from neighboring Cumberland and Buckingham Counties. Both of these counties have very similar population demographics and socioeconomics of citizens. Both Cumberland and Buckingham counties kept their public schools open after the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision by maintaining separate but equally segregated schools. Cumberland and Buckingham Counties Public Schools started the integration process in the 1965-1966 school year under the Freedom of Choice legislation for Black families to send their children to White schools by gradually allowing limited numbers of Black students to attend the White schools in those counties.

Table 5 looks at the overall populations of Prince Edward, Cumberland, and Buckingham Counties in Southside Virginia. The populations displayed below show that those counties were sparsely populated but have had populations gains and declines from 1960-2010. In particular, there were declines in the general populations in each county

from 1950 to 1960 with Prince Edward County having the greatest loss of population. Prince Edward's population declined 9.1%, with Buckingham dropping 8.8% and Cumberland having the smallest decrease of 8.7 %. Most of each counties' population loss was attributed to the number of Black citizens who were departing Southside Virginia.

Table 5

General Population Comparisons between Prince Edward, Cumberland and Buckingham Counties in Virginia from 1950-2010

Year	Prince Ed.	Cumberland	Buckingham
1950	15,398	7,252	12,288
1960	14,121	6,360	10,877
1970	14,379	6,179	10,597
1980	16,456	7,881	11,751
2000	19,720	9,017	15,623
2010	23, 368	10,052	17,146

Note. Prince Ed. = Prince Edward County. Data from U. S. Bureau of the Census: U. S. Census of Population 1950; U. S. Bureau of the Census: U. S. Census of Population 1960; U. S. Bureau of the Census: U. S. Census of Population 1970; U. S. Bureau of the Census: Census of Population 1980; U. S. Census Bureau: 2000 Census of Population and Housing; U. S. Census Bureau: Quick Facts.

In Table 6 below, it shows the population of Black citizens in each county from the same periods as Table 5, which documented the decline in populations. In the 1950s and 1960s there were many Black citizens who were leaving Southside Virginia and were moving to northern states for industrial jobs and opportunities other than the farm labor and timber industry jobs that were the prevalent jobs in those three counties. Between

1950 and 1960, Buckingham had lost the most citizens with 9.2% followed by Cumberland at 8.5% and then Prince Edward at 8.2%. Between 1960 and 1970, which was at the time of public school closure (1959-1964), Prince Edward had the greatest continued loss of Black population among the three counties. During that decade, Prince Edward lost 9.3% more of its Black citizens while Buckingham lost 8.9% of its Black citizens and Cumberland had the least amount of decline of 8.5% (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1952; U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1963; U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1971).

After the 1970s, Black populations increased for Prince Edward in each decade through 2010 while Cumberland and Buckingham demonstrated some losses after the start of the new millennium. This growth of the Black population in Prince Edward was attributed to the increase in jobs, especially in the field of corrections and retail. The county expanded the local Piedmont Regional Jail, located just beyond the town limits of Farmville, which housed prisoners from five local counties and added a facility to accommodate prisoners to be deported through the U. S. Department of Immigration. There has also been the growth of Longwood University that has led to more Black students to relocate into the area and stay while being employed in new businesses and commercial ventures.

Table 6

Black Populations Comparisons between Prince Edward, Cumberland and Buckingham Counties in Virginia from 1950-2010

Year	Prince Ed.	Cumberland	Buckingham
1950	6,860	4,041	5,257
1960	5,633	3,450	4,862

1970	5,258	2,961	4,687
1980	6,169	3,393	4,979
2000	7,159	3,409	6,199
2010	7,755	3,276	6,018

Note. Prince Ed. = Prince Edward County. Data from U. S. Bureau of the Census: U. S. Census of Population 1950; U. S. Bureau of the Census: U. S. Census of Population 1960; U. S. Bureau of the Census: U. S. Census of Population 1970; U. S. Bureau of the Census: Census of Population 1980; U. S. Census Bureau: 2000 Census of Population and Housing; U. S. Census Bureau: 2010 Quick Fact

As for a comparison of local criminal concerns, there was an analysis of crime statistics among the counties of Prince Edward, Cumberland, and Buckingham over the last two years that was published in an article in the Farmville Herald, the local newspaper in the region. The article released data that was released from the Virginia State Police and its annual update of state crime records. In 2014, Prince Edward County had 159 drug arrests and the addition of the Town of Farmville, which is the county seat of Prince Edward County, had 31 drug arrests which totaled 190 arrests for the year. They were followed by Buckingham, with 154, and Cumberland, with 71. The Town of Farmville in 2013 and 2014 had the most robberies and larcenies of five and 191, respectively (Miles, J., 2015).

For the case study research, the primary statistical concerns for the schools in Prince Edward County were the education of their Black students versus those in Buckingham and Cumberland counties. In Table 8, there was comparative data on the graduation and dropouts of the high school cohorts from the years 2010, 2012, and 2014. The term cohort is used by the Virginia Department of Education for the group of students who entered high school for the first time together who are followed for four

years as to their education completion rates. The table displayed the cohort successes for all students attending the three county high schools.

Table 7

Cohort Graduation and Dropout Comparisons between Prince Edward, Cumberland and Buckingham County Schools

Year	County	Cohort Size	Grad. %	DOR%
2010	Prince Edward	235	77.9	18.3
	Cumberland	118	90.8	5
	Buckingham	204	89.2	9.8
2012	Prince Edward	190	86.8	8.4
	Cumberland	130	89.2	3.8
	Buckingham	160	91.9	7.5
2014	Prince Edward	173	85	9.8
	Cumberland	114	93.9	4.4
	Buckingham	149	92.6	6

Note. Grad % = Graduation Percentage of the entire 4-year cohort; DOR = percentage of student dropouts for all racial categories in the 4-year cohort. Data from the Virginia Department of Education –Virginia Cohort Reports from 2008-2014.

The data above shows that Prince Edward had the largest cohorts but over the three comparative years of data had the lowest graduation rates and highest dropout rates for all three counties during this period. Cumberland had the smallest cohort groups but had the greatest level of student success for their cohorts and the lowest percentage of dropouts. Buckingham followed closely behind Cumberland but was better than Prince Edward statistically.

Table 8

Cohort Graduation Percentage and Dropout Rates for Black Students between Prince Edward, Cumberland and Buckingham County Schools

Year	County	Cohort Size	Grad. %	Bl. Grad %	BDOR
2010	Prince Edward	235	77.9	71.1	26.8**
	Cumberland	118	90.8	86.8	11.3
	Buckingham	204	89.2	77.4	14.2
2012	Prince Edward	190	86.8	81.4	14
	Cumberland	130	89.2	91.2	7
	Buckingham	160	91.9	87.1	11.3
2014	Prince Edward	173	85	88.8	9.9
	Cumberland	114	93.9	98.1 [^]	0
	Buckingham	149	92.6	100	0

Note. Grad % = Graduation Percentage of the entire 4-year cohort; Bl. Grad. % = percentage of Black students in the 4-year cohort who graduated on time; BDOR = percentage of Black student drop outs in the cohort; ** = one of the highest Black student dropout rates in the state of Virginia; ^ = although there were no dropouts, one student completed the requirement for the General Education Diploma (GED), therefore did not graduate from high school. Data from the Virginia Department of Education –Virginia Cohort Reports from 2008-2014.

As in Table 7, the data for Prince Edward had exactly similar results that were presented in Table 8. The percentage of Black students graduating from high school in Prince Edward County with their grade level cohort was the lowest among the three counties for all three data comparison years, according to the Virginia Department of Education records (Virginia Department of Education, 2015). The 2010 Black student dropout percentage for Prince Edward County was the highest in the three county comparisons. The 26.8% Black student dropout rate was nearly the percentage of the dropout percentages of urban public schools in the cities of Richmond and Petersburg for the same school year. It was evident that Prince Edward County Public Schools did make

significant gains for Black students by increasing graduation rates by 17.7% over the next four years. The state's data possessed information that was alarmingly high in comparison to neighboring Cumberland and Buckingham County Schools.

Tables 7 and 8 displayed a significant difference educationally for Prince Edward County compared to its neighboring counties who did not close their schools. The struggle for Black students today harbors sentiments from the former students who were impacted by the closing of public schools in 1959. Brenda, a retired educator, stated:

It just seems that the stigma was to come to Prince Edward. Now you have a lot of White kids in the school system and a lot of the Black kids are being pushed aside and White kids achieving. A lot of the Black kids are being put into to special ed. (education) and mostly the Black kids. Those are the kids that are coming from homes that the parents did not get a formal education. They struggle. (Personal communication, September 5, 2016)

Weldon attributed the lowered performance of the Black students in the county schools to the lack of Black teachers currently. He said, "One of the things that really hurt is when you go from predominately Black teachers when you let them go you hire a White teacher. I think today that's killing our system" (Weldon, personal communication, September 13, 2017). Florida shared a similar perspective. She stated, "They (school administration) brought more white teachers back and that has happened more down through the years now. You can probably count the Black teachers on your hands...When I came along we had all Black teachers" (Florida, personal communication, January 11, 2017).

Another common theme from interview and focus group discussions was the lost opportunities academically of former denied students due to the closure of schools. The ramifications of schools closing altered their lives but they were able to overcome that detriment. Several participants did not go college as a result. Weldon stated:

When I graduated from high school, I was offered three scholarships. One was to Longwood College, first year for basketball, St. Benedict College, and Mitchell College. I turned them all down. I knew I wasn't going to pass academically. I knew athletically I could have competed, but academically it was no way I could have done it. A part of me always wondered what it would be like if I had the additional education. (Personal communication, September 13, 2016)

Adam was another participant who had his life changed due to the closing of schools in the county. He said:

Well after I finished high school, I had a chance to go to college. The band teacher, again, had worked out financial aid to St. Augustine (College) because we had a band on the side. A little show band. He took us out on the road to play and we had a good time with it...He tried to get me to go to college, but we all ended up in the military...I was scared to go to college because I didn't think I could handle it. (Adam, personal communication, September 21, 2016)

The two statements above were samples of many capable Blacks in Prince Edward County whose lives could have been different had their education not be disrupted. They are a small sample of Black citizens who probably could have had different life outcomes. As you will read below, the ten participants of the case study

interviews and focus group were able to have successful lives and careers but they know many classmates and relatives who were not as fortunate.

Research Question Responses

This section of the case study has the collective responses of the participants from their individual face-to-face interviews. Each of the interview questions have been summarized as to the patterns of their responses as part of the data analysis for this research.

The initial question of the interviews were based on research question 1, which read, “After public schools in Prince Edward County were re-opened in 1964 due to massive resistance, what were the effects on the educational and social gains of Blacks living in the county at that time?” The participants had strong feelings about the effects of public school closure had on themselves and their families. There was complete agreement by all ten participants, Wilson, Brenda, Adam, Donald, Weldon, Blake, Edgar, Florida, Tim, and Washington, that the closing of schools in Prince Edward had a significant and devastating impact on Black students immediately at the time of closure and at the time of re-opening. The recurring theme noted from the question was the impact of the closure had on Black families with school aged children. For Brenda, her family had her live with her grandparents in a neighboring county to be educated for three years. She did return to her home town of Farmville to graduate from the Free School in 1964 that was being operated for students who had transportation to get there. As for her school experiences in the neighboring county she stated:

That was quite an experience. I didn’t know anyone at the school. I didn’t know the teachers nor the students, but once I got there I learned the students. My

experiences it was good. The teachers were different as they were young, just coming out of college. (Brenda, personal communication, September 5, 2016)

In the case for Edgar, his entire family moved just across the Prince County border to go to school in another neighboring as his father rented a shack, but the family did not live in that home. He noted that his parents did this so that his brother and sisters could continue their educations until schools in Prince Edward reopened. He, like Brenda, returned to attend the Free School in 1963 that was located in western Prince Edward until the public schools in the county reopened.

Another major impact discovered from the interviews was that some Black families had to deal with the relocation of older brothers and sisters who had to leave their families, as some of them went out of state to be educated. Brenda's older brother and sister went to finish high school in North Carolina. Brenda stated, "That was the break-up of the family and we never got together again at one time as a family. It was hard on my parents" (Personal communication, September 5, 2016). Blake had an older sister attend school in Pennsylvania whom he later lived with in order to attend school there for one year. Weldon had an older brother who lived with his grandparents in a neighboring school system to finish his education but his brother did come home on weekends. Being only six years old at the time, Weldon did not understand why he could not go to school with his brother. He said, "He (his brother) was able to go to school, they (his grandparents) couldn't take two of us, so he was the oldest boy, so he moved to Cumberland. Of course, that did anger me, I just couldn't understand why I couldn't go as well" (Personal communication, September 13, 2016). His mother, who was a single parent, did not have the time to teach him at home growing up, as her focus was to

provide financially for her family with four children. For Adam who was the youngest of his family and was eight years old at the time of the schools closing. He and his sister were made to stay in Farmville while their older brothers were sent out of state. He said, "I didn't go anywhere. I was the youngest in the family. The oldest brother went to Ohio. The next oldest brother went to New York to work and my sister and I stayed here" (Adam, personal communication, September 21, 2016).

Edgar, whose family was not separated during the school closure, had a very strong comment about the impact of relocation had on his relatives by the closing of the public schools. He said:

We just enjoyed being around each other just, just being family. After schools closed, families went in different directions and the major impact is right now. They never came back together. It really tore our family apart, especially the family on my mother's side. (Edgar, personal communication, October 1, 2016)

For Wilson, the impact of family separation was experienced through his sister-in-law who had to relocate to a neighboring county. She was not living with family members but friends of her parents who lived in a county that had schools that were open but still segregated. He stated:

My ex-sister in-law when schools closed, she was caught up in that. Every Sunday night my father in-law would take her to the Cumberland Bridge and someone from Cumberland would come and pick her up, and she would stay there for the week in Cumberland. She hated it because it was an outdoor toilet. Diet was different. Country people used to eating that grub. She cried every Sunday night. Her two sisters, my wife and her other sister, used to cry every Sunday

night. The house was a sad house and it was sad for people to go away. The younger you were, the less understanding you had because it was based on race relations. (Wilson, personal communication, September 5, 2016)

The feelings felt by participants were that the children who departed Prince Edward County for their education had no real desire to return to the county and relive the past wrongs even if there were siblings and family that remained. This was a profound statement from a person whose family was not pulled apart in order to receive their education. His emotions were heart wrenching to hear, as were those of the other participants about how their families were divided during that time period that and have never been united since.

Another factor based upon question one was the direct effect the closure had on Black students as to the complete lack of regaining their educational skills that were lost after the five years out of formal schooling, especially those classmates who were in elementary school grades. Weldon and Adam stated that for over two years they played outside in their neighborhoods each day while schools were closed. Adam said about being out of school, “When schools shut down and it was just a temporary vacation. Hanging out with friends” (Personal communication, September 21, 2016). Weldon, who was two years younger than Adam at the time of the schools closing, stated:

In 1959, I was supposed to start first grade. However, schools closed and so I did not go to 1st, 2nd, or 3rd or 4th grade. In 1963, I started what was called the Free School. The Free School was just mass confusion. What they did was they had some of the older students try to teach us as much as they could. (Personal communication, September 13, 2016)

One of the participants, Tim, did nothing but work on the family farm for the five year closure. He said:

Once schools closed, I went out on the farm. (My) Parents weren't able to send me to another school, so we worked in tobacco, and corn. Just worked farm work. Digging wells, cleaning out wells and things like that. I was just a hard working boy. (Tim, personal communication, January 12, 2017)

Unfortunately for him he never returned to school as he was supposed to have entered the seventh grade when public schools closed in Prince Edward County in 1959.

Washington had the unfortunate experience of starting school at the age of 11 since public school closed when he was six. He was not able to attend any school at all during the five year closure. He stated:

I started school in 1964 when the schools reopened. I was supposed to start school the year it closed down and so that made me 11 years old when I started school. I started in primary school. I came out of school in 1972. I didn't graduate. I came out to work on the farm. (Washington, personal communication, January 12, 2017)

Donald who was supposed to have entered the eighth grade in 1959, never went back to high school. He did eventually get his GED later. He ended up leaving Virginia when schools closed. He said:

When the schools closed, most of the black fellows that I was raised with had started going to jail and I didn't want no parts of that. So my brother and I decided to get out of Farmville, before we got locked up. We left Farmville and moved to New York. (Donald, personal communication, September 5, 2016)

Another factor that became a repeated theme by the participants was that the reopening of schools had very little impact on improving Black and White relations and educational outcomes, as Prince Edward County Schools were required to be integrated. These interview responses were related to interview questions four and seven, which addressed the integration of Prince Edward Public Schools. When the schools reopened they were not very mixed racially. Weldon said, “When it (public schools) did re-open there really wasn’t many integration. I can remember in my graduating class there was maybe one or two White kids” (Personal communication, September 13, 2016). Blake had a similar experience of not being in a fully integrated school. He said, “When I got back, the school was integrated. It wasn’t too many Whites going there. Maybe 5 or 6 going there total. It was still basically all-Black schools. There was a few Whites there” (Blake, personal communication, September 23, 2016). Washington stated, “If there were (Whites), it was very little. There was very few (Whites), maybe one or two that was in my class. It wasn’t very many” (Personal communication, January 12, 2017). Brenda who had a younger sister who attended the integrated schools stated:

When schools re-opened for my sister, she had one White guy in her class as she was a senior. Now other kids (White) in the school system, not that many, but they were probably in elementary. There was one other (White) girl that was in the high school. (Personal communication, September 5, 2016)

Wilson, who was the oldest participant and was a community leader at the time of the school closure, felt the following about the integration process in Prince Edward County:

Black students had to learn White students and White students had to learn Black students. They had to learn to do away with stereotypes of each race. Black folks are not liked just because they are Black and White folks are not liked just because they are White. White or Black they expect certain things out of White folks, you expect certain things out of Black folks. You had to deal with the stereotypes. (Wilson, personal communication, September 3, 2016)

The participants who responded stated that there were not many White students attending the public schools as the majority of White families continued to send their children to private all-White Prince Edward Academy or their families moved to segregated schools in neighboring counties. Those participants could only recall seeing between two to fifteen White students in their schools in Prince Edward Schools and none of them had a White classmate that they had any significant social or educational interactions with in their time at school. The participants made it clear that the integration of Prince Edward County Schools did not achieve the goals for the federal court mandate due to the limited number of White families that allowed their children to go to school with Black students.

The discussion of the second research question, which read, “Although this event occurred almost 60 years ago, are there residual effects from the five-year public school closure still impacting the accomplishments of Black children in Prince Edward County today?”, has been an overlying belief by the Black community for many years. The opinions by the participants were all in agreement that some, though not all, Black students currently attending Prince Edward County Schools were being impacted currently by the closure of public schools over 50 years ago. Tim never returned to

school once they reopened and had no knowledge about the progress of Black students even though he remained in the county all of his life. Tim did not have any children, therefore did not keep up with the educational outcomes at the county's schools. Nine of the ten participants, Brenda, Weldon, Adam, Edgar, Tim, Washington, Florida, Donald, and Blake, had minimal knowledge of former classmates' life outcomes of those who had limited education after the closing of public schools, as many of those less educated peers were unwilling to discuss the past with anyone as it pertained to the public school closure. Weldon put the silence of former Black student not discussing the past this way, "I have been always trying to get them to give their story, but they won't have any part of it. They won't talk" (Personal communication, September 13, 2016). Edgar stated, "That is the psychological part of the effect (school closure), that they (former students without education) don't want to talk about it. They are still, they are still living it" (Personal communication, October 1, 2016). This was truly evident in the process of seeking participants for this case study as there was a strong resistance of many Blacks in Prince Edward County to become involved in research or talking about the past events of the closing of public schools.

Wilson offered a comment about a response he made to a White professor from Longwood University about the academic deficiencies of the Black students that were encountered at Prince Edward County Schools more than a decade after the reopening of the public schools. The professor had made the comment that the Black students in the schools were slower overall than the White students. Wilson replied to the professor, "That comes from cause and effect. I told her that comes from segregation and discrimination. That's what brought that about if we (Blacks) had to be slow" (Personal

communication, September 3, 2016). He mentioned that this conversation occurred in the early 1980s. Wilson did feel that the current state of Black students in Prince Edward County Schools was a result of the schools closing and that the loss of five years of educational opportunity was devastating and damaging for all Black children and families who did not relocate from the area.

The third research question for the study read, “In the past decade, Prince Edward County public education has struggled to have Black students close the achievement gap of their White peers and meet federal and state educational mandates. Can this problem be specifically attributed to students’ family members (parents, grandparents, guardians, etc.) who lost their education from 1959-1964?” Brenda, Adam, Weldon, Edgar, Wilson, Blake, and Florida were participants who mentioned in detail the impact on Black families and students who never took the opportunity to return to school after they reopened. The participants with the strongest points are quoted in the paragraphs below. Brenda stated:

Well, a lot of students never got a chance to go back to school. Because when schools did open up, you were talking about someone that was in the seventh grade when it closed and now they were 18 on up, and they didn’t want to go back to school. They didn’t want to be back in the seventh grade you know, at that age. It cost them job opportunities that they probably don’t know how far they could have gone, and then they were lost. Those that never did come get the opportunity to go to school and even now you have people who can’t read because the closing of schools. (Brenda, personal communication, September 5, 2016)

Blake had strong feelings about the issue currently in Prince Edward but had a different view as to the impact of school closure and Black student achievement. He said:

You can see that today. I don't think too much has changed to tell the truth about it. I think that a lot of the people I went to school with didn't go back at all. They just stayed out and didn't go back. I think the impact now is that we are really going back to where it began. Really going back to all-Black schools and all-White schools. It's just the way I see it. There's no difference. (Blake, personal communication, September 23, 2016)

Weldon saw the negative impact on student achievement for Blacks in the county being based on the racial demographics of the teaching staff, which is currently predominantly White. He stated:

I think today that's killing our system. I have nothing against females, but White females and some Black females cannot teach our Black males. You have to have a special touch to actually reach these Black males. If you go to Prince Edward, I know for a fact, I think its two Black male teachers at the middle school. That's it. You have two female administrators. The principal is a White female. The assistant is a Black female and one White male. At the elementary you have three females. How can you reach the male population? They are really forsaking the Black males at Prince Edward. At the high school you only have one Black administrator. When a kid starts school, they're not going to see a male, a Black male until they get to high school. (Weldon, personal communication, September 13, 2016)

Florida had a very similar view about the current state of schools of the county as far as the teaching staffs in the school system. She stated:

They bought more white teachers back and that has happened more down through the years now. You can probably count the Black teachers on your hands. They changed the name so they sort of got rid of us. When I came along we had all Black teachers. (Florida, personal communication, January 11, 2017)

Brenda, Adam, Donald, Weldon, and Edgar remembered two particular Black families in the county who had 22 and 18 children respectively. None of the children of those two families ever graduated from school as they stayed on the family farms to help their parents raise the family and support their parents. Adam presented this concern by stating:

Those years out of school did some damage. I look at the XXXX family. They had 22 kids. You think about it, 22 kids that didn't go to school. XXXXXXXX, would tell the story of how they used to make it, twenty some kids in one house. When schools closed down, they worked on a farm and did this and that back in the day. The XXXXX family was the same way. I think it was 18 of them. So it was an impact right there. (Adam, personal communication, September 21, 2016)

Those 40 children were examples of Black families who put their survival ahead of having their children earn their educations. Fortunately, all 40 of those children were able to be successful as adults at mostly menial jobs, although one of them was a successful restaurant owner in Farmville for many years.

The feedback by Brenda, Donald, Edgar, and Adam felt that the school closing was so long ago that there was less of a chance that their classmates would have children

in the county schools currently. As noted in the previous paragraphs, although the participants knew large numbers of Black families who had limited education at the time of the school closing, with grandchildren and great-grandchildren currently in Prince Edward County Schools. Adam commented that he felt that the children and grandchildren of the Blacks with limited education would not have their education affected today. Adam said:

A lot of the trouble makers now are not the children of the people that were impacted by the schools closing. There are like the great-great grandchildren or nephews or something. It's hard to say if they were impacted because it was so far down the line. (Personal communication, September 21, 2016)

Weldon viewed it differently as the impacted families would offer apathy toward doing well in school. He stated:

It's through the generations. Some of them, well a lot of them made it okay (without an education). Some of their families were educated. A lot of their parents say they made it with no education. So you (the child) can do it too. (Weldon, personal communication, September 13, 2016)

That opinion by Weldon was a shared thought and is a feeling that hurts some of the current generation to not excel academically in school.

The responses to research question eleven were divided. The question asked, "Which event had the greatest impact on the achievement and advancement of Blacks in Prince Edward, public school closure or school desegregation?" Most of the participants felt that the re-opening of schools as desegregated educational facilities had the greatest impact on the county. Donald, Weldon, Adam Tim, Washington, Blake, and Edgar

agreed that having the schools re-opened was good but did not see immediate change racially. For Blake, he felt that the integration of public schools was a mistake. He stated:

The schools should have stayed the way it was to me, to be honest with you. The schools should have never been integrated. Integration was going to come anyway. When you try to force something on people that really messed Prince Edward up, because they were trying to force integration. (Blake, personal communication, September 23, 2016)

Donald had a more positive opinion about the re-opening of Prince Edward Schools. He said:

Well the opening of the schools had a great impact, because it allowed those kids to go back to school and get their education, but the closing of the school had an impact because it made the superintendent look at the Black schools and give them more to work with, as opposed to before. (Donald, personal communication, September 5, 2016)

Wilson, Brenda, and Florida felt that the school closure had the greatest impact on the county. For Wilson, he felt that the closing of school was debilitating for Black students in the county. He stated:

I think it was school closure had the biggest, tremendous and powerful negative impact on students. When you walked up to desegregation, you walked up cripple. You ran cripple, limping into. That school closing did a job on black students. (Wilson, personal communication, September 3, 2016)

Florida took a more reflective view of the school closing from the perspective of how many parents and students had time to contemplate the actions of county's leaders. She said:

I think it might have been the closing. Because the closing gave them the opportunity to think and reflect on what's going to happen now, since this has happened. When they re-opened, some things were not to your liking, but during the closing they had time to reflect on what was going to happen. (Florida, personal communication, January 11, 2017)

In conclusion, all of the interview participants were thankfully all individuals who had been able to overcome the atrocities of the public school closure in their lives. Each one had different experiences after 1959, but all of them had the common spirit to succeed in life and were able to clearly express their feelings about the five year closure of schools in their home county.

Focus Group

The focus group session had six participants. There were four topics for the participants to discuss as the group met at the Moton Museum in a meeting room in the reconstructed Tar Paper Shack building on the museum grounds, which was a replica of a classroom building of the original R. R. Moton High School. The group session questioning and discussion lasted 45 minutes with an additional 30 minutes of social interaction among the former schoolmates speaking to each other of their shared experience of the closing of schools in Prince Edward County as some of the participants did not know each other due to their age difference.

The participants first discussion topic was, "Please discuss the eras of White resistance and integration in Prince Edward.", which led to varying views by the participants in attendance. The participants that lived and were raised in the town of Farmville discussed that they and their families had experienced some form of racism growing up. They recalled not being able to eat in certain restaurants in town, not being able to shop in all sections of department stores and other elements of the period of massive resistance. For Donald, who lived in town, he commented that he would walk to school in the morning with his friends without any issues, but in the afternoons, it would be a common practice of a group of White boys to yell racial insults, and chase them down the street until they would get to their Black neighborhood. He noted one day he and his friends decided to fight the White boys on Main Street, the central street in downtown Farmville. After the fight between the boys, the Black boys were followed by their high school principal each day after school in his car to be sure that there would be no repeated confrontations. Donald stated this event in his youth this way:

Well I lived in Farmville and we had to walk to school. We had a mile to walk from my address to the school and I went to Mary E. Branch School. We encountered a lot of racism during that time. There was a group of White guys that met us on Main Street at any given point. There were two or three different points and if they caught you by yourself or one or two of you they would chase you and whip you. That was on Main Street and went up Third Street. They would sit and wait for us to see how our crowd (size) was coming back home and if the crowd was too big for what they had, then they would go on about their business. This went on for years. Coming from school. One particular day it was

four of us and they challenged us right on Main Street, at that time right in front of Crute's Drug Store, and we had enough and decided to take a stand and fight and there we fought those guys right there on Main Street and then they ran and evidently the authorities found out about it and one of the kids was the police chief's son and Hall (school principal) came to us and gave us a special route to go home. We could never go down Main Street anymore. We had to go down Eli Street cross over Hill Street and come down a big hill in order to get to Appomattox Street. Hall and the police, if the police didn't follow us in the evenings, then Hall would follow us. (Donald, personal communication, October 14, 2016)

For Edgar, his experiences with Whites were different as he was raised in the rural western part of the county. He had no negative direct racial experiences growing up. He stated:

The Farmville area was somewhat different than in the county. It is interesting that you asked that question as I was thinking about that a few years ago and it was different with the Farmville students and citizens than the county students. In the county we had so much to do, even with schools being closed. We still had food, we still had free timber cutting. We (Blacks and Whites) helped each other. As far as the children were concerned we just had so much territory to explore... The uniqueness of it was working with Blacks and working with Whites, we all did what we had to do to get the job done. We didn't see color, color line at that time because we were more interested about helping one another get the crops in and seeing that each family, whether Black or White, to see what they needed to

do. We shared food from out of the garden. We shared farm instruments and of that nature. We just enjoyed working together to get the job done. For the students in town, it was somewhat different. (Edgar, personal communication, October 14, 2015)

Edgar felt racism in the farming community was less impactful. He did state he did not know the type of problems as those in the town of Farmville as Blacks and White in the rural areas got along very well, which was out of the norm for rural areas during that time.

As for the matter of integration in the schools in Prince Edward, there was the consensus that integration of schools was not really the case since there were so few Whites going to the public schools. None of them could expand on the discussion of this topic as none of them had any creditable relationships or interactions with any White students once schools reopened in 1964 and beyond during their continuation of education. As for the integration of the county and town, all agreed that there was a slow process for those who remained in the area. The input by those participants was that Farmville and Prince Edward County were much more integrated today and has made significant progress in overall race relations. The majority of those felt that the 1960s and 1970s were trying times for Black and White relations but by the 1980s there were changes in landscape of the local community. There was the start of Blacks earning positions of leadership on the police and sheriff's department, town council, and in charge of schools as principals and central office staff. Edgar, for instance, did not stay in the area to live as he entered the military, therefore could not relate to this topic as he had left to go out of state upon finishing high school.

As for the second topic of discussion which read, "Please discuss the how the loss of educational opportunity impacted the Black community in Prince Edward," there was agreement by all group members that beyond the loss of education that had a great impact, there was remaining evidence for Black families that were separated and had never reestablished their family relationships. This was brought up by Brenda, Weldon, Adam, Edgar, and Blake during the individual interviews as well. The conversations were very pointed with several personal examples of having older brothers and sisters leaving out of state to live with host families or to nearby counties with relatives in order to attend school. The hurting fact depicted by the participants was that the local community lost out on role models and leaders who left the area, who never returned to live and only returned to Farmville or Prince Edward for funerals, reunions, or other special family functions. There was a strong feeling by some that there was an unforeseen fracturing that was caused of families by the closing of public schools. There was discussion that some of the brothers and sisters who left the Prince Edward area hated the county and the White leaders for the actions executed in 1959. Those older siblings still held a level of mistrust for Prince Edward County and its leaders. There was still a sense of fear to return to Prince Edward as they saw the area as it was in the past when they left at the time of school closure.

The group did feel that a number of Blacks at the time of school closure were impacted by the loss of economic opportunities for those students and families due to the loss of schooling. Without the adequate level of education as their White peers at that time, the group felt that their diplomas did not have them equally prepared for chances to go to colleges or universities. Several of the group members discussed that they had

opportunities to attend college but due to the closure of the schools and the five years of educational loss, they felt that they would not have been successful in higher education.

The third focus group discussion topic read, “Please discuss the successes and obstacles posed before young Blacks who came from under-educated households in Prince Edward at the time of public school closure in comparison to youth today.” The discussion among the group was that all of them were successful and had overcome the closing of public schools, but there was the realization of the fact that there were many more Blacks who were not able to succeed and overcome losing their education than those who succeeded. They discussed the pain they felt for those Black students who never returned due to family circumstances. They said that some of their former classmates could be seen in town or around in the area, and they realize that those classmates had struggled significantly since leaving school. Brenda stated:

Many of those families that lost their education had the obstacles of not being able to get good jobs. We had some folks who did not necessarily go away and they do manual work, but they didn’t have any other choice with the benefit of getting their education. Many families struggled and their children and grandchildren are still struggling as education was not a point of emphasis in their homes. As I taught students whose parents I had gone to school with, many had difficulties in school as they were so far behind educationally. They didn’t have anyone at home to teach them the basics to prepare them for school. (Personal communication, October 14, 2016)

The group discussed seeing or hearing that their classmates struggled as Brenda pointed out, and were surviving with minimal jobs and some even had criminal records.

The group felt that due to the struggles in many classmates' lives, they could see their struggles would offer a downfall of academic achievement of their children and grandchildren who were in Prince Edward County Schools today.

The final focus group topic was, "Please discuss the impact of local Black Churches and their leadership at the time of public school closure and in comparison to today." The participants had very strong feelings about the how strong and impactful the Black churches in Prince Edward were in the fight to reopen public schools. Whether in the town of Farmville at First Baptist Church and Beulah African Methodist Episcopal Church or in western Prince Edward County at Sulphur Springs Baptist Church, those leaders at that time were strong leaders and offered the correct guidance for parishioners as to how to respond and react in the community to not hurt the fight for change. Edgar, a minister himself, stated:

Even before schools closed, we had good solid leadership in western Prince Edward County. I was a member of Sulphur Springs Baptist Church where we had the NAACP leaders there. We had faithful church members there from family members to community members at large. If it were not for the church and the older generation, and their faith and encouragement that they gave as youngsters, me in particular...When it bothered them, it bothered me. That was the foundation that I was standing on. They were encouraged so they kept me encouraged. I knew when I was not in school but the leadership of the church was faith filled and community oriented. They were highly involved in community events, and politics at large. They knew what was going on in the county. They knew what

was going on in the states. They knew what was going on nationally. (Personal communication, October 14, 2016)

Blake reinforced the view about the strength of the Black churches in Prince Edward County at the time of the closure. He said:

Yes, yes. I definitely agree. The thing about it, Black churches back in those days you didn't have people that come back and just sit. The things that went on in church meetings and what we had to do to decide were discussed openly. In the Mercy Seat area, our church leaders let us know what would be our next move. As teenagers in high school when we did our walk out, the church leader guided us demonstration wise. They gave us our directions to protest...We really surprised the community but we followed the example of Barbara Johns and the Moton strike, I believe in 1951. (Blake, personal communication, October 14, 2016)

The participants felt that church leaders at that time of school closure encouraged education for the children and worked together to battle the county's Board of Supervisors to reverse their decision to close public schools.

The group did not have an equally strong opinion for the church leaders of today. They felt that current church pastors were good leaders but did not have the level of charisma and strength of message as the church leaders of the past. Edgar stated that church leaders today did not have the same issues of concern today and that church goers did not have the same needs societally and educationally. He said:

In comparing it (Black churches) to today, the youngsters that came up in the churches then, they left. The churches today, through my experience, they do not

have the leadership that they had of the 1960s. The older generation, they died off so when you look at the average church now, you are looking at someone who is running everything now, 50 years old and under for the most part. There is a gap within the church, I believe, through this generation. I don't only think that this is a Prince Edward thing. I see that in Appomattox. I see it in Cumberland. I see it in Buckingham. I see it all over. Something is missing. It's never been missing in the age category that I am in now. The 50 years old and younger crowd, they seem to have pretty much taken over with a different mindset than what we had when we came up... Because everything changes. It's not as political as it used to be. Churches are not working on anything as big as it was in the 1960s, but we (Blacks) have a lot of fighting to do and lot of things to accomplish. But, just taking another route. (Edgar, personal communication, October 14, 2016)

Adam agreed by stating:

In town, First Baptist Church was the most renowned church in the area under the leadership of Griffin. He was the bedrock of the community. First Baptist was truly the center of the civil rights movement in Farmville and its leaders made sure to unify the entire county (Prince Edward) by having the other Black churches and their pastors come there to discuss the direction and message that needed to be sent to Blacks in the community...Griffin was very influential back then. I can't say that the current leader is not influential. He is a very strong leader, but in a very different way as times have changed and the social makeup

of the world and America is just different (Personal communication, October 14, 2016).

Brenda, Edgar, Weldon, and Adam also said that youth today were not going to church as they were at the time of school closure and that church memberships had declined overall in the county. The group did not feel that the Black churches today had much positive impact in the community currently, especially in the area of education as during the time of school desegregation and massive resistance.

Summary

Through the analysis of the historical information and the feedback from the participants in direct interviews and the focus group who had experienced the five year loss of schooling, the findings had an alarming overtone. The feelings of the participants as to what they had experienced at the time of massive resistance and to see what they have accomplished to overcome their lost educations spoke volumes about their determination to succeed even though the odds were essentially against them. It was evident that from the archival information that was used that had it not been for the federal court decision to reopen schools that public schools in Prince Edward would have remained closed. The impact of the closure for Blacks today was also noted and is a concern that must be addressed beyond this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overview

The purpose of this single instrumental case study is to gain a better understanding of how the five year closure of public schools for Blacks in Prince Edward County continues to impact present and post-secondary school successes and social advancement for those students and their descendants. This concluding chapter for this case study consists of five sections for final interpretation of this historical event that has gone undiscussed in great detail in American history. The elements of this chapter include a summary of the findings, a discussion of the findings and the implications in light of the relevant literature and theory, an implications section, an outline of the study delimitations and limitations, and the recommendations for future research.

Summary of Findings

The findings through the use of local archival artifacts from the Board of Supervisors and School Board in Prince Edward County during the years prior to public school closure to prevent the integration of Black and White students to attend schools together through the period of public schools reopening, and the documentation of the sighted documents for this case study provided deep rooted factors that impeded Black children and adults with societal and educational barriers. The systemic political intrusion of Black citizens' rights in Prince Edward were documented through years of government means of preventing equality in the county for Blacks which have had long lasting effects. Other data was gathered through the analysis of the detailed face-to-face

interviews and focus groups by participants who were directly influenced by the case's event. The patterns presented from those discussions added greatly to this case study.

Discussion

The actions of the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors decision to reject the mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court, to close public schools, and to impose the power of the local government to rule themselves was validation of the massive resistance movement of the times. Their decision to close all schools though impacted Black and White children equally and simultaneously in June 1959 (Bonastia, 2011; Green, K., 2015; Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964; Titus, 2011). The Board of Supervisors demonstrated blatant disregard of the county's School Board and Superintendent's attempts to open schools for four years by rejecting their budget proposals unanimously each time, all while using public funds to pay and maintain the all-White private school which was opened in 1960 paid for by all of the taxpayers of Prince Edward County, Black and White (Bonastia, 2011; Green, K., 2015; Supervisors Record #9, 1959-1964; Titus, 2011).

The archival documentation of the Board of Supervisors demonstrated that over the five year decision to not fund public schools that there was no vision or reasoning to hear the arguments or presentations of Black leaders to have schools reopened, which presented the fact that Blacks did not matter and certainly did not meet the equal standards of being educated with White children in the county. From the literature review, Hale-Smith (1992) and Green (1964) made connections about the closure and the long term impact on Black students in Prince Edward County.

At the time of the federal court's decision to reopen Prince Edward County Schools, the all-White Board of Supervisors membership was in a state of change as several members were not reelected to their positions, which was a result of political change, but did not fully execute the change of local government vision. Although schools were reopened as integrated institutions, the majority of Whites in the county still would not allow their children to go to school with Black students, as noted in chapter four through the interviews of participants. It was clear that the forced federal change had not changed the social interactions of Prince Edward County, which left bad feelings among the county's Black citizens. Those citizens had not forgotten the memories of those whose education had been delayed or terminated as a result of the decision to close schools (Holland, 2012).

Although the events of school closure occurred almost 60 years ago, from the interviews of the participants of the case study, they had not forgotten the impact that the closure had on their lives. From the perspective of Critical Theorists, which addressed cultural struggles and social injustice in educational settings, the school closure for Blacks had long lasting effects that have been lying under the surface of many older Black citizens over the age of 60 in Prince Edward County, as they were the ones that had the direct impact of not being able to go to school (Pruyn & Garcia, 2001). The Black students of the closure era offered mixed opinions about the impact on the academic achievement of the public schools today. The realization for the case study was that nine of the participants who were of school age in 1959 were able to recover from the denial of educational services after those five years and consider themselves successful. From being ministers, teachers, law enforcement officers and administrators, as well as

government agency employees, the participants expressed concerns of school closure and its impacts on those classmates who were not able to overcome their lost education. Seeing former classmates whose lives had economic struggles with basic jobs and not having the best housing options was difficult. Again, one's level of success is definitely not on an equal basis for everyone. The viewpoint of the study's participants would contradict Social Cognitive Theorists who implied academic motivation and achievement being the primary focus of children, and assumed that people have the ability to influence their own behaviors (Denler, Wolters & Benzon, 2009; Pajares, 1996; Schunk & Zimmerman, 1994; 1998). Those classmates could consider their level of living, all of whom are middle class economically, to be fine and that they desire to be where they are socially and economically (Bandura, 2001; Denler, Wolters & Benzon, 2009). The participants felt that those impacted classmates were hurt immeasurably and that those having tough economic situations would have negative impacts on their children or grandchildren through the possession of a lack of trust of the government that stole their educational chance while they were children (Szymanski, 2011).

Public school closure was a segment of White empowerment and Black restrictions, as in the section titled Black Social Restrictions, for those living in Prince Edward County. Actions of the White leaders of the county's Board of Supervisors were documented placing limitations on the rights of Black leaders to have a voice to propose changes for racial equity and unity for the community. Critical Race Theorist Corcoran (2001) offered a different perspective from the literature, as he noted that success was due to one's ability to be hardworking to achieve economic mobility which definitely does not account for encounters that Black leaders in Prince Edward experienced. Such

roadblocks to societal and racial improvement were rejected from the time of school closure to the period of integration. The perspective of what Black leaders were encountering was from Burton, Bonilla-Siva, Ray, Buckelew, and Freeman (2010), and offered the actualization that actions by the White leadership at the time did impact the lines of equity and socioeconomic advancement for Blacks, which carried over to educational opportunities.

As for current implications that the closure of the public school had on Black students, Prince Edward County Schools has made great strides of academic improvements for their Black students. In comparison to the two neighboring counties with similar demographics and socioeconomic structure for its Black citizens, Prince Edward County was behind in the academic achievement of its Black students in the last five years. As displayed in Tables 7 and 8, Prince Edward had statistically higher dropout rates overall for all students as well as the Black students. As far as a correlation to a direct effect of the public school closure, there was no clear evidence based on the graduation rates for Black students to indicate that this would be a generational trend for failed Black student success.

Although this case study researched a tragic episode in American education and governmental history that has not received appropriate exposure to the world, the findings of this case study do not conclusively show a direct connection to the lack of Black youth success and academic achievement in Prince Edward County.

Implications

Theoretical

The implications of this case study and the events which occurred as a result of the five year closure of Prince Edward County Public Schools and its extremely limited integration effort to reopen schools can have far reaching effects on similar rural communities with demographics of Blacks or other minority populations over 25%. Rural school divisions could consider using this study to address past wrongs in their communities and the data presented could be analyzed for current citizens' feelings that may not be articulated openly to not have a repeated episode of prolonged educational denial. The importance of such understanding as to the impact or the implied feelings of citizens who had their educations decimated by the actions of local government would have lasting benefits toward more harmonious communities across our country.

Empirical

There were rural areas in our nation that have had racial episodes which impacted Black citizens negatively and could have had lingering effects. The primary difference is that no other locale affected a group of people to the magnitude of the events in this case study. For example, several school divisions in the state of Virginia closed public schools for a year to resist allowing Black and White children from going to school together and only Prince Edward County chose to close for an extended period of time which brought national government attention. The actions and its effects were not reversible for those individuals who could not go to a school when schools were closed. For those Black citizens in Prince Edward who overcame the lengthy closure with little to no schooling compared to those who had the means of not losing their education, the

trials that were overcome from all perspectives can offer a great amount of input for those researchers who are willing to research the case study's true direct impact.

Practical

Beyond schools, sociologists who write theory about racial impacts on society would be able to use this case study to understand the impact of long held negative feelings by people in communities who have been treated unfairly. Negative episodes in societal decisions need immediate intervention so that there will be no festering wounds that would exist in impacted communities.

In the field of political science, the events of school closing have had direct relevance to racial and political injustice that have long lasting effects and cause resistance by some citizens, especially minorities. From time to time, historical events such as the incidents that occurred in Prince Edward County have led to manifested negative racial perceptions and actions that have lingered among communities along racial lines. Having an in-depth understanding of just how significant the closing of schools against Black citizens was can assist with having a better understanding of what is needed to close educational concerns such as closing the achievement gap or raising minority graduation rates.

Delimitations and Limitations

In the completion of this case study, the greatest limitation was the existence of lingering bitterness by many Black citizens who lost their education due to the closure of public schools. Of the over twenty consent forms that were mailed to possible participants or individuals contacted, only ten responded as being willing to assist me with my research. One respondent who was initially interested later changed his mind, as

he had second thoughts. He stated that he was not interested in dragging up the past wrongs as he did not want to relive what happened to him again. He also felt that his feedback was not going to change what was happening today in the current school system. This was surprising, especially for some of Black participants that were mailed were actually some of the most successful Black leaders in Prince Edward County and Farmville. Clearly, there was a very strong mindset not to bring up this long past event about their community.

The lack of female participants for the case study was not by design. As for the 25 mailings for participation, there were 14 females mailed forms to become a part of this research. Two of the 14 had become very ill but the remaining ten did not reply even with a self-addressed stamped envelope to return to me. It would have been wonderful to have gotten feedback from more than two females to see if there were any varying perceptions about the closing of school or the reopening of schools from a female perspective.

Another limitation was not being able to find any White leaders at the time of school closure as all of those individuals were deceased. Their viewpoint on this topic would have been invaluable to see if those individuals would have changed their decision knowing how schools and integration had turned out. There was also an attempt to find White teachers who had taught at R. R. Moton High School once schools reopened. Again, there was an uneasy unwillingness to discuss the events of public school closure.

Ultimately, the participant sample size was too small to establish valid data as a majority of over 2,000 Black students who were impacted, and ten participants does not give a fair representation of those impacted directly by school closure. The feedback

from the ten participants offered great insight into the difficulties of the closing of public schools in Prince Edward County, but there was a need to have a greater sample in order to gain stronger perspectives from varying levels of input about how school closure might impact the schools in the county today.

Recommendations for Future Research

There is definitely a need for additional research to assist Prince Edward County Schools for improvement in the overall academic and social achievement of Black youth. The recommendations came from participants who saw the following as concerns about the current state of the county's schools. It was felt that there was a need to conduct studies as to the lack of Black teachers and administrators in the school division as there was the concern that Black students, who are more than half of the student population, were not able to relate to the current mostly White teachers and administrators.

There definitely needs to be a follow up study of more than 800 White students who lived in Prince Edward County who were unable to gain their education as well. Those families were the poor White citizens who lived on the eastern and western fringes of the county who could not afford to send their children to Prince Edward Academy. This is definitely a forgotten page from public school closure that has not been researched. There have been some brief mentions of this phenomenon in several books about the school closing as it addresses the overall impact on Black children. There needs to be a study of those citizens in the near future as those who are still living are getting smaller through the years.

Another study with great implications would be to conduct research about the impact of Black family separation caused by the closure of public schools. To have an

event that impacted education so greatly, it was amazing to realize that there was also the change in many family relationships for the children who had to leave Farmville and Prince Edward County in order to continue their education. There needs to be additional data for those who left and never returned along with those siblings who remained in the county and conduct a comparison as to how the closure of public schools impacted them differently or not at all.

There needs to be a study of the impact this politically based educational change had on parents when they were school aged and how such changes impacted their educational advancement and achievement. A study of this type could measure how impactful school closures, redistricting, busing, and other educational politics could have long term impacts on parents while they were attending schools. As in this case study, such changes can lead to children not completing school as a result of significant alterations of their educational path and can lead to reduced expectations for the success and achievement of their own children or grandchildren.

In the area of local governments and schools in all geographic areas of the United States, there needs to be studies from other localities that have closed neighborhood schools which have had negative consequences, especially on minority children. The importance of a study of this type would be to get a better understanding as to the hidden concerns by the citizens impacted most by school closings. This type of research would need to be done by a quantitative research model to survey citizen feedback. A study like this could find community problems early before there are long standing negative resentment about local government decisions.

Summary

It was surprising to discover that the Black citizens affected by the school closure did not feel that there was a correlation between the Prince Edward County public school closure from 1959-1964 and the success of Black students in the county schools today. This case study should hopefully dispel the perception and myth that the public school closure is still impacting their Black students today from being successful and socially relevant. The limitations discovered while acquiring participants for this study made it difficult to have a stronger sample to get more diversified responses. There were no participants who were not successful economically and socially within the county. As for future research, there is truly a need to gain an understanding from the perspective of over 800 White students who lost their education during the closure. It is an element that needs to be addressed before those who experienced it are deceased or physically unable to participate. Another future study would be to analyze the impact of the relocation of Black students to other localities, whether within the state of Virginia or out of state, for their educations, who never returned to Prince Edward to live. Many of those who never returned were extremely successful and the local area never had the chance to have them to be an influence or role model for the Black youth of the community.

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APPENDIX A**Liberty University's IRB Approval Letter**

November 10, 2015

Jeffrey C. Scales

IRB Approval 2336.111015: A Case Study of Black Students' Education and Socialization since Public School Closure in Prince Edward County Virginia

Dear Jeffrey,

We are pleased to inform you that your study has been approved by the Liberty IRB. This approval is extended to you for one year from the date provided above with your protocol number. If data collection proceeds past one year, or if you make changes in the methodology as it pertains to human subjects, you must submit an appropriate update form to the IRB. The forms for these cases were attached to your approval email.

Thank you for your cooperation with the IRB, and we wish you well with your research project.

Sincerely,

G. Michele Baker, MA, CIP

Administrative Chair of Institutional Research

The Graduate School

APPENDIX B

Liberty University's Consent Letter

A CASE STUDY OF BLACK STUDENTS' EDUCATION AND SOCIALIZATION SINCE PUBLIC SCHOOL CLOSURE IN PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY VIRGINIA

Jeffrey C. Scales

Liberty University

School of Education

You are invited to be in a research study to gain a better understanding of how the closure of public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia, for Black students (1959-1964) continues to impact present and post-secondary school successes and social advancement for students since the start of integrated public schools there. You were selected as a possible participant for meeting the following standards: a) for being a student who lost their education because of school closure; b) for being a parent or grandparent of child who lost their education or possesses knowledge of integration in Prince Edward County; c) for being a former or current teacher who has knowledge of school closure or the integration of schools in Prince Edward County; d) for being a school administrator and community leader who had experience with school closure or had knowledge of racial integration in Prince Edward County Public Schools. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

I am Jeffrey Scales, a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at Liberty University, is conducting this study.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is address local concerns by current or former citizens in Prince Edward County about how many feel that the five year closure of public schools for Blacks due to Massive Resistance continues to impact present and post-secondary school successes and social advancement for those students and their descendants. This research will look at the start of integrated public schools there as well as the perceived level of underachievement by Black students educationally and socially in this community.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

1. Agree of your own free will to participate in this study.
2. Agree to being interviewed individually by me about the topic above and how it has impacted the county of Prince Edward.
3. Agree to be interviewed individually for a period 20-45 minutes.
4. Agree to be part of a focus group and participate in the session which could last up to one hour.
5. Agree to have your responses recorded digitally for information accuracy and later transcribed for accuracy of communication

For participating in my study, I will ensure that all information you provide will provide will be considered confidential. Your name will never appear in this study. However, with your permission anonymous quotes may be used. Information collected digitally or written down as noted during this study will be retained for three years in a locked container under my direct supervision. There will be no other persons affiliated with this case study.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study:

The risks involved in this study will be no more than what you would encounter in everyday life. There are no known or expected risks to you as a participant for this study. At any time, if you desire to stop being involved in the study, please do not hesitate to let me know. Furthermore, you will not have any negative consequences for voluntarily withdrawing from this study.

There are no direct benefits for serving as a participant in the individual interviews and focus groups for the purposes of this study.

Compensation:

You will not be receiving any monetary compensation as a participant in this study.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only the researcher will have access to the records. I will be certain to protect the identities, interview data, and any documentation by any means necessary. Any written data or recording equipment will be locked in an isolated location away from any intrusion. All participants will have their names protected by being identified on a password-protected computer and pseudonyms will be used to keep them safe from compromise by anyone not affiliated with the research study. The research will be conducted with the utmost integrity.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Liberty University. If you decide to

participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

How to Withdraw from the Study:

At any time, if you desire to stop the questioning or need a break, please do not hesitate to inform me to end the session. At that time, all recordings of the interview will stop until you approve of continuing or if you decide to quit the study altogether. Furthermore, you may decide to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.

If you choose to withdraw from the study, please be sure to contact the researcher at the phone number included in the next paragraph. Should you choose to withdraw, data collected from you, apart from focus group data, will be destroyed immediately and will not be included in this study. Focus group data will not be destroyed, but your contributions to the focus group will not be included in the study if you choose to withdraw.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is Jeffrey Scales. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact me at (804) 513-9293 or by email at jscales@liberty.edu. You may also contact the research's faculty advisor, Dr. David Benders, at dsbenders@liberty.edu

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, you are encouraged to contact the Institutional Review Board, 1971 University Blvd, Carter 134, Lynchburg, VA 24515 or email at irb@liberty.edu.

Please notify the researcher if you would like a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read and understood the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

(NOTE: DO NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE UNLESS IRB APPROVAL
INFORMATION WITH CURRENT DATES HAS BEEN ADDED TO THIS
DOCUMENT.)

The researcher has my permission to audio-record me as part of my participation in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX C

Individual Interview Protocol

Date:

Dear [Research Participant Name]:

THE STATEMENT BELOW WILL BE READ VERBATIM BEFORE EACH ONE-ON-ONE INTERVIEW SESSION BEGINS!

Good [time of day]. I am Jeffrey Scales and I am a graduate student in the School of Education at Liberty University. As you are aware, I am conducting research as part of the requirements for the Degree Doctor of Education. The title of my research project is, “A Case Study of Black Students’ Education and Socialization Since Public School Closure in Prince Edward County, Virginia”. The purpose of my case study research is to seek a better understanding as to the residual impact of the five-year public school closure in Prince Edward County, Virginia (1959-1964) on Black youth in the county currently.

I would like to take this moment thank you for being a part of my case study research. In just a few minutes, I will begin to ask you to respond to 11 questions that pertain to the five year public school closure in Prince Edward County, as well as the steps toward integration which occurred in the county in the 1969-1970 school year. From these events, there is the perception in the local community that there are lingering effects on Black students today in Prince Edward. Please note that your responses will be recorded by one digital and one analog recording devices to insure the accuracy and preservation of your statements. In the coming weeks, your interview session will be fully transcribed and you will be given the opportunity to review your responses for accuracy.

Your participation in this study is again voluntary, as it was stated in the consent form that you submitted. This interview will take approximately 20 - 45 minutes. All information that you provide during this interview will be considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained for three years in a locked secure file cabinet under my direct supervision.

At any time, if you desire to stop the questioning or need a break, please do not hesitate to inform me to end the interview session. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences.

If there are no questions, then we will now start our interview session.

Jeffrey C. Scales (LU# XXXXXXXX)

Liberty University Doctoral Student

Individual Interview Research Questions:

1. Please tell me about your educational background.
2. Please tell me about your early educational experiences from first grade through high school while growing up in Prince Edward County.
3. Please tell me if you experienced the closure of schools in Prince Edward County. If so, please describe your experiences.
4. Please tell me if you experienced the integration of Prince Edward County School. If so, please give details of your experiences.

5. Please tell me about your experiences after high school which includes employment, undergraduate and post-graduate study.
6. What was the impact on those Black citizens who had little to no education in Prince Edward as a result of school closure?
7. Please tell me about your feelings when schools integrated in Prince Edward.
8. Please tell me about the impact of desegregation had on Black students in the late 1960s to early 1970s.
9. Please tell me about your knowledge of the academic achievement, employment and crime statistics of young Blacks in Prince Edward.
10. Which event had the greatest impact on the achievement and advancement of Blacks in Prince Edward, public school closure or school desegregation? Please explain your answer.
11. Is there anything else that you would like to mention at this time?

APPENDIX D

Focus Group Protocol

Date:

Dear Focus Group Member:

THE STATEMENT BELOW WILL BE READ VERBATIM BEFORE EACH FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SESSION BEGINS!

Good [time of day]. I am Jeffrey Scales, and I am a graduate student in the School of Education at Liberty University. As you are aware, I am conducting research as part of the requirements for the Degree Doctor of Education. The title of my research project is A Case Study of Black Students' Education and Socialization since Public School Closure in Prince Edward County, Virginia. The purpose of my case study research is to seek for a better understanding as to the residual impact of the five-year public school closure in Prince Edward County, Virginia (1959-1964) on Black youth in the county currently.

I would like to take this moment thank you for being a part of my case study research. In just a few minutes, I will begin to ask this group to respond to 5 questions that pertain to the five year public school closure in Prince Edward County as well as the steps toward integration which occurred in the county in the 1969-1970 school year. From these events, there is the perception in the local community that there are lingering effects on Black students today in Prince Edward. Please note that your responses will be recorded by two digital recording devices to insure the accuracy and preservation of the group's statements. In the coming weeks, the focus group interview session will be fully

transcribed and each of you will be given the opportunity to review your responses for accuracy.

As a member of this focus group, your participation in this study is completely voluntary.

This focus group interview session will take approximately 60 - 90 minutes. All information that is provided during this focus group interview will be considered completely confidential. No participants' names will appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained for three years in a locked secure file cabinet under my direct supervision.

If at any time anyone today desires to stop the questioning or needs a break, will need to inform me immediately to end the interview session at that time. Further, as a member of this focus group you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences.

If there are no questions, then we will now start our focus group interview session.

Jeffrey Scales (LU# XXXXXXXXX)

Liberty University Doctoral Student

Former Students, Educators and Community Leaders Focus Group Interview Research Questions:

1. Please discuss the eras of White resistance and integration in Prince Edward County.
2. Please discuss the how the loss of educational opportunity impacted the Black community in Prince Edward County.

3. Please discuss the successes and obstacles posed before young Blacks who came from undereducated households in Prince Edward County at the time of public school closure in comparison to youth today.
4. Please discuss the impact of local Black Churches and their leadership at the time of public school closure and in comparison to today.
5. Is there anything else that you would like to mention at this time?